University of Twente

School of Management and Governance

Bachelor Thesis BSc European Studies
2010

Labour market integration of first and second generation Turkish migrants compared

- A German case study -

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Enschede, June 2010

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Abstract

Turkish migrants are no homogeneous group. This conclusion resulted out of previous research that attempted to draw inferences about this migrant group by analysing it as a whole. Since generalisations are stronger the more individual differences are taken into account, this thesis is looking at first and second generation Turkish migrants respectively in order to reach conclusive statements about their performance on the German labour market. The research question under investigation is looking at the difference in labour market integration between first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany.

By analysing their integration not just on labour market aspects, but on determinants of labour market integration (cultural, social, identificational and educational) as well, a context is provided for that allows for strong conclusions about the integration status of Turkish migrants on the labour market.

The basis form national statistics stratified by generation as well as individual samples that are subject to secondary review. By comparing chosen characteristics such as the employment rate, the unemployment status, the sector employment and salary, it will be stressed that the second generation is much better integrated structurally than their parents. However, it should be noted that their integration cannot yet be labelled a success.

Keywords: First generation – second generation – Turkish migrants – Germany – labour market integration

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1) Introduction

How are Turkish migrants absorbed in the German labour market? And more concretely, are younger migrants outperforming their parents? What does their labour market integration imply for the German welfare state? These are the central problems addressed in this Bachelor thesis which will compare Turkish migrants of the first and second generation with regard to their labour market integration.

Turkish people started entering Germany during the post-war period when the Federal Republic was in need of workers in order to reconstruct its economy. A bilateral agreement signed by Turkey and Germany in 1961 served as foundation for the regulation of the inflow of Turkish workers to Germany. Intending on staying three to five years, the migrants planned to save enough money to build up a proper existence in Turkey when returning (Liebig, 2007). As these migrants were guest workers and thus not supposed to stay permanently on German ground, the German government did not see the necessity of putting further efforts into language acquisition or cultural integration. Consequently, a Turkish community started developing that composed a minority culture as opposed to German majority (Sen, Sauer & Halm, 2001).

Since a great number of the guest workers decided to stay, many were followed by their spouses who took up residence in Germany as well. In total 53% of all Turkish people abiding in Germany by the year 2001 came to the country due to family reunification. Another 17% is born on German ground, but is not holding German nationality due to restrictive naturalisation policies that were prevailing in Germany until 2000 (Sen et al., 2001).
By 2001 2.4 million Turks were residing in Germany most of whom are located close to big cities many of which can be found in the Ruhr-region (Sen et al., 2001). Therewith, Turks make up 26% of all German foreigners and form the biggest migrant group (Özdemir, 2004).

Given that Germany did not have an integration policy before 2001, prior to that no particular endeavours had been conducted to incorporate the large amount of foreigners into German society (Geddes, 2003). This is reflected in current analyses on the integration status of especially Turkish migrants who depict a lack of inclusion and are deemed the migrant group worst off on all integration dimensions (Özdemir, 2004).

Accordingly, much research can be spotted on the topic of integration of Turkish migrants since it is publicly acknowledged to be a problematic issue that needs to be handled. Especially their reliance on public benefits due to poor labour market performance is discussed regularly.

However, most approaches treat German Turks as homogeneous group that is misleadingly anticipated to allow for general conclusions (Özdemir, 2004). That is why this thesis originates in a more heterogeneous approach by dealing with Turkish migrants stratified by generation in order to look at potential progresses occurring across cohorts. This will strengthen the process of generalisation about the labour market integration of Turkish migrants and will yield a more diversified end result about the integration of Turks since looking at generations instead of whole groups puts an emphasis on developments and tendencies.

Based on this background of migration in Germany and the importance of Turks as biggest migrant group, the research will be guided by the following question:

What is the difference in labour market integration between first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany?

On a step-by-step basis this question will be answered via three sub-questions:
a. How is the first generation of Turkish migrants integrated into the German labour market?
b. How is the second generation of Turkish migrants integrated into the German labour market?
c. What is the difference in their labour market integration?

These questions will be used to structure the sections of the report and will gradually present results that will respond to the primary research question sufficiently and will reveal to what extent claims about Turks burdening the German welfare system are applicable.

Notwithstanding, clear limitations arise from this formulation which should be clarified beforehand. Since only Germany is subject to this case study no guarantee can be given concerning the applicability of outcomes towards other European nations. The same argumentation holds for other migrant groups in Germany that differ to a great extent from Turkish people and are thus not necessarily facing the same circumstances.

Furthermore, since labour market integration is the central concept investigated, it should be noted that evaluations on this structural inclusion do not imply any fully-fledged assumptions

about any other forms of integration. Inferences beyond the concept of labour market integration presuppose further analysis. Due to lack of sufficient data only a small amount of indicators will be considered throughout the analysis.

Still, this paper allows for assertions about the underlying integration patterns of first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany. This includes statements about their labour market performance and an evaluation of its standing on the structural integration scale. Beyond that, determinants such as education, social, cultural and identificational integration of Turks will be reviewed to show which underlying features might influence labour market integration.

Having explored the topic, the next section reviews relevant literature and introduces theoretical relevance of this paper. A subsequent section will widen the methodological base by inserting concepts and data, as well as operations to assess the labour market integration status of Turkish migrants. Subsequently, a part focusing on first generation migrants, as well as one elaborating on the second generation will be presented. Each is underlined by secondary data and will address several integration dimensions.

Finally, a comparison of both migrant groups will help in concluding this investigation.

2) Contextual relevance

Since it is claimed by several researchers (e.g. Mutti & Gerkings, 1983; Zimmermann, 1995; Nannestad, 2006; Chorny, Euwals & Folmer, 2007), that migrants are rather unfavourably included into their receiving society and thus constitute a burden to modern welfare states because of this lacking integration and their increased benefit reception that follows out of poor economic participation, the analysis of the integration of Turkish migrants on the labour market has to be embedded within a broader context.

That is why this section aims at accentuating how the chosen approach of analysing generations instead of whole groups fits into exactly this contextual element of welfare state analysis and contributes to it. Systematically analyses will be introduced that were subject to similar research questions and will inform about further work on the topic of Turkish migrants to justify the choice of the investigation.

Four arguments will be made why this thesis is of added value to previous findings. Each is seen and elaborated on in perspective of former outcomes on migration and the welfare state.

Firstly, Chorny et al. (2007) and Büchel & Frick (2005) empirically showed that migrants are below the performance of natives and face higher unemployment rates, have lower monthly earnings and higher social security benefits. These outcomes underline Nannestad's findings (2006) that *"there is not much empirical evidence to support a conclusion that immigrants arriving during the last 15 years have been economic assets for Western welfare states."* (Nannestad, 2006: 528). Although Nannestad (2006) tried to emphasise the positive aspects of migration, empirical evidence could not strengthen these claims. Especially migrants' low education that leaves them employed in low skilled positions constitutes a strain on hosting societies, since migrants have low salaries and thus higher demands for the reception of welfare benefits. This situation is supported by high unemployment rates among many migrant groups and a low labour market participation of migrant women (Nannestad, 2006). As these factors all point at a bad integration into the labour market of the receiving society, the prevailing opinion among academics (Büchel & Frick, 2005; Nannestad, 2006; Chorny et al, 2007) is hence that migrants are burdening host societies because of bad labour market integration. The subject of this report is thus chosen within the light of this conclusion to provide for a more detailed account of integration with regard to one particular ethnicity.

Following the argumentation of Liebig (2007: 9) *"Labour market integration is arguably the single most important instrument for contributing to the integration of immigrants"* which is why investigations on the labour market integration of migrants form the key to any conclusion on the integration status of migrants and should in consequence be the starting point of any integration assessment. As Turkish people in Germany are claimed to be the worst performing migrant group with regard to their integration status (Özdemir, 2004), analysing this group more closely with regard to the labour market is helping in assessing whether Turkish people are putting a strain on the German welfare state.

Hence, by conducting this research it can be shown to what extent Turkish migrants in Germany are disadvantageous for the German welfare state indeed.

Secondly, the thesis is also relevant for the academic world when considering that comparisons between first and second generation Turkish migrants as such have been scarcely conducted so far, particularly in the welfare state context. Several papers have touched upon the topic, but stressed different aspects within their research. Scientific discourse mainly concentrated on Turkish migrants in Germany in general (Özdemir, 2004; Sauer, 2009) or on second generation migrants as such (Sen et al., 2001; EFFNATIS, 2001; Worbs, 2003; Thomson & Crul, 2003; Janßen & Polat, 2005). However, a concrete comparison of

integration patterns across generations of one ethnicity will amend and strengthen these findings. That is why this thesis will add to existing research and compare first and second generation migrants of Turkish origin.

The closest attempt for such an approach has been made by Özdemir (2004) and Sen et al. (2001). Whereas Özdemir (2004) provided for an expert opinion for the German government on the integration of Turkish migrants, Sen et al (2001) analysed the intergenerational behaviour of Turkish migrants. Both have in common that they use data on first and second generation migrants to justify their conclusions. Nevertheless, a clear comparison of these data is rare.

One explanation for this phenomenon is the inadequacy of data as the German statistical office is publishing data divided by nationality and sometimes by age only which makes stratification on any other dimension hard. Worbs (2003) solves this difficulty by combining data from the statistical office – apportioned by age – with a secondary analysis of sample outcomes. A similar approach is taken by several researchers to by-pass this situation (Janßen & Polat, 2005; Sen et al., 2001). However, others opted for stratifying aggregated data of the statistical office in Germany (Özdemir, 2004) or the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Liebig, 2007) themselves by dividing data into generations by grouping into age categories. Consequently, a solution to the problem can be found.

Thirdly, a contribution to existing literature is made by this thesis through the choice of research units. Second generation migrants are the future and build bridges between cultures. *"Their situation reflects whether the incorporation of immigrants is progressing, stagnating or even regressing; a process which may last for several generations."* (EFFNATIS, 2001: 8). This makes them an interesting and significant object of investigation, since facts about this group can forecast potential social conflicts and give policy makers hints about the success rate of their integration policy.

In Germany, about two percent of the population is composed out of second generation migrants. Of these, nearly half have Turkish-born parents. This makes the Turkish second generation the biggest follow-up generation and the most important migrant group (Liebig, 2007) and underlines the case selection of this paper.

In a nutshell, German policy makers can use the findings of this thesis when evaluating the effects of their integration policy and can see the developments over time by means of an appellative study on the most sizable group of foreigners.

Fourthly, although the study remains descriptive throughout it stimulates research that works on explaining the absorption differences of first and second generation migrants. The academic world is still working on conclusive declarations about the causes of the expected performance difference of migrants. Attempts point at the educational background of parents and their influence on childrens' educational performance (Worbs, 2003; Kristen & Granato, 2007). But also the social and cultural integration which is awaited to be more positive for second generation migrants is highlighted in this respect (EFFNATIS, 2001; Özdemir, 2004; Diehl, Koenig & Ruckdeschel, 2008).

Without elaborating further on the status of this explanatory dimension, the point to keep in mind is that descriptive studies precede explanatory approaches and in that way provide the foundation for more extensive research on a topic. This descriptive basis is laid by this paper.

In conclusion, the idea of comparing first and second generation Turkish migrants residing in Germany has been strengthened by the fact that few such comparisons have been carried out before. But it is also important to keep in mind that this form of research contributes to inferences about migrants as burden to the welfare state and about the progress of integration policy. Finally, it serves as foundation for researchers willing to dip deeper into the underlying causal explanations of the performance patterns of the subjects under investigation. With this in mind a methodological approach to answer the research question will be given within the upcoming section.

3) *Methodological Framework*

Following the argumentation of Punch (2006: 49), the conceptual framework applied enlargers upon *"the conceptual status of the things being studied, and their relationship to each other"*. The fundamental concepts used in this research are 'labour market integration' and 'first and second generation migrants'. Throughout the report, migration refers to *"the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, with the intention of settling indefinitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin"* (International Organisation for Migration, 2010). A migrant in conclusion is the person actually moving across geographical units.

This part addresses the conceptualisation of integration in relation to immigrants first before drawing on labour market integration in particular. Then, a clarification of the notion first and

second generation migrants is given. Subsequently, the data sources applied to measure the concepts and the methods of analysis will be dwelled on.

Conceptualisation

With conceptualisation the academic world addresses the need to clarify the concepts used in an analysis. For this reason, a short excursion on definitions will guide this part.

According to Liebig (2007) two primary ideas can be referred to when it comes to integration. On the one hand, *"economic or social convergence between the immigrant and native populations with respect to a number of statistical measures"* is implied when talking about incorporation (Liebig, 2007: 9). On the other hand, a general process of alignment – referring here to the acceptance of value systems and belief structures of the host society and the appropriate behaviour within it - is provided for within the understanding of the term as well. On the narrowest common basis, immigrant integration thus specifies the process of inclusion into existing structures (EFFNATIS, 2001).

Nevertheless, among the four conventional dimensions of integration, that is structural, cultural, social and identificational integration, certain shades prevail. Structural inclusion presupposes the reception of membership status in a given society and embraces that learning and socialisation are processes leading to active participation of migrants in existing structures. Given the fulfilment of these assumptions, the migrant gains standing with regard to core institutions and has the possibility of accessing positions (EFFNATIS, 2001). Cultural integration, often referred to as acculturation, alludes to the attitudinal, cognitive and behavioural dimension of integration. It assumes that active participation and status as achieved under the structural approach postulate a certain degree of convergence with prevailing norms and behaviours. It can support structural integration in that behavioural and cognitive convergence between migrants and host countries helps the process of socialisation and facilitates the active participation in structures. In opposition to structural inclusion, acculturation is a mutual process that affects immigrants and the receiving society likewise (EFFNATIS, 2001). On a more personal note, social integration addresses the degree to which one has established private relations and the extent to which one is a member of groups. Research has proven that membership in groups and social networks often serve as pre-requisite to gain access to positions and institutions (Özdemir, 2004). In that way also social integration can help achieving structural inclusion. In order to reach this social level of integration, marriage, friendships or the engagement in clubs and associations are appropriate

measures of reference. The social inclusion dimension is complemented by a more subjective facet, the identificational integration. This term denotes a feeling of belonging to the new society that results in a sensation of identification with the country of residence (EFFNATIS, 2001).

Thomson and Crul (2003: 1) summarised these findings of the EFFNATIS team when concluding their paper with the statement: *'Integration, in this sense, refers both to structural aspects such as educational and labour-market status as well as to a broader and at times fuzzier concept that includes ideas of culture, ethnic or religious identity and citizenship'*.

Based on this conception, labour market integration will form the cornerstone of analysis in this Bachelor thesis. Yet, as this discussion of the concept of integration manifests, a broader scope of the term is asked for that accommodates for its manifold dimensions.

Therefore, the analysis will be supported by data covering other layers of integration as well.

In more concrete terms, measures on educational performance, but also supplementary identificational, cultural and social aspects will set the context for exploring labour market integration. Although the labour market remains the central concept under investigation, a broader approach that takes all integration dimensions into account will provide a fertile ground for conclusions. As Esser (2001) elaborated on during his sociological research on integration patterns, the standard integration process to be expected is a cultural integration first followed by structural and social integration. Identificational integration with the host society is then finalising the integration process of the migrant making him a full member of society on every dimension. This assessment implies a certain relation between the different forms of integration and assumes that one dimension of integration influences the success of integration on some other dimension. The progressing of a migrant group on one dimension might thus forecast the developments on another integration level which is the reason why more than the labour market integration aspects are looked at within this report.

Returning to our core concepts, labour market integration as applied within this report is mostly covered by the structural level of integration, because the labour market constitutes a central institution in every country. When talking about labour market integration, the action catered to is accordingly the gradual approximation of immigrants' performance on selected variables towards the standards of the native population (Liebig, 2007). Commonly, this is accounted for by the unemployment rate and the participation rate of migrants, but can go along with other significant data as well.

With this conceptualisation of labour market integration in mind, a similar illustration of the second major concept of usage, first and second generation migrants will be given.

Liebig (2007) shortly elaborates on the term second generation by defining those migrants as children of immigrants. Fundamental is the comprehension that second generation migrants are native-born, but have foreign-born parents. Hence, the second generation as a group never migrated itself, only the first generation, their parents, did. A more detailed account of this differentiation between generations is assured by Özdemir (2004). He puts straight that first generation migrants are those that entered German territory in 1973 at latest and were aged 20 or above at that time. Correspondingly, the first generation is at least 57 years old by 2010. Accordingly, the second generation are the children of those migrants who still do not hold German nationality (Özdemir, 2004). For the upcoming analysis this definition will be applied and no naturalised Turks will be taken into account.

Data

The pivotal elements of any research represent data. Without proper data sets that measure what one intends to measure no valid inferences can be drawn. That is why a section on how data will be collected and on what kind of data is relevant for this study is inevitable.

The investigation is a single-country case study focusing on Germany that comprises a quantitative as well as a qualitative dimension. Making use of available statistics, the qualitative analysis is strengthened by quantitative disaggregated data that are stratified by nationality first and by generation secondly.

These data are collected on a twofold basis. The Statistische Bundesamt Deutschland, the OECD and the German Socio Economic Panel (GSOEP) release statistical data that have been stratified by researchers such as Liebig (2007), Özdemir (2004) or Sen et al. (2001). In this way they are useful sources for the examination at hand especially since they comprise a big sample that is checked regularly for its reliability and validity. This makes the national statistics a meaningful source although its power is marginally diminished since no account of heterogeneity is taken.

Secondly, individual samples collected by previous researchers are generating a fruitful amendment. Janßen & Polat (2005) interviewed 50 second generation Turkish migrants in Germany about their employment status and the problems they encountered when applying for work. Furthermore, the EFFNATIS team (2001) interviewed 1625 migrants from several European countries on integration issues. Since Germany is among these countries, these data

are a useful resource likewise. Lastly, Venema & Grimm (2002) conducted a representative survey on behalf of the German government to assess the situation of migrants in Germany. Among the 1000 Turks that were part of the study, a distinction between generations can be found from time to time. In conjunction, these three datasets will back up national statistics.

It could be argued that especially the first sample is too small to provide for strong conclusive findings. However, since the base of analysis is formed by national statistics of bigger samples and the secondary interviews presented here do only serve as amendment, the diminished power can be neglected in this case. Furthermore, the general strength is increased through avoidance of aggregation which takes differences within groups into account.

Due to lack of primary sources, fostering qualitative findings by secondary records that amount to a valuable addition in information is the best option available.

Comparability

When working with data from different sources one aspect to consider is the comparability of data sets. Often researchers are seemingly applying the same concepts while in practice they work with differing definitions. This leads to deviating outcomes once calculations are conducted on the basis of this conceptualisation. Therefore, a precondition for the work with existing statistics is to only compare results from sources that are identical in their use of terms and the operationalisation of those. That is why this report will - in the attempt to compare the first and second generation of Turks in Germany - only use comparable data to reach conclusions.

With the information on where data come from and what needs to be considered when working with these data, the basis is formed to take a closer look on how the data will help in measuring the concepts at hand.

Operationalisation

Based on the findings presented above, this part will thus specify how the data will be used to measure the labour market integration of first and second generation Turks in Germany.

Building on prior research (EFFNATIS, 2001; Liebig, 2007) the unemployment rate and the labour force participation make up the foundation of estimating the labour market integration of Turkish migrants. The participation rate *"is defined as the ratio of the labour force to the working age population"* (OECD, 2006) and is hence specifying the percentage of the

working age population that is actively engaged in the labour market. As Özdemir (2004) points out, this includes both employed and unemployed people. As for the unemployment rate, the OECD (2006) accentuates that this measure comprises all people at working age who are at the given time without job, seeking for a job or available to start working in a paid position. Additionally, the employment status by sector, which elaborates on the kind of economic activity pursued (OECD, 2006), as well as the skill level of employment and the monthly salary is summarised.

Following the suggestions of Liebig (2007) and Thomson and Crul (2003) supplementary information is provided for by looking at other characteristics, too. Information on education will enhance knowledge about the most important determinant of labour market performance whereas the identification with Germany makes up the core of identificational integration and language skills add information on the cultural dimension. Lastly, knowledge on interethnic contacts and friendships is indicated to also cover the social integration dimension as do data about the intention to naturalise. Since it was demonstrated that the different integration dimensions impact each other, the cultural, social and identificational integration areas are presented to see which foundations for incorporation into the German labour market exist for Turkish migrants.

Although the data will be compared to the performance of natives and other migrants from time to time, these groups do not function as ground for reference when it comes to evaluation. Rather, they are sometimes referred to in order to set apart the contextual background of the analysis, namely the German labour market on which everyone is competing. Whenever other migrants are referred to, an average of the performance of Italians, Greeks and former Yugoslavs is given, since these three groups make up the biggest migrant groups in Germany next to Turks (Özdemir, 2004). In this respect natives and other groups of foreigners at the same age as the first and second migrant generation are used as comparison although the final analysis will compare Turkish migrants only.

Having transmitted an unambiguous understanding of the concepts applied and having mapped the process of selecting and operationalising data, the paper continues with the actual research by taking a closer look at the empirical part. To start off, the first generation of Turks in Germany will be analysed. Then the second generation is following as well as a comparison of both generations.

4) The first generation of Turkish migrants in Germany

The first generation of Turks is part of German society since the 1970s. This early arrival left them with much time to get acquainted with German habits, language and lifestyle. But what have the Turks of the first generation achieved during their stay in Germany?

The aim of this section is to get to the bottom of this question by deconstructing the labour market integration of the first generation. Depending on data availability several structural features will be appraised in order to illustrate how the position of this group can be evaluated. The first part focuses on labour market integration in particular. Then a consecutive paragraph on determinants such as education, membership and identification follow to round up the understanding of the integration status of first generation Turkish migrants in Germany.

Labour Market Integration

Labour Market Participation

A first step in assessing how a group is participating in the labour market of any given society is to observe the participation rate. Of the first generation 51% is able to take part in working life. In comparison, other foreigners of the first generation living in Germany have a higher participation rate that reaches nearly 70% (Özdemir, 2004) opposed to the labour force participation of Germans which only amounts to 23% which is due to a high retirement rate (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010). Disposing these findings by gender, mere 40% of Turkish women in contrast to nearly 60% of men are among the working population (Özdemir, 2004).

Unemployment rate

Supplementing these outcomes, the unemployment rate denotes that roughly one-third of the Turkish working age population is without a job which in turn implies that roughly 66% of the Turks are engaged in a paid position. This exceeds the average unemployment rate of other migrant groups tremendously, as only 16% of them are without a job (Özdemir, 2004). In contrast, slightly more than 6% of the natives are without a job which leaves up to 93% of the Germans in employed positions (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

Occupational status

When it comes to the people actually employed in rewarding positions, a more profound insight into the integration of Turkish people is obtained when looking at the sectors they work in and at the skills implied.

During the 70s when Turks arrived in Germany as guest workers, they were mainly busy in the production and manufacturing sector due to the fact that these were the main industries in the Federal Republic back then. But also the mining industry was a prominent place for foreign workers. All three sectors did not demand any particular qualification and were thus suited for the mostly unskilled rural workers from Turkey (Özdemir, 2004).

Data from 2001 indicate that fabrication is still among the prevailing employment domains that recruit migrants from Turkey given that some 70% of them hold a position in this field. Other than that, the communication sector is also a popular working area for Turks, but only to a minor extent since it is not even hosting a tenth of all Turkish workers (Özdemir, 2004). These findings are only partly in line with the employment status of natives who favour working in the service sector (48%) followed to a minor extent by the production sector (26%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

Skill level

As to the degree required for these positions and the general skills at hand, one needs to remember that the first migration generation entered Germany at an age at which the majority of it had finished education already. One-third of all migrants learned a profession while still in Turkey. The remainder is either without vocational training or equipped him-/herself with skills in Germany (Venema & Grimm, 2002).

Sen et al. (2001) make a sound assessment of this setting which reveals that every fifth Turkish migrant is skilled as compared to the residual four out of five that have no or only minor expertise. These findings are in line with the general skills level of migrant groups in Germany, but deviate from the skills that German employees of the same age group have. Here, only one-fifth is unskilled (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

A more detailed picture is generated when adding the findings of Özdemir (2004). His search supports the claim that about 70% of the first generation of Turks is un- or semiskilled and thus rather working as blue-collar. Another 6% make up the category of white-collar workers meaning they perform semi-professional tasks in either administrations or other offices. Finally, 17% were stamped skilled workers by 2000 and a small group of 5% is self-employed in either gastronomy or commerce (Özdemir, 2004).

Salary

The amount that is earned by workers varies depending on the data set. Taking only the employed population into account, the average salary measured in 2000 is 2679 DM (1340€

correspondingly) (Özdemir, 2004). To set this amount into perspective it seems useful to note that other migrant groups residing on German ground have an average income of 2868 DM (1434€ correspondingly) (Özdemir, 2004). Nevertheless, when taking all Turks into account, it becomes more obvious that the findings are not that positive after all. With the whole population in the sample the average salary amounts to 1945 DM (970€ correspondingly). In comparison, other migrants in Germany have an average income of 1150€ (Özdemir, 2004) when the whole population is taken into consideration.

These data clearly demonstrate that Turkish first generations in Germany as compared to natives are if anything unskilled and have a high unemployment rate. Beyond that, they are mainly working in the industry which is more and more subject to cut backs and is gradually loosing importance. Also, their earnings are in the lower stratum which is revealed when other migrant groups are taken as reference. In general, Turkish migrants' performance is in line with other migrant groups on some indicators such as the skill level, but fails to reach average standards on the most important structural features such as the unemployment and participation rate. They are performing even worse when German standards are applied for comparison.

Determinants of Labour Market Integration

Education

The outcomes on labour market integration are best understood when set in the right perspective. In this respect information on the educational background provides a solid basis.

Considering that most first generation migrants enjoyed a great part of their education and vocational training in their home country, it is likely that standards differ to that of Germans. When looking at the competences of Turks it is first and foremost the high number of migrants that do not hold any start qualification that is remarkable. Nearly two-fifth has no finished education record (Özdemir, 2004), which almost exceeds the native average of 1% by forty (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

Of the group that has an entry certificate notwithstanding, 56% percent attended the Hauptschule[1] which is only visited by less than one-third of Germans. The remaining two strings of education, Realschule and Gymnasium, are equally off with 2-3% of Turks that received their diploma from these institutions (Özdemir, 2004). How many Turks of this

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[1] Hauptschule is the lowest of the three German school layers that make up the secondary education. The middle level forms the Realschule and the upper education is achieved at the Gymnasium.

generation did go to university is not known. To complete this picture, native Germans aged 55 and above visited the Realschule in 14% of the cases and the Gymnasium with 10% (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2010).

With regard to vocational training which is often pursued after finishing Hauptschule or Realschule, only 20% of the first generation made use of it by following an apprenticeship that taught them a profession. However, eight out of ten first generation Turks do not hold any vocational diploma at all (Özdemir, 2004).

In a nutshell, Turkish migrants of the first generation have a high number of people without any qualifications and only a small percentage of people that achieved a higher education diploma as compared to the German average.

Social contacts

Within their environment, approximately one-fourth of the first generation has regular contact with at least one person of a different ethnicity. This is much less than the average of other migrant groups where 43% declared to have regular contact with others (Özdemir, 2004).

Identification

Continuing, also the subjective pattern of relating to the culture one lives in makes up an important component of integration. When asked to what extent they identify with Germany, a mere 6% of the Turkish first generation affirmed the question with 'totally' in contrast to 18% of the remaining migrant groups. Little less than one-third of the Turks identifies at least partly with Germany whereas the big majority – up to 64% - does not relate to their hosting nation at all (Özdemir, 2004).

Membership

The notion of membership refers to the process of taking up German nationality. Since political rights and thus democratic participation is linked to naturalisation in Germany (Özdemir, 2004), the intent to become German is the only way to fully participate in German society.

As for the inclusion into the political community of their host society, Sen et al. (2001) found that almost 80% of the Turks of the first generation living in Germany do not intend to naturalise and to receive German citizenship (Sen et al., 2001). Rather, they would like to keep the option of returning to Turkey and consider their Turkish nationality as more

important and more advantageous. This tendency is supported when other migrants are asked about their willingness to naturalise (Özdemir, 2004).

Language proficiency

Another aspect that seems crucial in affecting the outcome on identificational, social and economic integration is the cultural aspect of linguistic proficiency. On this scale, a self-assessment conducted in 1996 and 2000 shows worrisome results. In 1996 one-third of the Turks considered their language skills as either excellent or good, roughly 50% as moderate and less than 20% as bad. A change can be observed when asked the same question four years later. Now, only 22% rated their language skills as excellent compared to 30% who claim to have bad knowledge of German. Still, 48% remain at a moderate level (Özdemir, 2004). This insufficient account of German language of course aggravates education and inclusion in working life. Especially when considering the competition in working life, Turks have no good standing with bad German skills. The percentage of other migrants that rate their language skills as sufficient outperforms Turks by 50%. This provides other migrant groups with a comparative advantage on the labour market (Özdemir, 2004). Noteworthy is that these numbers rely solely on the estimation that migrants themselves have given. So, the comparability of these data is limited.

Concluding this section, the integration status of the first generation of Turkish migrants is not as promising particularly in comparison to other migrant groups and natives. Labour market integration is rather poor and socio-cultural features including the identificational inclusion are not exactly helping in improving the economic integration of this migrant group. First generation Turks have bad language skills and show little intent to become German citizens which would provide them with voting rights. Furthermore, they hardly identify with Germany and have low educational qualifications.

However, before a final assessment of the data presented here can be given, the comparison group, second generation Turks in Germany, will be examined first to set a reference frame for final conclusions.

5) *The second generation of Turkish migrants in Germany*

After an extensive outline of the performance of the first generation has been given, a similar review for the second generation of Turkish migrants is following. Again, the labour market

integration will be analysed and will be supported by findings about the social, cultural and identificational integration. Furthermore, other structural integration characteristics, namely education, will also be taken into account.

From time to time a range of findings on the same aspect will be presented to broaden findings. However, once a final comparison with the first generation is conducted only comparable data sets will be taken into account.

Labour Market Integration

Labour Market Participation

As far as the labour market participation rate of the second generation is concerned, Özdemir (2004) concludes that in 2000 up to 80% of the younger generation was able to participate on the German labour market. This rate is still below the average of other migrant groups (87%) and Germans at the same age (91%). However, when divided by gender it is obvious that young Turkish men are nearly reaching the German standard with a participation rate of 93% (Özdemir, 2004).

As the second generation is rather young, not all of them have entered the labour market yet. The EFFNATIS team (2001) took this into account and measured the number of second generation Turks in working life just like the quantity that is still in education. The result identifies one-third of the Turks to still be at some stage of their education whereas slightly more than half of this migrant group is already actively engaged in the labour market.

Looking at the participation force that is supplied by the second generation of Turks, Janßen & Polat (2005) find that their sample of 50 second generation Turks in Lower Saxony pinpoints at a participation rate of exactly two-third.

Since both samples comprise only a small group of Turks, the situation is rather differentiated when national statistics are cited on the same matter as was done by Özdemir (2004).

Unemployment rate

To clarify the labour market integration even more, the unemployment rate denotes only a smaller group (17%) without a job. This is not as good an average as other migrant groups (8% unemployment rate) or natives (2% unemployment rate) have, but still an achievement. The unemployment rate has been verified by Janßen & Polat (2005) since their sample showed a 20% rate correspondingly.

Occupational status

Immersing in the occupational situation, the sectors that actually employ the economically active is meaningful as well when aiming at gaining a complete comprehension of the labour market integration. While results on this aspect once again display some variation, a tendency is nonetheless visible. Most youngsters work in the production sector (findings range from 50 – 70%) where the primary employer is the automobile industry. The remaining group is to a smaller extent allocated across the commerce, communication and insurance sector (Özdemir, 2004; Janßen & Polat, 2005). A divergence is prevailing for women who favour working in the service sector, the commercial departments and within social services on equal terms (Janßen & Polat, 2005). Looking at other migrants in Germany and Germans, both show similar tendencies with most of them working in either production or administrative positions (Özdemir, 2004).

Noteworthy are the outcomes of the in-depth interviews conducted by Janßen & Polat (2005) which pointed out that most Turkish people interviewed are not absorbed by the sector they specialised in during their vocational training. Also, their employment situation is not mirroring their degree of qualification as most have to accept jobs that fall below their skills level (Janßen & Polat, 2005).

Skill level

About half of all second generation men (44%) are still listed within unskilled positions. These figures are high when contrasted to natives who have a mere 13% employed in unskilled positions and other migrants of whom one-third has low qualifications (Özdemir, 2004). A similar statement can be made about second generation women. When it comes to more knowledge-based positions, one-third of Turkish men as compared to two-fifth of the women are occupying one of them. Additionally, 3% of all younger Turks are self-employed and many of the women are also registered as low-remuneration receivers, meaning they receive less than 400€ a month and work only part-time or less (Özdemir, 2004; Janßen & Polat, 2005).

Salary

As for the salary, the distinction of Özdemir (2004) between the salary when only the working population is taken account of and the income when the whole second generation population is adhered to will be applied. With only the actively participating population in the sample, the average earnings amount to 2340DM (1170€) which resembles rather the male average

than the female one. Comparatively, other migrants earn 2355 DM (1177€) and natives 2417 DM (1218€) a month. However, taking all people into consideration, the amount drops down to 1695DM (845€) a month for second generation Turks (Özdemir, 2004).

In a nutshell, the labour market figures for this migrant group are quite moderate in comparison to native standards and give hope for their integration. On some dimensions such as the participation rate the figures are promising, however, the second generation seems to still lack behind national standards and other migrants' averages.

Determinants of Labour Market Integration

Education

Following up on the excursion on structural integration, the educational level of the second generation will be reviewed shortly.

Broadly speaking, Venema and Grimm (2002) stress that 90% of the second generation Turks in Germany hold a school certificate and Sen et al. (2001) add that 4% do even have a university diploma. More precisely, little less than half of all Turks who left school with a working qualification did so on the lowest level possible, 35% on the middle track. A higher education level could only be achieved by 15% of them according to the EFFNATIS study (2001).

Özdemir (2004) elaborated even more on this distinction filtering out that three-fifth finished their education at the Hauptschule, one-fifth at the Realschule and less than one –fifth at the Gymnasium. He also investigated where these people ended up working and found Hauptschul-graduates in unqualified positions, Realschul-diploma holders employed in skilled positions and Gymnasium alumnus in high ranking positions.

In contrast to natives and other foreigners, Turkish second generation migrants are still below average. One-third of the natives finished the Gymnasium as did 18% of the other migrants. Correspondingly, only one-fourth of the Germans did attend the Hauptschule and slightly less than half of all other migrants did visit this layer (Özdemir, 2004).

For the vocational training that is followed by many after leaving school, Özdemir (2004) finds 40% of the school leavers in an apprenticeship. Thereof nearly 50% are specialising in industry and commerce and another big part is focusing on craft related jobs (Sen et al., 2001).

All in all, a tendency to visit Haupt- or Realschule followed by a vocational education track is the prevailing educational development of second generation Turks.

Social contacts

Starting off with the social component, half of the group under investigation has at least one friend with a different ethnicity (Özdemir, 2004). Most of the contacts made with natives are established via the working place and the neighbourhood, but also via other friends. In an analysis of social integration, Özdemir (2004) found a positive correlation between the degree of education and the number of inter-ethnic friendships.

Identification

These findings are emphasised when stating that second generation Turks have been integrated into society, but do not refer to Germany as identity point for this integration. Rather, the EFFNATIS (2001) study revealed that local and regional, as well as European reference frames underlie this identificational integration success. Nevertheless, when asked whether they relate to Germany, one-third optimistically does so whereas only 26% denies it (Özdemir, 2004). These outcomes are similar to findings of other migrant groups who consider themselves German in one-third of the cases (Özdemir, 2004).

Membership

As for the political aspect of membership, 32% consider it likely to naturalise in the near future whereas 40% deem this happening unlikely (Sen et al., 2001). If the option of keeping their Turkish nationality next to their German one exists, the willingness to naturalise increases drastically. Additionally, almost 70% wants to stay in Germany which means a mere 30% is pondering returning to their country of origin (Özdemir, 2004). On these aspects, Turks are outperforming other migrants as only one-fourth of them consider becoming German citizen any time soon (Özdemir, 2004).

Language proficiency

Eventually, promising results are presented when evaluating the language skills of the second generation. A stunning majority of 95% assesses their German as good or excellent and simply 5% as moderate. This is a positive evaluation which becomes even more notable when reconsidering the fact that 88% speaks solely Turkish at home and when taking other foreigners as reference point that score as high as Turks do (Sen et al., 2001). Nonetheless, one should keep in mind that this estimation is based on self-assessment and thus rather subjective.

In the long run, the results on most integration dimensions are positive for the second generation. Anyhow, their qualification with regard to education and the skill level of employment leave room for improvement as they are still lacking behind other migrant groups and natives. Nevertheless, the social, cultural and identificational integration is promising also when set into perspective. Young Turks have regular contact with other ethnicities, have sufficient German skills in their opinion and identify with Germany. Given these developments, a last section of the analysis part is now comparing the outcomes of the first and second generation more explicitly to reach final conclusions that will answer the guiding question of this paper.

6) First and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany compared

With the results of the previous two sections in mind, this chapter adds the final information needed to answer the research question of this paper. Building on the data and facts presented, conclusions will be drawn about the integration of first and second generation Turkish migrants on the labour market.

Labour Market Integration

This section will compare the labour market integration of first and second generation Turks. Table one provides a summary of the findings.

	Generation	
	First	Second
Labour Market Integration		
Labour market participation rate	51%	79%
Unemployment rate	33%	17%
Employment by sector		
- production	69%	49%
- communication	8%	9%
- commerce	3%	9%
- administration	1%	11%
Skill level		
- unskilled	71%	44%
- skilled	17%	26%

Table 1: Labour market integration data summary

Source: Özdemir (2004)

Labour market participation and unemployment rate

On the structural dimension that deals with the labour market performance, second generation migrants are less often unemployed and have a higher participation rate than the first generation does. Although the numbers do not differ to a huge extent (17,6% versus 33% for unemployment and 51% versus 79% for participation rate) the difference is noteworthy nevertheless since the circumstances have to be taken into account (Özdemir, 2004). As second generations are only recently done with their education, the transition from school to the labour market marks an important obstacle in their life history. That more people of this generation are registered on the labour market than their older generations is thus an achievement. On the other hand, it should be considered that the first generation is including retirees respectively and is hence suffering the loss of labour as well. To what extent these influences compensate for any statistical disparity remains unclear.

Occupational status

Also the employment sectors that make up the living of younger migrants reveal a change in concentration. Although the industry section that contains production and manufacturing is still a popular choice for the second generation with half of them opting for this work, other districts are gaining in importance as well. Whereas the first generation could rarely be found in other sectors, the second generation is reaching a ten percent share in communication, commerce and administration respectively. These developments can partly be ascribed to the higher participation rate of Turkish women that decide for different employment areas than their male counterparts do (Özdemir, 2004).

Skill level

Next, one other crucial determinant, the skill level, indicates some developments as well. Whilst the first generation was to 80% unskilled and did not enjoy a great deal of education, only two-third of the younger generation follows this pattern. This is definitely a positive development, but can be improved what so ever since only one-third of natives have a similar low qualification (Özdemir, 2004).

Salary

Lastly, the salary received every month completes the comparison on labour market integration. On first note, the older generation is outnumbering the second generation as table two shows (Özdemir, 2004).
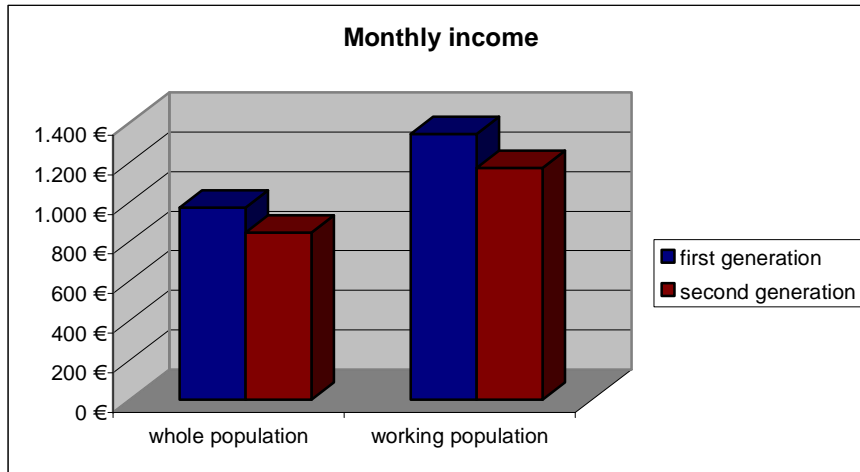
Table 2: Monthly salary of Turkish migrants by generation
Source: Özdemir (2004)

Though, the age difference is again fundamental here since people entering the labour market receive less salary than do people who have a working experience that amounts to some decades. Consequently, it is hard to relate the disparity in monthly income to skills or sectors as no clear correlation can be established that excludes the influence of this experience factor.

Determinants of Labour Market Integration

Education

Why the competences of employed Turks have increased across generations gets clearer when remembering what is behind labour market integration. Education is the cornerstone of finding paid work and determines the degree to which professions can be achieved. Usually, a positive correlation prevails, leading skilled people to find higher and better paid jobs.

In this case, a clear improvement is the number of Turks without any degree. The first generation had up to 40% without school leaving certificate opposed to 7% of the follow-up generation (Özdemir, 2004). But also the ones who did finish school are more often visiting more demanding tracks. The amount of people enrolled in Hauptschule equals the first generations' average. However, considering the 3% of the first generation who attended the middle educative track, a positive trend can be found when finding 21% of the second generation visiting this layer. A similar outlook is true for the Gymnasium which is chosen by 12% of the younger generation (Özdemir, 2004). Noteworthy is furthermore the 4% share of second generation Turks who hold a university diploma. This situation given, it comes as no surprise that also the number of vocational education holders is increasing across generations.

Whereas two-fifth of the first generation was engaged in vocational training, nearly half of the second generation is (Özdemir, 2004).

	Generation	
	First	Second
Determinants: Education		
Qualification level		
- no degree	39%	7%
- lower degree	56%	60%
- middle degree	3%	21%
- higher degree	2%	12%
- university diploma	n.s.	4%
- vocational education	20%	40%

Table 3: Education data summary
Source: Özdemir (2004)

All in all, the educational level is remarkably higher for the second than for the first generation (see table three) which might explain why also the employment situation is more favourably for the youth.

Social contacts

On the social dimension, the interethnic friendships make up the assessment. The review made clear that for most second generations having German friends is normality which is not the case for their parents (Özdemir, 2004). What should be kept in mind here is the relation that exists between educational level and interethnic contact: the higher the degree achieved the more likely one is to interact with different groups. As the last paragraph showed that the education level is higher for the second generation it is a natural consequence that they are interfering with natives more often.

Identification

When it comes to the identificational integration of Turks living in Germany, again the second generations' scoring is much more positive than the one of the parental generation. Three-fourth are relating to Germany in at least some way as compared to 36% of the first generation (Özdemir, 2004). This shows a clear tendency of younger people to be more integrated in identificational terms.

Membership

As for the aspect of membership in German society, advancement is present as well. Mere 13% of the first generation was thinking about naturalisation in 2000 which is a very low percentage. For the second generation the picture is different with approximately one-third of them reflecting about becoming a German citizen (Sen et al., 2001).

Language proficiency

On the social dimension the language skills are another determinant that was considered throughout this report. The subjective apperception of this factor is virtually the most enhanced one when one considers both generations. As much as 95% of the second generation is evaluating their language proficiency as very good which can never be reached by the first generation which showed a decline across the years and does not even include a third of Turks who regard their skills sufficient. Here, the incorporation into the German school system can be a decisive element that is boosting these results (Özdemir, 2004).

Table four summarises these last findings more clearly and makes the final assessment more obvious.

	Generation	
	First	Second
Determinants: social, cultural, identificational		
Identification with Germany		
- yes, totally	6%	32%
- partly	30%	42%
- no	64%	26%
Intention to naturalise		
- yes	13%	32%
- no	78%	40%
German language skills		
- good/excellent	22%	95%
- moderate	48%	5%
- bad	30%	0%

Table 4: Summary social, cultural and identificational determinants
Source: Özdemir (2004), Sen et al. (2001)

The general trend is unambiguous: the second generation is better integrated into the German labour market than their older counterparts are. This is strongly supported by all findings here and seems to be a logical consequence of living conditions of the second generation which is

from the beginning on part of the German educational system and has a more natural interaction base with natives. That is why the second generation is scoring higher than the first on basically every integration dimension. They are socially and culturally better integrated into German customs and standards and identify to a great extent with their hosting nation. On the labour market they are outperforming the parental generation with regard to the skill level and the employment rate especially. But also their sector employment is more diversified – which makes them more resistant to restructuring - and their salary is quite high for beginners on the labour market. Eventually, the conclusion can be drawn that the second generation is better included into German society. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that they are not yet reaching the standard of natives on many integration aspects.

7) *Conclusion*

Looking back, the aim of this thesis was to use national statistics and secondary data to evaluate the difference in labour market integration between the first and second generation Turkish migrants in Germany in order to demonstrate to what extent the claim that migrants burden the welfare state is true for the Turkish case in Germany.

Respectively, the empirical part reviewed the situation of the first generation Turkish migrants. Without going deeper into the figures, the overall development is rather dissatisfactory. Their language skills are insufficient with a downward tendency throughout the years, their education level is exhibiting clear shortcomings with nearly 40% having no qualification and the amount of higher degree holders with skills is minimal. Accordingly, the labour market integration can be labelled poor. An unemployment rate of more than a third is quite high and exceeds the German standard of 6% vastly. Additionally, the salary earned leaves many Turks at the border to poverty and the sectors they are employed in are constantly facing the danger of restructuring since the old pattern of the guest workers who were mainly engaged in the industrial sector is prevailing. When compared with other migrant groups the integration status of the first generation is lacking behind especially for the structural part.

Comparing these factors to the second generation, a diverging picture arises. The second generation scores more positive in nearly every regard. Almost 100% has excellent language proficiency according to their own assessment and up to three-fourth are identifying as German. Hence, a great number is having regular contact with Germans and is considering

naturalising themselves. Also, the educational qualification achieved is higher as compared to the older generation. Turkish youngsters are more often visiting higher educational layers and are more often holding a diploma. In turn, it is not surprising that the labour market integration is pointing at many positive developments, too. With respect to the economic indicators applied, the second generation is outperforming the parental generation on virtually every scale. They have less people unemployed and more people actively participating in working life. Also, their skills implied are higher and the sectors they use to be engaged in are more diversified exceeding the industrial employment of the first generation. The only minor factor where the simple numbers are not that straight forward in favour of this generation is the monthly income received. Here, the younger migrants are slightly below the average of the first generation. However, taking into account that young migrants of the second generation are just starting on the labour market it can not be expected that they have an income equalling the one of long-term employed people with lots of experience. Nevertheless, the fact that both groups have nearly similar salaries indicates that a positive development can be expected. Since the starting income of the second generation is nearly as high as the income first generation workers receive after decades of working experience, it seems likely that the second generation will earn more than their parents in the long run.

Reflecting on these findings, it remains open whether all factors allow for concrete comparison and if the differences in cohorts are not too extensive for comparison. This concern refers first of all to the participation rate and the salary which can hardly be compared due to people retiring or entering the labour market at an unknown rate and with unclear starting incomes. However, as the second generation is scoring more positive on every other aspect, the tendency outlined is uphold whatsoever.

Summing up, the question can thus be answered to the extent that a difference in labour market integration between the first and second generation is at hand. The second generation is better integrated on most dimensions evaluated and can in conclusion be assumed to be more favourably included into the labour market. Notwithstanding, the second generation is not yet completely incorporated. This is obvious when considering the performance of natives and other migrants which have been referred to from time to time during this report. Although young Turks are equally off with their peers on some aspects such as their monthly income, their language skills and their intention to naturalise, it is in particular the structural integration dimension which includes the labour market that is showing deficits.

This argument is even more applicable for the first generation which is performing below national standards on the labour market even more. When analysing the maintenance of the Turkish first generation, Özdemir (2004) showed that the living expenses of Turkish men are covered by 100% meaning the three factors, unemployment benefits, public pension and salary, make up the maintenance of this group (Özdemir, 2004). However, barely every seventh Turkish woman of the first generation in Germany is engaged in a paid position. This explains why the elements of pension, unemployment benefits and salary do only account for the living expenses of virtually three-fifth of all Turkish women. The other two-fifth are most notably relying on their husbands and family to nourish them (Venema & Grimm, 2002). With this in mind the welfare state context is clearly relevant when concluding anything about the labour market integration of Turks. With high unemployment rates and low labour market participation, Turkish migrants are likely to heavily rely on German welfare benefits to keep up their living. Roughly 30% of the first generation receives pension and an additional one third is making use of unemployment benefits (Özdemir, 2004). This in turn burdens the welfare state as few taxes are paid by Turks, but a high amount of benefits is consumed. Notwithstanding, it can be said that the general claim that stamps low-skilled migrants a burden to modern welfare regimes is much more diversified than is possible to express within one generalising statement. The comparison of generations of one group showed that progress is visible and that although integration is not yet achieved it is increasing stepwise. It is true that Turks are not performing outstandingly positive on the labour market in Germany, and clearly, structural integration is the integration dimension depicting the strongest deficits of this group. Nevertheless, account should be given to recent improvements and the efforts that especially young Turks are putting into their education. Therefore, the claim of labelling Turks as a group a burden for welfare states is much generalised and is not sufficiently taking the heterogeneity of this ethnicity into account.

It might be interesting to look closer at the underlying reasons for the performance difference of generations and the bad integration of Turks as such. Investigating for instance the role of discrimination and policy in the labour market choices of Turks could reveal new insights into the topic. Similar advice is true for the labour market integration of the second generation which showed that many of the younger Turks are working below their qualification level and in different sectors than they specialised in. Finding the reasons for this fact might as well be helpful in changing the situation and in integrating the second generation even more.

Finally, a more narrow approach that is even taking the generations of other groups of migrants and natives deeper into perspective might be worth conducting in order to facilitate the understanding of the integration status of Turks in Germany. By finding out what distinguishes Turks from other migrant groups residing in Germany it might be possible to point at underlying causes more precisely.

This thesis made clear where Turkish migrants of the first and second generation are standing with regard to their labour market integration. It is now up to politicians and other researchers to take up these findings to investigate the causes of the results presented and to make use of the outcomes to support the integration of migrants in Germany.

All else being equal, it should be stressed though that both the German society and the migrants have to continue improving the inclusion of migrant groups. Only efforts from all sights will help releasing the payment burden of the German society and will lead to successful integration.

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