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Integration of "Old" and "New" Immigrant Groups in Germany

By Wolfgang Seifert*

Summary

This paper analyzes the social and economic integration of various groups of recent immigrants to Germany. Mediterranean immigrants still hold the lower positions in the German labor market. Their employment profile is clearly different from that of German wage earners and salaried employees. The situation of their offspring, second generation immigrants, is clearly better. They have even gained some access to attractive jobs in the service sector. Their social situation, on the other hand, is characterized by increasing segregation. Ethnic German and East German immigrants who entered Germany in the 1980s and 1990s have higher job qualifications than Mediterranean immigrants. Access to and status in the West German labor market depend strongly on an immigrant's legal status.

1. Introduction

Immigration to Germany is largely shaped by political regulation. Which groups are permitted to come to Germany, and which not, has always been regulated by admission policy, independently of economic dynamics. It is a peculiarity of the German policy of admission that immigrants of German origin have always been preferred. Citizenship is defined by blood (*ius sanguinis*), not place of birth. While other states define citizenship by soil and grant it to those who are born in the country, German citizenship is immediately granted to ethnic Germans but is difficult for other immigrant groups to obtain. Although the influx of ethnic Germans is not defined as immigration under German law, Germany has the highest rate of nonnative-born immigrants among the industrialized nations.

Employment of foreign labor began in 1955, when the first contract to foreign labor was signed (Bade 1992), but it remained at low levels until construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 abruptly stopped the supply of labor from East Germany. Employment of foreign workers was considered a short-term solution to bridge periods of extreme labor scarcity. Foreign workers received contracts for a specified period of time only. This was designed to keep up the rotation of workers and prevent them from settling permanently (Seifert 1995). It was also intended to keep the foreign labor force flexible and adaptable to the changing demands of the labor market. But the rotation slowed in the late 1960s and early 1970s because industry wanted to avoid being continually forced to train new workers. After the oil price shock of 1973, recruitment of foreign labor was halted, although the number of foreigners in Germany remained at a high level. Many foreign workers brought in their families

and decided to stay in Germany. During this period of time, foreign workers had an employment profile different from that of the German labor force, and thus the majority of them could not be replaced by German workers. Forty years after the first recruitment of foreign labor and more than 20 years after immigration was halted, these former "guest workers" still have the status of foreigners, and even in the second generation the naturalization rates are low.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the German government turned toward measures intended to prevent further immigration. But they could not stop it completely. Citizens of the European Community have the right to settle and work in Germany. Ethnic German immigrants and East Germans also had access to the German labor market. When immigration pressure from eastern Europe increased, the German government reacted by intensifying border controls while establishing legal processes for entry into the German labor market, particularly for workers from the neighboring countries of Poland and the Czech Republic (Sandbrink 1996; Werner 1996; Rudolph 1994). Seeking political asylum was the only remaining gate of entry for many others coming to Germany. Before the fall of the Iron Curtain, asylum was granted routinely to almost all refugees from communist countries, but as the proportion of third world refugees increased, the asylum seeker came to be seen as a symbol of unwanted, economically-motivated immigration.

This paper analyzes the degree to which new immigrants to West Germany gain access to the labor market; "access" here is defined as obtaining a work permit and finding a job. Of particular interest are determining whether access to the labor market differs among the immigrant groups — East Germans, ethnic Germans, foreign workers, — and the children of foreign workers and identifying the individual characteristics that predict successful access.

The foreign laborers (*Gastarbeiter*) recruited between 1960 and 1973 from Turkey, Italy, Greece, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia can provide valuable information on the long-term labor market performance of foreign labor. Since these workers were recruited for jobs in industrial mass production that require no skills and little education, no significant upward mobility can be expected among the first generation. Second-generation mobility will be focused upon here, in order to determine whether these immigrant groups are likely to remain marginalized or to become integrated in the long run.

2. New Immigrant Groups

Because immigration to West Germany only is analyzed here, East Germans coming to West Germany can also be considered immigrants. Although from the legal point of view, migration between East Germany and West Germany

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is domestic migration, East Germans in West Germany can nevertheless form a control group for transnational migrants. Thus, studying East German immigrants can separate the effects of moving to a distant city and changing jobs from those of German language, education, and cultural familiarity when compared to the other immigrant groups.

Ethnic Germans are the most important new immigrant group. Between 1988 and 1994, 1.9 million ethnic Germans entered Germany (Münz and Ulrich 1996) mostly from Kazakhstan, Russia, Poland and Romania (Koller 1993). Compared to other immigrants, ethnic German immigrants are in a privileged position. They are allowed to become citizens and enter freely into the labor market. Special integration assistance, such as language courses and occupational training programs, is offered. On average, ethnic German immigrants have a high level of education. The share of those with a university degree is above the average of the West German population (Veiling 1994, p. 283). Because of their educational attainment and the privileges granted to ethnic Germans settling in Germany, their integration into the labor market is expected to be easier than for other immigrant groups.

Foreign immigrants can be subdivided into various groups according to their legal status and differential access to the labor market. Easy access to the labor market can be gained by citizens of the European Union (EU), but immigration from EU countries is relatively small in numbers. The internationalization of EU labor markets opened up the possibility, especially for highly qualified elites, to choose a work place irrespective of national borders (Münz 1995). Such migrants are often associated with international corporations or the field of science.

Seasonal and contract workers, mostly from east-central Europe, have only limited access to the labor market. In 1994, 150,000 east-central European seasonal workers and 80,000 contract workers were employed in Germany (SOPEMI 1995). A limited number of guest workers (5,500 in 1994) from east and east-central European countries are permitted to stay for a limited period only, and within particular segments of the labor market (Werner 1996).

For asylum seekers and refugees, access to the labor market is restricted. Political asylum was one of the most emotionally charged issues discussed in Germany during the last few years. While refugees from the communist countries were warmly welcomed during the cold war, increasing numbers of refugees in subsequent years have led to growing demands to restrict their flow.

Clearly, the new immigrant groups are heterogeneous, characterized by different migration incentives, different legal status, and therefore different preconditions for successful integration into the labor market.

Access to the Labor Market of New Immigrant Groups

Analysis of new immigrant groups is based on the immigration sample of the German Socio-Economic Panel. This survey, conducted in 1995, includes 1,001 immigrants who entered Germany after 1984. Among the 964 respondents of working age, 27 percent are East Germans, 51 percent are ethnic Germans and 22 percent are other immigrants.

Immigrants from East Germany participate more in the labor market than ethnic Germans or foreign immigrants

Table 1

Labor Force Participation and Unemployment by Immigrant Group and Period of Entry
in percent

	Labor Force Participation Rate	Registered Unemployment ¹⁾	Seeking a Job ²⁾
Immigrant Group			
East Germans	67	12	11
Ethnic Germans	46	26	19
Foreign Immigrants	40	27	24
Period of Entry			
1984 to 1988	56	13	12
1989 to 1990	54	18	16
1991 to 1995	40	35	27

¹⁾ Based on the working population, employed plus registered unemployed (Erwerbspersonen). — ²⁾ Based on all persons of working age (Erwerbspersonenpotential).

Source: Immigration survey (Sample D) of the German Socio-Economic Panel (1994/1995 survey year).

(see Table 1). The unemployment rates also differ substantially. While only 12 percent of the East Germans who moved to West Germany are unemployed, the share of ethnic German and foreign immigrants without a job is twice as high.

Differentiated by period of entry, substantial differences in labor market participation can be seen. Fifty-six percent of those who settled in Germany between 1984 and 1988 were gainfully employed in 1995. The participation rate of those coming to West Germany between 1989 and 1990 is only slightly lower. Among those who entered Germany in 1991 and thereafter, only 40 percent were gainfully employed. Sharp differences can also be seen in the unemployment rate. Among the most recent arrivals, the unemployment rate is three times higher than in the group of those who arrived between 1984 and 1988.

By looking at the share of each group seeking a job, we can see which groups have gained access to the labor market and which have not. Among East German immigrants of working age, 11 percent are seeking a job. The share is considerably higher for ethnic German and foreign immigrants. One in five ethnic Germans and one in four foreign immigrants are seeking a job. This suggests that legal status and citizenship are crucial factors in gaining access to and finding success in the labor market. But an important differentiating factor is also the historical period in which the immigrant entered Germany. Of those who came to Germany between 1984 and 1988, only 12 percent were looking for a job in 1995 in contrast to 27 percent of those who came after 1991 and later. One interpretation

of these facts is that in periods of unfavorable economic conditions, access to the labor market is more restricted for immigrants than in boom periods.

The cross-tabulations have shown employment patterns differ by both legal status and period of entry, but it is difficult to determine which of these effects is more important. Therefore, a multivariate analysis using logistic regressions will be performed. The first model analyzes which factors are relevant for gaining employment in the year after immigration. In the second model the characteristics of those seeking a job versus those in employment will be analyzed. In addition to legal status and entry period, both models control for education, gender, age, and availability of family networks¹.

In the first model, the dichotomous dependent variable equals 1 if the individual was employed in the year after immigration, and 0 otherwise. Even when controlling for all other variables, the status of an immigrant has considerable explanatory power. The effects of the period of entry are not significant, but the probability of being employed is lower for those who immigrated after 1991. It is considerably more difficult for women to find access to the labor market. A positive effect of networks can be observed

¹ In both models, for the independent variables, the subgroups for which we anticipate easiest access to the labor market were chosen as the reference categories. Reference categories for the discrete independent variables are the subgroups for whom employment is anticipated to be easiest.

Table 2

Logistic Regressions for Labor Market Integration

Individual Characteristics ²⁾	Employed in the Year After Entry ¹⁾	Employed in 1995 ¹⁾
Ethnic German	-1.38*	-1.09*
Foreign Immigrant	-1.05*	-1.52*
Entered in 1989-1990	0.08	-0.38
Entered in 1991-1995	-0.31	-1.00*
Female	-0.88*	-1.35*
Age at Arrival	-0.01	0.03
No Education	-0.18	-0.14
Primary Education	0.26	-0.23
No Family Members or Friends in Germany	0.09	-0.09
No Assistance from Family Members in Seeking a Job	-0.60*	-0.61*
Constant	1.40	1.93
Pseudo R ²	0.13	0.15
Number of Observations	806	739

* Indicates significance at 1 percent level. — ¹⁾ The dependent variable in the first column is 1 if respondent was employed one year after immigration to Germany and 0 if not employed. In column 2, 1 indicates employed in 1995, 0 indicates seeking a job. —

²⁾ The reference categories are East Germans, 1984-1988, male, secondary school, family members or friends in Germany, and received assistance from family members in seeking a job.

Source: Immigration survey (Sample D) of the German Socio-Economic Panel (1994/1995 survey year).

in the group of those who had friends or relatives who helped them find a job. The degree of education has an insignificant influence on the likelihood of being employed.

In the second column of Table 2, the dichotomous dependent variable is one if the individual is employed in 1995 and zero if he or she is seeking a job. Again differential access to the labor market by the status of the immigrants can be observed. East Germans (the reference category) more often find employment in the West German labor market than ethnic Germans or foreigners. Individuals who entered after 1991 also have a lower probability of being employed. This might be explained by the economic conditions or by the short duration of time in the country. Again, the chances of women gaining access to the labor market

are lower. Friends and relatives who help to find a job have a positive effect, while education and age have insignificant effects.

3. Occupational, Economic, and Social Mobility of Foreign Immigrants in Germany

We turn now to an analysis of the living conditions of immigrants from Turkey, Italy, Greece, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia. Due to the concentration of immigrants in West Germany, the West German population is used as the reference group for the immigrants. Two cohorts are formed for the years 1984 to 1989 (pre-reunification) and 1990 to 1994 (post-reunification), respectively. The

Table 3

Socio-Economic Status and Mobility of Germans and Immigrants, 1984 to 1994
in percent

	Immigrants		Germans ¹⁾		Immigrants		Germans ¹⁾	
	1984	1989	1984	1989	1990	1994	1990	1994
Total Sample								
Unskilled workers	25	20	4	4	20	16	4	3
Semi-skilled workers	45	44	12	12	44	44	11	9
Skilled workers	19	23	18	17	24	22	19	17
White-collar, low level	4	3	10	9	4	6	10	12
White-collar, middle and higher level	3	6	33	37	4	6	35	39
Self-employed	4	4	12	11	3	6	11	10
Second Generation²⁾								
Unskilled workers	22	15	9	3	13	7	4	2
Semi-skilled workers	25	35	11	14	29	27	9	4
Skilled workers	32	28	21	24	37	28	31	28
White-collar, low level	14	7	18	11	13	20	16	16
White-collar, middle and higher level	5	15	29	37	9	16	31	37
Self-employed	2	2	3	6	0	2	3	4
Women								
Unskilled workers	35	33	6	7	38	25	8	5
Semi-skilled workers	48	44	12	14	35	39	13	11
Skilled workers	3	5	3	4	9	5	5	4
White-collar, low level	8	7	21	18	10	17	19	24
White-collar, middle and higher level	3	8	39	42	7	11	43	41
Self-employed	4	4	13	9	2	3	7	9
Turkish Immigrants								
Unskilled workers	36	27			26	19		
Semi-skilled workers	42	42			37	40		
Skilled workers	14	22			24	21		
White-collar, low level	5	2			3	7		
White-collar, middle and higher level	2	6			3	5		
Self-employed	2	1			6	9		

¹⁾ The columns do not add up to 100 percent for the German population, since civil servants (*Beamte*, an occupation closed to immigrants by law) were excluded. — ²⁾ These are second generation foreigners and Germans between the ages of 16 to 25.

Source: German Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal samples 1984 to 1989 and 1990 to 1994.

analyses will focus on the question of how German reunification has influenced the career opportunities of immigrants.

Occupational Mobility

In 1984, 70 percent of the foreign labor force was employed at least part-time as unskilled or semi-skilled workers, while among German workers this share was only 16 percent (see Table 3). A certain degree of mobility, especially from semi-skilled work to skilled work, was observed in the period 1984 to 1989. Although the share of white-collar middle and higher level employees among foreigners doubled, it was still far below the share for Germans. Between 1990 and 1994, the share of foreign immigrants classified as unskilled workers decreased, but in 1994, 60 percent of immigrants still performed unskilled and semi-skilled work.

A somewhat more favorable picture emerges for children of immigrants. "Second generation" is defined as those foreigners who attended a German school. For reasons of comparability with a German age group, an upper age limit of 25 years was set for the second generation. Therefore, initial entry into the labor market is the focal point of the study of the second generation. Special attention will also be paid to Turkish immigrants and foreign women, as they are generally considered to be especially disadvantaged.

Nearly half of the second generation worked as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in 1984, while 32 percent worked as skilled workers. The share of unskilled workers declined between 1984 and 1989. The starting conditions for the 1990 cohort of the second generation were somewhat better than the conditions for the 1984 cohort, and in 1994 the picture is still more favorable. Sixteen percent of the second generation were working in middle- and higher-level white-collar positions. But this share is low in comparison to the corresponding German age group, where 37 percent have attained middle-level and higher-level white-collar positions. Great differences between the second generation and the corresponding German age group can also be observed in regard to the share of those performing semi-skilled work.

Foreign women were almost exclusively employed as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in 1984. In the period up to 1994 the dominance of the blue collar jobs receded, but in 1994 two-thirds of the female foreign employees were still employed in unskilled or semi-skilled positions. While foreign women were more likely to hold white-collar middle-level and higher-level positions by 1994, their share, 11 percent in comparison to German women (41 percent), is still very low. The occupational structure of Turkish wage and salary earners, which was characterized by a higher share of unskilled workers in 1984, had reached the average of other immigrants by 1994. Their mobility in this period was somewhat greater than that of the other nationalities.

As a whole it can be concluded that foreign workers have an employment profile that is clearly different from that of German workers and is characterized by jobs with low qualification requirements. Between 1984 and 1994, however, a slow rise into higher employment positions can be observed. The second generation in particular shows a more favorable mix of job types.

Now we will analyze whether foreign employees also made their way into attractive sectors of the economy. Manufacturing is still the dominant employment sector for foreign workers, whereas German employees are primarily employed in the service sector (see Table 4). But it is interesting to note that the number of foreigners employed in manufacturing declined substantially between 1990 and 1994. At the same time, immigrants gained employment in all branches of the service sector.

In the second generation the number of those working in manufacturing also declined substantially between 1990 and 1994, while the number employed in public administration and social services increased. But half of the second generation is still employed in manufacturing.

Among foreign women, the share employed in manufacturing in 1984 corresponded exactly to the average of all foreign employees. By 1994, however, a strong shift toward the service sector can be noted. In particular public administration and social services are becoming more important. German women are, however, employed to a much greater extent in the service sector, above all in public administration and social services. It cannot be assumed that changing from the manufacturing sector to the service sector is an improvement for foreign women. It is also conceivable that foreign women are ousted from manufacturing due to the introduction of shift-work, and thus must switch to less favorable employment positions in the service sector.

Between 1984 and 1989 the share of Turkish immigrants in manufacturing was above average. This share decreased to 53 percent by 1994 and thus equaled the share of all foreigners in this sector. Turks are moving more into public administration and social services.

In general, the importance of manufacturing for foreign workers declined between 1984 and 1994. The increase in the share of those employed in the service sector was most noticeable for foreign women and the second generation.

Social Integration of Immigrants

According to their self-assessment, more than half of all immigrants had a good knowledge of the German language in 1994 (see Table 5). This share has increased noticeably between 1984 and 1994. It is already considerably higher in the second generation, of whom 94 percent indicated in 1994 that they had a good verbal proficiency of German. It can be inferred that there are hardly any language barriers for the second generation. A below average language com-

Table 4

Distribution of German and Immigrant Wage and Salary Earners by Sector
in percent

	Immigrants		Germans ¹⁾		Immigrants		Germans ¹⁾	
	1984	1989	1984	1989	1990	1994	1990	1994
Total Sample								
Manufacturing	63	64	33	35	62	53	34	34
Construction	13	13	8	6	12	11	6	6
Distributive services	8	6	16	16	8	11	16	17
Production-oriented services	2	3	7	8	3	5	10	8
Consumer-oriented services	6	6	3	3	8	7	4	3
Public Administration/Social service	6	5	28	29	8	11	28	31
Second Generation²⁾								
Manufacturing	43	55	35	40	68	50	32	31
Construction	10	7	8	9	2	6	11	9
Distributive services	23	12	20	15	16	16	22	16
Production-oriented services	1	4	6	8	2	4	8	8
Consumer-oriented services	15	9	4	4	5	4	3	3
Public Administration/Social service	6	12	24	23	6	20	24	32
Women								
Manufacturing	63	57	22	24	54	42	22	21
Construction	0	1	2	2	1	0	2	1
Distributive services	9	7	21	20	9	14	21	22
Production-oriented services	2	6	9	10	4	3	10	8
Consumer-oriented services	13	13	6	5	18	15	6	3
Public Administration/Social service	12	17	36	38	14	27	39	43
Turkish Immigrants								
Manufacturing	71	69			61	53		
Construction	11	12			11	9		
Distributive services	6	5			8	11		
Production-oriented services	2	3			3	8		
Consumer-oriented services	4	3			5	7		
Public Administration/Social service	5	7			12	13		
¹⁾ The columns do not add up to 100 percent for the German population, since self-employed farmers were excluded from the calculation. — ²⁾ These are second generation foreigners and Germans between the ages of 16 to 25. <i>Source:</i> German Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal samples 1984 to 1989 and 1990 to 1994.								

petence was found among foreign women and among Turkish immigrants in general. The language skills of Turkish immigrants improved noticeably from one cohort to another, however.

Increased possibilities for interaction and longer duration of stay would lead us to expect an increase in intensive social relations between migrants and the local population. This is not the case, however. The share of those with interethnic friendships declined between 1990 and 1994, especially for the second generation; this can be interpreted as an increase in segregation. When asked for the three most important persons whom the respondent considered friends and with whom he or she spent time most frequently, more than half of the foreigners did not name a

single German. For the second generation, despite what might be expected from their better knowledge of the German language, the share of those who did not name a German among their three most important friends was still high. In 1990, 69 percent had at least one German friend, and this share declined surprisingly to 57 percent in 1994. This sharp decline in interethnic friendships indicates an increasing distance between the foreign and German populations. This is especially true for Turkish immigrants. The share of Turks without German friends reached about 70 percent in 1994.

Most foreigners from Mediterranean countries have lived in Germany for a long time or were even born there, but many have not decided to settle permanently in Germany.

Table 5

**Language Proficiency, Interethnic Friendships, Permanent
Settlement, National Identification of Immigrants in Selected Years**
in percent

	1984	1989	1990	1994
Good Verbal Knowledge of German?				
Total	42	46	55	58
Second generation	86	89	87	94
Women	35	40	49	94
Turkish immigrants	30	31	45	47
Interethnic Friendships¹⁾				
Total		48	46	43
Second generation		60	69	57
Women		46	39	39
Turkish immigrants		35	33	29
Intention for Permanent Settlement?				
Total	30	39	41	46
Second generation	34	54	52	56
Women	27	38	39	45
Turkish immigrants	26	35	43	47
Identification as a German?²⁾				
Total	10	11	14	16
Second generation	15	19	31	26
Women	10	10	12	14
Turkish immigrants	6	4	9	8
¹⁾ Question not asked in 1984. The values for 1989 refer to 1988. — ²⁾ The values for 1984 refer to 1985. <i>Source:</i> German Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal samples 1984 to 1989 and 1990 to 1994.				

In 1984 relatively few migrants (less than one-third) intended to settle permanently in Germany. In 1994 it was almost one-half. A clear increase can also be found among the second generation. However, those who do not want to stay permanently are not planning to return to their country of origin within the next few years. Most of them intend to settle for a longer period of time in Germany.

Even though nearly half of the immigrants and their children have already decided to settle permanently in Germany, they rarely identify themselves as Germans. In 1994 only 16 percent of all immigrants saw themselves as Germans; among the Turkish immigrants the share was only 8 percent. The second generation is an exception in the post-reunification cohort. The emotional and cultural distance from their parents' country of origin is apparently greatest for the younger people. One-fourth of the second generation saw themselves as Germans in 1994, but this share was higher in 1990.

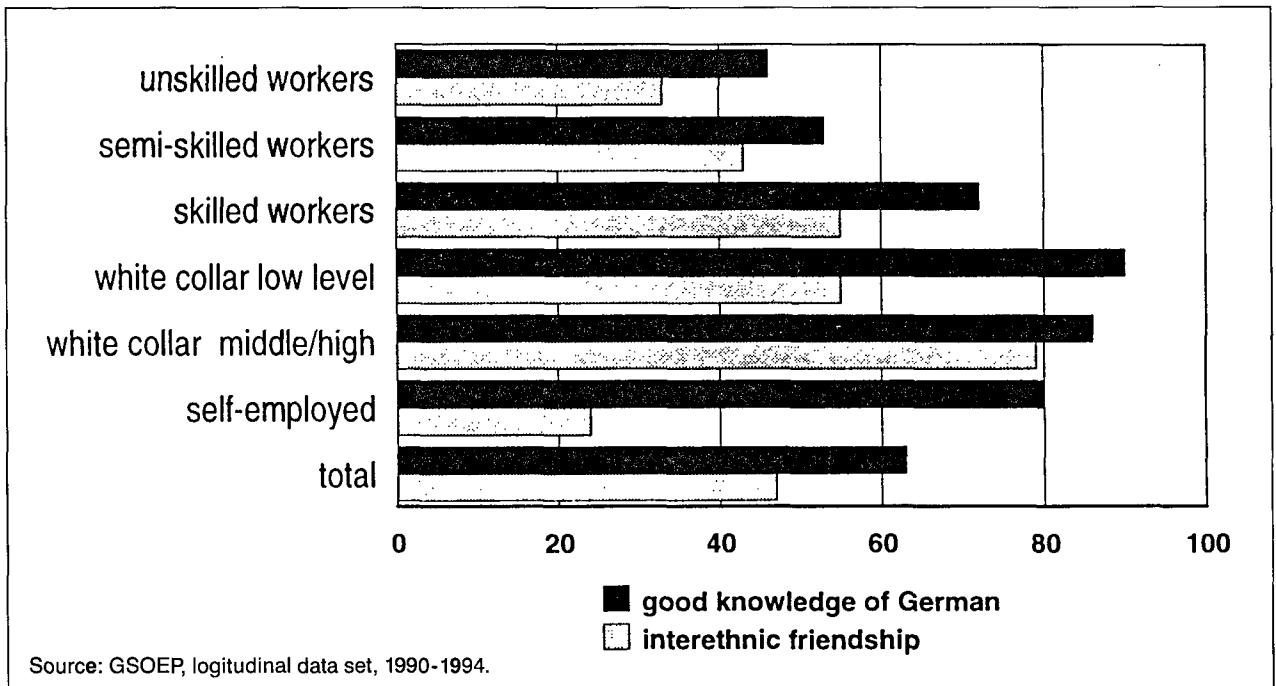
All in all, the foreign population increasingly segregated from German society, although they intend to stay in Germany permanently or for a long time. Most of them see themselves primarily as members of their ethnic community and not as Germans.

The Connection between Social and Occupational Integration

In the following, the degree to which occupational success depends on such factors as language proficiency, interethnic friendships, and the duration of stay will be examined. It can be assumed that fluency in German is a precondition for higher occupational positions. But occupational success depends not only upon such cognitive skills. Social networks and communication are also relevant. Social networks can be helpful in finding information or in writing applications. Having friends and associates only within the ethnic subgroup might be a disadvantage.

Significant positive linkage can be observed in levels of language and occupational position. Figure 1 shows that while white-collar employees and self-employed have a good knowledge of German, unskilled and semi-skilled workers have below average language proficiency (see the Figure). Skilled workers have the greatest share of good knowledge of German. This reveals clearly that access to higher positions of the labor market is linked to a sufficient knowledge of German. This is especially true for white-col-

Language Proficiencies and Interethnic Friendships by Occupational Status, 1994



lar professions, which have a higher density of communication and more contact with the public. Therefore, language can be considered a precondition for immigrants to higher positions in the labor market.

Similar patterns are also seen between interethnic friendships and occupational position. The share of unskilled and semi-skilled workers with interethnic friendships is below average. A unique pattern can be seen for the self-employed. Despite overall language proficiency, the level of interethnic friendships is low. One possible explanation might be a high volume of work. Generally, however, those who are integrated in the labor market also have on average a better language proficiency and a higher level of interethnic friendships.

Also it can justly be assumed that with a longer length of stay, the occupational, social and cultural skills of an immigrant will be improved, and that, therefore, an advancement into higher positions is made more likely. And, indeed, as shown in Table 6, there are clear differences in the employment profiles according to length of stay. Those workers who have been in Germany no longer than ten years are more likely to be employed as semi-skilled workers than those who have resided in Germany longer. This newer group consists largely of persons who came to Germany as family members of other immigrants. Those who come to Germany as family members tend not to have had economic migration incentives, and thus they often lack skills necessary in the German labor market.

Only slight differences exist between labor profiles for immigrants who have been in Germany for 11 to 20 years, on the one hand, and those who have been in Germany for over 20 years, on the other. A completely different employment structure is shown for those who were born in Germany. More than a quarter of this group is employed in middle and higher-level white-collar positions. The share of unskilled and semi-skilled labor is significantly lower than in the other groups. These differences show considerable intergenerational mobility. The important factor for this advancement is probably attendance in German schools.

4. Conclusion

Immigrants from Turkey, Italy, Spain, Greece, and former Yugoslavia largely hold the lower positions in the labor market. Minor improvements in the occupational positions for the first generation since their immigration in the 1960s and 1970s are observed. Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry are still dominant. In contrast to the first generation of immigrants, the situation of the second generation has clearly improved. In small proportions they have even found access to attractive jobs in the service sector. But the second generation performs work with low qualification requirements to a greater degree than Germans in the corresponding age group. Higher mobility is observed among Turkish immigrants, who were especially disadvantaged compared to other groups of immigrants in 1984. An

Table 6

Occupational Position of Immigrants in 1994 by Length of Stay
in percent

	0 to 10 Years	11 to 20 Years	21 Years and More	Born in Germany
Unskilled workers	17	18	15	4
Semi-skilled workers	58	40	44	25
Skilled workers	16	24	26	19
White-collar lower level	8	9	4	23
White-collar middle or higher level	0	6	8	27
Self-employed	2	3	3	2

Source: German Socio-Economic Panel, longitudinal sample 1990 to 1994.

increase in the number of foreign women working in the service sector can be seen, with a simultaneous decline in their concentration in manufacturing. Even after the German reunification, when competition in the labor market increased, foreign workers were able to slightly improve their labor market status.

There exists positive relationships between the immigrants' language proficiency, number of interethnic friendships, and duration of stay on the one hand, and their occupational position on the other. Occupational advancement is linked with factors of human and social capital. But this is not a one-sided dynamic. Advancement into a higher occupational position also opens doors for interethnic friendship and helps to improve language skills. Furthermore, the intergenerational mobility of migrants is considerable, and it is unlikely that these immigrant groups form a durable ethnic underclass. Differences between second generation immigrants and Germans of the same age still exist, but for Germans, too, the educational and occupational opportunities of individuals depend on the

level of education and the social status of their parents (Büchel and Wagner 1996).

For new immigrant groups, access to the labor market and the career patterns are shaped predominantly by the legal status of the immigrants. In West Germany, East German immigrants, with their automatic citizenship, have had the best chances for successful labor market integration.

Another important factor is the time period of entry. For those who immigrated earlier, the integration opportunities are more favorable. For women of all status groups integration into the labor market is more difficult than for men. The minor differences by education that could be observed suggest that access to the labor market was possible for all educational groups. But the concentration of immigrants in blue-collar jobs reveals difficulties in access to white-collar jobs. Despite their lower likelihood of holding such positions, however, it cannot be assumed that there exists a labor market segmentation that systematically excludes immigrants from positions with a higher qualification requirement.

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