

From School to Work: Public Policy and Underclass Formation among Young Turks in Germany during the 1980s

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This article analyzes the entry of young Turkish immigrants into German labor markets during the 1980s. In comparative perspective, Germany shows a high degree of public responsibility for job training of school leavers. The German apprenticeship, or dual system of vocational and job training, has resulted in high rates of training and low youth unemployment rates. However, while the participation rate of young Turks in the dual system has increased over the past decade, a high degree of ethnic inequality has persisted. Ethnically-specific access to job training and employment has developed. This finding applies even more strongly to young Turkish women than to Turkish men. Nevertheless, no ethnic underclass emerged during the 1980s. It remains to be seen, however, how the process of European integration will affect the insertion of the descendants of Turkish migrants.

Nearly all Western industrial states resorted to recruitment of foreign labor during the post-World War II boom cycle. In the 1970s and 1980s, virtually all ceased to import foreign labor. Now problems of incorporation of those migrants and their descendants have become obvious in Western Europe (Castles, 1984; Wilpert, 1989). One possible outcome of the processes of insertion is the formation of an "underclass" in Western Europe.

An area of particular concern has been the entry of descendants of migrant workers into labor markets. The argument made in this article is that inclusive training policies, such as the German apprenticeship system, provide for the gradual insertion of nonuniversity-bound immigrant youth. In particular, inclusive training policies have contributed to a gradual

¹ I would like to thank Tom Bailey, Ira Katznelson, Suzanne Model, James Rosenbaum, Elizabeth Sanders, Aristide Zolberg, and anonymous readers of this journal for helpful criticism and suggestions on an earlier version of this paper.

increase of the participation of Turkish youth in job training, especially Turkish men. However, despite the high public responsibility for vocational education and job training of school leavers, there has been persistent inequality between Turkish and German youth in access to training slots. Discrimination against Turkish school leavers is not direct; rather, it works through informal and institutional processes of access to training and jobs. Underclass formation has not occurred during the 1980s.

What has been the impact of political choices and public policies on the processes of employment of young Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany? More specifically, how has the political-institutional organization of schooling and work structured entry into labor markets? This analysis focuses on the 1980s, a period when many Turkish "guestworkers" and their families made the transition to permanent settlement and second generation migrants made up an increasing proportion of youths enrolled in secondary schools and youth labor markets. Turkish immigrants have represented the largest contingent of Germany's immigrant population and over a third of the immigrant school age population in the 1970s and 1980s. Turkish youths, like immigrant youth in other European countries, have experienced high rates of exclusion from job training (CEDEFOP, 1986) and higher rates of unemployment than majority youths during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s (Limage, 1987). More than two thirds of all German youths receive formal job training. Among OECD countries in the 1970s and 1980s, similar levels have been matched only by Sweden, Austria and Switzerland. The German system of training for nonuniversity goers has consistently resulted in one of the lowest youth/adult unemployment ratios in the European Community (Eurostat, 1990).

The German job training system combines systematic and regulated training on the job (apprenticeship) with instruction in part-time vocational schools (vocational education), the so-called dual system (Braun, 1987).² Training in the dual system is thus the key mechanism of access to "skilled" jobs. In the 1970s and 1980s, more than two thirds of all German youths

² The most important mechanism linking schooling and work is the so-called "dual system" of vocational education and training, in which most students of nonacademic track, secondary schools participate. In most apprenticeships, youths work in the company where they are trained on the job and spend one or two days a week in part-time vocational school. Apprenticeships last between two and four years. Training occurs under the supervision of certified trainers (industry and commerce) or masters (trades); the apprentice follows a predetermined training program which is set by a regulatory agency (Federal Institute of Vocational Education) on the federal level. Supervision of the curricula, however, remains in the hands of the local Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Crafts. The company and trainers have to be certified by the local chambers of crafts (*Handwerkshammern*) or the chambers of industry and commerce (*Industrie- und Handelskammern*). One of the incentives for hiring apprentices from the point of view of employers is that they are paid only a training allowance, which averaged between 20 and 40%

and more than 90 percent of all Turkish youths did not go on to university or to postsecondary technical colleges directly after completion of secondary school. In contrast to the United States, for example, nonattendance at universities has not meant deprivation and marginalization in the adult labor market. In the past two decades, while college attendance rose sharply in the United States, it was apprenticeship that grew most rapidly in Germany (Blossfeld, 1987). The apprenticeship or dual system is a requirement for skilled and good-paying jobs in the adult labor market—for all nonuniversity-bound students, in all sectors of the economy, for blue-collar workers in manufacturing and in the crafts as well as for white-collar occupations. Since the late nineteenth century, the German apprenticeship system has become the “normal” path for nonuniversity-bound German youths to enter the world of work. Failure to pass through apprenticeship greatly increases the risk of unemployment in the German labor market.

Compared to German youth enrollment in job training, participation of Turks was about two times lower than among the former group. Overall, only about one third of all immigrants aged 15 to 20 was enrolled in apprenticeship training compared to about two thirds of German youths (BMBW, 1991:103–112). Also, the unemployment rate among Turkish youth was almost twice as high. Even compared to other immigrant youths in Germany, young Turkish men and women showed higher rates of unemployment and lower rates of enrollment in the dual system.

Access to and availability of job training has obvious consequences for the overall life chances of immigrant minority youth. Access to job training shapes future employment opportunities. In the United States, William J. Wilson and his collaborators have argued that macro-economic changes, resulting in industrial restructuring, coupled with the exodus of middle- and working-class African Americans from black neighborhoods, have led to a “social dislocation” of ghetto residents, characterized by an increase in

of the national average wage in the 1970s and 1980s. State and federal policies regulate the other part of the dual system, the vocational school.

In regard to governance, the dual system is really a tripartite system, including state actors and institutions, employer organizations and trade unions. Even though the system generally allows unions a comparatively high degree of participation in respect to specific functions, particularly in the areas of financing and the (local) implementation of industrial training, one can hardly speak of a symmetry of influence between the associations of the two sides.

Complementary part-time vocational school has the task of supplementing incompany training with theoretical content and general education, particularly in German language and social studies. Attendance is mandatory up to the age of 18. It is also mandatory up to the age of 18 for those who take up jobs as unskilled workers directly upon exiting secondary schools (unless they have fulfilled vocational schooling requirements by one year of full-time vocational schooling). While the Länder (states’) ministries of education are responsible for vocational schooling, a process of interstate coordination through the BIBB regulates training curricula for the entire Federal Republic.

female-headed households, violent crime, welfare dependency and long-term unemployment—permanent exclusion from the labor force. The argument is that manufacturing jobs, once important for innercity residents, have moved from the city (Kasarda, 1989). Thus, in particular, the absence among ghetto residents of a “job network system that permeates other neighborhoods,” *i.e.*, helping innercity residents find out about and get jobs in other neighborhoods, leaves them without employment opportunities (Wilson, 1987). An important policy implication of this claim is that a vigorous employment policy could combat long-term unemployment and exclusion from the labor force.

Viewed from a policy perspective, the case of second generation Turks in Germany is of particular interest in comparative perspective, considering the fact that both the United States and Germany have experienced similar economic changes (Kasarda and Friedrichs, 1985). First generation immigrants are not expected to form an underclass; they find jobs through job networks. In the context of current economic restructuring, however, many of these jobs are no longer available or desirable for their descendants. Even more important, if the lack of access to training and employment has been a key factor in underclass formation, then inclusive training policies like the German dual or apprenticeship system should have positive effects on the employment of the descendants of migrant workers in German.

The empirical evidence presented is based upon secondary literature, primary statistical sources and fieldwork in Duisburg (Ruhr area) in 1990–91. The first part of this study presents a statistical portrait of school-work transition of Turkish and German school leavers into the training market. The second part examines public policies affecting German and immigrant school leavers who do not go on to university or postsecondary college. It offers an explanation for the gradual insertion of Turkish school leavers into the labor market. It also discusses the impact of training and foreigner-specific policies and concomitant training policies and programs for the disadvantaged. The article then analyzes the access to apprenticeship of young Turkish men and women, emphasizing the impact of public policies on job networks through institutions such as *Berufsberatung* (vocational counseling and placement) and works councils. The conclusion draws implications for future processes of employment and possible underclass formation. It places insertion into labor markets in the context of transnational labor market policies.

ENTRY INTO THE WORKING WORLD: STATISTICS

Historically, the dual system has been characterized not only by dual places of learning (company and vocational school) and dual authorities (authority

of the federal state for on-the-job training curricula and the individual Länder for vocational school curricula). The dual system has also been characterized by dualities such as gender-specific concentrations in apprenticeship fields and clear differences of quality in training along sector lines. The insertion of immigrant groups such as Turks has added another cross-cutting dimension—ethnicity.

A study based on the microcensus of 1989 found that about 86 percent of all young people between the ages of 19 and 30 had either completed or were presently enrolled in universities, apprenticeship or full-time vocational schools. Among females, the rate of nonenrollment was higher than for males (16.9% vs. 11.9%) (*Sozialpolitische Nachrichten*, 1990:19). For immigrant youth, access to training slots in apprenticeship has been the main problem. In particular, Turkish youths have been severely underrepresented. In the 1980s, while two thirds of all German youths aged 15 to 24 had completed or were enrolled in apprenticeship, less than one third of Turkish youths had done so (Table 1).³

Ethnic and gender differences are clearly visible in Table 2. The difference in apprenticeship enrolled between German and Turkish males was not as high (21.5% vs. 18.3%) as among women, however (8.9% of Turkish women compared to 21.4% among German females). In the realm of full-time vocational schools, the most obvious difference is along gender lines—both German and Turkish females have a higher rate of enrollment than their male counterparts. This is not a surprising finding, given the gendered structure of the training system: vocational training in the health sector and social work (*e.g.*, nurses, day-care workers, etc.) does not take place in the dual system, but in full-time vocational schools. Compared to all other groups, Turkish women are also overrepresented in programs for the disadvantaged. The analysis of those not present in the training market at all—those unemployed or not in schools and in the labor force—is also instructive. Turkish males and females have experienced higher unemployment rates than their German peer groups. Turkish males have a higher

³ The following sections are based upon ethnographically informed field research in Duisburg, including interviews with German and Turkish school leavers, apprentices, young *Facharbeiter* and *Angestellte* teachers in general and vocational education schools, and managers in training departments. Duisburg is a particularly interesting case for analysis. The competition between German and Turkish youth for apprenticeship slots has been even stronger than in other parts of Germany (about 15% of 15–18 year olds in the 1980s were immigrant youths; about 80% of immigrant youths are Turks). There is a strong segmentation of the youth labor market along ethnic and gender lines (Stender, 1989). During the 1980s, it had among the highest youth and adult unemployment rates in the Federal Republic; it has been undergoing economic restructuring since the 1960s. Due to its monostructural economy based on steel production, it has been a working-class city with most blue- and white-collar apprenticeship positions in large bureaucratically organized firms (*e.g.*, steel and chemicals), relatively fewer in the trades than national average.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN APPRENTICESHIPS, 15-18 YEAR OLDS

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989 ^a
Turks	22.4	21.6	23.1	25.2	29.1	-
Yugoslavs	32.7	33.5	32.2	29.7	33.6	-
Italians	25.2	28.0	30.1	33.5	36.6	-
Greeks	17.9	19.8	22.1	22.4	24.2	-
Spaniards	33.3	38.1	43.2	42.6	45.3	-
Portuguese	26.3	29.2	33.7	37.6	42.5	-
Total Immigrants	24.1	24.1	25.4	26.9	30.8	32.4
Total Germans and Immigrants	59.0	62.9	66.5	69.3	72.6 ^b	73.8

Sources: BMBW, 1990:122, BMBW, 1991:107.

Notes: ^a Numbers for 1989 were not yet available (1991).

^b These numbers and percentages refer to 16-19-year-old youths.

TABLE 2
POSITION OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN IN THE TRAINING MARKET
(1988) IN DUISBURG (16 to 19 Years Old)

	Germans		Immigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
General Education Schools	18.4	17.6	21.5	23.0
Dual System	21.5	21.4	18.3	8.9
Specialized Vocational Schools (Full-time)	3.0	4.9	3.1	4.3
Work/Employed	30.3	34.3	38.5	15.5
University/Post-Secondary College	10.3	6.6	6.5	3.5
Army (Bundeswehr)	9.9	-	-	-
Programs for the Disadvantaged	1.0	1.4	2.2	3.4
Unemployed	5.7	7.2	11.0	14.8
Not Employed	-	5.5	-	25.5

Source: Stadt Duisburg, 1989:37-38.

rate of employment than German males (38.5% vs. 30.3%). Moreover, the rate of those not in the labor force is especially high for Turkish females (25.5%), followed by German females (5.5%).

There are significant variations between immigrant groups in training participation. Overall, the proportion of immigrant youths entering apprenticeships increased slightly during the 1980s (Table 3). Turkish youths, along with Greeks, had the lowest participation rates in the dual system. In 1986-87, for example, an average of only about 25 percent of immigrant youths (23% of Turkish youths, 22% Greeks) were trainees in the dual system (BMBW, 1990:122). The situation for Greeks is different, since a much larger share of Greek youths attended secondary schools leading to *Mittlere Reife* (intermediate secondary school, *Realschule*) and, even more important, access to universities through *Abitur* (academic secondary school, *Gymnasium*) (Hopf, 1987). Italians and Yugoslavs have shown higher rates of participation in apprenticeship (33% and 36%, respectively), while Portuguese and Spanish youth are leading (42% and 45%, respectively). Although no comparable data on German youths are available (only total, Germans and immigrants), the evidence suggests that immigrant youths have been able to increase their participation despite a high degree of competition for training slots during most of the 1980s.

TABLE 3
LONGITUDINAL TRENDS, SCHOOL LEAVERS (1982-1988)

	Dual System or Working	Other Training (incl. University)	Not in Labor Force	Unemployed/ Programs for Disadvantaged
1982	73.6	6.4	6.5	13.5
1983	69.8	13.3	5.4	11.5
1984	68.9	15.5	4.5	11.1
1985	70.5	16.3	2.9	10.4
1986	67.6	20.5	3.3	8.6
1987	64.1	24.9	1.6	9.4
1988	62.6	22.6	0.9	14.1
Germans				
Men	75.0	16.9	0.0	8.2
Women	67.4	15.4	6.7	10.5
Turks				
Men	70.0	13.4	0.4	16.3
Women	31.3	12.5	32.8	23.5

Source: Stadt Duisburg, 1990:92.

School leavers in Duisburg did suffer from higher levels of unemployment than in most regions in the Federal Republic. However, the ratio of unemployed Turks to Germans decreased considerably in the late 1980s (Table 4). While the ratio was 1.5 to 1 in the early 1980s, it reached near parity in the late 1980s. Nevertheless, when we combine those unemployed and those in programs for the disadvantaged in 1988, we find that Turkish men and women are still more likely to face exclusion from apprenticeship than their German peers (Table 5).

In short, the relative disadvantage of immigrant youths in general, and Turkish youths in particular, vis-à-vis German youths in training programs, overall employment rates did decrease during the 1980s, although at a very slow pace. The period from the mid-1970s until the late 1980s constituted a bottleneck in apprenticeship positions due to the political management of economic restructuring and demographic trends. This situation increased competition between graduates of different secondary schools. Since Turkish youths were most likely to graduate from the *Hauptschule* (lower secondary school), they were among the most likely to be excluded from prestigious apprenticeships. Turkish youths increased their enrollment above all in the *Hauptschule*, although they made advances in the *Realschule* and *Gymna-*

TABLE 4
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG YOUTH
(UNDER 25), 1983-1989 (In Percent)

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Germans	10.2	9.3	9.1	9.3	8.5	9.1	7.0
Turks	15.8	12.1	11.2	12.3	11.0	10.8	6.8
Ratio—T:G	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	0.9

Source: Calculations based upon Stadt Duisburg, 1990:96-97.

TABLE 5
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AMONG TURKISH AND
GERMAN YOUTH IN DUISBURG (1988)

Nationality/Gender	Employed	Not Employed	Unemployed/Programs for the Disadvantaged
German Male	81.9	0.0	18.1
German Female	71.7	11.5	16.7
Turkish Male	74.0	0.0	25.5
Turkish Female	26.5	43.3	30.2

Source: Stadt Duisburg, 1989:59.

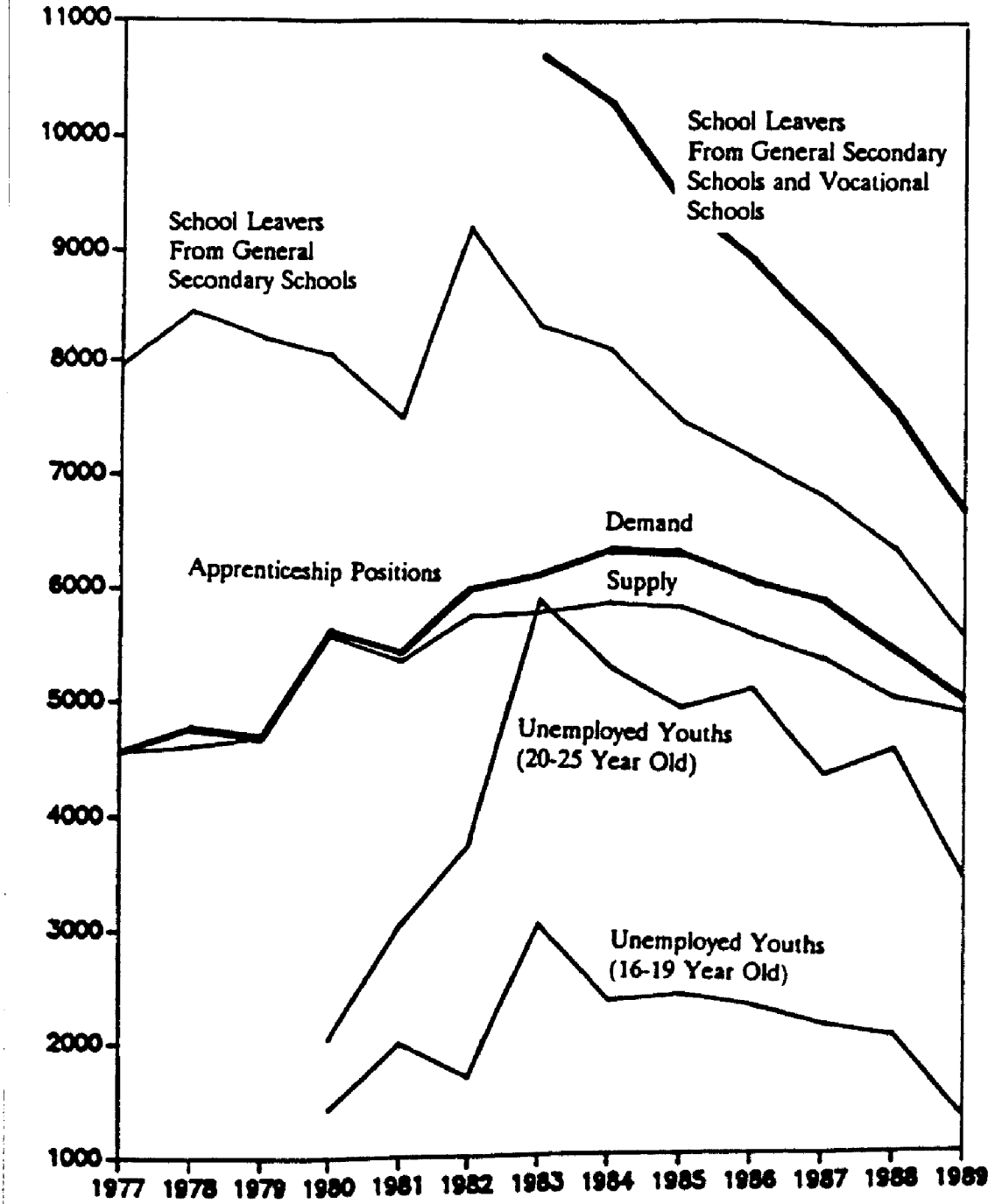
sium as well. At the same time that Turkish youths were incorporated in secondary schools, the minimum qualifications for access to most apprenticeships were increased by private and public companies. Since the German secondary school system mostly is tiered as opposed to comprehensive, we find a stronger direct linkage between the type of secondary school attended, on the one hand, and field of entry into the labor market, on the other hand. For certain slots, companies began to hire Realschule or even Gymnasium graduates instead of Hauptschule students. Moreover, fields such as banking have become virtually closed to Realschule graduates. At the other end, Hauptschule graduates have become more concentrated in the less attractive apprenticeship fields, above all the trades. Thus, the dual system has become more segmented along educational credentials at the same time that a dequalification of lower secondary school certificates occurred.

Longitudinal trends clearly show that, of the secondary school graduates between 1982 and 1988 in Duisburg—a period characterized by relative scarcity of training slots (Figure I)—more than two thirds of all school leavers participated in the dual system—German men (75%), German women (67.4%) and Turkish men (70%). The exception was the group of Turkish women, with a rate of only 31.3 percent. The share of Turkish women in other training (12.5%) is also lower than among other groups. Low rates of participation in training went hand in hand with exceptionally high rates of nonparticipation in the labor force and high rates of unemployment and participation in programs for the disadvantaged.

One crude measure of the disadvantages most Turkish youths face is the distribution in the broad sectors of industry and commerce (*Industrie und Handel*) and the trades (*Handwerk*). In the mid-1980s, more than half (55.3%) of alien youths were apprentices in the trades, only 41 percent in industry (*Industrie*). For German youths, the distribution has been just the opposite (BMBW, 1990:37, 125). Almost no immigrant or Turkish youth had entered training in the advanced service sector (*e.g.*, banks, insurance, public administration) (Table 6). Nationally, immigrant youths enrolled in training have consistently had higher than average rates in energy/mining, manufacturing, other services, construction and nonprofit organizations. In Duisburg, the first two fields have been of special importance due to the regional industrial structure.

There are two implications from the overrepresentation of young Turks in the trades. An overrepresentation in apprenticeships in the trades may well mean problems of taking the second hurdle in entering a career, namely the transition from apprenticeship to a "skilled" worker career (Winkel, 1990:47). Immigrant youths are concentrated in very few apprenticeship fields. Young males, for example, have tended to cluster in fields such as car

FIGURE I
THE NUMBER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL LEAVERS,
DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF TRAINING POSITIONS,
AND UNEMPLOYED YOUTH (1977-1989)



Source: *Berufsbildungsbericht* 1990, p. 98.

TABLE 6
SECTOR DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT APPRENTICES, 1981-1987

Sector	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981
Agriculture	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2
Energy, Mining	3.8	3.8	3.6	1.1	1.4	3.7	3.1
Manufacturing	35.1	34.7	34.3	36.4	40.0	40.2	39.5
Construction	8.3	9.0	10.3	11.0	10.1	9.5	9.9
Commerce	10.6	10.3	10.3	11.3	12.2	12.7	13.4
Transport. Commun.	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.2
Finance, Insurance	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2
Other Services	30.0	30.2	29.4	29.4	27.7	27.2	27.0
Non-Profit Orgs.	5.1	5.1	5.4	4.3	2.7	1.3	1.0
Local Gov't.	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.1	1.2	1.4
No Data	0.6	0.0	0.1	-	-	-	-
Immigrant Youth Quota							
Agriculture	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1
Energy, Mining	6.3	5.6	5.2	2.8	3.5	6.7	5.2
Manufacturing	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.7	3.0	2.8	2.4
Construction	3.1	2.7	2.9	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.2
Commerce	2.2	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8
Transport. Commun.	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6
Finance, Insurance	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7
Other Services	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.0	2.8
Non-Profit Orgs.	6.3	5.7	6.2	5.8	4.6	2.4	1.9
Local Gov't.	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.0	1.0
No Data	4.0	5.9	4.5	4.4	-	2.6	3.9
Total	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.2

Source: Boos-Nünning *et al.*, 1991:29.

mechanics, and females, for example, as haircutters (Rutzel, 1989:97-133). Most of these latter jobs offer little hope for future employment as skilled workers (*Facharbeiter* in blue-collar occupations or *Angestellte* in white-collar occupations). It is exactly in trades such as haircutter or baker that unemployment among young adults with completed apprenticeships was highest in the 1980s. Large firms train apprentices because they expect to employ the people they train and to recoup that investment in increased worker productivity. Small firms, in contrast, often train more apprentices than they

usually continue to employ as regular employees and depend upon them as a source of inexpensive labor. This form of self-interest may result in lower quality training. In short, immigrant youths in general are concentrated in those craft apprenticeship fields in which the risk is highest of not being employed in a "skilled" position after completion of an apprenticeship.

The decision of immigrant youths to enter less desirable apprenticeship positions does not stem from misinformation, but arises out of competition between immigrant youths and German youths. As mentioned above, educational degrees are used in this competition. The strong institutional linkage between secondary schooling and type of training should not obscure the fact, however, that job networks are of prime importance in getting access to training and jobs. Interviews with Turkish and German school leavers and personnel directors substantiate the view that differences in access to training between graduates from the same type of secondary school, or even the same secondary school, can be attributed to the availability of networks (Faist, 1992: Chapter 6). We now turn to an analysis of how access to training is structured along ethnic lines.

PUBLIC POLICIES

The impact of public policies has been to raise the floor level of training for both Germans and Turks. At the same time, ethnically-specific policies like prevocational and remedial programs have actually resulted in the creation of a disadvantaged minority in the training sector.

Training Policies: Corporate Arrangements

Job training of secondary school leavers is not only a public good as in most other Western countries, but it is a public responsibility. In Germany, training has been seen as a public responsibility to a much higher degree than in countries such as the United States, France or Great Britain. The first priority of training policy has been to enhance the international competitiveness of the German economy in the world economy through a well-trained labor force. Public policy in the 1970s and 1980s has also reflected efforts to train most school leavers. German Basic Law guarantees the "free development of personality" (Article 2) and the right to "freely choose vocation/profession (*Beruf*), workplace, and place of education and training" (Article 12). The high degree of public responsibility and universalized training policies have contributed to gradual increases of Turkish participation in apprenticeship during the 1980s.

The German solution to the problems posed by the provision of training has been a corporate arrangement (Hilbert *et al.*, 1990). Since the early

1970s, state representatives, unions and employers have cooperated to regulate issues such as the number of apprenticeship occupations, pay rates, and revision of curricula of on-the-job training. The strength of the corporate arrangement is that it has coped rather successfully with the undersupply of training slots in the dual system from the late 1970s until the mid-1980s. Supply is politically regulated. There was an increase in youth unemployment in the 1970s and 1980s due to changes in the international political economy. Although apprenticeship slots provided by employers fell short of demand during most of the 1980s, employers substantially increased the number of slots (BMBW, 1990:118). The increase in the supply of apprenticeship positions occurred through mobilization of employer associations (including the Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Crafts), pressured by state administrations, politicians and unions. Employers provide the large majority of slots for apprentices in the dual system. Urged by the new conservative-liberal (CDU/CSU-FDP) government in 1983, for example, employers greatly increased the number of positions and trained apprentices beyond foreseeable demand. As a result of increasing the number of apprenticeships without considering the future needs and employability, a number of apprentices were trained in fields in which they could not work after graduation from apprenticeship, with great risks for future long-term unemployment (Heinz, 1987). As the statistical portrait showed, Turkish youths tended to be concentrated in those fields where the number of apprentices trained exceeded demand in the adult labor market, such as in service occupations (*e.g.*, hairdresser, baker).

There are also two important limitations in regard to equality of opportunity in the training market. First, cooperation of state, corporate and union actors takes place within industrial sectors, *e.g.*, construction, metal, electrical and chemical industries. Public policy coordination of training also occurs on the sectoral level because employer associations and unions are organized along sector lines. The institution regulating vocational training, the Federal Institute of Vocational Education (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung) mainly functions as a forum where employer organizations and unions bargain issues of vocational training. Therefore, it is hard to imagine the design and implementation of more comprehensive strategies to advance equality of opportunity for disadvantaged groups of school leavers. Class interests are well represented but the interests of immigrants are not. For example, immigrant organizations are not part of the corporate network. In other words, the way class interests of employers and workers have been organized has ensured training of most German youths. But it has not allowed the development of universal policies guaranteeing access for all youths to quality job training. Second, corporate coordination did not

impinge upon the prerogative of private companies to regulate hiring and quotas of apprentices, in particular access to apprenticeship slots through job networks.

It is no coincidence that public policy efforts to improve access to work for young immigrants increased in the late 1980s. It has been only in the late 1980s that a shortage of applicants in some sectors of vocational training has become visible (BIVG, 1989–1991). Thus, for example, in 1988–89, employer organizations and unions called for a variety of measures to give immigrant youths greater access to the dual system and full-time vocational schooling.⁴ The Vocational Guidance Service of the Federal Employment Office (*Berufsberatung*) has also stepped up its efforts to supply more detailed information about apprenticeship and other training opportunities to immigrant youths and their parents (cf., Boos-Nünning, 1990).

Corporate arrangements also have had an effect on hiring processes at the firm level. In particular, participation rights of workers and employees at the firm level have helped to increase the number of Turkish apprentices, in particular young men. The most important institutions are works councils.⁵ To the extent that Turkish workers are represented on works councils, exclusion of Turkish youth from apprenticeship has become more difficult. Immigrant participation in industrial democracy, thus, contributes to access to apprenticeship.

In sum, corporate arrangements in the formation and implementation of training policy and participation rights of Turkish workers on the firm level have affected access to training. The main strength of the corporate political-institutional arrangement lies in its ability to increase the number of apprenticeships. However, there have been no successful attempts to deal directly with issues of access to apprenticeship on a large scale. For example, there is no affirmative action to reserve desirable slots for women and immigrant youths.

⁴ Joint Statement, "Equality of Opportunity for Young Foreigners through Vocational Education," by the Federal of German Employers Associations (BDA), Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce (DIHT), the Central Organization of German Handwerk (ZdH), the Federal Employment Office (BfA), and the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) (cf., Collingro *et al.*, 1990:229–232).

⁵ A works council has to be established under the German Law on Labor Relations at the Workplace in all undertakings employing more than five adult workers. The employer and the works council have to agree on new operational plans and industrial relations questions at the plant level. The members of the works council are elected by the whole workforce and the works council's duties are specified by law. The works council hears grievances, ensures that the employer is complying with all labor laws and collective bargaining agreements, and bargains with the employer over personnel and social matters—decisions on hiring, transfer, dismissal, vacations, hours of work and plant rules.

"Foreigner"-Specific Policies: The Creation of a Minority through Programs for the Disadvantaged

In addition to training policies, "foreigner"-policies have affected the insertion of Turkish youths into labor markets. The fact that second generation Turks born in Germany are neither automatically naturalized nor eligible for dual citizenship has not disadvantaged them in the training labor market vis-à-vis German youths. In short, access to training is not bound to the legal dimension of citizenship.

In the 1970s, public policy first dealt with immigrant youth as a temporary and passing phenomenon. It placed immigrant youths into specific programs for the disadvantaged. Broadly, policies toward guestworkers and de facto immigrants since the 1960s were oriented toward labor market aspects, namely the use of foreign labor as a "conjuncture buffer" (*Konjunkturpuffer*) and as a replacement for the German proletariat in sectors such as coal and steel. Only slowly did the exclusive labor market focus of the foreigners policy begin to change during the 1980s with a strategy of integration for "those who want to stay" and incentives for return for unemployed guestworkers.

Policy-makers and administrators in Germany thus categorized immigrant youth as a "problem group," along with mentally and physically handicapped German youth. The following statement in one of the annual reports on vocational training by the Ministry of Education and Science is typical: "Less competitive youth also must find their place in the dual system. This is true for disadvantaged youth and young foreigners as well as for handicapped youth" (BMBW, 1989:13). Public policies directed at those immigrant youths who failed to enter the dual system in the training market (the majority of Turkish youths) have been limited mostly to programs for the disadvantaged. An active policy would have required measures to integrate immigrant youths into regular apprenticeship programs or full-time vocational schools and not relegate them to programs for the disadvantaged.

Vocational Guidance and Placement (*Berufsberatung*) channels those Turkish youths who do not enter apprenticeships into programs for the disadvantaged. The most important of a series of specific programs were MBSE (*Maßnahmen zur Sozialen und Beruflichen Eingliederung*, 1981-87). These ethnically specific programs for immigrant youths only (especially those who came to Germany in later phases of their youth) were phased out in 1987. They contributed significantly to the ethnic segmentation of the training market, in that their clientele was exclusively immigrant youth, a codeword for Turkish youths. Evaluation research found that these programs improved skills of German language and social interaction (Eckert,

1989), but did practically nothing in terms of integration into apprenticeship (Boge and Vogel, 1987). In other pre-apprenticeship programs, such as Basic Vocational Training Year (*Berufsgrundbildungsjahr*, BGJ), Turkish youths have been definitely overrepresented. Most of these youths were not able to find regular jobs or apprenticeships. Many times a pattern has developed—movement from one program to another, thus prolonging these “useless” time periods. While programs such as MBSE and various other programs did not significantly increase the job and training opportunities of young Turks, there have been more successful attempts, the so-called Programs for the Disadvantaged (*Benachteiligtenprogramm*, Paragraph 40c of the Work Promotion Act, AFG). These programs have been more effective because they support youths during their apprenticeship. These measures, however, still have not solved the problem of access to the dual system.

In sum, targeted programs for the disadvantaged have not helped those Turkish youths who were not able to enter the dual system because these programs are not connected to the regular training sector, the dual system of training at the workplace and in part-time vocational schools. In general, graduates of remedial programs do not enter the dual system. Private companies will not hire those youths because these young people did not make a smooth transition from school to work. Most companies will not hire youths who did not enter apprenticeship right after school, arguing that the costs of training would be exceedingly high. In other words, the participation in these dead-end programs turned immigrant school leavers into foreigners, a stigmatized minority.

ACCESS TO TRAINING:

PERSISTENT HIGH ETHNIC INEQUALITY

As the discussion has established so far, one reason for persistently high ethnic inequality between Germans and Turks in access to training can be found in programs for the disadvantaged which were de facto ethnically targeted programs. However, in regard to access to apprenticeship, it is crucial to analyze how public policies are translated into hiring through intermediary institutions, such as Vocational Guidance and Placement (*Berufsberatung*), and, above all, firm level recruitment involving employers and, in big companies, works councils.

The sectors of employment of first generation Turks indicate where we have to look when analyzing access to training and work among second generation Turks. Many young Turkish men are employed in the same sectors (Schultze, 1991). In most of the industries in which Turkish migrants have worked, recruitment of apprentices through co-workers and relatives

plays an important role. From a policy perspective, sector and occupation of the first generation of immigrants matter because access to training occurs through informal and institutional mechanisms involving the first generation. This is especially true for Turkish men; the absence of such mechanisms for Turkish women is a first indicator for the greater degree of disadvantages faced by Turkish women vis-à-vis their male peers.

"Guestworkers" in the 1960s and 1970s constituted a blue-collar manufacturing group. In 1980, 92.3 percent and in 1985, 86.2 percent of migrant workers were blue-collar workers (*Arbeiter* in contrast to white-collar workers, *Angestellte*), and about three fourths of those were employed in unskilled and semiskilled jobs (FES, 1986:85–90). The employment of immigrant workers, and Turks in particular, was heavily concentrated in companies and sectors characterized by mass production, large-scale industries. Companies using single process, small series production methods have a proportion of foreign workers below the national average. While migrant workers were among the "losers" in rationalization, female Turkish workers in the secondary sector, above all in manufacturing, were hit especially hard (Wilpert, 1989:124). There is some evidence that first generation male immigrants have achieved a firm grip on semiskilled positions in manufacturing, while women and school leavers without training make up the majority of the secondary labor market (Köhler and Günter, 1990:35–57).

Two sets of institutions are important in the process of placement and hiring: the Vocational Counseling Service (*Berufsberatung*) at the Federal Employment Office (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*) and, most important, the private companies which provide apprenticeship slots (industrial relations in the workplace play a decisive role in hiring apprentices). Empirical studies (Konig, 1991: 63–84) and interviews in Duisburg suggest that employers preferentially hired those young people who found jobs through job networks. Therefore, those who find jobs through the help of job networks (parents, relatives, neighbors) are preferred by employers over those recommended by *Berufsberatung*. This is not to say that *Berufsberatung*—the main intermediary link between schools and companies—is an institution of last resort for the disadvantaged. In the 1980s, employers listed about 80 percent of all training slots with *Berufsberatung* (BfA, 1990:1715), and about 80 percent of all those looking for apprenticeships consulted with *Berufsberatung* at some stage in their job search. These high percentages do not mean that most of these slots were filled by placement of *Berufsberatung*. Turkish youths tend to be among those who have to rely on *Berufsberatung* for job referrals.

Among those young people registering with *Berufsberatung* in Duisburg, German men and women were more likely than young Turkish men or

women to have found a training place before the start of the training year. Also, participant observation at *Berufsberatung* and interviews with personnel managers in companies suggest that *Berufsberatung* above all makes a difference in providing information about apprenticeships. It can also provide information on alternative sources of training, either in other apprenticeship fields or in full-time vocational schools. In addition, *Berufsberatung* offers a variety of remedial programs, but ultimately, it cannot replace informal job networks.

*Young Turkish Men: "Second Proletariat"*⁶

Young Turkish men are highly represented in large-scale engineering-based industries in the secondary sector. These firms typically have a high proportion of first generation migrant workers (*e.g.*, steel companies) and a high proportion of apprentices in the total work force (*e.g.*, automobiles, cf., Gillmeister *et al.*, 1989). Also, there are companies that have difficulties recruiting German apprentices because the work is physically exhausting and unattractive (*e.g.*, in coal mining). A third category consists of small craft shops, such as painters and pipefitters. Employers in these fields often have not been able to find the preferred German apprentices when the number of school leavers dropped in the 1980s. What is particularly striking is the absence of Turkish (and other immigrant) men and women from apprenticeships in the white-collar sector (*e.g.*, secretarial, clerk-type, banking). This fact can be explained by employer selection criteria which heavily emphasize communication and "social" skills.

First, in large engineering-based firms, such as steel and chemical companies, recruitment of apprentices occurs formally through a review of secondary school grades and centrally administered aptitude tests. However, informal mechanisms tied to industrial relations are also of crucial importance. For example, participation rights in the form of industrial democracy through works councils do make a difference in the opportunities of Turkish youths, in particular in companies with a high proportion of immigrant workers. The representation of Turkish workers on works councils has helped to ensure the proportional hiring of Turkish apprentices—at least at production lines, where most adult male Turkish workers are concentrated. Also, there is informal recommendation of applicants to the personnel department through members of the works council, usually Turkish representatives. Works councils cooperate with management on recruitment of apprentices. According to the Law on Labor Relations in the Workplace (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz*) the works council has veto rights. Especially in

⁶ This term is borrowed from Reinhard Bendix (1984:106).

companies where strong internal labor markets are important for flexibility of production, hiring of children of company workers or employees typically involves members of the works council. Thus, children of company workers and employees have much better chances to secure apprenticeships than "outsiders" (cf., Hohn, 1987:82-107).

Works councils usually get much more openly involved in personnel decision-making at the second threshold, the transition from apprenticeship into the adult labor market. At Thyssen Steel in Duisburg, for example, many more apprentices were trained than were later needed for skilled jobs during most of the 1980s. Although most of the graduates were offered employment, some had to work in the production process as semiskilled laborers; among the latter group, young Turkish men were clearly over-represented.

The importance of job networks in recruitment of apprentices is also clear in the second category (e.g., coal mining). A declining sector since the late 1950s, the great majority of workers below ground consists of first generation Turkish men. In fact, most new apprentices are young Turkish men with lower secondary school certificates (Hauptschule).

Although job networks for young Turkish men are weak in the third category, crafts, Turkish youths have become proportionally more concentrated there than are young German men. As some craft occupations have become unattractive to German youths, employers had to look for another source of labor. Also, employers in certain crafts need apprentices as a form of cheap labor. It is thus not surprising that employers in the crafts heeded the call by the government in the early 1980s to drastically increase the number of apprenticeship positions.

In sum, public policy has mediated access to apprenticeship for Turkish men, directly through counseling and placement services of *Berufsberatung* and, indirectly through participation rights of Turkish workers on works councils, especially in large firms. *Berufsberatung* does not have a significant impact on existing job networks, but it can prevent youth unemployment by channeling graduates into programs for the disadvantaged. Participation rights of German and Turkish workers have strengthened existing job networks and thus tend to work in favor of training and employment opportunities for Turkish youths.

Young Turkish Women:

Between Exclusion and Full-Time Vocational Schools

The hiring situation for training described for Turkish men differs fundamentally for young Turkish women. Major options for female Turkish

school leavers include continuing general education; entering apprenticeship in "female-specific" occupations such as sales; entering full-time vocational schools at the lowest rungs of fields such as education, health and homemaking; and working at home and accepting part-time, low paying menial and service jobs. In essence, these avenues for Turkish women are similar to those for many young German women. The difference is that the range of choice for Turkish women is much narrower. Turkish women, as are their male counterparts, are notably absent from training in clerical or administrative occupations, a field where communication and language skills are essential. In these occupations, German women are strongly represented.

In Duisburg, as elsewhere in the Federal Republic, Turkish women are much more likely than their male counterparts to continue general secondary schooling or to enter occupations that offer training at full-time vocational schools instead of apprenticeship. Overall, German women also have lower rates of participation in the dual system than German men. Any explanation of this pattern has to start with the interplay of the given structure of opportunity for training and employment on the one side, and the behavior of young immigrant women on the other. The first set of opportunities—chances of obtaining quality training—is largely determined by public policies. The second set of opportunities and constraints—job search behavior—is also not so much a product of "tradition" as it is a complex response to intergroup conflict between Turks and Germans in which Islamization has played an ever-increasing role since the late 1970s (cf., *Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen* 1987:98; Mandell, 1989). Self-restrictions of Turkish female school leavers in deciding, first, whether to get training at all and, second, the field of training occurs at the microlevel, usually the family. Public policy, however, has not addressed the specific cumulative disadvantages young Turkish women face in obtaining some form of job training, inside or outside the dual system. In continuing general schooling, Turkish women choose an option accepted by their families and are at the same time able to use their main asset, academic credentials. The academic credentials of young Turkish women in general are higher than those among young Turkish men—a tendency that also applies to Germans.

There are also occupations in the service industry which have increased the number of Turkish apprentices or trainees because they serve an immigrant population, for example assistants to physicians, dentists and lawyers. These are mostly "female-specific" occupations. Since employers in this sector cannot rely on established job networks to hire Turkish women—they want to tap a new pool of labor they have not used before—they use

two alternative recruitment channels. The first is internship of lower and intermediate secondary school students (Hauptschule and Realschule). The second is advertising and placement through *Berufsberatung*.

Young Turkish women also are heavily represented in full-time vocational schools. As noted above, young German women have been underrepresented in apprenticeship for many decades. One of the main alternative avenues for German women has been to attend full-time vocational schools to prepare for occupations either in the white-collar sector or in social services (Stratmann and Schlosser, 1990:109–208). Full-time vocational schools in the commercial-clerical field are one of the main channels used to gain entry into white-collar occupations. Full-time vocational schools in education and health care have constituted another alternative. Admission requirements for training in the education and health care fields are strictly based upon academic credentials in secondary schools. Training in these fields almost exclusively occurs in full-time schools. Compared to young German women in the same age group, an even slightly higher percentage of Turkish girls attends full-time vocational schools (FES, 1987:74–95). Turkish women are concentrated in this area for various reasons. One of them is that they do not see great chances of entering occupations via apprenticeship. Some of the young Turkish women interviewed in the Duisburg area did not even try to look for training places for fear of negative responses from employers, especially continued reference to their Muslim background.

A last group of Turkish women consists of those who do not participate full time in schooling or work. Interviews indicate that they work either in the "classic" capitalist industries such as textiles, or in (part-time) service jobs, *e.g.*, in restaurants and in cleaning. They get access to these jobs through their mothers or through friends.

Among all ethnic groups, young Turkish women are least likely to participate in any form of vocational and job training. Moreover, they are concentrated in even fewer apprenticeship fields than their male counterparts. The fields with the highest risks of not obtaining permanent employment after apprenticeship in the Ruhr area were, in the late 1980s, hairdresser, physician's assistant, salesperson, car mechanic, butcher and baker (Kommission Montanregionen, 1989:297). The first three are clearly "female occupations." Young Turkish women have tended to cluster into the first two occupations.

In sum, the most remarkable difference in access between female German and Turkish school leavers is the fact that Turkish women rarely gain access to apprenticeship in white-collar occupations which require communication and social skills. Another striking difference between German and Turkish

women is the latter's high degree of nonparticipation in the labor force. Nevertheless, many of those Turkish women work part time. In general, the choices of Turkish women are more restricted than for German women.

CONCLUSION

The politics and policies of vocational and job training have crucially shaped processes of insertion among young Turkish women and men in Germany. Young Turks have been poorly represented in quality training and are suffering from unemployment at higher degrees than German youths. Nevertheless, unemployment rates among young Turkish men have decreased since the early 1980s. Also, their participation in the dual system of vocational training has increased, albeit slowly and at an uneven rate in different parts of the training sector. In particular, young Turkish women have not been able to improve their share in the training market as significantly as young Turkish men. Gradual incorporation of Turkish men into the job training system has not been so much an outcome of effective placement policies, but an effect of a high degree of public responsibility to increase the number of training slots during the 1980s' inclusive training policies.

The empirical analysis showed that personal acts of discrimination by employers and workers that disadvantage Turkish youth, vis-à-vis their German peers in obtaining access to apprenticeship slots, do not explain their access and exclusion from training. Rather, it has been the role and function of public policies and job networks that have determined hiring and recruitment patterns in different sectors of the labor market. This is not to deny the existence of ethnic and gender discrimination for Turkish youths. However, approaching discrimination of immigrant youth from a policy network perspective allows for a much more specific description and explanation of the disadvantages experienced by Turkish school leavers.

Inclusive training policies have contributed to an increase in participation of Turkish men despite persisting high levels of ethnic inequalities in access to training and jobs. Corporate policies have indeed raised the floor level of training provisions. However, they did little to reduce the overall level of ethnic inequality in access to training and jobs.

The political-institutional mechanisms of providing for the public good of training, corporate arrangements, have not allowed the development of ethnically inclusive policies. In order to be more effective, training policies would need to include even more extensive social rights, such as universally guaranteed access to quality training. In this case, social rights can be understood as entitlements of job training for school leavers. Such a strategy would need to address the vexing issues of the role of job networks in hiring

decisions. There are important policy implications in regard to underclass formation. Public policies to combat marginalization of racial and ethnic minorities have to focus on universal and inclusive programs, supported by integrated policies that address the insertion of targeting groups.

We may tentatively conclude that the descendants of Turkish migrant workers and their families have not begun to constitute a group of permanently excluded ghetto poor or an underclass—as found among sections of African American third- and fourth-generation migrants from the South to the northeastern and midwestern cities of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. Social rights and services granted to foreign workers and de facto immigrants have prohibited large-scale exclusion of the descendants of Turkish immigrants in Germany, in this case through inclusive training policies. Thus, the unequal incorporation of Turkish youths into the dual and educational system has by no means produced outright exclusion. Until the early 1990s, the problems of poverty, crime, unemployment and infrastructural decay, characteristic of the American ghetto poor, have not emerged among Turkish youth due to a much more comprehensive infrastructure of education and social services than in the United States. Moreover, labor market policies addressing the problems of adult workers are much more “active” in the Federal Republic of Germany than, for example, in the United States—in fields such as job creation, job placement and employment services.

Also absent is a belief structure of discrimination among young Turkish women and men. It is true that the “job ceiling” (Ogbu, 1978) for young Turkish women—reflected in difficulties in access to apprenticeship and even full-time vocational schools—interacts with emerging beliefs among Turkish women about discrimination based on their ethnic and religious identity. However, there is not widespread perception of systematic discrimination in schools and at work among young Turkish men and women.

Nevertheless, the future prospects for insertion of Turkish immigrants in Germany are uncertain. It is conceivable that, with increasing differentiation among Turkish immigrants and a continued movement toward a “Two-Thirds Society” (*Zweidrittelgesellschaft*), a sizeable section of Turkish immigrants will become permanently marginalized under a set of changing conditions of European integration. Tendencies toward “deregulation” of industrial relations which characterized all advanced industrial states in the 1980s have not affected training policy in Germany as much. Nevertheless, the integration in a European common labor market in the field of training most probably will not result in a strengthening of public responsibility for training of youths and young adults. Rather, a weakening of traditional corporate-sectoral arrangements in general (Streeck and Schmitter, 1991)

and in the field of job training may result in decreasing chances of access for Turkish and other immigrant youths to quality training.

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