

Teresa Jurado **TOWARDS AN  
EMERGING  
ETHNIC CLASS  
IN GERMANY?**

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## **Content:**

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION AND GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS.....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>LEGAL STATUS.....</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION OF IMMIGRANTS.....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC MEASURES FOR INTEGRATION .....</b>	<b>96</b>
5.1	ANTIDISCRIMINATION MEASURES, SOCIAL PROTECTION AND LANGUAGE COURSES .....	96
5.2	EDUCATION POLICY .....	99
<b>6</b>	<b>TRENDS TOWARDS AN ETHNIC CLASS FORMATION .....</b>	<b>103</b>
6.1	SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF IMMIGRANTS: POPULAR AND INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION.....	103
6.2	AUTO-EXCLUSION OF IMMIGRANTS: SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND CULTURAL SEGMENTATION.....	108
6.3	SELF-EMPLOYMENT OF IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY: INDICATOR OF INTEGRATION OR ETHNIC TRAP?113	
<b>7</b>	<b>CONCLUSION: TRENDS TOWARDS AN ETHNIC UNDERCLASS IN GERMANY .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>116</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>STATISTICAL APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>121</b>

## 1 Introduction

This report raises the question if we can observe the emergence of an ethnic class in Germany. An ethnic class is understood as the outcome of a process of ethnic stratification, which means a systematic and stable combination of material class positions at lower level with specific cultural characteristics. Ethnic stratification has different degrees, so that only a systematic and stable social exclusion due to origin is to be considered the basis for an ethnic class. The contrary of ethnic stratification is integration or assimilation of immigrants and people of specific ethnic origins into the majority society. This is also a process with different degrees, so that immigrants may, for instance, be well integrated into economic life, but be excluded from political participation. Since this report is only of descriptive nature, a definitive answer to the question of an emerging ethnic class cannot be given.

This report aims to show in which areas social exclusion of immigrants is particularly virulent, to describe trends over time and to point to differences in exclusion across the different groups of immigrants. The term immigrants refers to all people from a foreign origin living and working in Germany, including not-economically active relatives. People of foreign origin with the citizenship of the country of immigration are considered immigrants if they immigrated themselves. People from the second or third generation of immigrants are also defined as immigrants independent of the fact, whether they have still the citizenship of their country of origin or if they have the German citizenship. Refugees and undocumented immigrants are included into the category of immigrants. The concept ethnic minorities is avoided as much as possible, as it encloses the danger of objectivation of socio-cultural characteristics, which are of a very dynamic character. North-American research shows that most immigrants integrate and even assimilate into their country of destination within the period of two to three generations (Alba 1999). For this reason, it seems to us to make sense to use the concept of ethnic minorities in countries with a long history of immigration and with minority groups which have been excluded for over two or three generations.

The report is divided into five parts. First, the history of immigration and the main groups of immigrants are presented. Second, the current legal situation of the various groups of immigrants is described. The fourth section introduces into the main integration policy areas and the last section gives an overall picture of trends towards and trends against an ethnic class formation.

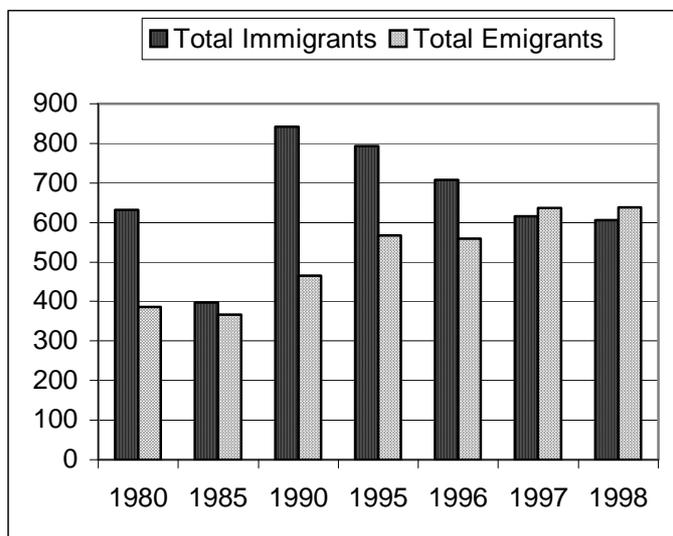
## 2 History of Immigration and Groups of Immigrants

Immigration to Germany is not a new phenomenon, since Germany needed people after wars in order to replace war victims, as for instance after the War of Thirty Years in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Labour force demand had to be covered with immigrants already before World War I, when many Poles came to work in the emerging industrial regions of West-Germany. In order to run the war economy during World War II civilians from the occupied countries and war prisoners were forced to work in Germany, among other reasons, because the political leaders wanted to prevent that German women entered the labour market (Gerber 1996). In 1944 around 7.1 million foreign workers (civilians and war prisoners) were present. After the war many displaced Germans from eastern and south-eastern Europe came into the new German territory. In 1950, 19.8% of the population of West-Germany (without Berlin and Saarland) were refugees. This percentage was increasing until 1953, when many Germans fled from the German Democratic Republic into the German Federal Republic.

After 1961 and with the recovery of the German economy “guest workers” from six southern European countries were recruited (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey) and a maximum of immigration was reached in 1969 and 1970, with 1 Mio of new immigrants in each year. Between 1960 and 1973, some 18.5 million people arrived in Germany, and 4.7 million settled. In the following recession years many of the so called “guest workers” returned back home and thus the migration balance was negative from 1974 to 1976 and from 1982 to 1984. Afterwards it was again positive until 1996 (cf. Figure 1). After the recruitment stop in 1973, only family members of immigrants living in Germany, refugees and EU-nationals could immigrate into Germany (Dinkel/Lebok 1994).

The last immigration influx began in the 1980s with the arrival of ethnic Germans (“Aussiedler”), mostly from Poland, the former Soviet-Union, and Romania, and with the arrival of an increasing number of asylum seekers from Turkey, Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia (cf. Table 3). In this decade two-thirds of the Romanian immigrants were ethnic Germans and the German government paid 10,000 DM per migrant to the Romanian government to compensate for the investments it had made in their human capital. Later, also many East Germans (Übersiedler) came to West-Germany (Hönekopp 1997).

**Figure 1: Immigration and Emigration of Non-Germans,  
1980-1997 (in thousand)**



Source: Table 1.

The latest figures of 1998 show that immigration has decreased since 1990 and has stagnated since two years at around 600,000 immigrants per annum. For the last two years the immigration balance is negative, since slightly more people emigrated than immigrated. However, for the last years the immigration balance was clearly positive for Turkish people and people from the former Soviet-Union and in some years for Yugoslavs (cf. Figure 2)<sup>1</sup>. The number of refugees living in Germany has increased from ca. 700,000 in 1987 to ca. 1.9 Mio in 1993 and decreased to 1.6 Mio in 1996. The latter figure corresponds to a rate of 21.9% of all immigrants in Germany. Not only many refugees came to Germany in the last 20 years, but also many ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe. Their number equals more or less the number of asylum seekers as shown in Table 3 in the appendix.

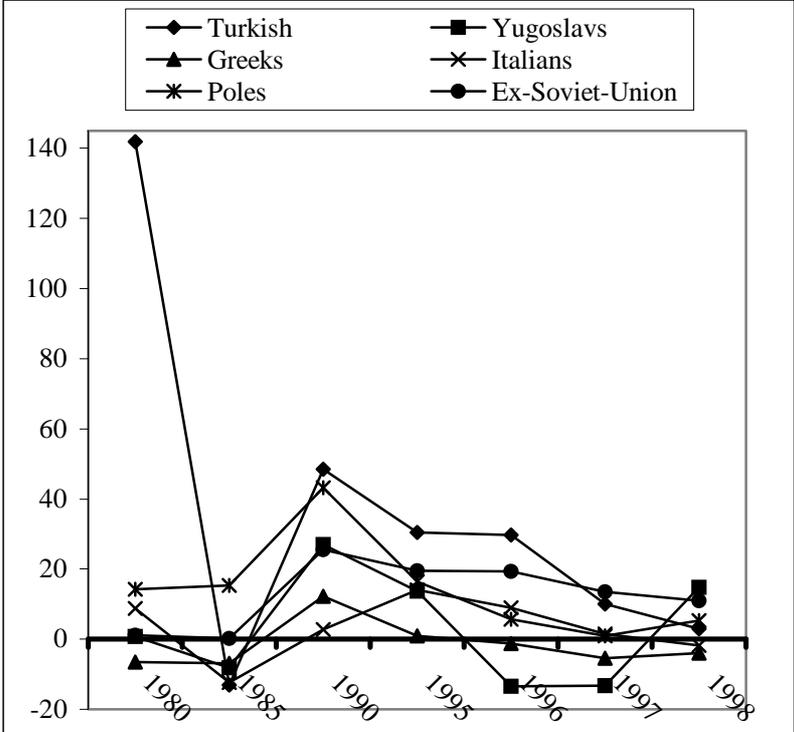
In 1998, 9% of the German population had another nationality than the German, which brings Germany into the third rank position in the European Union, after Luxembourg and Belgium. The greatest immigrant group are Turkish people, who represent 2.6% of the total population and their absolute number has increased from 1973 to 1982 and then again since 1986. Turkish people represent 28.8% of all immigrants followed by Ex-Yugoslavs (17.2%) and Italians (8.4). In 1996, 25.2% of all immigrants in Germany were immigrants from other EU countries. From 1993 to 1998 the composition of the population according to nationality did not change substantially (cf. Table 2).

In some German regions, the proportion of immigrant groups is above the national average, as for instance in Hamburg with an immigrant rate of 18% (cf. Table 3). In

<sup>1</sup> Yugoslavs include until 1991 all people former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in 1992 people from the former Republic of Yugoslavia and Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and since then people from Serbia and Montenegro and cases where the exact origin was unclear.

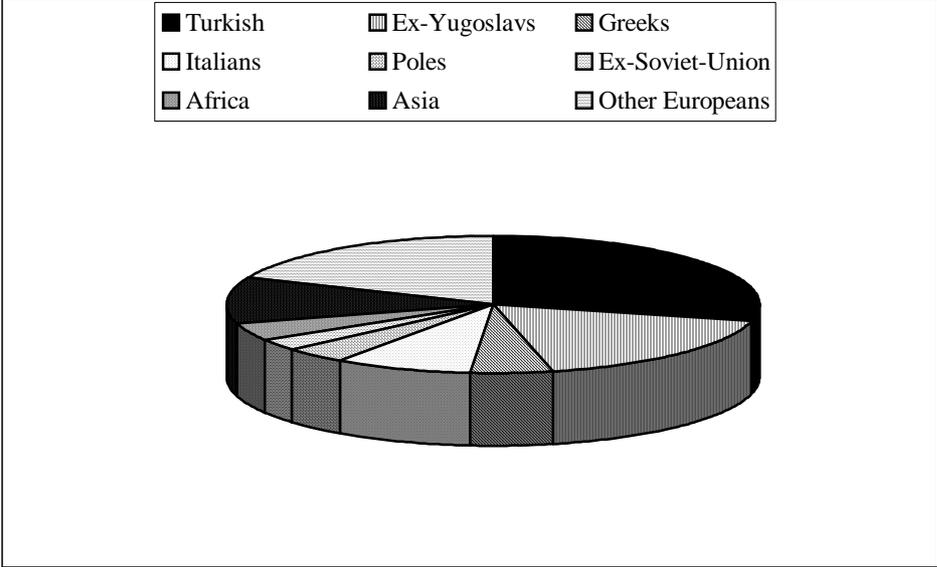
some towns the percentage of immigrant groups amounts to over 20%, e.g. 30% in Frankfurt and 20% in Mannheim (1995) (Ausländerbeauftragte 1994, 1999). According to an estimation, new immigrants will also over-proportionally migrate to the most densely populated areas of Germany. In 2015, it is estimated that in West-Berlin young immigrants under age 20 will number 52% of the youth (Rat für Migration 1999). As can be seen from Table 5 in the appendix, the long-term immigrant population is younger than the West-German population, and if one looks at new immigrants since 1984, then the age structure is even more accentuated towards a very young immigrant population.

**Figure 2: Immigration Balance According to Nationality, 1980-1998**



Source: own elaboration with Table 1.

**Figure 3: Immigrant Population According to Nationality, Germany 1998 (%)**



Source: Table 2.

In 1996, 20.5% of all immigrants were born in Germany, but since most of them did not automatically obtain the German citizenship they are still immigrants in many senses. In the same year nearly 30% of all immigrants had lived in Germany since more than 20 years and 40% had lived since more than 15 years. However, since immigration has been going on in the last years, there is also an important proportion of new immigrants. In 1997, 50.8% of all immigrants were in Germany since 10 years or less and 21% were in the country since less than 4 years. The most recent large immigration group are Polish immigrants, for 73% of them were in Germany since less than 11 years in 1997. People from Serbia and Montenegro follow next with 58% and then come Turkish people with 38%. One of the oldest immigrant groups with few new immigration are the Spaniards (20%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 1997, AID 3, 1999).

Afro-Germans represent a small group of German citizens and they are not considered as an ethnic minority by official statistics or publications. Afro-Germans lived in Germany since the Republic of Weimar, and most of them suffered prosecution during the Third Reich. Their number grew again after the Second World War, mainly because the unions of white German women to black soldiers of the Allied Forces in Germany. Since the 1980s Afro-Germans have begun to organise themselves in different associations, such as Initiative Black Germans (Initiative Schwarze Deutsche, ISD), Adefra, Black Unity Committee, etc. (Oguntoyoye, Opitz, Schultz 1997).

In the last years many people have entered Germany in an illegal or irregular way. Estimates about their numbers are very difficult to make and they are frequently published for political motives. Very approximately only, it can be said that there is an increasing trend of illegal immigration to Germany since the beginning of the 1990s. It means that the stricter border controls and the more restrictive law reforms

and administrative measures have not been able prevent an increase in illegal immigration, but go parallel to it. In 1998, the border police registered 2,725 cases of illegal entrances, which occurred mainly on the German-Czech and the German-Polish border. Most of the controlled migrants were from Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Rumania and Iraq (Lederer 1999, Özcan 1999).

### **3 Legal Status**

The legal situation of immigrants who do not have the German citizenship is regulated by the law for foreigners (Ausländerrecht), which was enacted in 1965. Since immigration to Germany was thought to be of a limited time period, the law for foreigners offers very limited legal security for immigrants. In spite of the fact that an unlimited residence permit can be obtained in some cases, most immigrants perceive that the law for foreigners and the institutions which administer it discriminate them. Since 1983 a restriction of the law was in discussion, which promoted the feeling among immigrants that they are only tolerated in Germany but not wanted. Then, the reform of the law in 1991 brought some advantages for immigrants, but the general exclusionary frame of the law has remained (Sen/Goldberg 1996). Germany does not have an immigration or an integration law, but regulates all immigration matters through the law for foreigners, directives on employment, the citizenship law and social security legislation. This is the reason why integration policy is fragmented into manifold unconnected policy domains (Ausländerbeauftragte 1990, Rat für Migration 1999).

The legal status varies according to the origin of immigrants. Four groups can be distinguished:

1. Immigration to Germany is mainly restricted to EU-nationals who want to work as dependent workers or as self-employed persons. Since 1997, also students and non-active EU citizens have the possibility to immigrate to Germany under given conditions. They can obtain a residence permit and have free entrance into the German labour market.
2. Immigrants from a third country (non-EU nationals) are not permitted to immigrate to Germany. There are however some exceptions. Since 1990 there are particular agreements which allow non-EU nationals from eastern European countries, in particular from Poland and the Czech Republic, to come to Germany in order to take up a fixed-term employment.
3. Immigrants of Turkish origin have more possibilities to enter Germany and the German labour market than other people from third countries, due to the association agreement between Turkey and the EU from 1963/1980, but they have less rights than EU-nationals.
4. A fourth group of people who have a possibility to enter Germany legally and to apply for a residence permit are family members of immigrants already living in Germany. Young people under age 16 from one of the former "guest-workers" recruitment countries could and can come to Germany, but since 1997 these young migrants ,who come from ex-Yugoslavia, Morocco, Turkey and Tunisia, have to request a visa.

5. People who seek political asylum can come to and stay in Germany under given conditions until a decision about their right to asylum is made. Yet, since 1993, people who on their way to Germany pass a secure “third country” are not entitled to ask for political asylum in Germany. Most refugees can stay in Germany due to the Geneva Convention on Refugees, due to humanitarian reasons, due to war or civil war reasons and due to a de facto toleration in Germany. These latter groups of refugees have very few civil, social and political rights in Germany (Eichenhofer 1999).

Thus, Germany has no unified immigration law and policy, but immigration possibilities depend on various regulations. For instance, in 1990 within the framework of negotiations on German unification, the Polish government was offered special work opportunities for migrant workers from Poland. Other Eastern European countries could also make such arrangements and from 1991 to 1996 five different programmes were implemented: project workers, seasonal workers, border commuters, “new guest workers”, and nurses. Every year around 150,000 to 200,000 East Europeans came to work to in Germany within this framework of programmes (Hönekopp 1997). However, the previous German government (1982-1998) did not accept the idea that Germany had become an immigration country. In 1997 the current Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily, and the former commissioner for foreigners, Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, required the recognition of Germany as an immigration country and the passing of an immigration law. Yet, contrary to his earlier statement, now in October 1998, Otto Schily, now himself Minister of the Interior, stated that an immigration law had no sense, since the limits of the admission capacity of Germany had been reached. This statement was made when the balance of immigration was already negative for two years (1997 and 1998) (Oberndörfer 1999).

Once immigrants have entered Germany legally and want to stay for more than three months, they have to ask for a residence permit. Seven types of residence permits can be distinguished:

1. “*Aufenthaltsberechtigung*”, which is an unconditional and long-term right to stay and the best legal status an immigrant can obtain. Entitlement is, among other prerequisites, based on the condition of a minimum length of stay of eight years.
2. “*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*”, which is an unconditional and long-term residence permit that can be obtained after five years of legal stay.
3. “*befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*”, which is an unconditional but fixed-term residence permit.
4. “*Aufenthaltsbewilligung*” or “*Aufenthaltsbefugnis*” are conditional and fixed-term residence permits, which for instance are given to foreign students for the time of their studies in Germany.
5. “*Duldung*” is not a residence permit but it refers to a situation, in which the German state renounces to deport the immigrant because there are legal or real barriers for it, for instance in the case of immigrants who risk capital punishment in their country of origin.
6. “*Aufenthaltsgestattung*” is the name which refers to the legal situation of asylum seekers while they are attending a decision of their case. If they become recognised as political asylum seekers according to the German constitution then they

are entitled to a “unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis”, whereas if they are recognised as refugees in the sense of the Geneva Convention, then they obtain a “Aufenthaltsbefugnis” (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997).

If an immigrant wants to stabilise his/her residence status, he/she has to fulfil many conditions with respect to income, size of dwelling, language knowledge, and work permit. Moreover, their criminal records are checked. In addition, many immigrants who are entitled to long-term residence permits do frequently not apply for it due to scarce information about their rights (Mach-Hour 1999). Thirty six percent of all immigrants possess a long-term permit, while 27% have an unconditional fixed-term residence permit, 10% have a residence permit for EU-nationals, 13% have a conditional and fixed-term permit and finally 15% do not have a residence permit because they are under age 16 or because their status was not yet defined (AID 3, 1999).

Apart from stay permits most immigrants need also a work permit. Entrance into the labour market is restricted for immigrants from outside the EU. A work permit is only given to non EU-nationals if there is no German or EU national who wants to take the job they are applying for. This institutional exclusion does not apply to immigrants who have lived since more than 5 years in Germany and since 1994, also immigrants who were born in Germany and who have a long-term residence permit do not more need a work permit any more. In 1998, the law for promotion of work (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz) was slightly changed and the regulation now states that immigrants do not need a work permit if they have a “Aufenthaltsberechtigung” or a “unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis”. Contrary to these tendencies towards inclusion, since Mai 1997 asylum seekers have not been allowed anymore to take a job in Germany. They are confined to a live dependent on state benefits (AID 3, 1998; AID 3, 1997).

Immigrants with unconditional residence permits have access to social rights when they have a job with social security, since the German social protection system is mainly employment-based, so for example the health insurance. In general, immigrants are also entitled to non-employment-based social benefits, as for instance public health services, social assistance, housing benefits, child benefits and scholarships once they have a legal residence in Germany. Most refugees are excluded from social security, because they are excluded from the labour market. Their social protection is restricted to entitlement to social assistance benefits. Until 1993 non-EU immigrants’ children were excluded from the possibility to ask for a public scholarship if their parents had returned to their country of origin (Ausländerbeauftragte 1994). In 1997 refugees according to the Geneva convention were not entitled to integration support and language courses as it is the case for immigrants with legally secure residence permits (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997).

Political rights are only partially granted to immigrants. Immigrants cannot participate in local, regional and federal elections, if they have not previously acquired the German citizenship. Since at least 20 years the right to vote for immigrants has been a strongly discussed issue in German politics. The decision of the region of Schleswig-Holstein to entitle immigrants to participate in local elections was con-

tested by the Christian Democratic Party (CDU) and had to be changed after the intervention of the Supreme Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht). The Court decided in 1990 that the German constitution confined political rights to the German people, which excluded the extension of the right to non-German inhabitants (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997). Despite of this court decision, in October 1995, EU-nationals could for the first time use their newly acquired right to vote in local elections and they participated in the local elections in Berlin. These partial political rights were obviously not voluntarily introduced by the German government, but were imposed by a directive of the European Council of 1994. Freedom of association and the right to demonstrate are constitutional rights. In principle, they also apply to immigrants. But, as far as immigrants are concerned, these rights can more easily restricted by the German state and their political activity can become a reason for expulsion (Eichenhofer 1999).

The reform of the law for foreigners in 1997 made expulsion of immigrants to their country of origin easier. Before 1997, an immigrant could only be expelled if she/he had been convicted to at least five years in prison. Now, two years are already a reason for losing the residence permit. Immigrants who participate in a demonstration which ends in violent acts, immigrants who deal with drugs and young immigrants who are condemned to a youth penalty of at least two years are to be expelled immediately (AID 4, 1996; AID 3, 1997).

The reform of the Citizenship law (Deutsches Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz from 1913) and the possibilities of naturalisation for immigrants have been a very controversial political issue in the last years was. The German citizenship law follows the principle of "ius sanguinis", which means that one is a German only, if at least one parent is German. The place of birth is irrelevant. Since July 1993 the conditions for naturalisation have been defined by three sources of law. First, there is the Citizenship law which specifies that a candidate has to fulfil, among others, two conditions: to have lived in Germany for at least 10 years and she or he has to renounce to her/his former citizenship. Even if the conditions are met, the administration decides in a discretionary way about the application. Second, there are the directives of 1977 which specify the concrete administrative process and third, since 1993 additional regulations on naturalisation have been introduced into the law for foreigners. In 1993, for the first time a legal claim to German citizenship was institutionalised. Two groups of immigrants can profit from these new provisions:

1. Immigrants aged 16 to 23, who have live in Germany since at least eight years (§ 85) and
2. Immigrants who have live in Germany since 15 years and whose stay has become permanent (§ 86).

Both groups have to renounce their former citizenship, they should not have been condemned for a punishable act and they have to possess a unconditional permit of residence. In addition, young immigrants should have attained a school in Germany for at least six years and they should have been enrolled in general compulsory school for four years.

Some groups of immigrants enjoy easier conditions for naturalisation, since they have an unconditional entitlement to German citizenship without the need to renounce their former nationality. This applies to children born in binational partnerships, to people who were persecuted during the Third Reich and to ethnic Germans (Aussiedler) coming from Eastern Europe.

For the years 1985 to 1992 a steady increase in citizenship acquisition can be observed. In 1985 there were only 35,000 cases, in 1992 already 180,000 cases were recorded. In 1995, 313,606 people became Germans, of whom 73.3% had an unconditional entitlement to German citizenship, 16.6% had a legal claim to it (§ 86 and 86 of law for foreigners) and 10.1% depended on a discretionary decision of the German administration (Bericht der Ausländerbeauftragten 1997). Among the two latter groups of new Germans the greatest group was of Turkish origin (44%) followed by people of the former Yugoslav Republic (5%) and people from Vietnam (4.8%). In 1996 and 1997 the number of naturalisations decreased to 302,830 and 278,662 respectively, which relates to the lower number of ethnic German immigrants in these years and to the lower number of applications of immigrants with a legal claim (§ 85 and § 86).

After long discussions and hard opposition to the reform of the Citizenship law, finally a new law was decided in May 1999, which will come into force in January 2000. This law introduces some elements of the "ius soli" into the German legislation. Children of immigrants, who are born in Germany will automatically become Germans if one parent has lived regularly since at least eight years in Germany and possess a "Aufenthaltsberechtigung" or if the parent possesses a long-term residence permit (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) since three years. Children aged up to 10 years who at the moment of birth fulfilled the conditions of the new law can be naturalised as Germans within the first year of the enforcement of the new law. But, if a child also holds the citizenship of its parents, he or she has to decide by age 18 to 23 which of both nationalities he or she wants to keep. In addition to the introduction of the ius soli element some former conditions for naturalisation were changed. Legal claim to the German citizenship is granted after eight years of regular residence in Germany, instead as after fifteen years as before. The claim is linked to the proof of adequate skills in German and to a declaration on the German constitution. A new article shall prevent the naturalisation of extremist immigrants. EU-nationals who want to become Germans do not need to renounce their former citizenship if their home country accepts dual citizenship. By contrast, Turkish people who become German will not anymore be able to reapply for their Turkish nationality as it was frequently done in practice during the last years (BMI 1999).

The new law is a compromise which does not satisfy the various communities of immigrants in Germany. In addition, the signature campaign of the CDU party against dual nationality has created a climate of fear and xenophobia among the German population, and it has shown how deeply rooted the idea of a common origin as unifying element of the German people is in contrast to a Republican and constitution-based national consciousness. Despite this worsened climate between native-born and immigrants, it can be hoped that a rather large group of immigrants

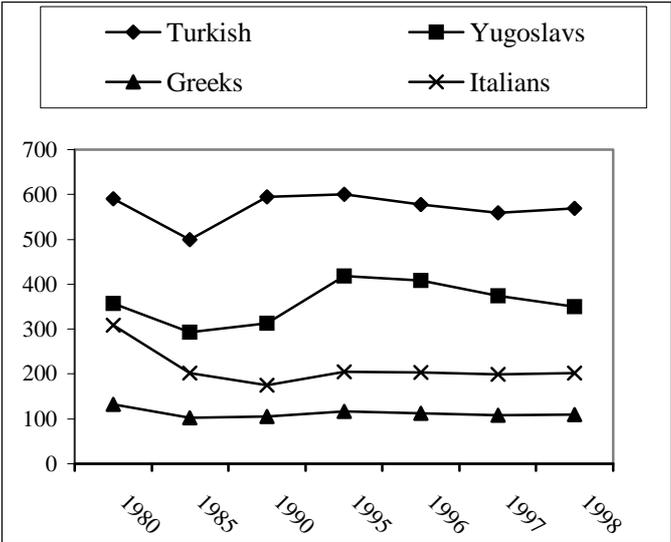
will become Germans. An estimation of the Humboldt-University Berlin predicts that in 2030 the immigrant population will have been increased to 12.6% of the total population, while without the new citizenship law the proportion of immigrants in the population would amount to 14.7% (Ulrich 1999).

To sum up, immigrants are treated very differently according to their origin and to their length of residence in Germany. The German state has constructed a hierarchy of immigrants, which divides them into privileged EU-nationals, non EU-nationals, refugees and undocumented immigrants. Institutional exclusion of immigrants is strongest with respect to political rights and it hits refugees and undocumented immigrants most. The latter do not enjoy freedom of movement, have a very insecure residence status, and they suffer exclusion from the labour market, from social rights and from political rights.

**4 Socio-economic Situation of Immigrants**

As expected, the greatest group of immigrants in the labour market are Turkish people, followed by Yugoslavian people (cf. Figure 1)<sup>2</sup>. The number of employed immigrants has decreased since 1994. From June 1995 to June 1998 their number decreased by 6.6%, which is related to the general employment shortage as well as to the restrictions with respect to work permits for refugees and immigrants (Ausländerbeauftragte 1999).

**Figure 4: Employed People by Nationality (in thousand), Germany 1980-1998**



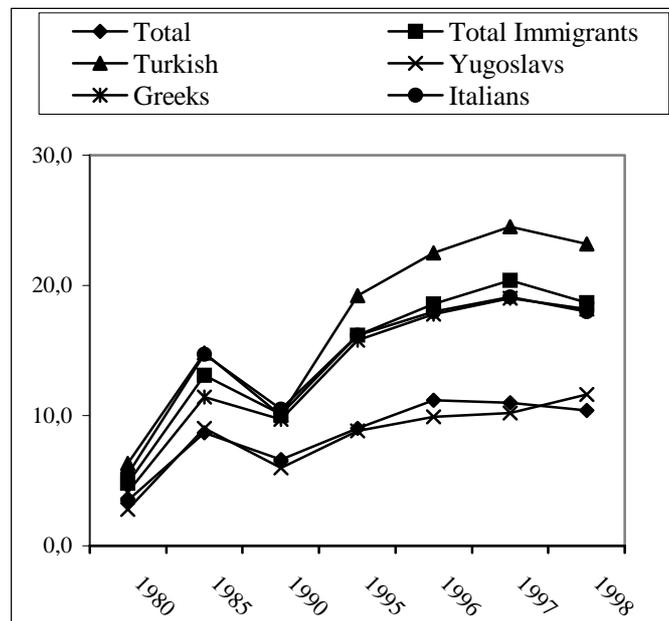
Source: Table 6.

Since 1980, unemployment rates of immigrants in Germany have always been higher than that of Germans (cf. Figure 5). The most excluded immigrant group are

<sup>2</sup> People from countries of former Yugoslavia.

Turkish people, who show an unemployment rate twice as high as the general unemployment rate. Over the last 18 years the unemployment rate of Turkish people has increased more rapidly than the general unemployment rate. The unemployment rates of Greeks and Italians also show a strong increase, but these rates are nevertheless lower than that of Turkish people. Interestingly, people of Yugoslavian origin have an unemployment rate very similar to the general unemployment rate. The figures for people from Portugal and Spain are similar to those of Yugoslavian people (not included in the figure). In 1995 unemployment struck older immigrants (46-64 years) particularly strong and unemployment among old people might explain the increase of unemployment rates in the 1990s. Old Turkish people were over-proportionally affected by this trend, but the unemployment rates of young Turkish people (15-30 years) also increased. In contrast, the risk of young Germans, young Portuguese and young Spaniards to become unemployed decreased in 1995 compared to 1985 (Bender/Seifert 1999). The higher unemployment rate of immigrants compared to Germans is due to the fact that the former usually have lower qualifications, occupy particularly unemployment-affected positions and economic sectors. In addition, they also suffer from direct discrimination due to their ethnic origin (Kiehl/Werner 1999, Goldberg/Mourinho/Kulke 1995).

**Figure 5: Unemployment Rates by Nationality and Total Rate, 1980-1998**

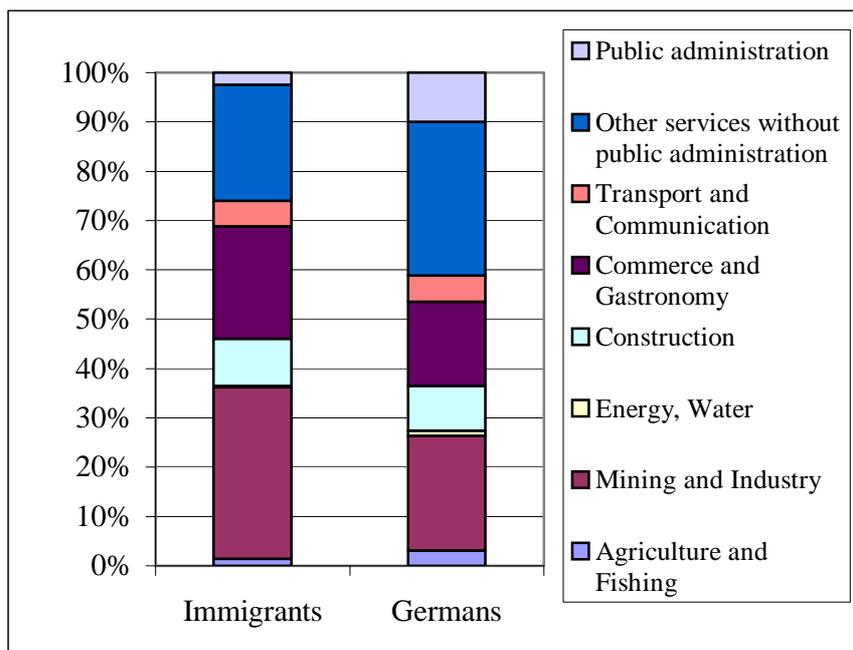


Source: Table 7.

In 1995, most immigrants had an unskilled or semiskilled worker's status (55%), while only 12% of Germans are found in these status groups. Second generation of immigrants is represented with 27% in these status groups, while Germans display a rate of 9%, which means that the difference between both groups persists even if it has diminished to some extent (cf. Table 9) In correspondence with these findings are the figures on the distribution of immigrants and Germans according to the economic sectors. Immigrants are found more frequently in mining, industry, commerce

and gastronomy than Germans. Particularly striking is the fact that they are seldom employed in the public administration (cf. Figure 6).

**Figure 6: Immigrants and Germans by Economic Sector (in % of All Employed), 1997**



Source: Table 8.

In conclusion, it can be said that there is a segmentation of the labour market along ethnic lines, which is particularly visible for Turkish immigrants and less so for some EU-nationals. Immigrants of the first and of the second generation are confined to the lower positions on the labour market, they are largely excluded from public administration jobs and they have to perform the heaviest jobs in industry and mining.

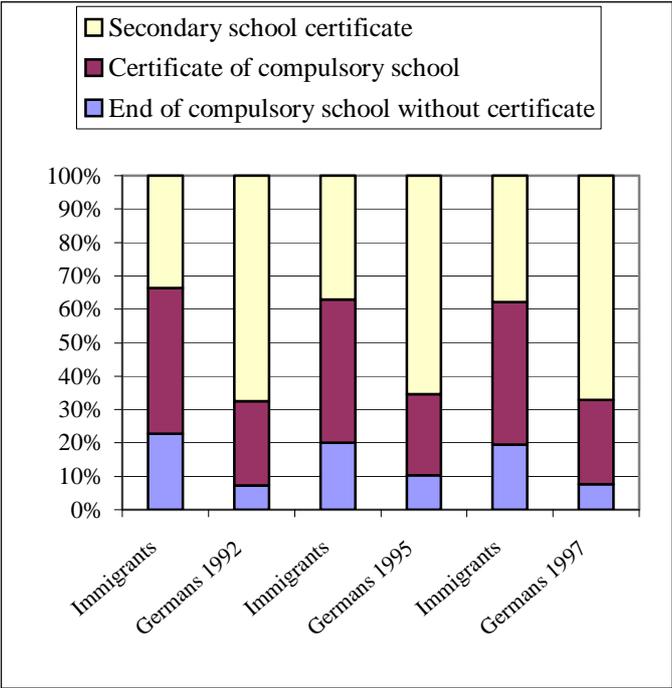
Next, some information on the educational situation of immigrants shall conclude the overview on immigrants' socio-economic situation. Nearly one million children of immigrant origin are enrolled in the German school system, i.e. every tenth pupil has a non-German nationality. In the 1980s a trend towards higher participation rates of children of immigrants in the German education system could be observed, but they continue to be over-represented in the two most disadvantaged school tracks, namely *Hauptschule* and *Sonderschule*. In addition, the trend towards higher enrolment rates was stopped in 1992 and the rates have been decreasing since then (Ausländerbeauftragte 1999).

Interestingly, large variations in enrolment rates can be observed for the different immigrant groups. In 1994, enrolment rates in secondary schools leading to an university entrance degree (*Gymnasium*) are highest among children of Spanish origin (28% of all Spanish pupils were in secondary schools), followed by children of Slovenian (26.7%), of Croatian (22.5%) and of Portuguese origin (22.3%). The low-

est enrolment rates are found among children from Bosnia-Herzegovina (5.8%), Macedonia (8.2%), Italy (12.3%) and Turkey (12.4%). These differences are difficult to explain, in particular the differences between Italians and Spaniards. The most promising explanations refer to different migration and return migration frequency of Spaniards and Italians and to different rates and forms of collective organisations of these migrants and their importance for family aspirations and decisions with respect to schooling of their children (Thränhardt 1999).

With regard to school leavers from immigrant origin the same development as for the enrolment rate has occurred. In 1983, 34% of immigrant school leavers left school without having attained the final certificate of compulsory school, whereas in 1997 this number had dropped to 17.1%. However, since 1993 the trend towards attainment of higher certificates has slowed down and the difference between German children and children from immigrant origin has not diminished, as can be seen from Figure 7.

**Figure 7: School Leavers by National Origin, Germany 1992, 1995, 1997 (in % of school leavers of respective nationality)**



Source: Table 10.

Enrolment rates of young immigrants in vocational training continue to be low. Since the 1990s even a decline of their participation rates has to be noticed. In 1986, 25% of young people of immigrant origin were enrolled in vocational training and their rate grew to 43.5% in 1994, while Germans had an enrolment rate of 70.8%. Yet, since then the enrolment of immigrants has been falling again. Significant differences according to ethnic group can be observed. In 1997, Spaniards and Portuguese children showed high enrolment rates (67.4% the former and 48.9% the latter), even above the German rate of 60.8%, while Turkish children (39.3%) and children from former Yugoslavia (35.3%) displayed the lowest rates. More than half of the youth aged 20 to 30 without German citizenship do not have a vocational certificate, which means that they will encounter many difficulties on the German labour market (Bmb+f 1999, Ausländerbeauftragte 1999).

To sum up, the main problems of immigrants' children with respect to educational attainment are their comparatively low enrolment rates in secondary schools leading to an university entrance certificate, their high risk of dropping out of school without a primary school certificate and their lower performance in the vocational training system. Thus, many young people of immigrant origin have to seek a job on the labour market for unskilled workers, which explains their high risk of being unemployed. Yet, differences exist according to ethnic group. Spanish, Greek, and Portuguese children engage in relatively successful education careers while Turkish and Italian children show much more difficulties.

In conclusion, the socio-economic situation of immigrants has worsened in the last years insofar as their unemployment has increased over-proportionally in comparison with total unemployment, and because enrolment rates of second generation immigrants into general and vocational education has been decreasing in the last years.

## **5 Public and Semi-public Measures for Integration**

The German state is a federal state, so that in some areas state competences have been transferred to the regional or local level, as for instance education, culture and social assistance. In addition, the third sector, i.e. confessional organisations, foundations, etc., is very important in Germany in providing social services of very different nature. For this reason integration policy is fragmented along different state levels and along the public and semi-public division line. In the following two sections the most important dimensions of German integration policy are presented: anti-discrimination measures, social services, subsidised housing, language courses and education policy.

### **5.1 Antidiscrimination Measures, Social Protection and Language Courses**

In Germany no specific anti-discrimination law for immigrants exists. In many areas of German society there is to some extent a legal protection against various forms of

discrimination. For instance, an anti-discrimination paragraph was introduced into the law regulating insurance companies, because insurance companies for cars did regularly discriminate against immigrants. Yet, there is a lack of a general legal instruments to protect against discrimination in everyday life interactions in the private sphere, for example to protect against discrimination by proprietors of dwellings, employers, restaurant owners, etc. The German constitution prohibits discrimination for ethnic reasons, but it is mainly restricted to actions of the state and can only partially be applied to conflicts in the private sphere (Ausländerbeauftragte 1993, 1997). The new government is preparing a general anti-discrimination law to protect all types of minorities and women against discrimination.

About 25 years ago special positions called "commissioners for foreigners" (Ausländerbeauftragte) were created at various administrative levels. In 1997, 201 commissioners existed: 187 at municipal level, 13 at regional levels and one federal commissioner. The local commissioners promote projects for integration of immigrants and they advice immigrants, but they are not always well-accepted among immigrants. One third of the immigrants interviewed in the representative survey of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation know that in their town there is a commissioner for foreigners. 22% of these claim that the commissioner has no power and 36.8% state that she/he improves the situation of immigrants (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996). The most active and powerful commissioners are those at regional and national level. The federal commissioner is called "Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen" (Commissioner of the Federal Government for Foreigner Affairs) and since 1991 her role is defined in the law for foreigners. She can ask federal public institutions for statements in the case of a strong suspect that an institution had behaved in a discriminatory way. In addition, every two years she has to present a report on the situation of immigrants to the parliament. Besides these tasks, she gives political recommendations for the integration of immigrants, she works for a peaceful living together of Germans and immigrants and against discrimination on ethnic grounds, she works towards a development of integration policy at European level, etc. (AID 4, 1997; Ausländerbeauftragte 1997).

One example of the activities of the federal commissioner is a television and radio award for "communication with foreigners and cultural minorities", which was created in collaboration with the "Westdeutscher Rundfunk" (radio and television of western Germany) and the Freudenberg Foundation in 1988. Two juries, one for television and one for radio, can give up to four awards for the following categories: information, entertainment, feature and film. In each category the award is 5,000 DM (2515 EURO). In addition, juries can also give a special mention to particular programme performances. In this case 5,000 DM are the price, too. The award has existed since more than 10 years and in these years it has expanded into a larger project. Since 1994 it includes a youth jury that gives an award to a television production, school classes propose films for the adult jury, and an award for films made by young people has been created (civis-Büro 1998).

In addition to the work of the commissioners, since the end of the 1960s the third sector offers social services for foreign workers and their family members. The

German "Caritas", the "Diakonisches Werk" (protestant service) and the "Arbeiterwohlfahrt" (social-democratic-oriented service) have taken the responsibility for these services and each of them advise certain national groups; Caritas, for instance, advises Italian, Portuguese and Spanish workers. Around 900 social workers in ca. 600 counselling institutions help immigrants in all areas of life: work, social protection, legal problems, housing, and they also give advice for re-emigration. In the new regions of Eastern Germany new social services for immigrants have been created. In 1995 nine advice offices were counted. Refugees and other immigrants who are not workers are theoretically not entitled to receive advice in these institutions. Some refugees are entitled to public protection and can seek help in municipal social services. Since some years discussions and projects on the possibility for migrants to access the same municipal services as German have been under way. A condition for this intercultural opening of the so called regular services of the public sector would be the re-qualification of municipal social workers, so that they acquire "intercultural and interlingual competences". In addition, the nation-specific advice services in the semi-public sector have to be changed into multinational offices for all immigrants (Ausländerbeauftragte 1995).

Housing is, besides employment, one of the most important needs of immigrants to be satisfied. In Germany several public benefits for housing exist. Tax exemptions for the acquisition of a dwelling, direct allowances for the payment of dwelling rents and subsidised dwellings for socially disadvantaged groups. Immigrants are entitled to all three types of benefits, and since they are more likely to have lower incomes than Germans there is also a higher probability that they access public benefits. In 1995, the quality of immigrants' dwellings was still lower than that of Germans and on average immigrants' households pay higher rents than German households. Yet, immigrants' households live more frequently in public subsidised dwellings (16%) than Germans (13%). Public housing is particularly important for refugees and ethnic German immigrants, since around 40% of these households live in such dwellings (Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a). As for the different nationalities, two groups show high proportions of people living in subsidised dwellings: Turkish people (26%) and Yugoslav people (25%).

The most important condition for integration into German society is to be able to communicate in German. Being aware of this important challenge for integration policy in 1974 several federal and regional institutions (Federal and regional Ministries for Labour and Social Affairs, National Institute of Employment and 17 institutions from the third sector) created an organisation of public interest, which organises German courses for foreign workers (*Sprachverband Deutsch für ausländische Arbeitnehmer e.V.*). This organisation aims to promote the social and vocational integration of foreign workers and their families by means of German language courses. This means that not all immigrants are entitled to take part in these courses. Ethnic German immigrants, recognised refugees (Asylberechtigte) and quota refugees are entitled to other language courses and thus cannot participate in the *Sprachverband* courses. In addition, some groups are not at all entitled to public subsidised courses, as for instance refugees asking for asylum, civil war refugees and young immigrants in compulsory schools. Financial resources come from the

Federal Ministry of Work and Social Affairs, while the *Sprachverband e.V.* is responsible for the control and transfer of these resources to third sector institutions and associations. Around 500 associations organise German language teaching in places all over Germany. Every year around 70,000 immigrants take part in a language course (Sprachverband Deutsch für ausländische Arbeitnehmer e.V. 1997).

A recent evaluation study about the activities of the *Sprachverband* has shown that in general course participants improve their German skills by means of a course. Some problems have to be solved in the future, such as the large heterogeneity of course participants, the exclusion of some immigrant groups from the courses, the high drop out rate of participants, etc., but the general conclusion of the study is that the language courses support the integration of immigrants (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung 1999).

## 5.2 Education Policy

Education policy in Germany is in the competence of regions (Bundesländer). For this reason it is very difficult to draw a general picture. Therefore, some examples of public policy and third sector activities for immigrant children shall give an idea about the German situation. Immigrant children need in the first place good German language skills if they want to be successful in school. Then, children and their parents need more information on the education system than Germans, since they normally did not have a direct experience with the system before. In addition, they need special support when entering the vocational training system, because they have lower chances to find and finish an apprenticeship. At last there is the question of the transformation of school curricula in order to guarantee an intercultural education.

It is assumed that most immigrant children will learn German in the neighbourhood, in pre-primary school or in primary school without any special support. There is no federal state effort to make sure that children of non-German origin enrol in pre-primary schools. In addition, there has been a deficit of places in pre-primary schools for years. In April 1993, only 49% of the children with a non-German passport aged 3 to 6 years were enrolled in a kindergarten, while 68% of the German children were enrolled. Unfortunately, newer statistics are not available (Ausländerbeauftragte 1995, BMFSFJ 1998).

Special problems arise for children of immigrants who arrive in Germany at a relatively late age and enter primary school without any German language skills. In some towns and regions they can enrol in special "foreigner" classes where their language skills are trained before they are admitted to a "normal" school class. Yet, not everywhere these children are supported in an adequate way.

Some support in the transition from school to vocational training and work exists also in fragmented forms. The Job Offices sometimes pay teachers who support non-Germans during their vocational training in order to make sure that they obtain the professional certificate. Recently, an effort has been undertaken in order to cre-

ate apprenticeship places in ethnic businesses, which makes it easier for many second generation children to find a place and to obtain an official qualification like other apprentices (AID 1, 1998 and cf. section 6.3).

Finally, there is the question of intercultural school curricula. In 1996 the permanent Conference of Education Ministers (KMK) gave all schools recommendations for intercultural education, but, according to the trade-union of teachers, they have not been taken very seriously and implementation lacks in most regions (GEW 1999).

As late as in 1997 the following recommendations for the area of education could be read in the report of the federal commissioner for foreigners, which means that they have still not been implemented everywhere:

1. Research results of intercultural pedagogy have to be introduced into didactic material, curricula and formation programmes for teachers.
2. The supply of support courses in German language has to be enlarged.
3. Teaching in the mother tongue has to be integrated into compulsory German schools.
4. Secondary schools, such as *Gymnasium* and *Realschule* have to enrol more immigrant children.
5. Special language courses for late-arriving children have to be extended.
6. Structures which ensure targeted information on vocational training for immigrants have to be created.
7. Regional co-operative structures that include employers' organisations, vocational schools, municipal youth offices and immigrants' organisations have to develop a holistic strategy in order to increase immigrants' participation in vocational training.
8. The public administration should increase the number of immigrants trained for public administration jobs.

Integration policy is an area that has been strongly influenced by activities within the third sector, insofar as innovative projects and institutions were created by semi-public institutions, which after some time were partially or totally taken over by state agencies. A very successful example is the creation of a wide network of RAAs (Regional Associations for Issues Concerning Foreigners) by the Freudenberg Foundation.

The Freudenberg Foundation is a grant-giving operational foundation, which aims to promote a peaceful living-together and to support people in need, in particular immigrant groups. The foundation initiates and supports projects for social and vocational integration of immigrant youth and for the improvement of inter-cultural understanding. The most important and successful projects are the RAAs. The first RAAs were created in West-Germany and after the unification new *Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen* were created in the eastern part of Germany. Their general aims are to promote civic education, organise the fight against racism, and develop the necessary social and cultural assistance for immigrants and minorities. In the last years the RAAs, in particular in eastern Germany, have extended their activities

to general prevention of social exclusion, and to the social and cultural integration of youth at risk through education.

Since 1980 RAAs have been created and are still being created in new places. Since the beginning of the 1990s, in the region of Nordrhein-Westfalen they have become part of the local and regional public administration. The Freudenberg Foundation supports specific projects of the RAAs with around 120,000 DM per year (ca. 60,000 EURO). The region of Northrhine-Westphalia finances the co-ordination office of the RAAs in Essen, as well as teachers who are freed from school work in order to work in a RAA, and the region gives a fixed annual amount for other staff. The exact amount of financing depends on the budgets of the regional Ministry of Labour, Health and Social Affairs and of the regional Ministry for School and Continued Training. The staff of the RAAs should ideally be composed of Germans to one half and of non-Germans to the other half, and at least one teacher has to work in each RAA.

The areas of work of the RAAs are the following:

1. Counselling and support of children from immigrant families and their parents in their choice of education and vocational training tracks;
2. Support and responsible intervention in the counselling process of children arriving in Germany after age 6;
3. Help at the transitions from pre-primary education into primary school, from one school form to another, and from school to vocational training;
4. Counselling of schools when they institute support measures for children from immigrant families;
5. Support of work with parents in schools and in non-school institutions;
6. Counselling of other institutions in the task of supporting children from immigrant families, coordination between schools and other institution;
7. Help for the collaboration of schools and non-school institutions doing education, culture and social work;
8. Development and testing of didactic material, and transfer of experiences into various administrations and institutions;
9. Co-operation in intercultural work with schools and non-school institutions, advice to their staff and experiments with new concepts.

The work of the RAAs will be shortly illustrated with the example of the RAA Wuppertal, which is a new creation of 1997. Eight people work for the RAA, of whom three are teachers, three are social workers (*Sozialpädagogen*), one is an administrative employee and one is a pedagogical collaborator. Three of the eight staff members are of non-German origin (Bosnian, Turkish and Italian origin). The RAA Wuppertal has six work areas: 1. co-operation with self-organisations of immigrants, 2. intercultural education, 3. school work, 4. transition from school to vocational training, 5. a project for young Italian people, and 6. other projects and cultural work. For every area one example of the work done in 1998 is given in the next paragraph.

1. The RAA mediated between a network for prevention of drug addiction and self-organisations of immigrants. As a result, a Turkish self-help organisation organised a conference about this subject in co-operation with a Turkish doctor.
2. In the area of intercultural education the RAA offered six seminars for 120 participants, which were employees of day-care institution for children. In these seminars such topics as intercultural sensibilisation and communication, migration and society, intercultural education of children (language development, bilingual education, etc.), work with parents, didactic materials and intercultural concept development were discussed.
3. In the area of school the main work is to advise children and their parents about the best school form to go to. The teachers of the RAA conduct an informal check of German language skills and a formal check of mathematical basic skills. In addition, they speak with children about their interests and preferences and they also inform and advise the parents of the children. As a result the RAA intervened in 106 cases of enrolment into primary school (*Grundschule*), in 103 cases of enrolment into a *Hauptschule*, in 16 cases of enrolment into the *Realschule*, in 41 cases into the *Gymnasium* (all three are secondary schools) and in 13 cases of a change from one school form to another.
4. One of the support measures for school-leavers is a monthly advice meeting with the commissioner for foreigners of the Job Office.
5. The European project ZUFI (Zukunftsperspektiven für italienische Jugendliche schaffen) aims to improve the transition from school to vocational training of young people of Italian origin. This aim is to be reached by measures of motivation, support for the acquisition of school certificates, and support for entering an apprenticeship. In addition, an intensive information and motivation work with parents is to be conducted, a group of young people functioning as multipliers will be created, and supplementary teaching will be offered.
6. Among other projects of the RAA, the school theatre project had a high success among pupils. In this project the medium theatre was used in order to work against xenophobia, right-wing extremism, violence and racism (RAA Wuppertal 1999).

In 1991 the first RAA in eastern Germany was created. Nowadays there are 17 RAAs of different size and with different work areas in the eastern part of Germany. However, the common objective is to fight xenophobia and racist violence through adequate measures and projects and to implement the idea of a critically reflected tolerance. The central intervention area of the eastern RAAs are schools and surrounding fields. They use the same work methods as the western RAAs, but in addition they support the creation of school clubs, they organise exchanges between Polish and German young people, they organise afternoon cultural and sports activities in schools, they have produced computer games which show how conflicts can be solved in a peaceful way. Furthermore, the RAAs participate in vocational training programs and offer counselling for immigrants who want to start their own business. One project aims to offer annually a binational vocational training in the areas metal, electricity and commerce to 30 young people from Turkish origin. In this project a part of the technical courses are taught in the Turkish mother tongue and a

five-week stage in Turkey is part of the program. Thus, this vocational certificate opens the way to jobs in Germany, the EU and Turkey (AID 1, 1998; RAA 1995).

To conclude, integration policy in Germany is not a co-ordinated central state policy based on a national law, but it shows fragmentation lines along various divides:

1. Federal state agencies, regional administration, and municipal agencies;
2. Measures and institutions totally financed by public budgets, and measures and institutions financed by the state and third sector institutions;
3. Measures frequently differentiate immigrants according to their legal status: former guest workers and their relatives, EU-nationals and non-EU nationals, recognised refugees, tolerated refugees, ethnic German immigrants and undocumented immigrants.

An advantage of this German particularity is the fact that innovative measures can be more easily implemented, in particular at local level, and can then diffuse into other levels. However, two important shortcomings have to be emphasised. First, German law and institutions discriminate against immigrants according to their origin, which counteracts positive integration efforts and excludes certain groups systematically from German society. The two most discriminated groups are non-recognised refugees and undocumented immigrants, who are excluded from most integration measures, but also people from Turkish origin have fewer rights than EU-nationals. Second, Germany lacks a systematic anti-discrimination policy and it excludes the majority of its immigrant population from the most important political rights, such as the right to participate in local, regional and federal elections. Germany has a great democratic deficit, because 9% of its population cannot decide about the composition of its government.

## **6 Trends Towards an Ethnic Class Formation**

In this section an overall picture of social exclusion of immigrants in Germany will be drawn by focusing mainly on the ethnic community of Turkish immigrants and their children and grand-children. The question whether there is an ethnic class formation makes it necessary to look at different generations in order to assess the degree of assimilation over time. Since many immigrant groups continue to experience new immigration, it is difficult to analyse immigrant groups as homogeneous groups; instead, a differentiation between first generation and second/third generation immigrants becomes necessary. Unfortunately, statistics with such details are scarce, but the existing ones will be presented.

### **6.1 Social Exclusion of Immigrants: Popular and Institutional Discrimination**

Cultural segregation of immigrants is a two-sided process of auto-exclusion of immigrants and of Germans discriminating and excluding immigrants. Several indicators of discrimination and racism on the side of Germans exist. The General Population Survey of Social Sciences (ALLBUS) allows an analysis over time. Among others, people were asked the three following questions:

1. If jobs are scarce, should foreigners who live in Germany be sent back to their home country?
2. Should one interdict foreigners who live in Germany any sort of political participation?
3. Should foreigners who live in Germany choose their spouses among their compatriots?

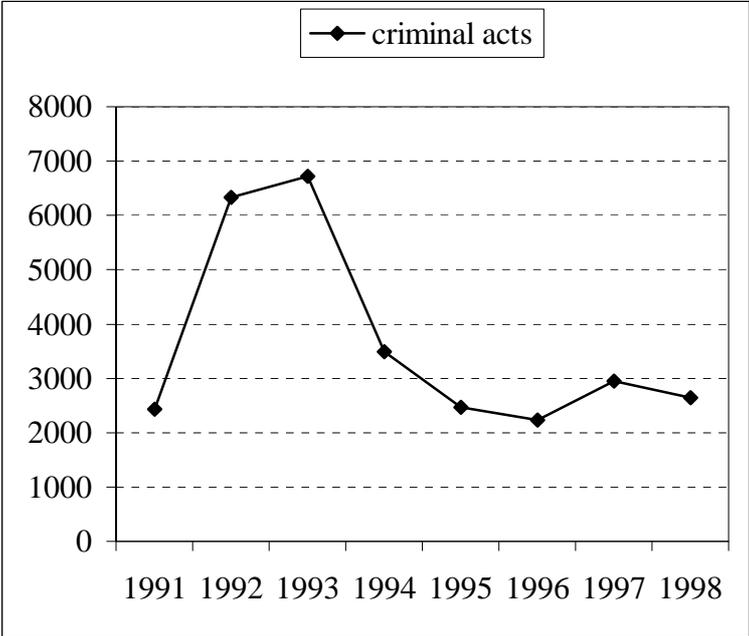
Between 1980 and 1994 West-Germans' agreement with these discriminating statements decreased, but positions became more polarised, i.e. extreme positions were chosen more frequently than more neutral or undecided positions. Then, from 1994 to 1996, the trend changed, partly because now also East-Germans were interviewed, but also because the responses of West-Germans began to show more discriminating attitudes. If one constructs an index summarising all statements which measure xenophobic attitudes, then a rough estimation of xenophobic attitudes among Germans can be made. It is estimated that 20% of the West-Germans have strong xenophobic attitudes, while the rate of East Germans amounts to 25%. Other studies estimate that 15.5% of the West-Germans and 30% of the East-Germans hold xenophobic opinions.

If one differentiates the group of "foreigners" into more concrete groups, such as Italians, ethnic German immigrants, refugees, Turkish people and Jews living in Germany, then it becomes visible that xenophobic attitudes vary according to the target group. One example is the expressed reserve of Germans towards a marriage of a family member with a "foreigner". Marriage to an Italian is not welcomed by 22% of the Germans, 28% disapprove of a marriage to an ethnic German immigrant, and 56% disapprove a marriage to a Turkish person and 60% to a refugee. When asked if immigrants should have the same rights as Germans, the latter accept this for ethnic German immigrants and somewhat less for Italians, whereas equal rights for Turkish people are denied by 45% of the interviewees and equal rights for refugees by 65%. Nearly every second of the Germans interviewed does not want to grant the acquisition dual citizenship to immigrants and is against the introduction of the right to vote at local elections (Ganter/Esser 1998). These attitudes make immigrants feel discriminated when they are confronted with Germans who express these views, but in addition they sometimes also suffer direct discrimination in everyday life.

In the 1995 survey mentioned above, immigrants were asked if they had suffered from xenophobic behaviour in the previous year, i.e. if they were offended, molested, menaced, beaten or injured. Italians and Greeks experienced less discrimination and offences than people of Yugoslav and Turkish origin. Of the latter 26.5% stated that they had been offended, 20.6% had been molested, 7.% had been menaced, 2.3 % reported to have been beaten and 1.8% were injured. Young Turkish men (age 15 to 24) were at even higher risk: 5.3% were beaten and 4.7% reported to have been injured. When asked about concrete discrimination acts in the previous year, Turkish people stated to have been frequently discriminated against when they were searching for a dwelling to rent, when they were trying to enter a restaurant or disco, and when they were seeking for a job (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996).

At last, the question of increasing racial attacks against immigrants and other minorities has to be discussed. Nearly every week, German newspapers report about racial attacks, but it is difficult to assess the trend because not every racial attack is officially reported as such. Police statistics can be analysed in order to look for the registered acts. These are statistics on violence for xenophobic reasons, menaces, dissemination of xenophobic propaganda, and related offences (criminal acts of right extremist organisations are not included). Again, these data have been criticised for their under-reporting of attacks. However, the trend seems to be rather clear. Before 1991, on average 250 xenophobic criminal acts per year were reported, which multiplied by 10 in 1991 and thus reached the number of 2,598 offences. Then, this number sharply increased to 6,721 offences in 1993 (cf. Figure 8). These years were the time of racial attacks against refugees in Hoyerswerda, in Rostock-Lichtenhagen and the mortal fire attacks against Turkish families in Mölln and Solingen. Only since 1994 the number of offences began to decline, but in 1997 and 1998 they increased again slightly. Furthermore, 1998 was the year with the highest number of homicides (Ausländerbeauftragte 1999, Ganter/Esser 1998). In 1997, 7,790 criminal acts with a right-wing extremist background were reported, which have to be added to the 2,953 criminal acts for xenophobic motives (BMI 1998).

**Figure 8: Criminal Acts for Xenophobic Reasons, Germany 1991-1998**



Source: Ausländerbeauftragte 1999.

The next part describes discrimination in the intersection between popular and institutional discrimination. First, the question of under-representation of immigrants in important status positions is treated: are immigrants underrepresented in the public administration, national media, political organisations and trade unions?

As can be observed in optional table 4, immigrants, be it in general or be they of the second generation, are much less frequently than Germans in the service class.

Thus, immigrants are underrepresented in all higher social positions, and in particular in public administration, media and politics.

Media are very important for the visibility and acceptance of a multi-ethnic society. The trade-union of people working for media struggles against discrimination of immigrants working in German radios and televisions. They summarise the situation of immigrant journalists as follows:

1. Discrimination of immigrants in everyday life and at work is identical
2. Journalists from non-German origin have to have higher qualifications than their German colleagues.
3. They are often confined to a very restricted field of action within editorial offices.
4. Discrimination due to origin is reinforced by discrimination, to which German colleagues are exposed too, such as working freelance, being a women, etc. (AID 3, 1996).

As for the employment of immigrants in the public administration, the German Socio-economic panel allows to compare native-born and non-native born who are employed in social services (third sector or state agencies) and public administration (local, regional or federal state agencies). In 1995, 31% of the employed Germans were in this sector, while only 13% of the immigrants had such a job. The discrepancy is smaller if one compares second generation immigrants with Germans of age 16 to 25 (30% compared to 23%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a). If one excludes social services, exclusion of immigrants from public administration becomes even more evident. In 1993 in Berlin, a town with a high percentage of immigrants, there were 43,886 employees in the public administration, but only 3.2% of these were immigrants. In 1993, most immigrants employed in public administration worked in the health service (44%), but again most of the latter are nurses (25%), other hospital workers (10%) or other health service workers, while only 5% were doctors. Of all doctors in Germany only 4.5% had a foreign nationality in 1993 (AID 1, 1996).

Even if a change is observable for the second generation, it has to be stated that the public administration still excludes immigrants. In 1995, only 3.1% of the students of vocational training for public administrations were of non-German origin. This underrepresentation exists despite the fact that there are sufficient potential applicants from the second and third generation with the necessary certificates. This subrepresentation of young immigrants might have mainly three reasons:

1. Civil servants have to have the German citizenship, have to be from an EU country or a very urgent official need for employment has to exist. This means that people from Turkish or Yugoslav origin have no access to civil servant positions unless they have been naturalised.
2. Immigrants lack information and motivation.
3. They are consciously or unconsciously discriminated against when they apply for a job.

In general, public administrations do not like the idea of introducing quota for immigrants, but in some towns local administrations have published job announcements, which state that "applications from immigrants are expressly wanted and equal

qualifications given, they will be given preference" (AID 1, 1999). Two positive examples are the municipalities of Stuttgart and Hamburg. 24 % of the population of Stuttgart, a town in southern Germany, are immigrants. They form 16.7% of the town's active labour force (with social security affiliation). Stuttgart has made a special effort to employ immigrants in the municipal administration. As a result, in 1996 4% of the immigrant labour force were employed there (AID 4, 1996). In Hamburg, young immigrants from the second and third generation have been motivated by a special campaign to apply for a job in the police force. Thus the number of immigrants hired has increased, despite of the fact that many of the conditions for entering the police force are difficult to be met by most immigrants (AID 3, 1997).

It has been shown that the exclusion of immigrants from outside the EU from civil servant positions contributes to their problem of gaining access to higher positions on the labour market. This is an outcome of the high barriers which have to be overcome in order to gain German citizenship. Another consequence of the low number of naturalised immigrants is their exclusion from political rights.

Through which channels can immigrants struggle politically for a better access to central positions of the German society? As already presented in section 3, immigrants are in general entitled to social rights and excluded from political rights, insofar as they have not acquired German citizenship. Exceptions to exclusion from political rights are the following:

1. Since 1996, immigrants from EU countries have the right to vote in European and local elections, which means that from the 7.3 millions immigrants 1.8 millions (25%) are able to vote. Now, three immigrants from Germany were elected to the new European parliament (AID 3, 1999).
2. Immigrants can participate in elections in parties, trade-unions, workers' councils and at elections in schools and universities.

Immigrants' participation in trade unions, one of the German institutions which grants them full participation rights, is similarly high and for some groups even higher than participation of Germans. In 1994, 21.7% of the Germans and 19.6% of the Turks were members of a trade-union. The organisation rate of Yugoslavs and Spaniards was even higher: 26% of the former and 24.5% of the latter were trade union members. The high degree of organisation of immigrants in German trade unions is considered one of the main successes of German trade unionism (Diehl/Urban/Esser 1998).

In addition, in some towns and regions special councils for immigrants (*Ausländerbeiräte*) were created in order to, at least to some extent, guarantee a political representation of immigrants at municipal level. The charters of these councils can vary from town to town or between regions. Some councils are elected in free elections among immigrants and others are composed of appointed representatives. Their spheres of competence do also differ. In the 1995 representative survey of Mehrländer et al. immigrants were asked if in their town a council for foreigners exists. Around 30% of them affirmed the question, but 31% of them said that they do not know what the council does, and 21% stated that the council has no power.

However, 40.5% said that the council improves the situation of immigrants. In some regions the councils for foreigners have been institutionalised through their inclusion into the municipal constitutions (e.g. Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, etc). In addition, some councils have formed federations at a regional level. These federations aim to co-ordinate local work and to take part in the public debate. Since the introduction of the right to vote for EU-nationals, a discussion on the redefinition of the role of the councils of foreigners has been under way. It should be kept in mind that at the moment these councils are the only institutional means to influence the political life in their municipalities for the great majority of immigrants in Germany (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997).

## **6.2 Auto-exclusion of immigrants: Spatial Segregation and Cultural Segmentation**

Frequently, in particular in the political debate, it is argued that immigrants' integration into German society is so difficult because of their voluntary auto-exclusion into ethnic communities, which prevent children of immigrants to acquire good skills of the German language, to perform well in the German education system and, thus, to acquire jobs in higher positions. In this section the topic of auto-exclusion of immigrants from the majority society is explored.

In some towns immigrant groups concentrate in certain areas and in 1995 the quality of immigrants' dwellings was still lower than that of Germans. An overall estimation of housing segregation for German towns is difficult. First, because local data have to be collected and second, because the definition of housing segregation varies frequently according to the area under analysis. One might find segregation in some house blocks, but not in the neighbourhood in general. Thus, a clear definition of the unit of analysis is crucial, if one wants to make a statement. For Germany it can be stated that ethnic homogenous neighbourhoods do not exist, which is however not true for dwelling blocks and houses. Two examples shall illustrate this.

1. In 1995, 15.3% of the inhabitants of the town of Duisburg were immigrants, while in its neighbourhood Marxloh the rate amounted to 35.3% and in some blocks and streets the proportion of non-Germans was 90% (Hanhörster 1999).
2. In the Berlin neighbourhood of Kreuzberg the proportion of immigrants was 33.7% in 1996, but within some sub-units of Kreuzberg the percentage reached 47.4% and 40.1%. If one looks at the sub-unit with the largest rate of immigrants, differences can be found at house level. There are houses with 23 German households and three non-German households as well as houses with 4 German households and 22 non-German households (Kleff 1998).

If one looks at the percentage of immigrants in a town who live in a segregated housing context, then the rates are in general much lower, so for instance in Frankfurt/Main, where only 5-10% of non-Germans live in segregated neighbourhoods (Wolf-Almanaresh 1998).

There is also a controversial discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of ethnic concentration in neighbourhoods. Some researchers see it as an important integration mechanism for new immigrants, and they argue that segregation decreases or disappears over successive generations, while others see it as a danger for integration, since for example children will have more difficulties to enter inter-ethnic relationships and will have more difficulties in achieving higher educational levels (Esser 1999, Heckmann 1998).

In two representative surveys immigrants were asked if they preferred to live in a neighbourhood with a majority of immigrants or if they preferred to live with a German majority. In the 1985 survey, 62.6% of the Turkish answered that it did not matter, while 11.1% stated they preferred to live in a neighbourhood mainly inhabited by other immigrants. In 1995, the indifferent represented again 62.4% but the rate of those who preferred segregation had increased to 17%. Among other immigrant groups which were interviewed in 1995, we find smaller groups which prefer segregation: 9.3% among former Yugoslavs, 7.5% among Italians and 6% among Greeks. Yet, their preference for living with other immigrants has also grown since 1980 (an exception are the Greeks) (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996).

Housing segregation of immigrants is always a mix between free choice and constraints. The latter figures show that there is a minority of immigrants who prefer living in segregated housing areas, but there are also many indicators which point to an involuntary segregation. Immigrants have, on average, a lower purchasing power, they are more frequently unemployed and they have larger households. These factors result in disadvantaged positions on the housing market, which means that their choice of dwellings is frequently restricted to areas with old and low-standard dwellings. The example of Duisburg-Marxloh is a very good illustration of this fact. A construction enterprise of the large company Thyssen administers 30% of the dwelling in Marxloh. These dwellings are mainly inhabited by immigrants and 50% of all immigrants of Marxloh live in these enterprise dwellings. In the beginning of the 1970s, many Turkish workers were offered these company dwellings when they started family reunification in Germany. Since then these dwellings have not been renovated or modernised. Thus, mobile families with relatively high income levels have quit these dwellings, and immigrant families with low incomes have taken over the rather deteriorated housing opportunities. As a consequence, ethnic homogeneity has increased during the last three decades in Marxloh (Hanhörster 1999).

It has been shown that spatial segregation is not very widespread, even if there are signs that it has increased over the last years. According to some sociologists a deterioration of German language skills can be observed in the last years, in particular among children and youth. Unfortunately, there is a lack of studies which take a closer look at immigrants from the perspective of their age, so that it is not possible to analyse the extent of the problem of children arriving at Germany at age 6 and over on a national level. In order to know if language problems of immigrant children are due to housing segregation or to the phenomenon of relative late immigration, this information is necessary. This question will thus not be answered in the report.

The German socio-economic panel shows that the proportion of immigrants who state that they have good German language skills has increased since 1984, but this proportion has stagnated in the 1990s at a level of 55%. However, in the second generation (people born in Germany or who have been enrolled in the German education system up to age 25) no stagnation is visible, and in 1995 as much as 93% of the second generation affirmed that they had good language skills (Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a). If one compares different groups of immigrants who state that they have very good or good language skills with each other, it can be seen that in 1995, on average, more Turkish people than former Yugoslavs made this statement. In addition, the number of Italians and Greeks who affirmed that they have good to very good skills was only slightly higher than the number of Turks (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996). Thus, the fact that they belong to a large community of immigrants with a higher probability of living in spatial segregation, does not prevent Turkish immigrants from having language skills which are as good as or even better than those of other immigrants. The fact that language skills have worsened in the 1990s, might be related to the high numbers of new immigrants at the beginning of the 1990s (cf. Figure 1).

Improved language skills among second generation immigrants contrasts with decreasing interethnic relationships of all generations in the years from 1989 to 1995. In 1991, 48% of all immigrants had at least a German friend, 39% of the Turkish population and 67% of second generation immigrants stated the same. In 1995 however, only 42% of all immigrants, 33% of Turkish people and only 59% of the second generation stated that they had a German friend,. Thus, despite better language skills young second generation immigrants have less interethnic friendships. In addition, very few of those Turkish people who did not have any contacts with Germans in their leisure time in 1995, stated that they would like to establish contacts with Germans (10%), while in 1985 still 41% expressed their wish to establish such contacts (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996). Sometimes it is argued that the less frequent interethnic interaction is due to the withdrawal of immigrants into their ethnic communities, as for instance, their strong orientation towards ethnic organisations.

In fact, some analyses show that immigrants who participate in organisations oriented towards their home country have fewer interethnic contacts. This is particularly true for participation in religious associations and less so for conservative or left-wing political organisations. Yet, the causal relationship is not clear. Do immigrants participate in home-oriented associations because they are already to some extent segregated or is it the other way round? (Diehl/Urban/Esser 1998).

Another important indicator for the integration of immigrants are intermarriage patterns. Official statistics from the statistical office report only marriages concluded in Germany and exclude marriages which were registered in the country of origin of the immigrant. For this reason, we will present representative survey data of Turkish, ex-Yugoslav, Italian and Greek immigrants only. These immigrants were asked to state the nationality of their spouses. In 1985, 5% stated they had a German

partner, while in 1995 the rate had risen to 10%. The intermarriage rate of all immigrants increased from 1980 to 1995, but differences according to age and ethnic group persist. Of the young interviewees aged 25 to 29 as many as 16% said they had a German spouse, while of those aged 35 to 39 only 10% had a German partner. In 1995, the highest intermarriage rate was reported of Italian men (20%), followed by Yugoslav men (10%), Greek men (8.5%) and Turkish men (6.3%). In general women have a smaller intermarriage rate than men, but, and this was an exception, in 1995, Turkish women had a higher rate (8.7%) than Turkish men (Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996). A consequence of these intermarriages are an increasing number of children born in interethnic partnerships since 1980, but, as expected, there is a great variation according to nationality. In 1995, 9 % of the new born children from Turkish origin were born in a German-Turkish union, while as many as 80% of all children from Spanish origin were born to a German-Spanish couple (Thränhardt 1999).

In 1997 a controversial study on "Turkish Youth and Islamic Fundamentalism" was published by Wilhelm Heitmeyer. The results showed that many young Turkish people were withdrawing from the "majority society" to their ethnic communities and culture of origin. This phenomenon is interpreted as a reaction to a high degree of discrimination of Turkish youth by the majority and as a reaction to a large supply of religious-political organisations within ethnic communities. One third of the surveyed young Turks of the region of Nordrhein-Westfalen stated that their interests were well represented by the Turkish-nationalist organisation "Grey Wolves" and 54% affirmed that the Islam was superior and they advocated for a separation between "believers" and "non-believers". One fourth said that violence was justified in order to defend religious principles (AID 4, 1996). This study has been criticised among other things for its methodological problems, such as highly suggestive and complex questions. In addition, some doubts on the representativity of the sample exist, since it seems to be biased with respect to age and people from very deprived areas (Diehl/Urban/Esser 1998).

Based on other data, Diehl, Urbahn and Esser (1998) have analysed the religiosity of Turkish people according to age. A multivariate analysis of the frequency of visits of religious meetings and of services with figures from the Socio-economic Panel shows that young Turkish people are less likely than older Turks to participate frequently in religious services. The representative Friedrich-Ebert Foundation survey from 1995 shows that 55.1% of young Turkish people aged 15 to 25 seldom or never take part in religious services, 22.7% attend them once a month and 21.7% once a week or several times a week. These figures refer only to Turks of Islamic denomination, which in this survey were 81.7% of the Turks in Germany (Diehl/Urbahn/Esser 1998, Mehrländer/Ascheberg/Ueltzhöfer 1996).

Next, the topic of an increasing concentration of visible deviant behaviour (non authorised street selling, prostitution, drug traffic, robbery and assaults) among immigrants will be raised, since in public debates a cause-effect relation between spatial-cultural segregation and increased criminality of immigrants is a recurrent topic. Usually, police data about people suspected of having committed a punishable act

are the basis for statements about an over-proportionally high crime rate among immigrants. First of all, one has to be aware of some methodological and technical problems. Police statistics show higher numbers of criminals than statistics about those which are finally convicted for some criminal act. Secondly, the statistics include offences against the law for foreigners and the law of asylum, laws which do not apply to Germans. Thirdly, if one states that foreigners are more likely to commit criminal acts, it has to be taken into account that this is mostly due to their different socio-demographic background and not their inherently higher propensity to deviant behaviour. Problematic as the police statistics are, two empirical results seem worth to be reported. In 1993, 33.6% of all suspects were non-Germans and in the following years this rate has continuously fell to 27.9% in 1997 (Ausländerbeauftragte 1995; AID 3, 1998; Bundesministerium des Innern, 1998). Yet, if one looks at young people aged 14 to 21, the trend of the last years (1990-96) shows clearly an increase of the number of non-German criminals (independently of the used source). In 1997, the proportion of criminal acts committed by youth from immigrant origin was highest among those young immigrants who were in Germany since a long time or who had been born here (Pfeiffer/Wetzels 1999).

At last the question of naturalisation will be risen from the angle of the wish of immigrants to become full citizens. Have immigrants increasingly wanted to apply and have they really applied for naturalisation in the last years? In 1995, second generation immigrants were less willing to stay definitively in Germany. They stated less frequently than in 1991 that they feel themselves as Germans. In the context of the *ius sanguinis* citizenship law (cf. section 3) it can also be observed that many immigrants did not plan to apply for the German citizenship (47% in 1995), be it for the German citizenship alone or for a potential dual citizenship. If the possibility to keep the former citizenship existed, then 35% would apply for the German one, while only 17% would like to become naturalised independently of the possibility of a dual citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a). In fact, as reported in section 3, the number of naturalisations steadily increased from 1985 until 1995, in 1996 and in 1997 however it decreased. All in all, the proportion of immigrants (without ethnic German immigrants) being naturalised is very small. In 1994 0.8% of all non-German inhabitants received the German citizenship (Ausländerbeauftragte 1999). In 1997 the rate was 1.1%. Compared to the EU average of 1.7% in 1994, the German figure (0.8%) is rather low. It is even more true if it is compared to countries like the Netherlands (6.3%), Sweden (6.9%), Denmark (3%) and Belgium (2.8%) (Eurostat 1997).

### **6.3 Self-employment of Immigrants in Germany: Indicator of Integration or Ethnic Trap?**

Since the mid 1980s self-employment of immigrants increased in Germany, from 6.5% of the immigrant labour force (1987) to 8.8% in 1998. In 1995, Germans had a self-employment rate of 9.5% and EU-nationals had a rate of 13% (Kiehl/Werner 1999). In 1992, the ethnic groups with the highest self-employment rate were Italians (11%) and Greeks (11.6%) followed by Turkish people (3.6%). During the 1960s ethnic businesses in Germany were mostly a creation of Italian and Yugoslav immigrants, in the 1970s Greek immigrants stepped in and it is since 1980 that the role of Turkish self-employment has become more important. In 1998, Turkish ethnic businesses represented already the largest group of ethnic entrepreneurs (18%). In 1996 the Centre for Turkey Studies estimated the number of Turkish businesses to 40,500 and in 1998 to 51,000. Most of these enterprises are small businesses and family businesses, but businesses in innovative areas are increasing in number. (Ausländerbeauftragte 1997, Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1999).

It is exactly the Turkish community which is suspected to create segregated ethnic communities with their own economic and social institutions apart from the German majority society, where second generation youth might be trapped into. On the one hand, it is a fact that Turkish ethnic businesses are expanding into nearly all economic areas and that many second generation Turks are involved in ethnic businesses. In 1998, the most important economic sector for Turkish businesses was retail trade (37,8%), followed by gastronomy (24%), services (17%) and wholesale trade (11%). In 1993 business in the service sector amounted only to 12%, which means that the trend goes towards a greater diffusion of ethnic businesses throughout different economic sectors (Sen/Goldberg 1996, Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1999). In addition, in 1998, two-thirds of all new creations of Turkish businesses were funded by Turkish people from the second generation. Yet, 29% of Turkish entrepreneurs had the German citizenship, which means that they are integrated into the German society with respect to rights, access to labour market and public benefits (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1999).

On the other hand, Turkish entrepreneurs are creating jobs for Germans and other immigrant groups, they are increasingly interacting economically with German institutions and enterprises and they are adapting to the German system of dual vocational training. This means that businesses of immigrants of Turkish origin offer an opportunity to escape from unemployment and thus to be economically included into German society, and in addition, these entrepreneurs are integrating into the German economic and education structure.

A study estimated for 1992 that ethnic businesses employed a rather high number of people, because their demand for labour is equivalent to one quarter of the total supply of labour by immigrants in Germany. The 1998 study of the Centre for Turkey Studies concludes that ethnic businesses cannot anymore be considered an economic niche, since they offer employment not only for family members. Since 1985, self-employed Turkish people have increased their average number of employees.

In 1985, they had 3.5 employees on average, whereas in 1998 they had 5.2 employees on average. Turkish businesses without employees are the minority (14%), while most have 1 to 3 employees (43.%) or 4 to 9 employees (33%). In addition, 19.6% of the employees in these businesses are Germans and 10.6% are of ethnic origins other than Turkish. The Turkish self-employed focus more and more on German clients and have become embedded into the German commodity supply nets. As many as 73% of Turkish entrepreneurs buy commodities and services from Germans and 87% have Germans among their clients (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 1999).

Turkish self-employed persons also engage in collective action, whose main target are economic and political elites in Germany. They have created interest groups in order to defend their interests more effectively. There is the confederation TIDAF, which is a German-Turkish entrepreneurs' association with 17 regional organisations and over 3000 members (in 1996). Smaller associations were created in given towns or for particular economic sectors, as for instance, DES-BIR, TÜDET or ATIAD (AID 2, 1995).

A very important effort of Turkish entrepreneurs towards integration is their participation in courses and examinations in order to obtain the certificate which allows to train apprentices within the German dual apprenticeship system (duale Berufsausbildung). Already in 1986 a pilot project "Training of Turkish Self-employers To Trainers" (Ausländische Selbständige Bilden Aus) was started in three large towns: Duisburg, Dortmund and Mannheim/Heidelberg. This project involved many local partners: the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, employers associations, job offices, municipal administration, third sector associations, councils of foreigners, RAAs and professional schools. In addition, it was supported by the European Social Fund, the ILO, the Federal Ministry of Education and Science, several regional Ministries of Work, Health and Social Affairs and the Freudenberg Foundation (Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft 1992). The project proved to be successful and was thus enlarged and followed by new projects and measures.

In 1997, 11% of the 47,000 Turkish enterprises trained apprentices and 75.4% of potential training enterprises stated to be willing to do so in the future. In addition, two other studies have shown that Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Turkish businesses in Germany could be mobilised in order to create 11,000 new apprenticeship positions. Based on these empirical results, the Ministry of Education and Research, the social partners, entrepreneurs' associations of immigrants, the Federal Institute for Employment and the Federal Institute for Vocational Training have come to an agreement to mobilise this potential for new apprenticeship positions overall in Germany. This campaign started in March 1998 and it is also supported by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs through two projects. The Centre for Studies on Turkey in Essen (Northrhine-Westphalia) is involved in one of these projects, which until 2001 aims to increase the number of Turkish enterprises offering training for apprentices in the Ruhr area, in Cologne and Bonn (Bmb+f 1999, [www.uni-essen.de/zft](http://www.uni-essen.de/zft) 1999).

To sum up, it can be said that businesses of people from Turkish origin do not contribute to the formation of a segregated ethnic economy and community. On the contrary, they mitigate the unemployment problem among Turkish immigrants, they create jobs for Germans and other immigrants, they supply formally recognised apprenticeship training for young people and they are embedded in a net of German clients and suppliers. The success of Turkish entrepreneurs is so important that it is recognised and supported by various regional and federal ministries.

## **7 Conclusion: Trends Towards an Ethnic Underclass in Germany**

The report has shown that there are large differences in the legal status and socio-economic position across the various groups of immigrants. Germany has first class and second class immigrants, and the latter run the risk to become a stable underclass. First class immigrants are EU-nationals, naturalised immigrants and second generation immigrants with high educational levels. Second class immigrants are non-EU nationals, in particular Turkish immigrants, refugees and undocumented immigrants. Second class immigrants have few political rights, they are partially or totally excluded from employment and the barriers to naturalisation are higher for them than for first class immigrants. This institutional discrimination against second class immigrants is accompanied by everyday discrimination, which strikes this group most, too. Integration policy ignores to some extent this division and it is designed for the most needy groups, such as new immigrants, particularly low-income groups and Turkish immigrants, but it frequently reproduces the legal discrimination. For instance by the fact that de-facto refugees cannot attend language courses, by the fact that many social benefits are related to employment, while second class immigrants are very frequently excluded from employment with social security affiliation.

Turkish immigrants are the greatest homogenous immigrant group in Germany and also one of the most excluded groups. In the last years some indicators of residential and cultural segregation can be observed in this group, which might be a consequence of their worsening socio-economic position, the relative high number of new immigrants, the increased discrimination they have suffered since German unification and their partial withdrawal into their communities. In difficult times it is a normal reaction that people search support in their families and communities. It is too early to affirm that an ethnic underclass is emerging within the group of immigrants from Turkish origin, but there are some trends into this direction. However, many Turkish immigrants have reacted to their problems by taking the risk of creating their own businesses and thus solving their economic problems and to some extent the education problems of their children on their own and in collaboration with German institutions.

Refugees and undocumented immigrants occupy the lowest positions on the labour market or are even excluded from formal employment. They are not protected from exploitation through trade-unions or social rights. In most cases they have no access to social security benefits, so that they are not protected against the risks of

illness, invalidity, unhealthy housing conditions and income loss. They cannot plan their lives in Germany and their children are, in general, excluded from the vocational training and secondary education system. In addition, undocumented immigrants cannot officially engage against racist discrimination, because they have to be afraid to be discovered as "illegal". Thus, the danger of an ethnic underclass is accompanied by the danger of increasing racism of native Europeans against undocumented immigrants. They are an easy target for scapegoat mechanisms because of their institutional non-acceptance.

German politicians are challenged to fight social exclusion and the formation of an underclass of immigrants. Yet, the German political class seems to be lacking the will to do so. For example, even the new citizenship law draws again dividing lines between EU-nationals and non-EU nationals; in addition, it still sticks to the idea that multiple citizenship should be prevented, at least for Turkish immigrants. A proof of good will and an important symbolic act might be the anti-discrimination law, which has been promised for this legislation period, and the currently discussed amnesty decree which shall give a secure residence status to tolerated de-facto refugees.

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## 9 Statistical Appendix

TABLE 1: MIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS TO AND FROM GERMANY SINCE 1980 (IN THOUSAND) .....	121
TABLE 2: NATIVE-BORN AND IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY BY NATIONALITY, 1993 AND 1998 .....	122
TABLE 3: ETHNIC GERMANS ( <i>AUSSIEDLER</i> ) AND ASYLUM SEEKER SINCE 1980 .....	122
TABLE 4: REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION BY REGION, 31/12/1997 .....	123
TABLE 5: STRUCTURE OF IMMIGRANT AND NON-IMMIGRANT POPULATION BY AGE. 1995 .....	123
TABLE 6: EMPLOYED IMMIGRANTS SINCE 1980 IN GERMANY .....	123
TABLE 7: UNEMPLOYMENT OF IMMIGRANTS AND GERMANS SINCE 1980, WEST-GERMANY .....	124
TABLE 8: OCCUPATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND GERMANS BY ECONOMIC SECTOR, 1997 .....	124
TABLE 9: IMMIGRANTS AND GERMANS BY OCCUPATION AND BY GENERATION, 1995 .....	124
TABLE 10: SCHOOL LEAVERS BY NATIONAL ORIGIN, GERMANY 1992, 1995 AND 1997 .....	125

**Table 1: Migration of Foreigners to and from Germany since 1980 (in thousand)**

Year	Total Immigrants	Turkish	Yugoslavs <sup>1</sup>	Greeks	Italians	Poles	Ex-Soviet-Union <sup>2</sup>
Immigration							
1980	631.4	213.3	41.9	15.8	86.1	42	2,40
1985	398.2	47.5	22.5	9.5	39	72.2	1,20
1990	842.4	83.6	65.2	26.5	36.9	201	37
1995	792.7	73.6	54.1	20.3	48	87.2	33
1996	708.0	73.2	69.2	18.8	45.8	77.4	31.9
1997	615.3	56	31.2	16.4	39	71.2	24.8
1998	605.5	48	59.9	16	35.1	66.1	21.3
Emigration							
1980	385.8	71.4	41.1	22.3	77.4	27.7	1,20
1985	366.7	60.6	30.6	16.4	51.4	56.8	1,00
1990	466.0	35.1	38.3	14.3	34.1	157.8	11.4
1995	567.4	43.2	40.4	19.3	34	70.7	13.5
1996	559.1	43.5	82.6	20.1	36.8	71.7	12.6
1997	637.1	46	44.5	21.8	37.6	70.2	11.2
1998	639	45.1	45.1	19.9	36.9	60.7	10.3

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, various years. AID 3, 1998. Notes: Since 1992 data refer to West and East Germany and before they refer to West Germany. <sup>1</sup> Until 1991 former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in 1992 former Republic of Yugoslavia and Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, since then Serbia and Montenegro and cases where the exact origin was unclear. <sup>2</sup> Russian Federation. <sup>3</sup> different definition in AID.

**Table 2: Native-born and Immigrants in Germany by Nationality,  
1993 and 1998**

Nationality	Absolute numbers in thousand		% of total population	
	1993	1998	1993	1998
Turkish	1918.4	2110.2	2.4	2.6
Ex-Yugoslavs <sup>1</sup>	929.6	719.5	1.1	0.9
Greeks	351.9	363.5	0.4	0.4
Italians	563.0	612.1	0.7	0.7
Poles	260.5	283.6	0.3	0.3
Ex-Soviet-Union <sup>2</sup>		215.3		0.3
Total Immigrants	6878.1	7319.6	8.5	8.9
Germans <sup>2</sup>	74291.9	74638.4	91.5	91.1
Total	81170	81958	100.0	100

Sources: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung 1995; Eurostat: Recent Demographic Trends 1996. Ausländerbeauftragte 1999. Notes: <sup>1</sup> Serbia and Montenegro. <sup>2</sup> Figure for 1997.

**Table 3: Ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) and Asylum Seeker since 1980**

Year	<i>Aussiedler</i> (ethnic German newcomers)					Asylum Seeker (demands)		
	Poland	Ex-UDSSR	Rumania	Ex-CSSR	Total <sup>1</sup>	Total <sup>3</sup>	Europe	Africa. America. Asia
1980	26.37	6.954	1.576	1.733	52.071	107.818	65.809	40.554
1985	22.075	460	14.924	757	38.968	73.832	18.174	52.488
1990 <sup>2</sup>	113.253	147.455	107.189	1.324	397.075	193.063	101.631	85.512
1995	1.677	209.409	6.519	62	217.898	127.937	67.411	58.528
1996	1.175	172.181	4.284	14	177.751	116.367	51.936	61.534
1997	687	131.181	1.777	10	134.419	104.353	41.541	60.111

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 1998b. Notes: <sup>1</sup> includes people from Bulgaria, Hungary and other eastern countries. <sup>2</sup> In Germany since 1.11.1990 and figures refer only to *Aussiedler* hosted by regions (*Bundesländer*). <sup>3</sup> Includes refugees without citizenship. Since 1994 only first application for asylum are taken into account.

**Table 4: Regional distribution of Immigrant Population by Region, 31/12/1997**

Region	Immigrant Population in % of Total Populaion
Baden-Württemberg	12.3
Bayern	9.2
Berlin	13.9
Bremen	12.2
Hamburg	18.2
Hessen	13.9
Niedersachsen	6.1
Nordrhein-Westfalen	11.2
Rheinland-Pfalz	7.5
Saarland	7.4
Schleswig Holstein	5.2
<b>Western Germany</b>	<b>10.1</b>
Brandenburg	2.3
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	1.4
Sachsen	7.4
Sachsen-Anhalt	1.8
Thüringen	1.2
<b>Eastern Germany</b>	<b>2.5</b>

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1999.

**Table 5: Structure of Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Population by Age. 1995**

Age	Long-term Im- migrants	Households receiving Immigrants since 1984			Germans	
		West-Germany	<i>Aussiedler</i>	Refugees	Family-reunification	West
Until 16	22	33	36	32	19	21
17 - 40	36	38	44	51	33	35
41 – 65	38	25	(16)	17	30	31
66 & more	4	(4)	(4)	(0)	17	14

Source: SOEP 1995 in: Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a. Note: ( ) Case number < 30.

**Table 6: Employed Immigrants since 1980 in Germany  
(different nationalities in thousand)**

Year	Total Im- migrants	Turkish	Yugoslavs <sup>5</sup>	Greeks	Italians	Poles	Ex-Soviet- Union
1980	2143	590.6	357.4	133.0	309.2		
1985	1844 <sup>4</sup>	499.3	293.5	102.9	202.4		
1990	2309	594.6	313.0	105.5	175.2		
1995	2982 <sup>1</sup>	600.4	418.7	116.7	204.6	137.7 <sup>2</sup>	
1996	2934	578.2	408.2	113.1	203.2	224.3 <sup>3</sup>	
1997	2868	559.8	373.7	108.7	199.7		
1998	2030	568.6	349.3	109	202.7		

Sources: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit 1999. AID 3, 1995; AID 1, 1996; 1, 1997; 2, 1999 (always for the 30<sup>th</sup> of June).  
Notes: Employed include self-employed, family helps, white-collar employees and workers. Before 1994 figures refer only to the ex-Federal Republic of Germany. The figures of the respective nationalities include only employed people with social security affiliation in June of every year. <sup>1</sup> figure refers to 1994. <sup>2</sup> figure refers to 1994 and includes only "Gastarbeitnehmer" and "Saisonarbeiter". <sup>3</sup> figure includes "Werkvertragsarbeitnehmer" and "Saisonarbeiter". <sup>4</sup> figure refers to 1987. <sup>5</sup> People from countries of former Yugoslavia.

**Table 7: Unemployment of Immigrants and Germans since 1980, West-Germany (in thousand and unemployment rate)**

Year	Total <sup>1</sup>	Total Im-migrants	Turkish	Yugo-slavs <sup>4</sup>	Greeks	Italians	Poles	Ex-Soviet-Union
In thousand <sup>2</sup>								
1980		107.4						
1985		253.2						
1990		203.0						
1995		424.5	158.4	48.0	24.2	44.2	-	-
1996		481.7	181.7	51.1	26.5	49.8	-	-
1997		534.9	189.0	48.2	28.9	51.2	-	-
1998		506.3	179.6	43.5	25.0	48.1	-	-
Unemployment rate <sup>3</sup>								
1980	3.5	4.8	6.3	2.8	4.1	5.5	-	-
1985	8.7	13.1	14.8	9.0	11.4	14.7	-	-
1990	6.6	10.1	10.0	6.0	9.7	10.5	-	-
1995	9.0	16.2	19.2	8.8	15.8	16.2	-	-
1996	11.2	18.6	22.5	9.9	17.8	18.0	-	-
1997	11.0	20.4	24.5	10.2	19.0	19.1	-	-
1998	10.4	18.7	23.2	11.6	18.2	18.0	-	-

Notes: <sup>1</sup> Immigrants and Germans together. <sup>2</sup> End December. <sup>3</sup> End September. <sup>4</sup> Includes all people of former Yugoslav nationality. Source: Ausländerbeauftragte 1997; AID 2, 1999.

**Table 8: Occupation of Immigrants and Germans by Economic Sector, 1997 (in thousand and in % of total employed)**

Economic Sector	Immigrants		Germans	
	1997		1997	
	1000	%	1000	%
<b>Agriculture and Fishing</b>	40	1.4	1009	3.1
<b>Mining and Industry</b>	999	34.8	7678	23.3
<b>Energy. Water</b>	9	0.3	330	1.0
<b>Construction</b>	274	9.6	2997	9.1
<b>Commerce and Gastronomy</b>	650	22.7	5594	17.0
<b>Transport and Communication</b>	149	5.2	1792	5.4
<b>Other services without public administration</b>	678	23.6	10283	31.2
<b>Public administration</b>	70	2.4	3254	9.9
<b>Total Employed</b>	2869	100.0	32937	100.0

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt 1998b.

**Table 9: Immigrants and Germans by Occupation and by Generation, 1995**

Status in Column %	Immigrants	Germans <sup>1</sup>	Second Generation Im-migrants <sup>2</sup>	Second Generation Ger-mans
Unskilled workers	16	3	2	1
Semi-skilled workers	39	8	25	8
Skilled workers	23	16	30	24
Routine employees	8	11	16	14

Service class	10	41	26	43
Self-employed	4	12	1	4

Source: SOEP in: Statistisches Bundesamt 1998a. Note: <sup>1</sup> Rates do not sum up to 100% because civil servants were excluded. <sup>2</sup> Immigrants that had been enrolled in a German school and who in 1991 were not over age 25. For Germans the same age group was selected (16-25).

**Table 10: School Leavers by National Origin, Germany 1992, 1995 and 1997  
(in % of school leavers of respective nationality)**

School leavers	1992		1995		1997	
	Immigrants	Germans	Immigrants	Germans	Immigrants	Germans
End of compulsory primary school without certificate <sup>1</sup>	22.7	7.3	20.0	10.3	19.4	7.7
Certificate of compulsory primary school <sup>2</sup>	43.6	25.2	42.9	24.3	42.7	25.1
Secondary school certificate	33.7	67.5	37.1	65.4	37.9	67.2
Total school leavers	100	100	100	100	100.0	100.0

Source: Ausländerbeauftragte 1995, 1997, 1999. Note: <sup>1</sup> People who finished special schools for pupils with learning problems (*Sonderschule*) are included here. <sup>2</sup> Hauptschulabschluß.