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A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF ETHNIC LABOR IN GLOBAL CITIES OF WESTERN EUROPE: THE TURKISH LABOR IN BERLIN

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyses the role of ethnic labor in global cities. The study deals with ethnic labor of Western Europe on two grounds; occupational characteristic and business status.

In Chapter 1, the general background to the study is presented. Chapter 2 gives the conceptual framework of the three components of the study; production, space and labor migration. Chapter 3 analyses the developments of production, space and migration in Europe with regard to oil-crisis. The spatial outcome of what was discussed in the Chapter 2 and 3 is presented in Chapter 4 which focuses on global city and ethnic labor in the world. Chapter 5 discusses the European case of the matter. In Chapter 6, the situation of Turkish labor in Berlin is presented as a case study. Finally in Chapter 7, the outcomes of the case study are generalized to Western Europe. The thesis includes four appendices including extensive tables of raw data used in the case study.

Keywords: Ethnic Labor, Global City

ÖZ

ETNİK İŞGÜCÜNÜN BATI AVRUPA'NIN KÜRESEL KENTLERİNDEKİ ROLÜ: BERLİN'DEKİ TÜRK İŞGÜCÜ

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Bu çalışma etnik işgücünün küresel kentlerdeki rolünü incelemiştir. Çalışma Batı Avrupa'daki işgücünü iki alanda ele almıştır: mesleki nitelik ve iş statüsü.

Bölüm 1'de çalışmanın genel yapısı verilmiştir. Bölüm 2 çalışmanın üç bileşeni, üretim, mekan ve işgücü göçü ile ilgili kavramsal çerçeveyi vermiştir. Bölüm 3 petrol kriziyle ilgili, Avrupa'daki üretim, mekan ve göç gelişmelerini incelemiştir. Bölüm 2 ve Bölüm 3'de tartışılanların mekansal sonucu, küresel kent ve etnik işgücü üzerine odaklanan Bölüm 4'de verilmiştir. Bölüm 5 konuyla ilgili Avrupa örneği üzerinde durmuştur. Bölüm 6'de Berlin'deki Türk işgücünün durumu örnek çalışma olarak sunulmuştur. Son olarak, Bölüm 7 örnek çalışmanın sonuçlarını Batı Avrupa için genelleştirmiştir. Tezin ek bölümleri, örnek çalışmada kullanılmış, işlenmemiş sayısal verilerle ilgili tabloları içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etnik İşgücü, Küresel Kent

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study, namely the role of ethnic labor in global cities, comprises a discussion with three components; production, space and migration. The most significant outcome of the study is the emergence of the interrelation between global cities and ethnic labor. In this section, the conceptual framework and existing trends are first presented.

The connection among labor migration, space and production in the world signifies the existence of some tendencies. Post-industrial movement shows that, labor migration became global due to the politically and economically driven forces. These movements focus on a few areas and they change according to the characteristics of sending and host country; voluntary-involuntary, economic or political. However, a recent classification, skilled and unskilled migration gained importance in the terminology. Here, the major reason is the changing occupational tendencies due to post-fordist production.

Space is an important actor in conceptual framework The definition of space needs to be elaborated based on the recent arguments. The politicization of space indicates that the importance of spatial coordinates increases. Space dominated by certain processes and organizations comes to the picture. In this connection, transformation of space is associated with the international-economic, technological and social developments. Recent studies emphasize that two important concepts dominate the arguments on spatial transformation; powerless place -depends upon a local place oriented logic and placeless power (the global logic of space). The major outcome of these two arguments is that space of flows supersedes to space of places.

The tendencies of production concentrate on two channels. First, it involves change of the general patterns of production i.e. a shift from industrial production to production of services, change in production organization -from hierarchical spatial division of labor to flexible specialization- economic internationalization and its institutional effects (realization of Single European Market), increase in the *attractiveness of innovatory environments*[1] and change in the conditions of rivalry among the actors of production[2]. The second channel consists of interrelations between production and regional-urban tendencies. It signifies peripheralization and centralization at regional level and it also focuses on development at urban level; the emergence of high level service centers.

The final analysis of production, space and migration reflects the important tendencies. Global cities as the new forms of global organization on finance, production attract ethnic labor. Ethnic labor in the labor market of host country is going to a complex occupational structure. At a regional level, a movement of ethnic labor from periphery to core, due to some motivations, occurs as part of global form of centralization process. The developments at urban level emphasize the occupational positions of ethnic labor in the host countries; the post-industrial movement increases the skilled jobs, notably in the professional services, with reference to a decrease in the traditional manufacturing employment. However, the dominance of some unskilled jobs in the services continues.

Global tendencies can also be attributed to Western Europe after the period of oil crisis. The ethnic labor side of discussion indicates that a phase of closing doors which corresponds to family reunification period, witnessed the restrictive legislation of Northwestern countries of Europe. Traditionally, concentration areas of ethnic labor (France and Germany) aimed at halting these flows with domestic measures while the policy of Britain included the re-definition of citizenship rights. These restrictive policies failed due to the continuous family movements. The 1980s experienced no increase in foreign population balanced by voluntary return migration, mainly in Germany. The global characteristics of migration in the early 1990s were dominated by three areas; illegal migration, asylum inflows and the movement of the high skilled. These transformed the European context of ethnic labor into a complexity.

The developments on the European ground of production-space and migration emphasize the impact of production change on ethnic labor in two periods; the oil-crisis (1973) and recent decade. The oil-crisis leads to a chain-reaction in production organization; a shift from sectoral specialization to hierarchical spatial division of labor. The major outcome of this shift was the growth of informal economy. Economical informalization affected the labor market position of ethnic labor. Ethnic labor increased its dominance in small business, particularly in services. However, the importance of unskilled labor in manufacturing continuously decreased. In the last decade, flexible specialization and production shift to services determined the position of ethnic labor in the major cities of Europe. These cities such as Paris and Frankfurt attract high skilled migrants to the jobs in the tertiary and quaternary sectors and the low-skilled migrants to the service industry. The directions of intra-regional movements of ethnic labor are determined by the production characteristics of peripheral and central areas[3] in Europe. The situation of Turks in Germany is mainly evidence to this phenomenon.

The tendencies of production-space and migration in the 1990s point out the emergence of an important phenomenon; ethnic labor participation in global cities. This can be evaluated as a consequence of the analysis of three factors.

Despite the more economic definition (world city of Friedmann), global cities which are the new nodes of global hierarchy operate in regional-economic and urban-social and political order (Sassen, 1991). Some studies named these as multinational cities (Rodwin, 1991; Camagni et. al, 1991) and as global financial centers (Lee and Marwede, 1992). Here, the major production characteristics of these cities depend upon a functional classification; top level regional activities[4] in production and services (professional industrial activities, R&D activities, banking and insurance, producer services). and traditional service functions, mainly dominated by ethnic labor.

The locational advantages also reinforce the situation of global cities in hierarchical terms. Some of these global cities (Paris, London) are national capitals which are traditionally located at the intersections of major trading economies[5] or in transportation hubs. However, some of these cities (Berlin, Milan, Barcelona) acquired an advantageous position in new central urban networks. This development is reinforced by the emergence of sub-European regional systems and new European urban hierarchy in Southern Europe.

The role of ethnic labor in global cities can be explained on the basis of a functional classification. The participation in specialized services is mainly succeeded by highly-skilled labor. Post-industrial movement especially supports this development. This type of ethnic labor concentrates on production activities of global financial centers. Lower-skilled labor brings about a chain-reaction in the small businesses of host countries; the increasing concentration of different groups in the same sectors. The important concentrations of these are seen in catering and retailing. Here, as some of them proceed employee position in traditional consumer services, a new generation of ethnic labor[6] goes to a middleman minority position in non-ethnic market.

The situation of ethnic labor in Western Europe corresponds to global tendencies. Recent occupational orientations indicate a key development; increasing participation of ethnic labor in total services. The studies of Gelsenkirchen and Berlin in Germany and of Amsterdam in the Netherlands (Waldinger, et. al, 1990) signify that the growth of ethnic business is evidence to consumer services, notably catering and food retailing. Despite the global case, skilled labor in Europe has a weaker position in the global production activities of cities. The former brain-drain movements (King, 1993; Salt, 1992) experienced important changes due to the dissolving of Iron Curtain. Now these movements target the technological activities that are universally in short supply (software engineering, system engineering etc.). The movement of former East Germans (Bräunling, 1995) support this phenomenon. The effective participation of European ethnic labor in top-level business functions of cities is not expected in the short run even though jobs in corporate banking and special market staff are also in shortest supply. The possible evolution of ethnic labor towards the late 1990s is also important in the European case. Here, the anticipated effects of regional-urban future (Camagni et. al, 1991; Rodwin, 1991) can be given as a starting-point.

The emergence of multinational regions and relatively common urban system are likely to increase the importance of big metropolitan areas as gateways. Concentration and deconcentration of production activities lead to a functional shift in these areas. Decentralization of more routine operations to lower order cities increase the importance of some cities. The industrial and service activities are positively influenced by spatial diffusion and they show a locational flexibility. At this point, the influence of services on regional growth is possible to increase. Furthermore, concentration of headquarters and hegemonic functions in a very few world cities emerge as a parallel process. Here, a rivalry between European world cities for these functions will become sharper. Both processes (concentration and deconcentration) emphasize a key development; the growth of new regional level functions and traditional functions (services) occur at the same time.

These anticipated effects show that an occupational and locational change of ethnic labor can be possible in the short-run. Deconcentration brings about a participation in more routine operations of lower order cities. This development is likely to cause a new phenomenon; the growth of medium-skilled ethnic labor. The situation of Ethnic Germans in Berlin (Bräunling, 1995) is shown as evidence. It is likely that highly-skilled labor proceeds its previously dominant role in specialized activities. However, some of them are likely to be influenced by the negative effects of skill-mismatch (White, 1993b) in the long-run.

In the light of recent tendencies, this study aims at analyzing the role of ethnic labor in global cities towards the late 1990s. Here, two key questions are associated with the European case: how do global occupational tendencies of ethnic labor affect European labor market? and how can these tendencies be specified to the West European ethnic labor in global cities? The study seeks to answer these questions on two grounds; occupational characteristics (skilled/unskilled) and business status (employee/employer) of ethnic labor.

In this study, the following assumptions have been made:

1. It is assumed that global cities attract ethnic labor to both skilled and unskilled activities.

2. As for indigenous labor, it is assumed that the degree of participation in new regional functions of global cities is determined by the performance in producer services.

3. As for ethnic labor, it is assumed that this participation is determined by the performance in consumer and personal services.

In the scope of the present study, the following limitations have been made:

1. This study is limited to the sectoral tendencies of total labor in five German cities and of Turkish labor in seven cities.

2. The case study only aims at analyzing sectoral performance of Turkish labor in Berlin between 1985 and 1995.

3. The study only analyzes global cities with an economic viewpoint.

The hypotheses of the study can be formed in the following way:

1. In the light of these tendencies, the participation of ethnic labor in the global cities is likely to become a phenomenon in the post-industrial movement. The ethnic labor will acquire a dynamic and decisive role in an occupational context.

2. High-skilled immigrants will preserve their previous dominant positions in headquarters functions[7]. Here, the concentration of production services in a few European cities will not change their occupational status but deconcentration is possible to cause a locational and occupational shift[8] for some of them. The possible areas of this shift will be traditional metropolitan areas with global services or the new regional nodes (emergent global cities of Europe).

3. The lower-skilled ethnic labor will concentrate in consumer services and this will provide mobility at an intra-regional level. It will show a dominant characteristic in some sectors. However, its mobile and dominant characteristics will be closely associated with its business conditions. The intra-regional mobility of ethnic entrepreneurs will occur at a wider range. The employee immigrants[9] will preserve their passive positions in the traditional industries.

The sectoral data used in the study were taken from the annual activity reports in the General Directory of Foreign Worker Services in Ankara.

CHAPTER 2

INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN LABOR MIGRATION, SPACE AND PRODUCTION IN THE GLOBAL WORLD

2.1 A Historical Overview of Labor Migration

In the last decade, international migration gained a global and dynamic characteristic. A shift from the routine movements labor migration, due to economically driven-forces, to post-industrial movement also changed the dynamics of migration. The economic and political motivations jointly determine the existing patterns of labor migration; refugee flows, high-skilled movement and ethnic entrepreneurship. The impacts of these key developments are mainly felt in the European economic area. To understand the European type of processes, the overview of global patterns of migration should be analyzed. The conceptual framework particularly comprises the key categories of international migration and it establishes a connection between the patterns and motivations of migration.

2.1.1 Recent Developments in Labor Migration

The international migration has undergone a significant expansion over the past four decades. One estimate puts the number of people currently resident outside their country of citizenship at some 80 million. This figure can be assumed to be much higher (upwards of 100 million) because of several reasons; first, a high number of people become citizens of the receiving country. Some of them are now outside their country of origin after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and second, there are huge numbers of seasonal, frontier and transient migrants worldwide.

Although migration affected all regions of the world throughout history, international flows have became truly global in recent decades. Every continent of world faces the migratory movements as a result of a series of developments such as the spread and advancement of modern communications, the expansion of the global economy and the intensification of regional and international economic and demographic disparities. In addition, the past few decades have seen remarkable expansion and diversification in transcontinental flows, such as from Africa and Caribbean to Europe, and from Asia to North America and Middle East. Much of this migration is mainly driven by global economic and political forces such as world trading patterns and capital flows.

Despite the increasing global characteristics of migration, the effects of a certain degree of regionalization can also be seen in the patterns of movement between some regions such as between Mexico and the United States or between the states in West Africa. At the same time, a number of new regional patterns have emerged or are expected to develop parallel to the strengthening of particular regional economic groupings. For example, the past decade has witnessed a marked diversification and an increase in levels of migration between East and Southeast Asian states. Next few years may witness higher levels of migration within the so-called European Economic Area.

The other important key trend in connection with the process of regionalization indicates that international migration over the past few decades has became progressively concentrated in only a few areas of the world. Over one- third of 100 million international migrants worldwide are in Sub-Saharan Africa (at least 35 million), and of the remaining 65 million, most are concentrated in the Middle East and Southeast Asia (15 million) and in North America and Western Europe (15 and 13 million). Here, particular countries are important to such concentrations. Saudi Arabia, for example, accounted for around 4.5 million of the estimated 6-7 million international migrants in the Arab Gulf to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait; of the total 7 million in South Asia, over 6.5 million are concentrated in Pakistan and Iran; of the 17 million in Central and North America who are citizens of a country other than their country of origin, over 14 million are in the United States; and of 13 million foreigners resident in Western Europe, roughly 8 million are in Germany, France and Britain (Russell and Teitelbaum, 1992).

2.1.2 Classification of Migration

Because of its being a complex phenomenon, it is difficult to classify international migration. However, to understand recent developments in the global labor context, a kind of classification is needed. Generally, classifications in that area can be given on the basis of what motivates migration. The motivating factors are mainly political and economic factors.

Taking the two factors together, a matrix which comprises the many different migration types can be designed here; these types would be (1) migration which is strongly economic and voluntary in cause and motivation (e. g. worker migration); (2) migration which is strongly political and voluntary (e.g. migration of Jews to Israel); (3) migration which is strongly political and involuntary (e.g. classic refugee flows[10]); and (4) migration which is strongly economic and involuntary (e. g. refugees from famine and ecological disasters). However, discriminations between such migration classes are not clear. For example, that many worker migrants move to escape from extreme economic difficulties means that category (1) frequently overlaps with category (4).

In addition, certain factors which do not exist in this matrix may be broadly defined as social and cultural. These factors usually affect migration to a very significant degree. The migration of families and their dependents is mainly influenced by the operation of social and cultural factors such as networks of communication between migrant-sending and migrant-receiving countries, or by more general cultural and linguistic links between sending and receiving countries. For example, the increase in the South/North migration of Europe has significantly been influenced recently by the spread of Western culture throughout the world.

Although certain categorizations of labor migrants, for example, between the movements of professional and the movements of unskilled workers, between documented or undocumented (illegal) movements, fall with the same broad category by economic, political and cultural factors. All of such categorization is very different in terms of its specific causes, motivations and impacts. Here, the diversification of the categories are important, and the causes and consequences of international migration should be evaluated only within the context of specific countries and specific migratory situations.

2.2 Interrelations between Space and Production and Their Effects on Recent Migration Flows

This section involves a discussion with three components; space, production and migration. The analysis of recent developments of these components is important in understanding the spatial outcome of the study i.e. European global cities and ethnic labor.

Space experienced a change in the 1980s and 1990s in terms of scope and dynamics. The Post-modernist thought indicates that the politicization of space dominated the arguments in last decade.

Spatial transformation was mainly affected by economic internationalization and technological change. These developments caused the emergence of a new type space; space of flows.

Production as an organization faced a change in institutional and global contexts. Economic internationalization led to the global form of production.

Lastly, the interrelations between space and production and migration were influenced by these relative processes discussed above. This discussion includes a transformation in geography of center and periphery and its impacts on ethnic labor i.e. the movements of ethnic labor from periphery to core.

2.2.1 Space as a Concept

Defining the scope of space is necessary to specify the conceptual framework of the thesis. Here, the limits of space are determined by three components; a specific urban area *-global city-*, as an area dominated by recent spatial transformation processes, production as a type of organisation and the migration movements as a process.

First, as a result of the increasing importance of spatial coordinates (Hebdige, 1986) as one of the basic approaches of Post- Modernist thought[11], a need has emerged to redefine the concept of new urban space. In this connection, space will be discussed in detail as an independent concept in Chapter 4.

Second, the space dominated by certain processes such as migratory movements coordinated with the spatial transformation process, comes to the picture. Here, space should be understood by the viewpoint of simultaneity principle[12] of Post-Modernist thought. If it is assumed that the similar dynamics emerged in different spaces with different forms and cause different results (Işık, 1994), the effects of the migratory movements (dynamics) on the reorganization of a specific space[13] can be seen.

Third, a discussion of space determined by the relationships of certain organizations concentrated on a key question of social scientists which mainly focus on the modernization project. The question posed by Soja (1989) is "how can the forms of spatial dispersion and activity of society become an undivided part of our endeavors on understanding and transforming the society?"[14] (cited in Işık, 1994). The answer to this question also represents the possible role of production system as a type of organisation in the transformation process of space.

After the conceptual framework, changing meaning of space in the new urban geography[15] can be discussed in terms of recent approaches. Since 1980's, which mainly concentrated on the Post-Modernist arguments, space gains a new dimension as a concept. With such a process that is summarized as the politicization of space, the discussion for the new meaning of space has started. Arguments on space were developed in certain channels. One of these channels is mainly concentrated on the relationship between time and space.

At this point, approaches by Anderson (1991), Giddens (1990) and Harvey (1989) have an crucial importance. According to Anderson (1991), as a result of the emergence of nation-state as a political and economic process at global level, the characteristics of the space are changing with time. Here, the importance of this approach can be emphasised in terms of interactions between the dimensions of space-time and societal structures and processes.

According to Giddens (1991), the interaction between space and time is also important to relationships defining the modernity[16] in both periods, before modernity and during modernity. Here, Giddens states that different community relations at a global level started to influence space as a result of development of modernity.

In the analyses of Harvey and Giddens, the effect of modernity on space-time relationships can be categorized in three channels: (1) evaluating space and time in a context that does not include localities[17], (2) emergence of space as a passive surface and lastly (3) the differentiation of space from time. Having presented the conceptual framework of new space, specific interrelations in the politicization of space can be discussed. If space plays an important role in the formation of societal-cultural practices, it can be transformed to a platform in which we can cope with the reproduction of such practices by means of our spatial experiences. In other words, here, we could speak of the process of politicization of space (Işık, 1994).

Here, the space definition of Jameson (1991) includes important key points. According to Jameson, the space of post-modern capitalism is a separated space and space can be termed as schizophrenic. In addition, space can be evaluated as a category including solutions for the secrets of societal practices, but it is a static, theoretical and passive space as termed by Keith and Pile (1993).

In conclusion, the most important result derived from geography/space arguments in the last twenty years indicates that it is necessary to understand space as a simultaneity of dynamic societal relations and a process in a context including every scale from local to global.

2.2.2 Spatial Transformation as a Process

In the evaluation of spatial transformation as a process, giving some key points is important to determine the scope of the space dominated by effects with flow-characteristics, such as migratory movements. One of these points suggests that the main trends in the transformation of space are associated with the developments of international economy and increasing dominance of certain technologies, such as information technology (Castells and Henderson, 1987). At this point, the analysis of dynamics of territorial development is also necessary by the viewpoint of organizations and structures which emerge as a result of new developments at economic and technological levels. Furthermore, the effects of the new territorial developments should be discussed in terms of community organizations and related social networks such as ethnic, racial, gender, class-based networks. In other words, the new socio-spatial functions, should also be emphasised in a new territorial context.

Finally, with the combination of different interactions at the economic, social and technological levels, concentration of spatial transformation on the urban context will gain importance. Such a concentration also means an indirect relationship between territorial development and space affected by the socio-spatial dynamics.

The discussion of new dimensions of spatial transformation is extremely important in this connection. Here, the trends of spatial transformation in a global context will be discussed according to the general framework discussed above.

One of the developments in spatial transformation mainly focuses on the effects of recent changes in international economy and the emergence of new technologies. Here, recent tendencies provide new structural meanings to logic and dynamics of territorial development. Of these tendencies the following stand out: a tendency for a space of flows to supersede the space of places due to the development of the international economy, the dramatic growth of new information and commutation technologies and the formation of powerful transnational organizations linked by subordinated and decentralized networks, (Castells and Henderson, 1987). In other words, the role of dominant organizations in the territorial development changes.

The second territorial process is also important to new territorial development. While the role of dominant organizations and social interests changes, the community social relations and socio-political mobilizations continue to operate according to a local place-oriented logic. Castells and Henderson (1987) stated:

> Community organizations, regional and urban networks, ethnic, racial, gender, class and age-based social networks all over the world tend to oppose their local, specific experience to the abstract, flow- oriented logic of worldwide organizations and interests. (p. 7)

Here, two important phrases emphasize the new dual characteristic of spatial transformation; placeless power and powerless place[18] -the former depending on communication flows, the latter generating their own communication codes on the basis of an historically specific territory.

The new socio-spatial functions can also be discussed in association with the process of uneven development linked to economic restructuring. While the metropolitan dominance of some areas are decreasing, new territorial units in the world strengthen their position because of their increasing relative weight in the spatial division of labor. Here, new territorial development, termed as *destructive creation of a new built environment* by Schumpeter (cited in Scherer and Pearlman, 1992), establishes a bridge between spatial transformation and economic restructuring. In the newly-built environment, the processes of growth and decline take place simultaneously within the same metropolitan area, thus the contrasted urban forms and social structures emerge.

2.2.3 Production as an Organization

Before we go any further by discussing the major changes in production organisation in the recent years, the scope of production as a type of organisation needs to be defined.

In the thesis, production organisation is analysed in two main channels. The first channel indicates the general patterns of production at global context. As some patterns of production are mainly associated with the use of technology such as information technology and telematics, others concentrate on the economic processes in an institutional context, for example; the Single European Market.

The second channel related to interactions between the global form of production and the regional-urban systems, shows a spatial characteristic. Here, not only the industrial and business characteristics of production are discussed, but the social characteristic of production that can be termed as *spatial structures of production*[19] by Massey (1988) is also subject to discussion.

General trends in the production change should also be considered from the perspective of the first channel i.e. the general patterns of production at global context. However, the characteristics of production in the regional and urban systems will be discussed in the Chapter 4.

It is a fact that there is a structural shift from industrial production to the production of services. Most of the European cities experienced a decline in manufacturing (Fothergill and Gudgin, 1983) and they became service centers. Here, the latter indicates that rising incomes and high income elasticity of demand for cultural services, specialist personal services and educational and health services have created new markets for this type of services and these have been highly concentrated in the main urban areas (Gaspar, 1992).

The second change, the most important change in the organizational structure of production, is mainly related to use of technology. A new type of production, i.e. small-scale flexible production, emerges as a result of the use of advanced technology (information technology and telematics).

Third, internationalization of economic activity strongly affects the production system in a wider range. Internationalization dominated by certain institutional changes, such as the realization of the Single European Market, has important geographical effects at a regional level. Lloyd and Dicken (1986) point out that as the importance of the region as an economic unit continuously declines, duality of the global and local is emerging in the same context.

Another change can be observed in the type of competition. This change termed by Piore and Sabel (1984) as *flexible specialization* in production which significantly creates the patterns of co-operation between enterprises rather than competition.

There is yet another change in production which emerges in an innovatory environment. Because of the growing importance of product innovation in income and employment creation, innovatory environments are becoming increasingly attractive for productive activity.

Finally, an important shift in the time-distance relationships reflects a change in the interaction between tele-communication and transport at the same time. With respect to this shift, Gaspar (1992) stated the following:

> The transport revolution and, not least, the telecommunication revolution, have provided hitherto unseen levels of flexibility with reference to locational patterns. It is by no means given that telecommunications and transport are substitutes, indeed, in many cases they appear to be complementary. (p. 830)

2.2.4 Production-Space and Migration

The first necessary step in discussing the interrelationship between production-space and migration is to analyse the consequences of production change for urban and regional restructuring.

A shift from manufacturing to services has radically changed the economic base and social composition of cities (Gaspar, 1992). This condition mainly corresponds to the European case. As the importance of cities increase as cultural centers and centers providing high levels of personal services, a new type of production system, i.e. flexible production, emerge in the same spatial context (Scott, 1988).

Here, the main trends of the changes of production in the cities, in both levels -economic and social-have also a spatial characteristic. As a result of internationalization[20] that has a series of effects such as economic, social, political on the regional and urban system, new spatial characteristics and forms emerge in a context associated with production.

At this point, presenting the two key questions posed by Sassen (1994; 54) can be useful to the discussion: "How do the processes of internationalization actually constitute themselves in cities which function as regional or global nodes ?" and "how are they articulated with other components in the economic and social structure of large cities?". The answers of these are related to recent phenomena of the new spatial forms dominated by the production relations.

Recent studies show that a sharp increase in socio-economic and spatial inequalities within major cities of the developed world is occurring (Harrison and Bluestone, 1988; Pretecielle, 1986; Wilson, 1987; Lash and Urry, 1987; Fainstein et. al, 1983; Scott, 1988). Here, the transformation in the geography of center and periphery reinforces the inequalities between major cities. As peripheralization processes are occurring inside areas (former core areas), a parallel process, centrality also become sharper in the urban areas. At this point, three distinct patterns on centrality are emerging in major cities and their regions in developed countries (Sassen, 1994). In the 1980's there was a growing density of workplaces in the traditional urban center associated with growth in leading sectors and ancillary industries. This central city growth has been activated by the formations of dense nodes of commercial development such as suburban office complexes, edge cities, exopoles and business activity in a broader region. As a second step, with process of vast urban sprawl due to the endless metropolitanization of the region around major cities, the revitalized urban center and the new regional nodes started to constitute new spatial base for cities at the top of transitional hierarchies. In other words, a new centrality trend associated with urban sprawl has started to determine the influenced area of core in the opposite direction of the former trend. The last development was explained by Sassen (1994; 54), as "the growing intensity in the localness or marginality of areas and sectors that operate outside that world-market oriented subsystem". At this point, the socio-economic and spatial inequalities within major cities have a determinative role in the localness of areas. Gaspar (1992) analyzes such phenomenon by the viewpoint of changing characteristic of spatial competition. According to Gaspar

> ... Spatial competition in the new Europe is increasingly becoming competition within the European urban system rather than competition between regions. .. Locational decisions, in terms of both expansion and contradiction of economic activity, are now increasingly related to locality rather than region, as locational constraints for example in relation to linked industries and business services, are rapidly declining ... (p. 831)

After the patterns of centrality, a discussion on the differentiation of the new terrain of centrality, comes to the picture. In certain conditions, the old central city, the largest and densest of all the nodes, still is the most strategic and powerful one. In other words, a traditional urban center as discussed in the first development pattern dominates the whole urban system. Sassen`s significant question focuses on the dominant role of old central city: "Does it (traditional urban center) have a sort of gravitational power over the region, that makes the new grid of nodes and digital highways cohere as a complex spatial agglomeration?"(1994; 55). Here, from a larger transnational perspective, such agglomeration can be evaluated as vastly expanded central regions. Sassen pointed out that

> This reconstitution of the center is also novel in that it is different from agglomeration patterns still prudent in most cities that have not seen a massive expansion. In their role as sites for global city functions and the new regime of accumulation thereby entailed. We are seeing a reorganization of space-time dimensions of the urban economy. (Sassen, 1994; 55)

As a second step, changing production-space interrelations by the effects of recent migration flows can be explained. The discussion is mainly based on the emergence of global cities and the process of global restructuring.

The global cities that emerge due to the new forms of global organization of finance, production and distribution (Sassen, 1988) attract the ethnic labor for different occupational opportunities. Here, the concentration of both high-skilled and low-skilled -particularly services- activities or jobs leads to a spatial restructuring of the city. For this restructuring process, Sassen (1988) points out that interacting factors of socio-economic status and ethnic background lead to new and rapidly changing forms of differentiation between neighborhoods.

To understand the spatial restructuring of the city, the analysis of recent migratory movements at regional scale is necessary. These movements can be discussed in a context in which both peripheralization and centralization processes determine the production-space relations. Firstly, there is an evidence to the massive flows of migrant workers from periphery to core parallel with global restructuring (Sassen, 1987). This evidence is termed by Salt (1989) as the emergence *of macro-regional networks*:

> These networks correspond the regional-core periphery systems whereby labor migrationflows constitute the human bond linking centers of capital accumulation and economic growth with peripheries of surplus labor. (cited in. King, 1993; 18)

Some of these systems, for example; Southern Europe and North Africa to North-West Europe, Central America to the United States and South Asian countries to the Gulf are stable to location and scale (King, 1993). In other words, migration flows mainly orientate towards distant countries where industrial, mining or service sector growth provides higher incomes from the countries of underemployment, and overpopulation.

The three different ways in the movement of migrant workers from periphery to core are explained by Sassen (1987). First, she states that rural -urban migration has fuelled industrialization in many newly industrializing countries (NIC`S-South Korea and Taiwan in particular) by providing a largely female workforce already culturally habituated to the acceptance of authority and low wages. Second, she focuses on the transformation of capital into the world economy and its effects on the cities. Capital as a surplus value generated from the employment of millions of migrant workers in OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) has been transferred into the world economy in the form of finance capital and profitable investment opportunities. This money was used in construction of booms in the cities. Last, Sassen pointed out the use of ethnic labor in low-paid, labor intensive industrial and service jobs. These jobs emerge especially in the informal sectors of global cities that can be evaluated as the control centers of the international economy. According to Sassen "the restructuring of the economies of global cities promotes the conditions for the informalization of a wide range of productive activities" (1987; 12). With the use of cheaper workforce -migrant labor- developed societies become competitive with developing societies in industrial sectors such as electronics and textiles. As a result of such an advantageous position of developed societies, industrial capital become reconcentrated in the core economies. The technical and locational constraints, increasing wages and emergent class struggles in developing societies, also supports this phenomenon. Sassen summarises her discussion that "global restructuring is creating conditions ... (to) ... the spatial reintegration of production with principal markets" (1987; 12). King (1993) also approaches the matter in a similar way:

> The patterns of migration ... portray the global distribution of economic power and, at the international level, reflect simply the geography of economic opportunity between groups of countries. (p. 19)

CHAPTER 3

LABOR MIGRATION AND PRODUCTION-SPACE IN WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE PERIOD OF OIL CRISIS

3.1 Recent Processes and Policies of Labor Migration

Recent studies point out that the main phases of migration in the Western Europe can be identified according to demographic and economic considerations. Three waves of migration, labor migration, family reunification and post-industrial movement (see Figure 3.1 to their evolution) can be briefly discussed here.

The labor migration dominated the period between the1950s and the 1970s as a result of a series of economic factors. The impacts of this process have mainly been felt in the host countries of Europe and they were motivated by free market forces or specific recruitment at employer and government levels. The patterns of migrant origin in this period are especially based on old colonial connections[21] of some of the destination countries and new national labor supply relationships in the classic guestworker countries (West Germany, Switzerland and Austria) (White, 1993b). In the following years, while the some migrant-imported countries such as Italy and Spain gained the host country status, the remaining nationalities proceeded their crucial position in the history of ethnic minority formation.

Family reunification had started with indirect impacts of economic recession of 1973-1975[22], namely oil shock and it dominated the period between the mid-1970s

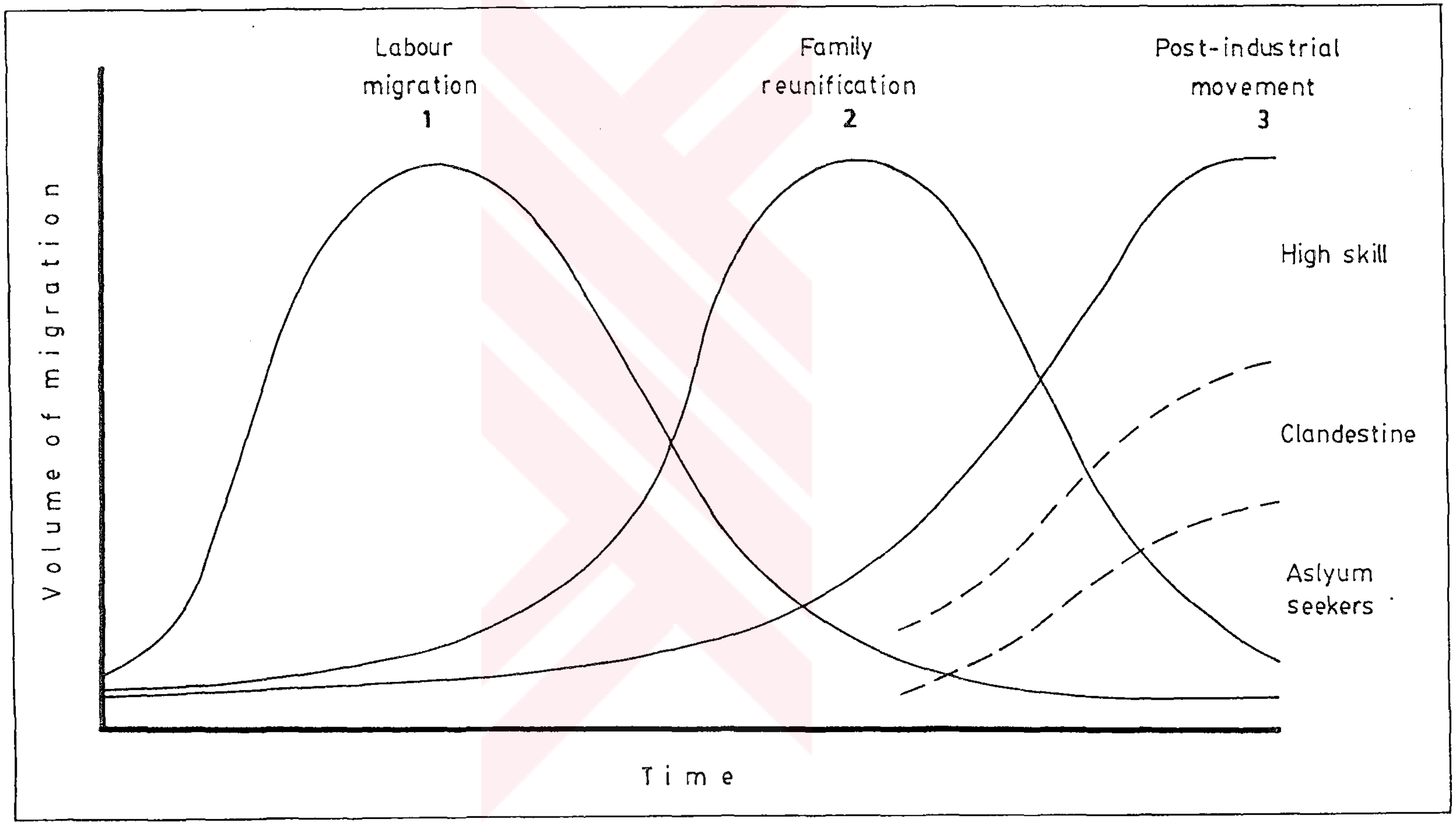


Figure 3.1 Three waves of international migration (White, 1993b; 49).

and 1980s. In comparison with the first wave, this period was particularly motivated by political and social arguments. In this period, the policies of European countries especially France and United Kingdom which aimed to halt the migration flows have not reached their specific targets at a national level because of a new type of migration, namely "family movement of the first generation migrants". For this failure, White states that "the attempt to assign a single date to the end of one migration wave and the start of another is implausible since there is a degree of overlap" (1993b; 50).

Post-industrial movement, involves complex relationships on economic and social grounds. The first aspect of this process is mainly associated with high- skilled movement. In the 1980s, a decrease in industrial and manufacturing employment led to a change in the labor demand together with the organizational structure of many employing enterprises. Parallel to this shift on the demand side, a labor shortage on the highly-skilled occupations has emerged in many European countries. This phenomenon was also supported by growing transnational and multinational corporations[23] which created their own internal labor markets. By the late-1980s, some of the international migrants in working age constituted a high-skilled movement in technical, managerial and professional occupational sectors in terms of intra-European movements and migratory connections with other parts of the world, markedly North America and Japan.

The second form of migration, termed as *clandestine migration* by recent studies, showed an increase in a particular area of Europe. This movement can be observed especially in the growing migratory influx into Southern Europe. It is closely related to the weak frontier and internal controls of the receiving countries in Europe and to the growth of the informal economy in these countries. The latter also reflects that this type of migrants is seen as a major labor force by certain authorities for labor supply in the informal economy. However, the negative effects are particularly felt on the migrant side and some clandestines[24] face exploitative situations in the labor market.

Third, a movement of a number of refugees, namely asylum-seekers[25], was experienced in Western European frontiers during the 1980s. Here, two major causes of this movement are the restrictive immigration policies in European countries and the negative political conditions such as political instability and ethnic tension in the sending countries. The former means that stricter policies of certain countries force the immigrants to claim a refugee status (White, 1993b). Despite the third world origin of asylum-seekers in the past, today conflicts in Former Yugoslavia are also generating massive refugee flows.

Finally, it can be said that, the post-industrial movement is not a new phenomenon and its aspects have a long history depending on the beginning of labor migration, as seen in the Figure 3.1.

3.1.1 The Phase of Closing Doors: 1970-1990

The period of early 1970's saw a significant change in post-war immigration policies in Europe. As a result of the oil crisis in 1973, West European labor-importing states introduced restrictive measures which intended to close their doors to foreign workers from outside the area of European Economic Community. In the European area, migrants had an important proportion of population. For instance, foreigners constituted 5 % of the total population in the Federal Republic, 7.5 % in Britain and 6.5 % in France.

In this period, not only the negative effects of economic recession due to oil crisis, but also the social and political effects were important determinants to governments` policies on migration. Here, growing social and political costs associated with large immigrant populations motivated the governments in the European Economic Area, in terms of introducing restrictive acts. In a special report published by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in 1976 it was stated that "decisions taken by governments to restrict immigration levels should be seen as the result of political considerations, because the negative effects of immigration in the social and the political area become greater than the economic advantages." (OECD, 1992).

The United Kingdom is given as a typical example to analyze the main policy changes in Europe, in the period of late 1960s and of early 1970s.

In the United Kingdom, the process of immigration in the post-war period was mainly dominated by Commonwealth[26] immigration which started with the first arrivals from the colonies. The social and political costs of this immigration caused the introduction of legislative immigration control in the years before the oil crisis of 1973. The 1962 and 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Acts[27] which aimed at regulating migration flows, can be taken as important cornerstones of legislative framework.

Despite the policies of other receiving countries of Northwestern Europe which comprise a stop on labor recruitment as a measure to restrict immigration, Britain approached the matter by introducing legislation to redefine the citizenship rights. This condition can be mainly observed in the case of Kenyan -Asian migration in the late 1960's. In 1967, the case of citizenship and the right to enter the United Kingdom came to the picture because of the intention of Kenyan government to expel the Kenyan-Asian population. As a result, the majority of Asians orientated to UK and colonies by selecting UK citizenship rather than Kenyan citizenship. During the two months before the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act came into force, 12,823 Asians entered the United Kingdom. After the Immigration Act, the immigration controls were extended to such Asian flows by restricting the right of entry into Britain to passport holders. The1968 Act supported the Old Commonwealth immigration and was introduced to restrict immigration from the New Commonwealth. With the introduction of 1971 Immigration Act, all the previous immigration legislation was replaced with a single act. The new act included provisions for control of admission and stay of Commonwealth citizens and foreign nationals.

In France, new approaches on the immigration policy came to the picture with the question of integration of foreigners in the early 1970's. A series of issues on the migration such as immigrant's housing and working conditions an hostile reactions[28] in the host countries have started to influence the policies of French government. As a result of an increasing concern over social implications of immigration, a series of circulars (Marcellin Fontanet Circulars[29]) which aimed to restrict immigration were issued by the Ministers of the Interior and of Employment in 1972. Certain events, such as explosion of racial tension in Marseille and 1973 Against Algerian immigration motivated the French government to expand the scope of restrictions in 1972. Circulars of 1974 aimed to suspend worker immigration and to implement a stop on secondary immigration. This measure reflected the approach of the French government in the restriction of immigration from the countries such as Algeria.

The social effects of immigration and a reordering of priorities in terms of integration of foreigners can also be discussed in the case of Germany in the early 1970's. By this period, the immigration policy of Federal Republic had no regulative framework to cope with the integration problem of immigrant groups, despite the existence of restrictive rules. *The 1973 Action Programme on Employment of Foreigners* focused on a new awareness of the integration problem and on rising unemployment. This was a turning point in policy change of the early 1970's. However in the same period, the government introduced domestic measures to discourage employers to employ more foreigners. These measures included regulations such as stricter supervision of housing supplied by employers and penalties for employment of illegal immigrants, thus constituted a significant obstacle to proceed the policy on social problems of immigrants.

After the domestic measures in 1973, the German government decided to implement a complete stop on all further recruitment activities from non-EC states. For the existing foreigners, the government targeted a successful integration of all immigrant groups who did not wish to return voluntarily. Thus, the reorientation of the policy towards the integration of foreigners reflected that the Federal Republic had became an immigration country.

If the period following early 1970s is observed, significant developments in terms of the integration of foreigners and legal instruments dealing with human rights can be seen in labor migration to the Northwestern Europe. Firstly, the 1973 stop on immigration throughout Northwestern Europe did not affect migration flows of family members and of dependents of immigrants already resident in the host countries. Conversely, family reunification of migrant groups in the host - or their countries of origin - countries of Europe has been facilitated as a policy implementation by the countries of Western Europe. As a result, the most labor-importing countries of Europe became more and more the resident area of immigrants compared with before 1973-1974 period.

During the 1970's and the early 1980's, migration flows did not lead to a significant increase in total stocks of foreign population of Europe's main receiving countries because immigration was balanced by voluntary return migration, especially to the European sending states. For example, in Germany, as total alien population increased by only 5.7% between 1974 and 1984, the proportion of immigrants of non-European origin was continuously increasing. The total alien population had a lower increase compared with the non-European origin, because the number of aliens from the European sending states, particularly Southern Europe, was declining at the same time. However, the decrease did not compensate for the significant increases in the proportion of aliens of non-European origin. Thus, immigration levels seemed to be increasing at a much higher rate than actually usual.

After the preceding two decades (1950s and 1960s) which saw the different approaches on immigration policy, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed a general convergence in the immigration policies of West European states. In this period, the two main approaches proceeded by the European States determined the implementations of immigration policy; controlling of primary immigration from outside the *EC/EFTA* and regulation of family immigration in the interests of the integration of foreign populations. As a result of these policies, the period of late

1980's saw a decline in immigration and an increase in return migration to the traditional sending states of Southern Europe such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. In addition to such trends at the European level, the states of Southern Europe experienced a significant increase in migration which derived from the countries outside Europe. These countries had previously dominated migration to the major receiving states of the 1960's and 1970's. To cope with or to regulate the invasion of migration flows in the late 1980's, the states of Southern Europe introduced immigration legislation comparable to the regulations of Western Europe. This convergence in European policies has also affected the international level of policies.

By the late 1980's, the new immigration states of Southern Europe, such a Italy, also faced rising levels of illegal immigration. As a key country, Italy introduced significant acts which included a legalization programme for clandestine workers. These acts included restrictive regulations for immigrants violating the immigration laws. Although significant restrictive regulations were introduced in the recent period, the entrance of illegal aliens to Italy were not interrupted. Today, an estimated 25% of Italy's one million immigrants are illegal and estimated 60% of these have been resident in Italy for less than four years.

In the last phase of labor migration which started with oil-crisis in 1973, the dominance of three main areas of the early 1980's -illegal immigration, asylum inflows and immigrant and minority integration- continues in the early 1990s. Although the immigration policies have gained a new characteristic in the many receiving countries of Europe, the traditional importance of the direct control measures which emerged after the 1973/4 period, have remained the same. The main problem areas that affected the paths of policies in the Western Europe during the phase of Closing Doors were stated by the *OECD's Continuous Reporting System on Migration* (SOPEMI, 1984) in the following way:

> Problems of insertion into the social fabric, of education of young people, of the harmonization of different cultural traditions, of naturalization ... illegal immigration in its many aspects, the growth in the number of asylum-seekers, and more generally the results of a migratory pressure ... originating in the less-developed countries. (SOPEMI, 1984)

3.1.2 Trends in the 1990s

The European patterns of migration gained new characteristics in the early 1990s because of political and economic motivations. The current situation is characterized by a growing contrast between supranational areas; North-South and West-East divides[30] (Golini, Bonfazi and Righi, 1993; Salt 1989). This contrast has identified the following characteristics in the new map of international migration: a large decline in permanent settlement and a consequent increase in temporary migration; the increasing importance of family reunion; an increase in the scope of international migration; an increase in the number of refugees; and growing pressures towards illegal migration.

These patterns can be observed in the recent developments of Europe. In recent years, east-west migration has shown a sharper increase with military blocs dissolving and the *Iron Curtain* disappearing. This development is also reflected by the number of refugees, resettlers and asylum-seekers. In 1991, approximately 400, 000 people asked for asylum in the EC and EFTA countries (OECD/SOPEMI, 1990). As a result of the war in Crotia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, the number of asylum-seekers and refugees from Yugoslavia to Central and Western Europe has grown rapidly and it reached nearly 400, 000 in July 1992. Specifically, the Western Europe mostly experienced these migratory movements. In 1991, the number of asylum-seekers in Germany reached 256,000. Since the 5 percent of these applications were granted, many of them stayed as refugees. Germany was also affected by the influx of Ethnic Germans. Between 1989-1990, nearly 700,000 ethnic Germans arrived.

The trends of 1990s can also be expressed in economic terms. At this point, the developments of labor migration in the key countries have an crucial importance. In the early 1990s, the three important immigration countries are Great Britain, Germany and France[31]. For these countries, the geographic patterns of origin of immigrants are indicated in the Figure 3.2.

In 1990, the majority of 1.9. million foreign residents (60%) in Great Britain were immigrants from African or Asian countries (former dominions or colonies). Labor migration from Yugoslavia or Turkey was non-existent. Immigration to Britain from other European countries is comparatively low; almost three quarters of such migration comes from Ireland. According to the labor force survey in 1990, approximately 930, 000 foreign nationals were working in Great Britain and 4.6 percent of the population (2.6 million) belonged to ethnic minorities. Most of them were Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent.

In unified Germany, the number of foreign nationals was 7% of the total population (5.6 million) in 1991. The major ethnic groups include Turks -the largest ethnic group with 1.8 million nationals-, Yugoslavs (from former country), Italians, Greeks and Spaniards (the General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1993). In

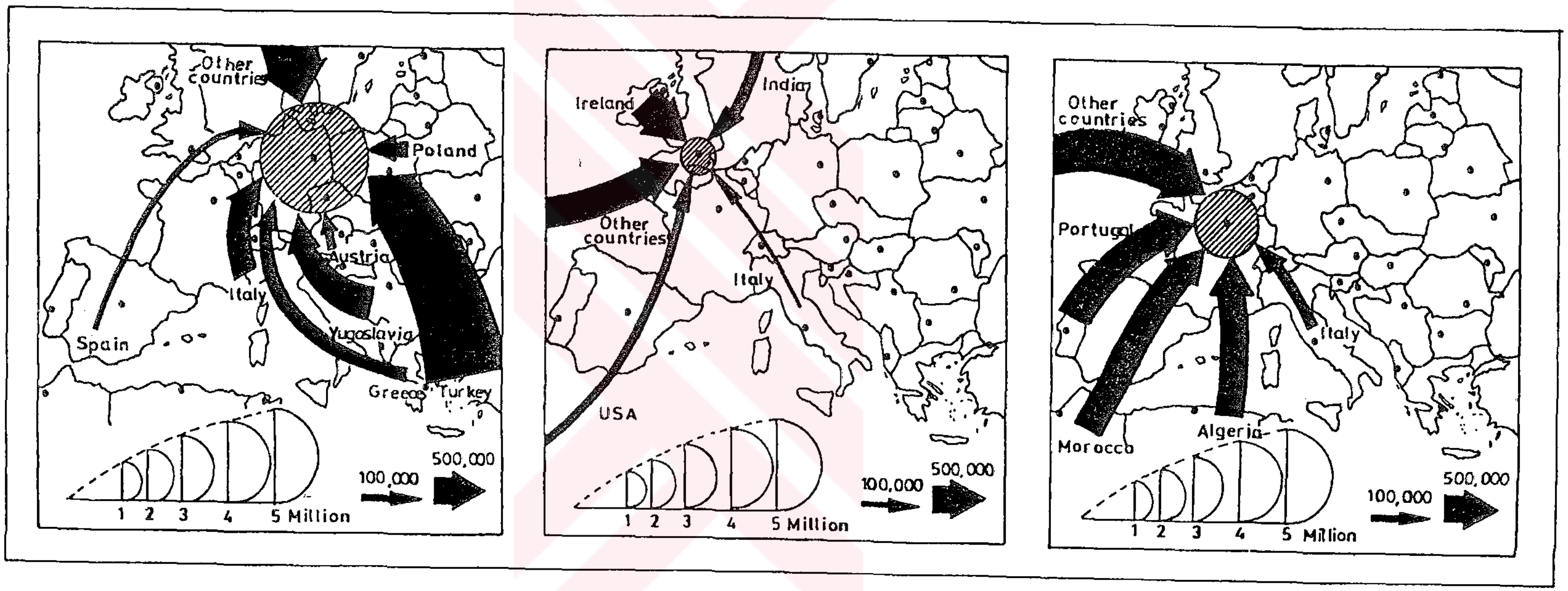


Figure 3.2 Foreign resident populations in Great Britain, Germany and France by country of origin, 1990 (Fassman and Münz, 1992;470-472).

the same year, 2.1 million foreigners were working legally, representing about 8 % of the country's labor force. There is also evidence of a growing proportion of illegal employment.

The composition of France's foreign resident population shows complexity. Since the early 1980s, the number of Moroccans, Turks and other nationals in France has increased while the number of Portuguese, Algerians, Italians and Spaniards has decreased because of naturalization[32] and net return migration. In 1990, the number of foreigners residing in France was 3.6 million (6.4 percent of total population). Some 1.6 million foreigners were part of the French labor force. The foreign born population accounts for 11 percent of France's population.

3.2 The Effects of Production-Space on Labor Migration

This section comprises two periods of production-space and ethnic labor developments in Europe; the period of oil crisis (1973) and the 1990s.

Sectoral specialization dominated the production-space interrelations before the period of oil-crisis. The following developments concentrated on the emergence of hierarchical spatial division of labor due to the negative effects of the crisis. The major outcome of these developments in ethnic labor context is the growth of informal economy. Both the response to sectoral specialization and the effects of 1973 crisis led to the emergence of flexible industries of informal economy. The patterns in this period has also motivated a series of developments in ethnic labor towards until recently (flexible specialization) i.e. the growth of small business and ethnic entrepreneurship and the decrease of unskilled labor.

The 1990s saw the increasing association between the post-industrial movement of migration and flexible specialization. The different occupational groups of ethnic labor affected the production-space characteristics in new regional nodes (global cities). As the classical brain-drain[33] effects lose its importance, the dynamic developments occur in the skilled and low-skilled labor; the change in the low-paid labor (clandestines) and the expansion of high skilled migration of third wave (post-industrial movement). However, the most important development occurs on the ground of business status; the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship and of ethnic labor participation in the labor markets of European cities.

3.2.1 The Period of After 1973

Before discussing the changing characteristics of production-space interrelations in the recent years, a general overview on the period of oil-crisis (1973) may be useful here.

The changes in the organisation of production in Western Europe affected the production-space interrelations in the post-war period. On the production side of such influences, Champion (1994) stated three distinct phases since 1950 that reflected the evolution of links between changes in the organization of production and the patterns

Champion (1994). In the 1960s and 1970s, a structural shift, hierarchical spatial division of labor has started to dominate production organization. This shift can be summarized as the relocation of mass production facilities in regions and countries with ample supplies of suitably low-skilled and low-paid labor. It also involves a change on the demand-side for foreign workers. It reduced the need for the mass migration of manual workers, but increased the need for moving management staff and other skilled workers between a firm's many sites.

The last stage, flexible specialization, changed the nature of the labor market and the personal requirements of employers. This turning point that can be stated as the superseding of Fordist mass production[35] by the post-fordist production, was explained by Champion (1994) for changing characteristics of labor markets:

> .. this development (post-fordist arrangements of flexible specialization), involves a shift away from the primary labor market of unionized, protected, high wage workers with jobs in the mines and big factories to a growth secondary labor market of casual, unprotected, flexible labor in which females and part time workers predominate. (p. 662)

Specifically, the developments of oil-crisis on production-space and migration concentrates on the second stage termed by Champion as hierarchical spatial division of labor. In this period, economical informalization[36] (Castells and Portes, 1989) dominated the key developments as a response to sectoral specialization. This process can be evaluated as a driven-force in the movements of ethnic labor from periphery to core (Sassen, 1989) and for their occupational concentrations in the new nodes of global hierarchy[37]. For the former, Sassen (1987) stated that the use of migrant workers in low-paid labor intensive industries constitutes the third way of these movements. The latter indicates the concentration of ethnic labor in the low or medium-skilled jobs, notably in consumer services of the host countries.

Recent studies (Castells and Portes, 1989) show that the expansion of the informal economy is a part of the process of economic restructuring aimed at superseding the structural crisis of the 1970s despite its growth in the most Third World countries and in the certain European countries (Italy, Portugal) before the 1970s. To understand the ethnic labor side of this phenomenon, the major causes must be expressed in terms of low-skilled and labor-intensive industries.

First, informalization can be seen as a reaction both by firms and individual workers to the power of organized labor. This process stated by Champion (1994) as the growth of secondary labor market is also evidence to Italy. A giant firm, Fiat, experienced a decrease in production activities in order to increase subcontracting and thus its competitiveness in the world market. This development increased the attractiveness of small business jobs in the host countries with reference to the decreasing dominance of labor in manufacturing. At this point, the existence of a rapid informalization in restaurants and personal services which were previously dominated by unionized small firms, also strengthened its relative position in the informal economy.

The second cause was the reaction against the state's regulation of the economy in terms of both taxes and social legislation. This indicates the reflections at local and ethnic labor contexts and also it can be evaluated as a counter response of working class to cope with the global recession of 1970. In relation to this matter, Castells and Portes (1989) stated the following:

> ... the rise of the welfare state in the post-World War II period have promoted informalization directly by stimulating companies efforts to escape its reach and indirectly by weakening the resistance of the working class to new forms of labor organization. (p. 28)

Third, a shift in competition-instead of sharpening rivalry between the advanced countries and a growth of association with Third World Countries- changed the characteristic of labor-intensive industries radically. At both sending and receiving country levels, ethnic labor experienced a kind of informalization due to the policies of advanced countries. These countries aimed at diffusing low labor costs across countries and regions to compete with cheaper Third World imports for the manufacturers of consumer goods, such as garment and footwear. However, the effects of this process were mainly felt in the traditional manufacturing industries of the host countries.

The fourth reason for the growth of the informal economy is related to the sending country side of discussion; the process of industrialization of third world countries. After the oil crisis, a series of countries such as Mexico and China orientated to an industrial path in which they informalized themselves to attract the foreign investment and to increase the chance of technology transfer. In other words, they targeted to decrease the impacts of push factors in terms of the migratory movements towards the advanced parts of the world.

Last, the economical impacts of oil crisis of 1973 constituted a major cause in the growth of the informal economy. The countries in the periphery (Third World countries) were mostly affected by the global recession in this period. The important negative effects were mainly experienced in the unionized labor of both periphery and core countries (highly developed part of Europe). In the advanced countries, an occupational shift from traditional industries to unprotected, flexible industries of informal economy dominated the period. In the sending countries, the relative effects were observed in the feature of movements towards the core countries. The low-skilled migrants experienced a decrease in the number of jobs in the manufacturing despite the rise of emergent jobs in the service industry. However, as a counter process, the movements of brain-drain (White, 1993b) continued in the other path of the industrial production.

In conclusion, a major outcome of informalization process in the context of production-space and migration is the mobilization of work in the world-wide. The regional outcomes can be mostly seen in the movements of ethnic labor in Europe and in the structural and organizational shifts of production at both sending and receiving country levels. Finally, it can be said that the participation of ethnic labor in informalization process occurred in a dynamic context. Thus, ethnic labor had a determinative role in the production-space characteristic of Europe with regard to its passive role in the period of sectoral specialization.

The developments and processes in the oil-crisis period are also important in understanding and analyzing the following tendencies in the 1990s. Here, the spatial tendencies, the emergence of new regional nodes -also termed as new financial centers (Sassen, 1994; Lee and Marvede,1992)- and the spatial restructuring at neighborhood level due to the ethnic pressures, constitute the key points. The developments in production include the following cases; the relation between sharpening flexible specialization and post-industrial movement of migration, the emergence of new organizational forms (sub-contracting and franchise systems) and the sectoral concentration of ethnic labor in the major cities of Europe. These will be argued in a context associated with oil-crisis in the next section.

3.2.2 Developments in the 1990s

In the transformation process of the post-industrial cities, ethnic labor have a crucial role. This can be clearly observed in Western European countries in the last decade, in terms of changing patterns of production-space interrelations. Here, the post-industrial movement emerged due to the changing nature of production organization -post-fordist type of production or flexible specialization. At this point labor market requirements constitutes a basis to the discussion.

In this section, the nature of post-industrial movement of labor migration is discussed in terms of changing production patterns and the spatial effects on the major cities of Western Europe are explained.

First, global cities, which emerge due to the new forms of global organisation of finance, production and distribution, radically transform the characteristics of industrial and economical activities. Here, an important change is mainly related to the occupational structure of ethnic labor. According to Castles and Miller (1993; 206) "these (global cities) attract influxes of immigrants, both for highly-specialized activities and for low-skilled service jobs, which serve the high-income life styles of the professional workforce."

For the same matter, Champion (1994; 662) asserts that "post-fordist production systems seem to be as inimical to mass migration as they are to mass production and mass consumption." Practically, the need for spatial mobility of a firm's own professional and managerial staff is reducing in terms of emergence of smaller internal labor markets. These markets are based on the use of *sub-contractors and franchise systems*. This development affects the use of foreign labor in the small-scale service industries of Western Europe such as the tourist and hotel industry, seasonal agricultural work, casual building-site labor and domestic service. As Champion (1994) stated

> ... the fact that the sub-contractors themselves are often extremely mobile, while the putting out of less skilled work through competitive tender to other firms provides an environment in which employers have the incentive to take on the cheap labor furnished by migrants from low-wage countries, particularly clandestines with no legal status or rights. (p. 662)

The occupational changes also reflect the spatial restructuring process of Western European cities, in which interacting factors of socio-economic status and ethnic background lead to new and rapidly changing forms of differentiation between neighborhoods (Castles and Miller, 1993). The skilled international migrants in the third wave of labor migration (post industrial movement) have mainly concentrated in the major cities of Europe in which they can be employed in the tertiary and quaternary economic sector jobs[38] . These migrants have especially orientated towards new industrial zones and financial centers of Europe, global cities such as Paris and Frankfurt which are at the center of major transportation network. Low-skilled immigrants, especially refugees have also focused on major cities for different reasons. These reasons include the facts that these are the entry points and they provide a high level infrastructure facilities, better housing and job prospects. Lastly it may be possible that these cities are preferred so that the newcomers could contact the previous immigrants easily (White, 1993b). At this point, Champion (1994; 668) approached the discussion from the viewpoint of clandestines: "Clandestines, too, may find the scale and anonymity of metropolitan life useful in keeping their presence secret from officials, while also getting access to the often vibrant black economy in these cities".

The analysis of the spatial changes as residential effects at the neighborhood level is also important here. These effects mainly focus on the links between ethnic minority residential concentration and occupational hierarchy. Recent studies point out that a shift from the dynamic structure of ethnic minority residential movements in the family reunification phase of labor migration, to stable structure in 1990s, affects the positions of migrant workers in both labor market and residential area, in the major cities of Western Europe. Here, White (1993b; 62) explained:

> ... apart from the establishment of new ethnic minority communities in Southern European cities and the growth of high-status minority neighborhoods in the largest financial centers, the general picture of ethnic minority residential distributions in Europe today is one of relative stability, affected in specific cities by processes of urban gentrification or renewal, but overall with few signs of major relocation at work, unlike the picture of two decades ago.

However, the expansion of high-skilled migration due to the third wave of post-industrial movement transform the major cities of Western Europe and they lead to ethnic population growth in these cities. The housing market conditions of such skilled migrants are particularly similar to the conditions of guestworkers in the first phase of labor migration, in terms of the difficulties in the owner occupation and social housing. However, their participation in the private market is at a higher level with the assistance of their employers. As a result of their advantageous position in the private market, the residential areas of high-skilled migrants emerge in a location that is distinct from the habitation of other migrant groups.

CHAPTER 4

A SPATIAL OUTCOME: GLOBAL CITY

4.1 Globalization and Changing Global Hierarchy

The effects of worldwide globalization process are mainly felt at the hierarchical level. Here, the changes can be argued in two channels; changes in the organizational structure of production and changes in the spatial hierarchy.

The changes in production include the structural shift from industrial production to the production of services, increasing importance of small-scale flexible production and information technology, internationalization of economic activity and the increasing role of competition. These also reflect changes in the spatial hierarchy. Here, the tendencies at national and regional levels, focus on trends towards decentralism. At this point, the approach of Cooke (1990) can be interesting to establish a bridge between decentralism and space of production:

> ... One of the most important changes in setting, (the organization of production), has been the emergence in the late modern period of an increasingly integrated global economy, dominated by the most advanced forms capitalist production and exchange. This development could be thought to run counter to the theme that has been developed thus for, namely the trend towards decentralism. Yet it is not, because the global system has no center. It is a decentred space of flows rather than clearly hierarchically structured space of production. (p. 141)

The approaches of Castells and Henderson (1987) are also similar to Cooke`s one. However, the hierarchical changes are analyzed by Castells and Henderson only in terms of certain territorial dynamics and processes. While one of these processes concentrates on the territorial development dominated by the growth of the international economy and new information and communication technologies, the other process is associated with social relations and socio-political mobilizations and contradiction between placeless power and powerless place[39]. For the first territorial process, Castells and Henderson (1987) expressed:

> The first of such major developments (on global restructuring and territorial development) is the tendency for a space of flows to supersede the space of places... The logic and dynamics of territorial development are increasingly placeless from the point of view of the dominant organizations and social interests. (p.7)

Changes at the lower hierarchical level (urban level) will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2 Recent Developments of Global Cities in the World System

The processes of economic internationalization have changed the location and importance of some cities in the world system. In recent years, some major cities have gained strategic roles with the geographical dispersal of economic activities. These cities which were historically centers for world trade and banking, now function as key locations and market places in the organization of the world economy in the leading industries and specialized services. Here, Sassen (1994; 50) said: "A limited number of cities emerge as transnational locations for investment, for firms, for the production of services and financial instruments, and for various international markets". As including cities concentrate vast resources and the leading industries, a series of effects in the economic and social order of these cities are observed. As a result, a new type of urbanization, of a new type of city emerges in the world system dominated by economical globalization. To denote this new type of city, the newer concept *global city* (Sassen,1991) entered urban theory in addition to the older concepts such as *Felstadt* and *World City*.

The world city hypothesis of Friedmann (1986) concentrates on the spatial organization of the new international division of labor and also establishes a bridge between urbanization processes and global economic forces. The first area indicates that the degree of a city's integration with the world determines its position in the new spatial division of labor. Furthermore, Friedmann signifies the spatial hierarchy of world cities (see Figure 4.1). These cities as basing points of global capital can be classified into two groups; primary cities in core countries and secondary cities in both core and semi-periphery.

Friedmann also pointed out the changing ethnic labor developments associated with world city restructuring in core countries (see Figure 4.2). At this point, he paid attention to the case study of New York City (Sassen, 1992):

> The rise of high level control functions typical of current economic restructuring is accompanied by a massive expansion of low-wage jobs across a wide spectrum of employment sectors; and the new spatial and socioeconomic arrangements lead to a growing polarization of interests and the potential for heightened conflict, as middle-income occupations decline and the upward mobility of immigrant labor is effectively blocked. (cited in Friedmann, 1986; 79)

Recent studies also termed these cities as global financial centers. Lee and Marvede (1992) pointed out that the traditional dominant cities such as Venice and New York have been replaced by global financial centers, especially ,by trio of cities; London, New York and Tokyo. They stated that "... Profound planetary realities of space and time seem to offer these cities a degree of permanence as global economic nerve centers if a working day of around eight hours is equated with the demand for 24 hour trading..."(Lee and Marvede, 1992; 492).

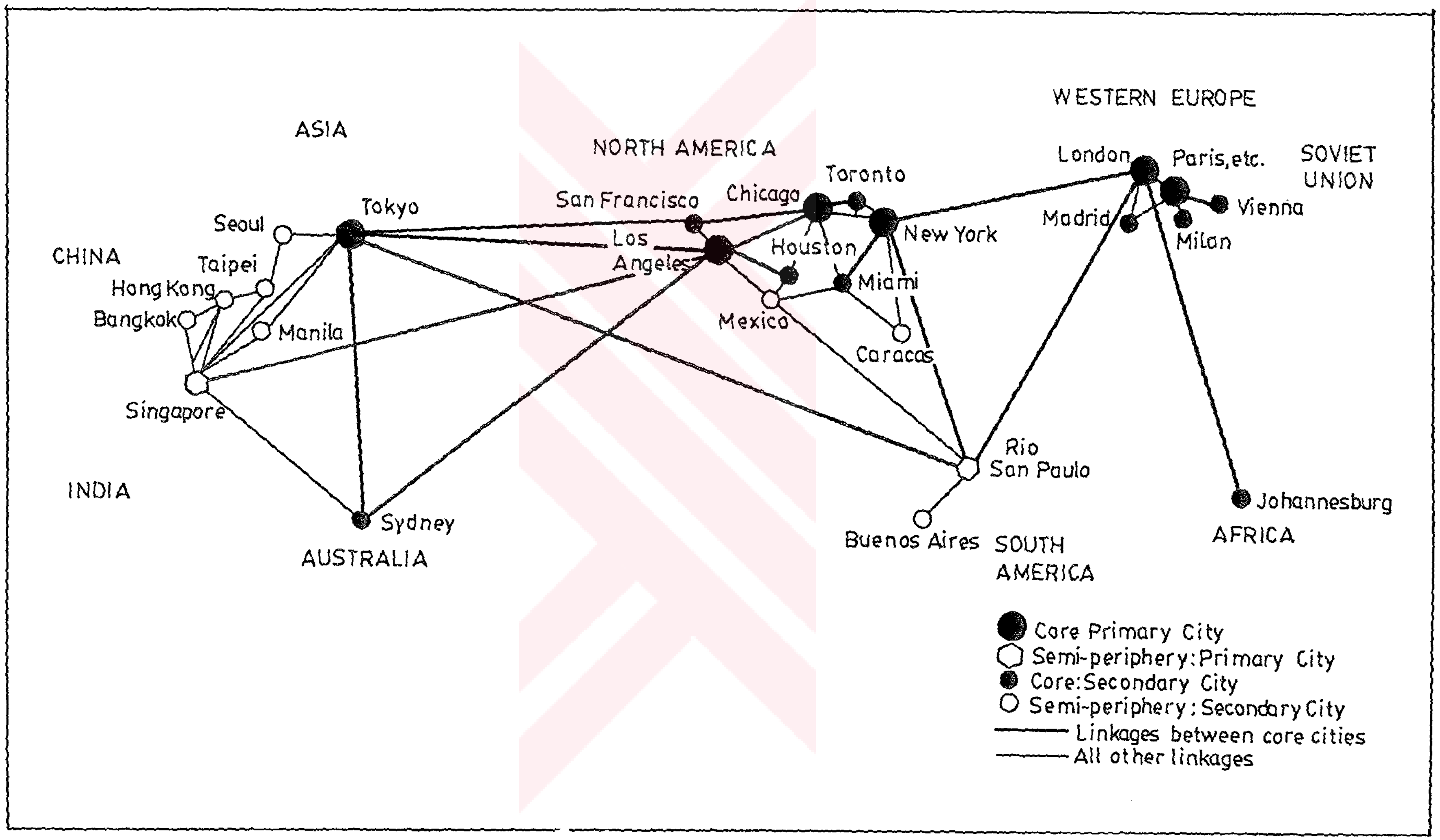


Figure 4.1 The hierarchy of world cities (Friedmann, 1986;74).

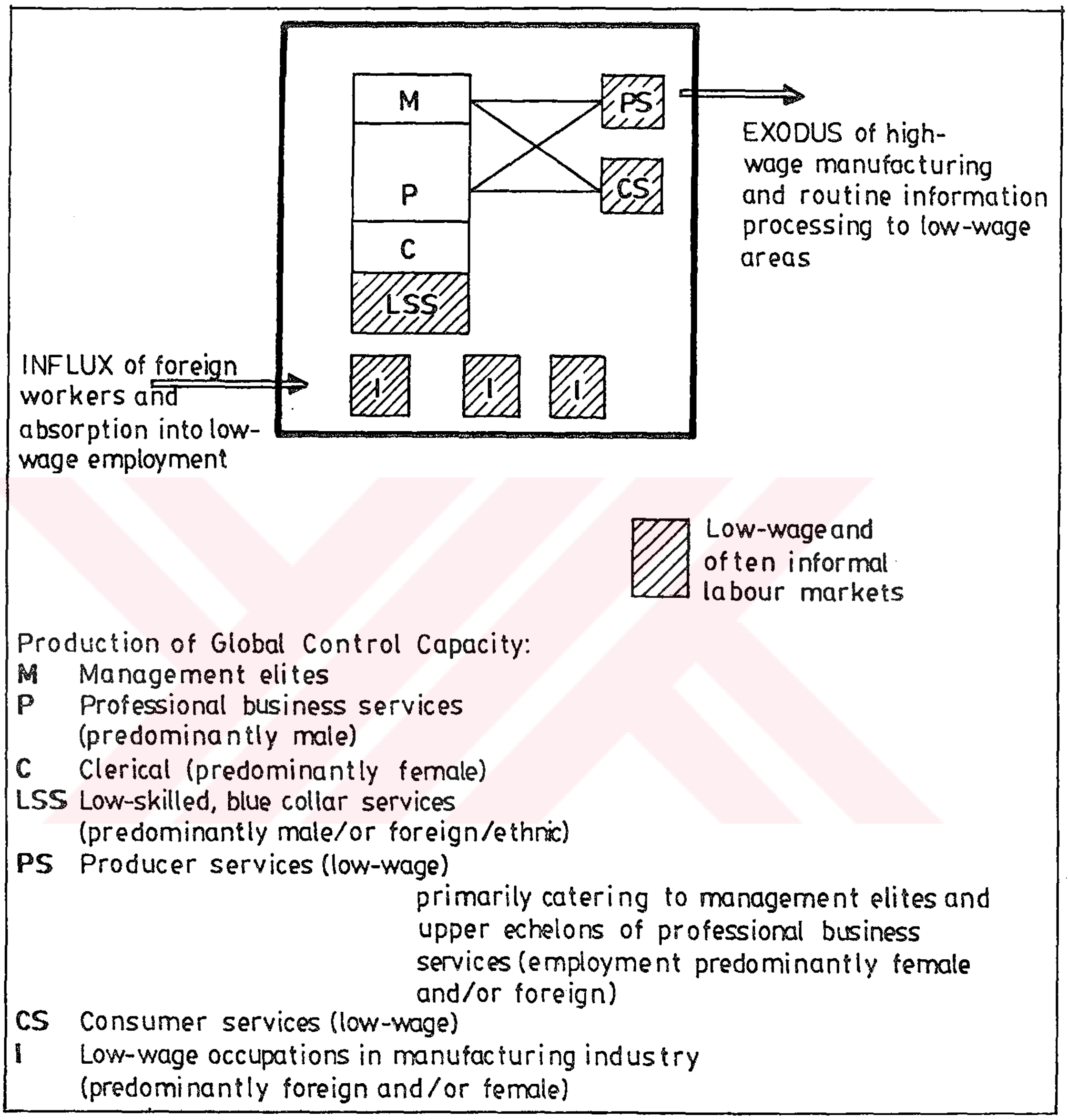


Figure 4.2 World city restructuring in core countries (Friedmann, 1986;78).

In the 1980s, examples to these cities were New York City, London, Paris, Tokyo, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Zurich, Los Angeles, Honk Kong, Singapore, Sdyney and others. For the future development of such cities, recent studies show that many of them, if they are national capitals, may have lost top-level functions (specialized services) in the new global urban system, but will gain new regional-level functions[40] (Sassen, 1994).

Recent developments and structural shifts of these cities in the world system can be explained on three grounds; economic (production-space), socio political and hierarchical. The last particularly comprises the urban developments at European level.

To understand the recent developments of global cities, the discussion of the effects of economic internationalization is crucial. These include the spatial transformation on economic, urban, social and political order.

Firstly, there is an important shift in the centrality and marginality processes, namely centralization and peripheralization (Sassen, 1994). Here, a transformation in the geography of center and periphery also emphasizes the sharper socio-economic and spatial inequalities within major cities. It also represents a change in the spatial dispersal of the new regional level functions in these cities. From the point of peripheralization process, inside areas which were historically core areas of major cities, face an economical shift. At this point, Sassen`s approach (1994) mainly focuses on commercial development of urban periphery:

> What was once the suburban fringe, urban perimeter, or urban periphery, has now become the site for intense commercial development ... We see new forms of peripheralization at the center of major cities in developed countries not far from some of the most expensive commercial land in the world; inner cities are evident not only in the US and large European cities, but also now in Tokyo. (p. 56)

Sassen also approaches peripheralization process by the viewpoint of organizational change:

> We can see peripheralization operating at the center also in organizational terms. We have long known about segmented labor markets. But manufacturing decline and the kind of devaluing of non professional workers in leading industries we see today in these cities goes beyond segmentation and is in fact an instance peripheralization. (p.56)

With the proceeding peripheralization process, centrality also gains importance at regional level. Two phases of centrality process in the 1980s involve traditional urban center development with growth in leading sectors and ancillary industries (services) and the emergence of the mega cities as a result of vast urban sprawl with new regional nodes. In the last stage of development, the growing intensity in the localness or marginality of areas and sectors that operate outside that world-market oriented subsystem dominates the period. (Sassen, 1994). As a result of regional level developments in the area of production-space, new urban forms of global hierarchy (global cities) acquired new top-level functions in service industry. Sassen also supports this kind of centrality on the spatial and economical grounds:

> ... it (economic internationalization) displaces the focus from the power of large corporations over governments and economies, onto the range of activities and organizational arrangements necessary for the implementation and maintenance of a global network of factories, service operations and markets. These are all processes only partly encompassed by the activities of transnational corporations and banks... (Sassen, 1994; 43)

The second part of discussion is related to the hierarchical developments of global cities. Here, the possible trends on the position of global cities in the urban hierarchy and on their positions in the context of production-space will be analyzed jointly. This analysis is particularly important to the European case.

Certain developments affect the European urban system. These developments are dominated by three major tendencies; the emergence of sub-European regional systems[41], increasing role of some cities in the adjacent nations of European Economic Community such as Austria, Denmark, Greece and the emergence of cities that are the parts of an urban system operating at global level (Sassen, 1994). One of the practical results of such developments in the European urban system points out that the traditional urban networks are changing. While cities that have national characteristics in production and spatial organization, lose their importance, cities in border regions -or transportation hubs[42] as termed by Sassen (1994)- increase their dominance. In the future, it is possible that the new European global cities may capture some of the businesses, demand for specialized services and investments that previously went to national capitals.

As for advantage-gaining position of some cities, Sassen signifies the spatial polarization due to the changing dimensions of competition among cities:

> ... the dominance of the large cities continuing, in part because the competition among cities in Europe for European and non-European investment will continue to favor the larger high-tech industrial and service cities. Further, this spatial polarization will deepen due to the development of high-speed transport infrastructure and communication corridors, which will tend to connect major centers or highly specialized centers essential to the advanced economic system. (Sassen, 1994; 46)

It is fact that there is a multiplicity of geographies of centrality and marginality in Europe and this condition is particularly supported by recent developments of urban hierarchy, such as the changing urban networks and increasing competition among cities for investment opportunities. An analysis of the contemporary situation of urban geographies (Sassen, 1994) emphasizes that there is a central urban hierarchy connecting major cities, many of which play crucial roles in a wider global system of cities in Europe such as Frankfurt, Paris, London, Amsterdam and Zurich. The globally dominant areas of the European region and the areas that are the less oriented to the global economy than Paris, Frankfurt, London are articulated by a major network of European financial/cultural/service capitals. On the other hand, the existence of several geographies of marginality affects the urban hierarchy. The new dimensions on the geographies of marginality, such as the east-west divide, the north-south divide across Europe reflect that a shift related to the conditions of some cities in the historically disadvantageous regions emerges. Some cities of Eastern Europe became rather attractive for both European and non-European investment, while the disadvantageous position of other cities in Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania are continuing. This differentiation in the urban hierarchy can be also observed in the South of Europe; while Madrid, Barcelona and Milan proceed their crucial positions in the new European urban hierarchy, Naples, Rome and Athens are losing their importance.

The third ground of discussion comprises the analysis of the effects of internationalization process on urban social and political order. The processes of economic internationalization such as growing centralism and marginalism of certain places not only proceed on the economical ground, but also on urban social and political order associated with economical activities. Recent developments show that concrete production complexes situated in specific places that contain a multiplicity of activities and interests that are unconnected to global processes, emerge. Thus, it can be possible to specify a geography of strategic places at a global scale and the micro-geographies and politics within these places. For these strategic places, Sassen approaches the discussion theoretically :

> The new empirical trends and the new theoretical developments have brought cities to the fore once again in most the social sciences. Cities have re-emerged not only as objects of study, but also as strategic sites for the theorization of a broad array of social, economic and political processes central to the current era; economic globalization, international migration, the emergence of the producer services and finance as the leading growth sector in advanced economies. (Sassen, 1994; 44)

In this connection, the analysis of cities in policy arenas is also important. According to recent studies, two examples support the trends on the repositioning of cities, especially global cities, in policy arenas. The studies carried out by World Bank, show the centrality of urban economic productivity in macro economic performance. The other example concentrates on the severe competition among major cities to acquire resources of global markets, such as foreign investment, headquarters, international institutions and tourism conventions (Sassen , 1994).

4.3 The Effects of Labor Migration on Global Cities

In this section, the existing situation of ethnic labor in the global cities and its role in the labor markets are explained. The patterns of ethnic labor are discussed as part of the tendencies in European regional-urban context.

At this point, the post-industrial movement of high-skilled and the growth of ethnic self-employment constitute the key developments. As the former contributes to the production characteristics of global financial centers, the latter indicates a chain reaction in the small business of host countries; the increasing participation of ethnic business in non-ethnic market caused a series of effects in both markets (ethnic and non-ethnic). These include the decreasing dominance of indigenous business in certain sectors and the replacement demands in ethnic market.

In the light of recent developments, the role of ethnic labor in a number of cities is changing with reference to the occupational tendencies; the increasing dominance of high-skilled labor in the global production characteristics and the new status of ethnic business (middleman minority).

4.3.1 The Situation of Ethnic Labor in the Global Cities

To analyze the existing context of the ethnic labor in the global cities, their production-space characteristic can be a starting point. The geographic dispersal of activities associated with the spatial transformation processes (centralization and peripheralization) leads to a shift in the financial and service characteristics of some major cities. These major cities attracted the influx of immigrant workers to both high-skilled and low-skilled jobs (Sassen, 1988). Here, the labor market conditions of foreign labor depends upon their participation at different occupational levels. Firstly, the growth of high-skilled jobs increased the importance of this type of migrants in the host countries. This phenomenon, termed as *post industrial movement* by the recent studies, is also evident to Germany. These highly-skilled migrants including senior managers, scientists and technologists engaged in research and development have determinative roles in the production characteristics of the global cities. The growing dominance of highly specialized jobs in the division of labor supports this phenomenon. Lee and Marwede (1992) evaluated this type of high level jobs as a motivating factor for the spatial concentrations of production characteristic of global financial centers:

> ... In the case of spatial concentrations of production characteristics of financial centers, what is crucial are the dynamic economies of production generated by productivity increases founded in a detailed and intensely active social division of labor[43] (to especially highly skilled jobs) ... (p. 509)

As the importance of professional and financial labor increase, lower level jobs of ethnic labor gain new characteristics. Here, the growth of consumer services, particularly small business, can be taken as a starting-point. A shift in the occupational context indicates that, the employee position of immigrant labor changed radically in the last twenty years with reference to the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship (Waldinger et. al, 1990). In the US case, New York, Los Angeles, Miami and San Francisco experienced immigrant self-employment rates close to or above the 10% mark. Table 4.1 represents that the period of the early-1980s saw the dominance of this type of entrepreneurship among males in industries such as garments, restaurants, petty retailing and taxis.

Table 4.1 Self employment rates in major U. S. metropolitan areas.

	Men		**Women**	
	All Persons %	**Ethnic Labor %**	**All Persons %**	**Ethnic Labor %**
Chicago	9	6.4	3.6	2.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach	12.4	9.1	4.1	3.1
Miami	15.2	13.8	3.9	3.1
New York-New Jersey	10.6	9.3	2.6	2.3
San Francisco-Oakland	12.7	10.6	4.9	3.8

Source : Waldinger et. al, 1990.

The European experience, also signifies this in a number of Western countries; Britain, France, Germany and Netherlands. In London as an international center, Cypriots and Asians in clothing trade, Chinese in the traditional fish and chips trade and Indian and Pakistani entrepreneurs in the areas of retailing -small grocery stores, chemist's shops and discount airline tickets- dominated the context of immigrant self-employment in the period of the 1970s and 1980s. In this period, Paris was also a typical example for the foreign store owners -one of every ten store owners- in market. Netherlands also faced the growth of Hindustani and Turkish entrepreneurs which have reintroduced garment manufacture to Amsterdam.

The general picture of ethnic entrepreneurship portray the recent situation of ethnic labor. According to the interactive model of Waldinger and Ward (1990), these recent developments could be analyzed in two dimensions; opportunity structures and characteristics of the ethnic groups (see Figure 4.3). Opportunity structures involve the participation of foreign labor in both ethnic and non-ethnic markets. At this point, the open market position is crucial rather than the market of ethnic consumer products such as local foods, tropical goods and cultural products (newspapers, recordings, books etc.). To their participation in the open market, the condition of local business plays an important role. The existence of abandoned markets, expressed by Waldinger and Ward (1990) as the non-dominated areas by the large mass marketing organizations, provides the suitable areas to the ethnic entrepreneurship. Markedly, in the core of urban centers, immigrants operate with no capital and thus, they can compete against the large national chains (supermarkets and hypermarkets). Asian shopkeepers in London and the total ethnic labor in the food retailing industry of New York City witness that the ethnic business is acquiring a new and dynamic characteristics in the major destination points of the World, named by Waldinger and Ward (1990) as *middleman minority*.

This middleman minority condition in the number of cities also represents a shift in the business status. The recent studies show that a tendency to self-

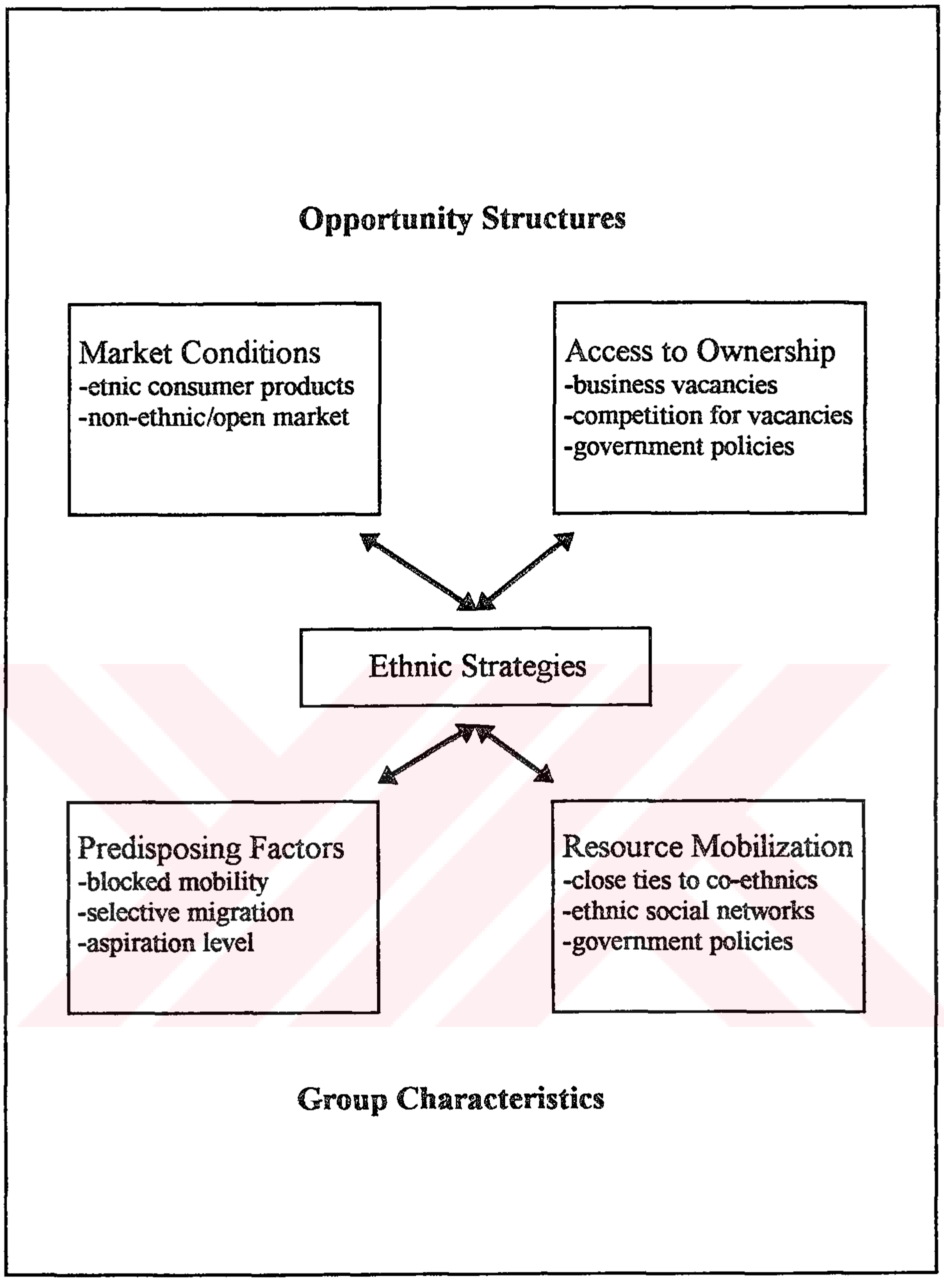


Figure 4.3 An interactive model of ethnic business development (Waldinger, Aldrich, Ward and Associates, 1990;22)

employment is mainly motivated by two processes; direct immigrant entrepreneurship in the new areas and the growth of replacement demand. As the first process reflects a direct channel in the access to ownership by setting the new work places, the other means a replacement of stores that were formerly used by the local commercial population or other ethnic groups. The second process can be mainly observed in the case of Moroccan storekeepers in Paris who have taken over small neighborhood shops from older French owners. Similarly, the situation of Korean grocery store owners in New York with regard to the old ownership of Jews or Italians could be given another example.

4.3.2 The Role of Ethnic Labor in the Global Cities of 1990s

Recent situation of ethnic labor in the major cities of world signifies the possible tendencies towards the late 1990s. These could be summarized in the following way:

1. The participation of ethnic labor in the global center functions is dominated by high-skilled immigrants. This participation is expected to grow in financial functions (Lee and Marwede, 1992) and high level production activities (R & D, electronic data processing, information technology). However, classical brain-drain effects (King, 1993; White, 1993b) lose their importance in the outdated technologies.
2. The lower level occupational developments gain new dynamics and motivations. The traditional employee position of ethnic labor in manufacturing is changing with reference to the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship (Waldinger, Ward and associates,

1990). The cases of US and Western Europe shows that most of entrepreneurs orientates the retailing, textile and other consumer services (restaurants, taxis etc.).

3. The competitiveness of immigrant labor against the local business is continuously increasing in the open market (non-ethnic). It is expected that the ethnic labor enters the new areas of business (national chains of retailing industry) in addition to its participation in the abandoned markets.

4. Recent studies point out that the new occupational status of immigrants goes to the middleman minority position. This means rather active and common business participation despite the operations of a limited number of entrepreneurs.. The growth of self-employment is directly associated with this development.

5. The self-employment growth of ethnic labor is motivated by the replacement demands (New York and Paris cases) and direct ethnic entrepreneurship[44]. The former emerged due to the return migration of some groups (Italians and Jews) or to the local business effects and it is likely to accelerate in the late 1990s. However, the latter becomes milder and this type of ethic entrepreneurship loses its weigth in the late 1980s.

CHAPTER 5

GLOBAL CITIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND THE EFFECTS OF LABOR MIGRATION

5.1 Recent Occupational Trends of Ethnic Labor

Immigration is expected to grow and become a major fact in many European cities. The effects of immigrants at urban level can be especially observed in their labor market participation in the European global cities (Cross, 1993). These cities as the larger high-tech industrial and service centers operating at a global level (Sassen, 1994) and which were defined as *multinational cities* (Rodwin, 1991; Camagni et. al, 1991) -the comprehensive form of world cities- attract the influx of ethnic labor at different occupational levels. Here for the analysis of the recent situation of ethnic labor, the developments and processes that were previously discussed for both skilled and unskilled jobs, need to be elaborated in a stable context; labor market. Before discussing the specific outcomes at urban level, the occupational trends at regional level of Europe will be presented. This part of the discussion constitutes a key point to understand the recent sectoral concentrations of immigrants in the global cities.

Firstly, new trends on the migration processes of highly skilled workers are discussed here. Despite the decline in the number of ethnic labor among the members of European States, a global trend in the movement of highly skilled groups affects European labor context. Highly-skilled migrants in European Community States mainly comprise senior managers, scientist and technologists engaged in research and development, existing employees for career development reasons in both internal labor markets and external labor markets, and graduate trainees. The literature on their migration has mainly concentrated on *brain drains* from developing to developed countries (Gould, 1988; Findlay, 1991; Salt, 1992), but attention has also been paid to brain exchange between countries, especially developed ones.

The German experience mainly supports this trend towards more mobility among the highly skilled (Werner, 1992). Although the total employment of foreign nationals has been going down, the foreign graduates employment (high-level qualification) has increased (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Ethnic labor in Germany by occupational qualification 1971-1989 (Indices 1980 = 100).

	Ethnic Labor			
	Total		**EC Nationals**	
Level of qualification	**1977**	**1989**	**1977**	**1989**
Trainees	87	197	92	82
Employees with low qualification	96	78	103	62
Middle level qualification	93	92	94	80
Graduate employees	86	106	84	105
Total employees	95	87	100	68
Absolute numbers (in 1.000s)	1.889	1.689	730	497

Source: Castles and Miller, 1993

In the case of Germany, the position of Ethnic Germans in the context of the occupational qualification is mainly different from other foreign nationals. Ethnic Germans have shown a greater propensity to enter industrial and artisan occupations than the indigenous population which is less represented in services, and is less likely to occupy organizational and managerial jobs (11% compared with 22% of the German workforce). It is estimated that over half of the ethnic Germans have some professional qualifications, but these are often out of date.

Despite the emergence of selectivity in the high skilled qualifications, in terms of utilizing recent technologies, certain sectors such as engineering and finance sectors are facing considerable labor shortages. For example, in engineering sector, systems and software engineers are universally in short supply and this condition mainly affects the European business, especially transnational corporations. However, the signals of a selectiveness in this sector are observed in recent years comparable with 1980's. The overall shortage of electronic engineers particularly at graduate engineer level in the early 1980's, became a shortage of good graduates. (Salt, 1991). Here the concept of good graduate reflects highest levels of educational skills in a job, especially in proved occupations such as information technology and electronic engineering.

In addition, corporate banking and specialist market staff are said to be in shortest supply. Vacancies are said always to be available for dealers, in the general structure of European finance sector.

As the demand in some highly-skilled groups is continuously increasing, such group of skilled migrants facing an important problem in the host countries of the West; deskilling. As a consequence of familiarity with outdated technologies or inefficient bureaucracies, these highly-skilled migrants faced deskilling problem. Here this condition can be given as an example to emerging of the negative effects in the highly-skilled labor context of Europe. However, the degree of such negative effects is not higher compared with other labors - unskilled or lower skilled- because there is always a chance to improve the occupational levels of these migrants. In this connection, the importance of training programs for high-skilled foreign labor can be emphasized in terms of updating occupational knowledge and experiences.

The situation of unskilled ethnic labor in the European Labor Market is also important here. The major trends is mainly related to the reduction of unskilled jobs in the receiving countries of the Western Europe and to its impact on the job preferences of recent migration flows. A growing dependence on post-industrial economic activity inevitably reduces the number and proportion of unskilled jobs. Some groups of migrants became increasingly excluded from employment as a result of increasing qualification needs and also combination of discrimination and poor facilities. Cross (1993) termed such phenomenon as *disqualification in the urban labor market*. Evidence from Germany also supports this trend. In German cities during 1980-4, jobs requiring higher-level qualifications increased by approximately 10 %, whereas unskilled jobs decreased by at least the same amount (Kasarda et al., 1992). Parallel to this evidence, also foreign employment with high level qualification has increased in the same period (Werner, 1992).

The most important sectoral movements on the ground of lower-skilled labor includes the growth of service sector participation. The growth in output and foreign trade with an important increase in total employment, have caused a new worker movement which mainly orientates to service sector in the host countries of the Western Europe since the mid-1980s. Recent studies show that illegal migrants tend to concentrate on service sector in some countries of Europe (Germany, France). Some of them are employed in the tourism sector and in the other service-related sectors, in the countries such as Spain and Italy (Brochmann, 1993).

In the participation of ethnic labor in the service sector, the clandestine migration (White, 1993b and Brochman, 1993) has an emphasizing role. Clandestine migration has shown a rapid increase in recent years, as a result of the growing migratory influx into Southern Europe. This movement is permitted by relatively weak frontier and internal controls. It is also related to the growth of the informal economy and the significance of the economy in supplying certain important services. The latter means that in many cases the authorities have been reluctant to move against the complex informal and formal organizational systems that link clandestine migrants and employment, often in highly exploitative situations (White, 1993b). Furthermore, tougher economic conditions often tempt employers to hire illegally. The use of cheap ethnic labor has became an important means for small and medium-sized firms to retain some flexibility and lower the cost of production in a competitive situation. The service sector is typical in this respect. Evidence from Southern Europe- France, Italy and Spain (Brochman, 1993) also reinforces this phenomenon in informal labor market. In France, illegal labor is employed particularly in hotels, cafés and shops, in private households and in the construction and health sectors. However, in Spain and Italy, it is concentrated in the tourist sector, private households, catering and agricultural sector.

In the European case of unskilled ethnic labor, giving a key question that represents the related tendencies discussed above can be useful here: "Can increasing service-related activities balance the significant decreases in the number of unskilled jobs in terms of the participation of foreign workers in the European labor market ?" (Cross, 93; 116). To answer this question, it is necessary to analyze possible occupational orientations of ethnic labor in the future of Europe.

Unskilled migrants in certain areas of Europe either because of lack of familiarity with dominant languages or because of discrimination, are unable to combine their high occupational aspirations with educational success. As a result, they will be particularly vulnerable to exclusion from large sectors of the job market. Unemployed migrants became an increasing proportion of the overall unemployed in Austria, Belgium, France and the Netherlands during the second half of 1980's (SOPEMI, 1992).

Skilled-labor has an advantageous position to enter labor market, however, some kind of selectiveness in skilled workers gains importance in recent years. As Cross (1993) terms such selectiveness on the basis of certified education, Werner (1992) names it as high-level qualification.

The negative effects are also experienced in both skilled and unskilled labor and these can be summarized in the following way:

- Some groups of migrants, especially unskilled and low-skilled migrants, become increasingly excluded from employment as a result of increasing qualification needs or the reduction of unskilled jobs (Cross, 1993 and Kasarda et al., 1992).
- In European labor market, new low-level jobs to cope with exclusion of foreign workers from employment, are easily filled locally.
- As consequence of familiarity with outdated technologies, highly skilled migrants face deskilling problem (skill mismatch[45]).
- Illegal migrants, especially clandestine migrants, are facing exploitative situations supported by certain authorities in Europe -mainly Southern Europe- (White, 1993b and Brochman, 1993).

5.2 The Situation of Ethnic Labor in European Global Cities

After the statement of the tendencies and problems in recent sectoral concentrations of ethnic labor, present conditions in the market can be expressed in detail. The occupational tendencies in Europe signify a phenomenon; increasing participation of ethnic labor in total services. As the participation in the professional services -stated by Friedmann (1986) to the upper level of the production of global control capacity- occurs at a lower level, the major developments emerge in the consumer and low-wage producer services[46]. A kind of ethnic entrepreneurship dominates the position of ethnic labor in small business. The European part of discussion is also evidence to this development. The major cities in the West of Europe including Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and France, experience the growth of ethnic small business in the consumer services, notably catering, food retailing and restaurants. For the European trends of ethnic business, Britain can be taken as a starting point. According to 1987 data, approximately two-thirds of all Asian owned firms in Britain operate in distribution and catering. Most of these firms concentrated in retailing, while the other dominant group, Afro-Caribbeans had an important proportion in wholesale. The studies of the 1980s which targeted the analysis of ethnic labor characteristics in a number of cities (North and South London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leicester and Cardiff) indicate that the Asian firms have a dominant position in retailing -especially food retailing industry. The majority of Afro-Caribbeans, on the other hand, concentrated on the wholesale trade of certain goods such as bread, shoes and clothes[47].

Ethnic business in the major cities of Germany experienced a sharper development in the 1980s. As in the United Kingdom, the ethnic community characteristics determined the level of business participation and the type of business. The studies of Gelsenkirchen and Berlin in the mid-1980s indicated the sectoral differentiation of ethnic small business. Specifically, Italians were active in the ice-cream business and restaurant or bar catering. Nowadays, Italian continue to operate in their own communities and in the German middle class. Other nationalities, Greeks and Yugoslavs have also an active role in the restaurant and grocery trade. The new settlements of migrants from other countries such as South Asians from Great Britain and refugees from Indochina and the Middle East are also active in the stated trades. In addition, Indians, the Pakistani and Vietnamese increase their effectiveness in this sector. The Turkish Community as the largest group, in the ethnic business of Germany, differs from general structure. Turkish self-employment is mostly effective in the community-oriented sectors such as video distribution and groceries. In the non-ethnic market, Turkish firms play a rather active role in providing cheap services in greengrocers, fast food, construction and transport in comparison with other immigrant entrepreneurs. The situation of Turkish business will also be analyzed in the case study of thesis.

The Netherlands is also evidence to the case. The Netherlands in which 50% of the ethnic population is employed and 2.2 % of them are active as entrepreneurs, are dominated by four major ethnic minority groups; Southern Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Morocco), Northern Mediterranean countries (Italy, Greece), ex-colonial subjects (Surinam, Antilles) and other categories including China and refugees. The fieldworks in the early 1980s signified that the major cities saw an ethnic distribution of certain sectors among these groups.

The study of Amsterdam indicated that ex-colonial groups, particularly Surinamese, control the majority of enterprises (40%) in retail and catering (see Table 5.2) while Chinese are active in restaurants. The 1983 data of four cities (see Table 5.3) reflect a similar condition in Greek business which predominantly concentrated in catering (60%) and the retail trade (30%). The remaining Greeks operate in shipping services and in the import of Greek products.

Table 5.2 Business activity in Amsterdam by ethnic groups (1983).

	ETHNIC GROUPS				
BUSINESS TYPE	**Creole**	**Hindustani**	**Chinese**	**Other**	**Total**
Tropical greengrocers	-	27	6	1	34
Record/video	6	7	1	-	14
Barber	10	1	-	-	11
Goldsmith	1	2	3	-	6
Butcher	-	4	-	-	4
Garage	-	2	-	-	2
Tailor	2	2	-	-	4
Coffee shop	24	3	-	-	27
Cafe	17	-	2	-	19
Restaurant/snack bar	11	14	16	6	47
Travel agency	6	5	-	-	11
Miscellaneous	15	19	1	-	35
Total	92	86	29	7	214

Source: Waldinger et.al, 1990.

Table 5.3 Number of Greek businesses in four cities in the Netherlands by type(1983).

	CITY			
BUSINESS TYPE	**Uttrecht**	**Rotterdam**	**Amsterdam**	**Nijmegen**
Catering	24	43	14	5
import-export	1	10	5	1
Retail Trade	10	4	1	5
Miscellaneous	8	14	-	1
Total	43	71	20	12

Source: Waldinger et.al, 1990.

Turks with the highest rate of self-employment (5%-6%) among the other nationalities are active in a variety of sectors (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Turkish business activity in Amsterdam (1983).

BUSINESS TYPE	**ESTIMATE OF NUMBER**
Textile Industry	80
Coffee Shops	50
Snack Bars	40
Pizzerias	25
Butchers	20
Import	10
Miscellaneous	32
Total	257

Source: Waldinger et. al, 1990.

Turks have became involved in the rag trade as part of the clothing industry in the 1980s. The second concentration of Turks was in the retail and catering. Here, the textile dominance of Turks depends on the business characteristic of the clothing industry. This point is also raised by Waldinger et. al (1990):

> ... it is relatively easy to start a clothing workshop. No license is required and little capital is needed for second hand machines, and premises are also easily acquired... This pattern is replicated in the clothing industries of Paris, London and New York. (p. 98)

5.3 Ethnic Labor and Regional-Urban Future of Europe

As discussed in the previous sections, European global cities are affected by major regional and urban developments. The future development of these cities will be discussed in terms of the anticipated effects. Here, a part of the discussion focuses on the urban effects of European industrial change and regional economic transformation. The other part comprises the participation of ethnic labor in this process. At this point, the regional tendencies constitute a basis for the movements from periphery to core and the urban developments imply the new occupational characteristics of ethnic labor in the host country.

Recent studies (Camagni, et. al., 1991; Rodwin, 1991) point out that the regional and urban developments (tendencies in the urban hierarchy) are going to an associated position in the 1990s. The regional anticipations signify that the technical and economic transformation lead to a series of spatial changes. One of them is the emergence of *multinational regions*, termed by Rodwin (1991) as regions where both individuals and firms are internationally oriented. These regions will be influential on the rest of Europe and the world. The urban outcome is the globally integrated multinational cities[48] . This means the mergence of national urban hierarchies into one common urban system. Germany, Italy and France are evident to this development. In addition, the technological developments such as the establishment of high-speed transport infrastructure and communication corridors tend to reinforce the central urban hierarchy (Sassen, 1994).

In the association of regional economic developments with urban hierarchy, big metropolitan areas are likely to act as gateways supplying the top-level industrial and service functions. To understand these new functions, the analysis of two processes is crucial here; concentration and deconcentration . This facilitates the generalization and classification of the global characteristics of the European cities.

Recent studies show that the globalization of the economy will increase the scale and agglomeration. The national capital cities lost their dominance as headquarters locations of financial and industrial corporations. However, a series of centers emerge in the interconnected locations. This process is assisted by technological change in transportation and telecommunication (high-speed train networks, high-quality telecommunications network) and thus, the communication of these centers with their tributary areas becomes possible. The industrial and service activities are positively influenced by this spatial diffusion. Especially, the producer services tend to show a locational flexibility:

> A given service activity may be strongly constrained to locate in an urban region of given characteristics (a continental headquarters in London, Brussels or Paris, a national subsidiary in Milano or Frankfurt, a specialized advanced instrument engineering firm in Cambridge or Stuttgart) but it is increasingly free to choose in which city of those characteristics it will locate. (Camagni et al., 1991; 306)

A parallel process i.e. concentration in a few global cities occurs due to the intensified headquarters and other hegemonic functions[49] in a central location. The sophisticated telecommunication and transportation linkages reinforce this development.

Deconcentration and concentration can be also analyzed in the new business characteristics and the hierarchical developments in the 1990s. The European production-space interrelations are going to a complex structure in which spatial transformation processes overlap. For example, concentration brings an incentive to large firms to decentralize their more routine operations to lower cost centers. The economic and technological impacts jointly determine the direction of these processes. The recent empirical studies of change in Europe point out that a few strategic functions, especially high-level producer services, will reinforce centralization at a larger continental scale. However, deconcentration occurs at a more local scale. Camagni et. al. stated this anticipated development in the following way: "The top level global centers are attracting the highest level service functions but are exporting the lower level, more routine information-processing functions" (1991; 309).

Furthermore, the characteristic of competition between the European cities changes in terms of the acquisition of deconcentrated or concentrated functions. This identifies the new positions of relative cities in the sectoral and hierarchical terms. Here, a shift from the competition between the traditional world cities (London, Paris) to a rivalry between a number of growing centers or lower order cities occurs. At the top-level competition, the dominance of London that is at the intersections of three major trading economies (the Anglo-American, the Commonwealth and the European) is expected to decrease. Paris as the second greatest European economic, political and cultural center; Brussels as an administrative center and Frankfurt as an financial center are likely to become the main actors of rivalry in the opposite direction (Rodwin, 1991). The lower order cities (secondary cities[50]) compete for the deconcentrated functions, not only for routine activities but also for specialized services and industrial functions. According to recent studies, the lower order metropolitan areas (Manchester, Stuttgart, Lyon, Rotterdam, Zurich, Torino, Edinburgh etc.) may acquire specialized high-rank functions of international cities[51]. In addition, some lower order cities may develop a worldwide competitiveness in the field of specific industrial production or sector filiére[52]. Here, fashion creation in Firenze, the silk filiére in Como, the machine filiére in Hannover, or the cultural centers in Aix-en-Provence, Salzburg or Oxford can be given as the examples.

The anticipated effects of regional-urban future point out a possible development in ethnic labor participation; the change in their occupational position and mobility in European region.

The increasing dominance of lower order cities is likely to bring a growth in the lower level participation of ethnic labor in these areas. Here, consumer services and low-wage producer services are the possible concentration areas (Friedmann, 1986). The decentralization of more routine functions of producer services means the emergence of a new generation of medium-skilled immigrants (see Table 5.1). These include some of the previously low-skilled labor who are trained and other middle-level labor on an educational basis.

Consumer services experience a development of ethnic business status; ethnic entrepreneurship (Waldinger et al., 1990). Deconcentration of production activities at local scale reinforces this development. Here, increasing effectiveness of ethnic labor in tributary areas signifies the growth of participation of small business in the open market (non-ethnic market). The first signals of this development can be observed in the new lands of Germany (tributary areas) associated with Berlin as an emergent global city(Şen, 1993 and the General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1995). In this connection, it is seen that the non-qualified ethnic labor in traditional manufacturing industries have no choice to proceed.

The high-skilled ethnic labor is likely to proceed in their dominance in top level business and technological activities (hegemonic functions) of the traditional global cities (King, 1993; White, 1993b; Salt, 1989 and Castles and Miller, 1993). For this labor, an occupational shift due to the development of lower-order cities is not seen possible in the short run. However, ethnic labor with outdated technological knowledge can operate as a medium-skilled labor in the lower order areas of new centers. The movement of East Germans is evidence to this phenomenon (Braunling, 1995).

The occupational shift also lead to a locational change in the operation areas of ethnic labor. For lower-skilled labor, this indicates an intra-regional mobility. Both ethnic entrepreneurs and medium-skilled immigrants are possible to spread their effectiveness in major urban centers -or traditional concentration areas- to the tributary areas. However, the movement of some groups (clandestines, refugees) in macro regional networks shows an inter-regional characteristic (Fassmann and Munz, 1992; Sassen, 1987; Salt, 1989 and King,1993).

The high level labor also experiences a locational shift. The classic brain-drain movements (White, 1993b and Salt, 1992) have already an inter-continental characteristics. In addition, the movement of skilled-labor in some sectors that are universally in short-supply is likely to occur in a wider range. The possible areas of concentration for both groups are traditional metropolitan areas (former world cities) or the emergent global cities of Europe. The signals of a locational shift for lower order centers are not received in the short run.

CHAPTER 6

A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF ETHNIC LABOR IN THE GLOBAL CITIES OF WESTERN EUROPE: THE TURKISH LABOR IN BERLIN

6.1 The Selection of Criteria in the Case Study

Berlin is a typical example to ethnic labor participation in global cities. Here, the emergence of global city characteristics and the growth of Turkish business constitutes the criterion to the study.

The re-integration of Berlin associated with German reunification and the re-entry into the class of global cities comprises a double-sided discussion. As Berlin's Western economy is negatively affected by market capitalism of the Federal Republic, Eastern Berlin developed its position in the central planned economies (Bruegel, 1993). West Berlin faced the problems of economic transformation - especially high unemployment- in the late 1970s because of its historically labor-intensive industry based on engineering sector. As a result, the major developments of commercial activity, particularly head office functions were supported by local policies[53] in the early 1980s. After the re-unification of West and East Germany, these policies orientated to improve the industrial-technological activities of Berlin (Sternberg,1995). With a number of cities in the old and new lands, Berlin was subsidized by Federal Ministry of Research and Technology (BMFT) as an innovation center[54] in this period (see Figure 6.1 to innovation centers). Despite the impacts of local policy implications, the increasing unemployment rate became evident due to the

Figure 6.1 Innovation centers in West and East Germany (Stenberg, 1995;93).

labor integration after the reunification. Here, an opposite tendency is observed in the growth of commuter flows between West and East. The use of skilled East Berliners in engineering, electronics and construction in the labor market reinforces this movement (see also Table 6.1 to the similar movements in new states).

Table 6.1 Distribution of R&TD personnel in the new lands.

	R&TD Personnel	
Land	**1990**	**1993**
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	3750	440
Brandenburg	6000	990
Sachsen-Anhalt	12700	2420
Thuringen	14250	2200
Sachsen	28500	3850
Berlin/Ost	9700	1100
Total	74900	11000

Source: Bräunling, 1995.

As a new land, the global city status of Berlin is also supported by an important administrative development; moving of Federal capital from Bonn to Berlin. In addition to the industrial decentralization of Germany, the administrative tasks are also fairly decentralized. Thus, West Berlin has a number of metropolitan functions.

The status of Turks in Berlin is used as another criterion in the study. Turkish case mostly corresponds to the two patterns of the study; ethnic labor participation in lower or medium-skilled context and the middleman minority condition.

As a starting point, Berlin has the third biggest Turkish population and labor in the states (see Figure 6.2 and 6.3) except the historically dominant areas of ethnic

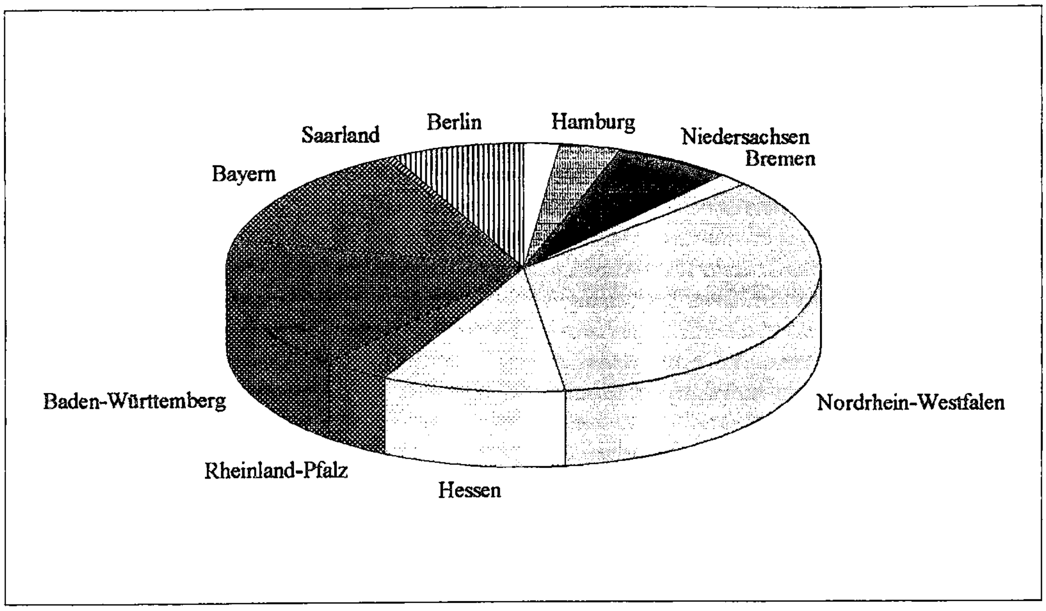


Figure 6.2 Distribution of Turkish population in the German states (1992) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1993).

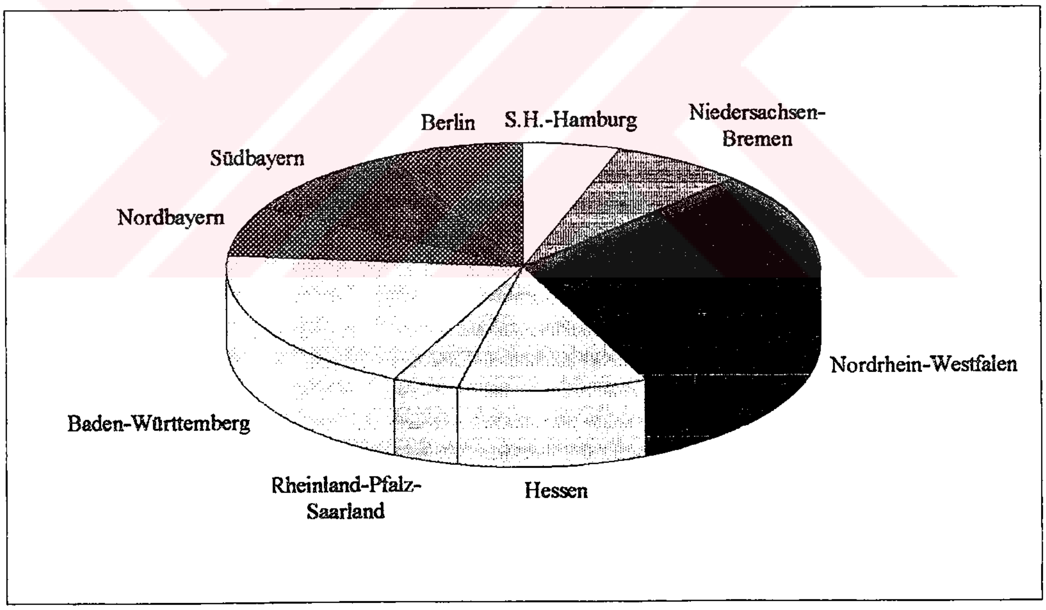


Figure 6.3 Distribution of Turkish labor in the German states (1992) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1993).

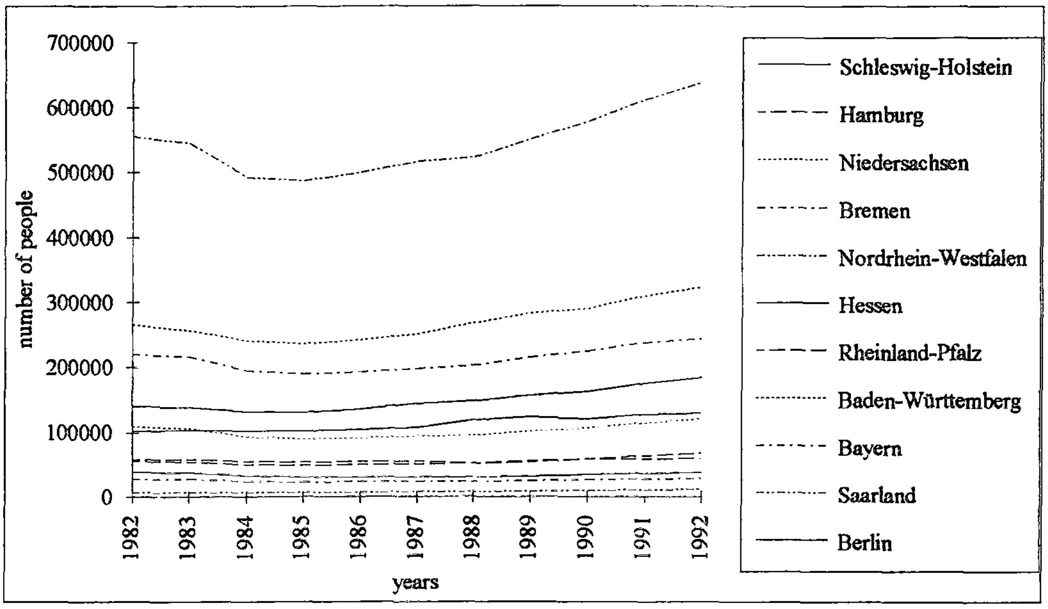


Figure 6.4 The Growth of Turkish population in the German states (1982-1992) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1982-1992).

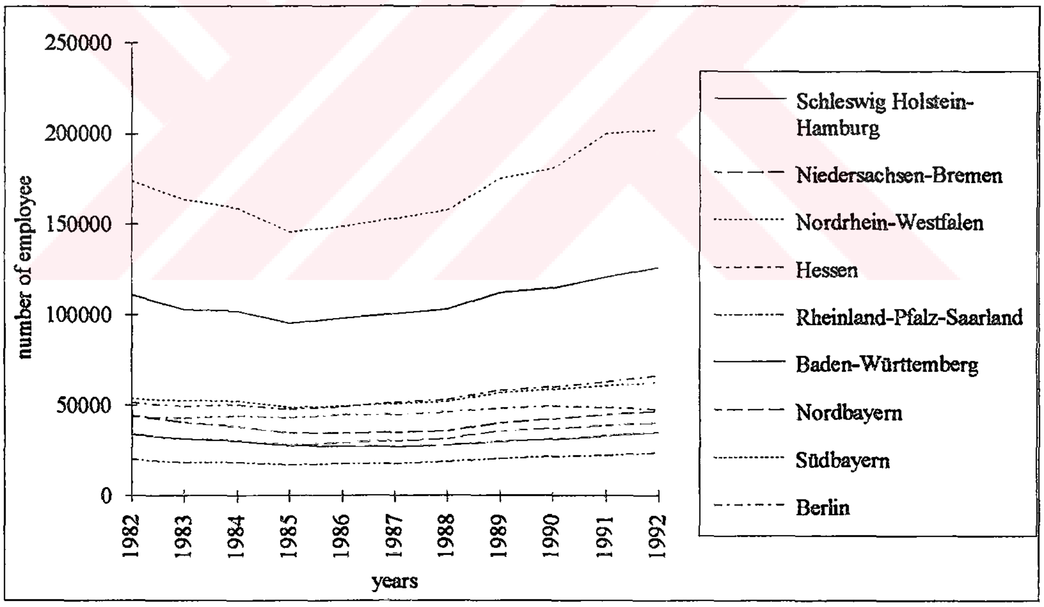


Figure 6.5 The Growth of Turkish labor in the German states (1982-1992) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1982-1992).

labor (Baden-Württemberg and Nordrhein Westfalen). It experienced a gradual increase in the number of Turks (total population and labor force between 1982-1992) despite the fluctuations of population in most states (see Figure 6.4 and 6.5).Recent sectoral distribution supports the service dominance of Turkish labor in Berlin (see Figure 6.6). A detailed distribution of Turks in manufacturing and services (see Figure 6.7 and 6.8) also reflect the recent situation of ethnic labor in Germany and Western Europe.

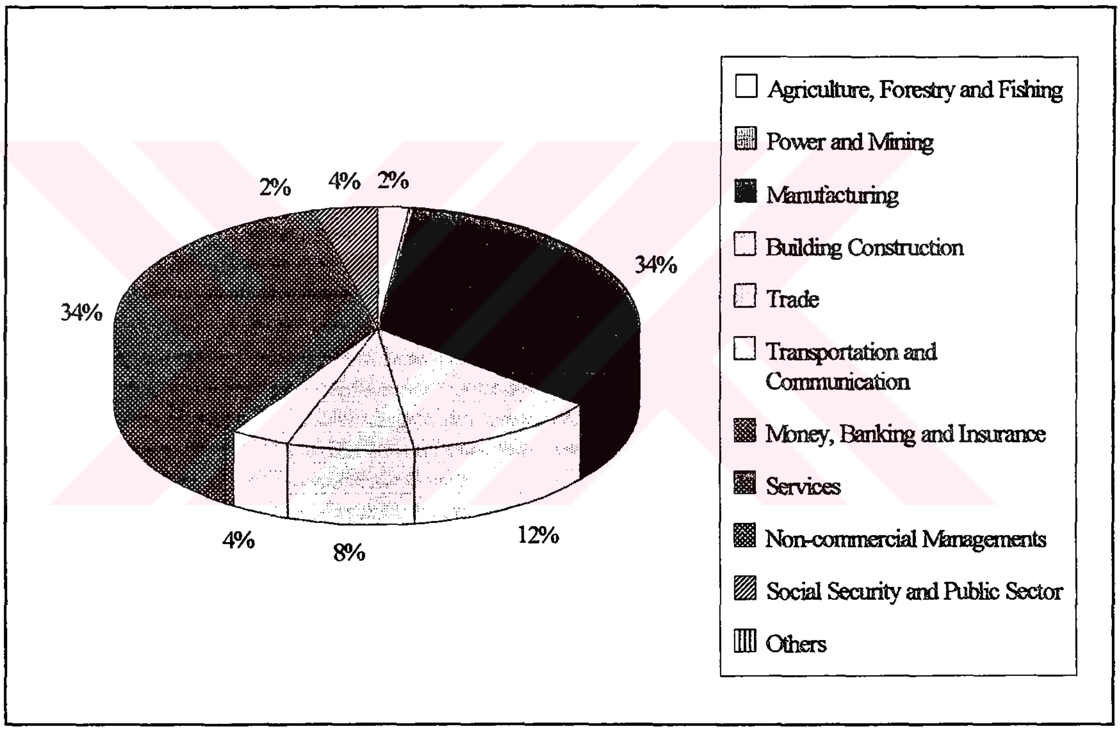


Figure 6.6 Sectoral Distribution of Turkish Labor In Berlin (1995) (Turkish Consulate on Employment and Social Security, 1985-1995).

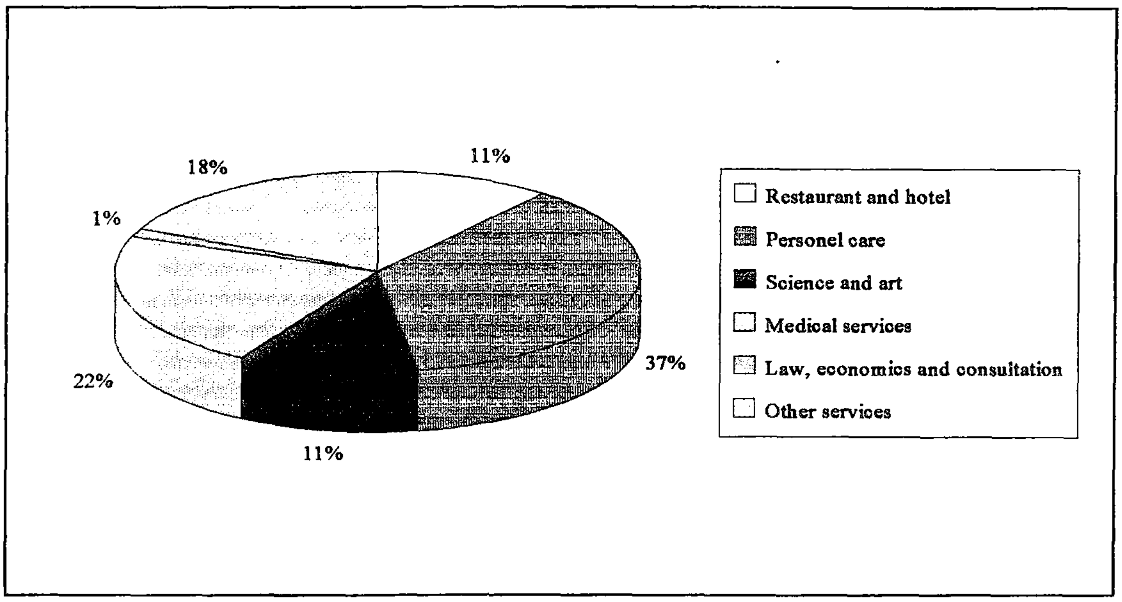


Figure 6.7 Sectoral distribution of Turkish labor in services, Berlin (1994) (Amtliche Nahrichten der Bundesanstalt Fur Arbeit, 1994).

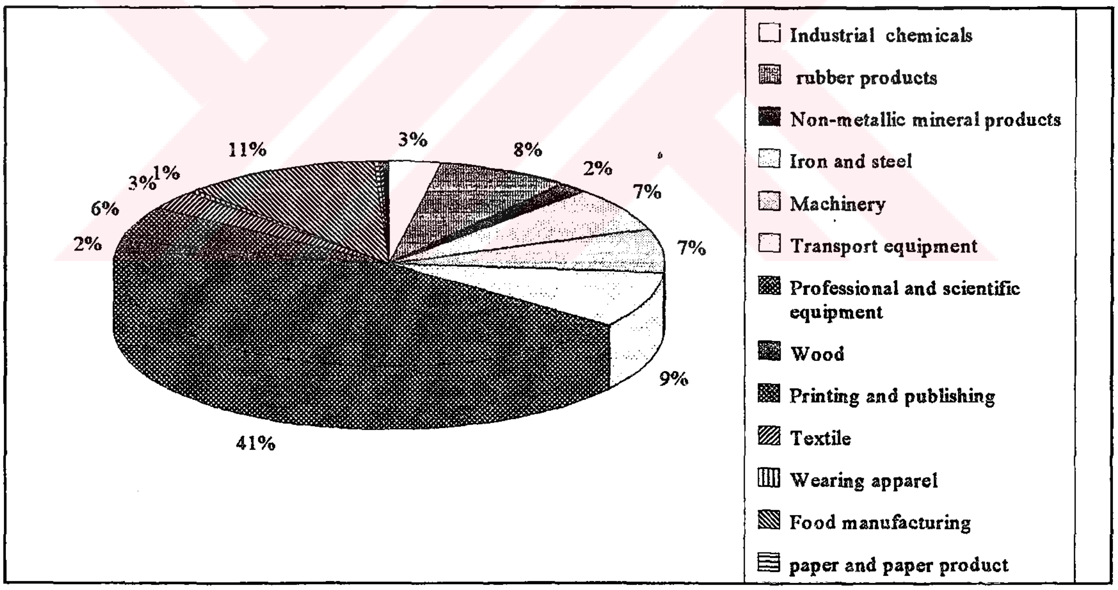


Figure 6.8 Sectoral distribution of Turkish labor in manufacturing, Berlin (1994) (Amtliche Nahrichten der Bundesanstalt Fur Arbeit, 1994).

6.2 Turkish Labor in the German Labor Market

In this section, the role of Turkish labor in German production organization, will be stated in terms of both sectoral and firm developments.

The first part of the discussion indicates that there are certain similarities and contradictions between Turkish labor (see Figure 6.9 to sectoral distribution) and ethnic labor of Federal Germany.

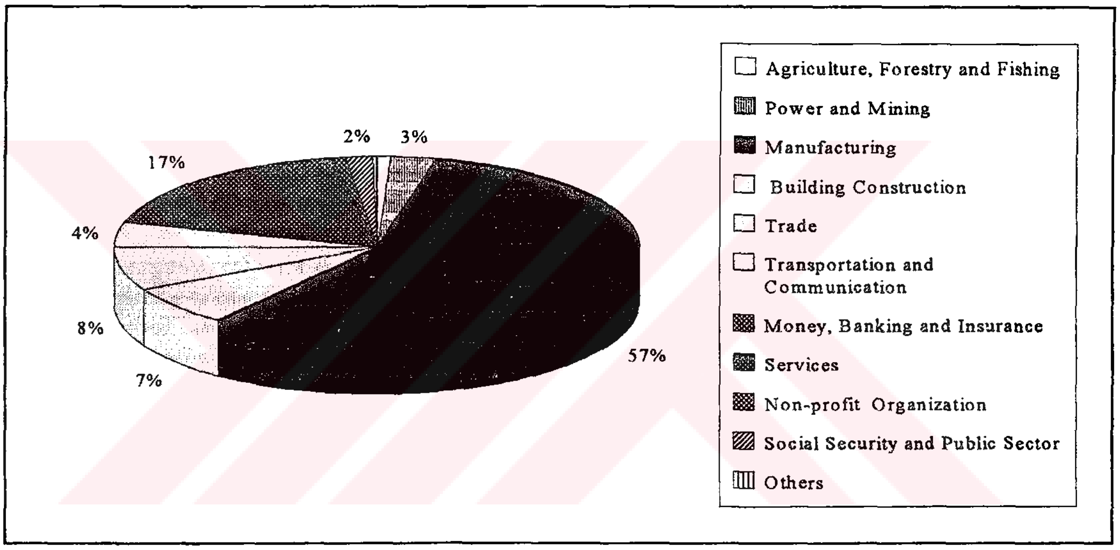


Figure 6.9 Sectoral distribution of Turkish labor in Germany, (1993) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1993).

The main Turkish concentration are observed in the manufacturing sector (see Figure 6.10 to detailed distribution). According to the 1993 report on the foreign worker services, submitted by the Ministry of Turkish Employment and Social Security, 57% (360,184) of total (649,855) Turkish workers are mainly concentrated in the manufacturing sector. The other important concentrations of Turkish labor are represented in the service industry with a rate of 17% (see Figure 6.11 to detailed distribution).

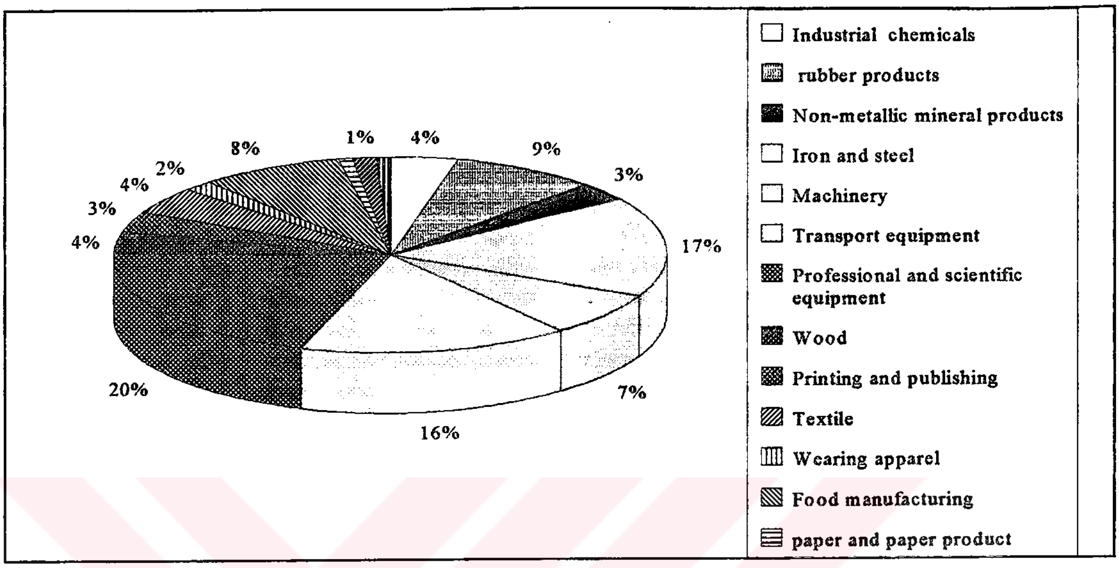


Figure 6.10 Sectoral distribution of Turkish labor in manufacturing, Germany (1994) (Amtliche Nahrichten der Bundesanstalt Fur Arbeit, 1994).

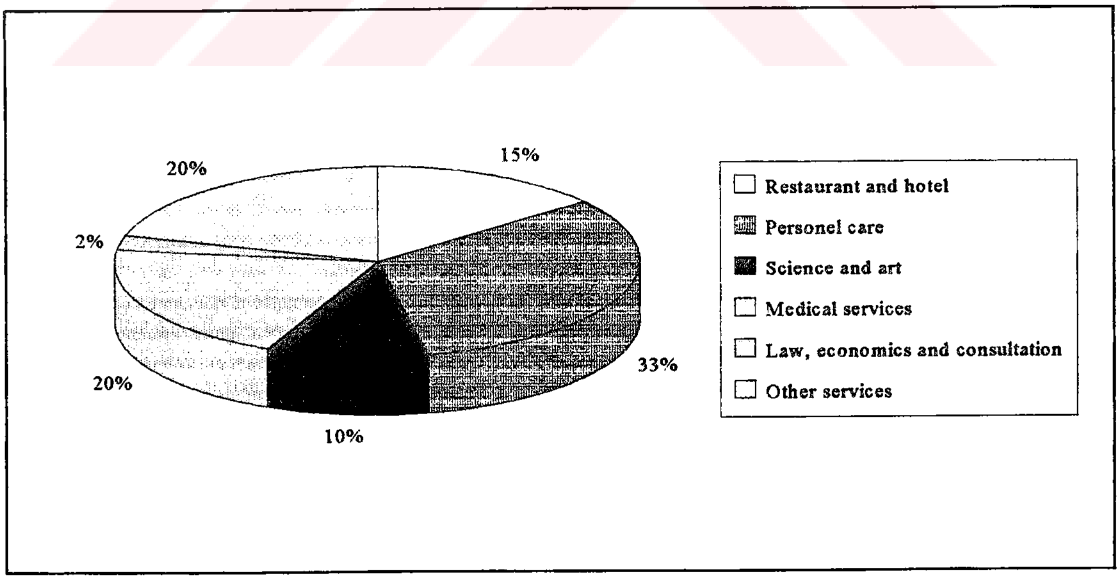


Figure 6.11 Sectoral distribution of Turkish labor in services, Germany (1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit,1994).

If the service industry dominance of foreign labor is considered, the service share of Turkish labor is evaluated as a contradiction to general sectoral characteristic of ethnic labor in Germany (see Figure 6.12 and 6.13).

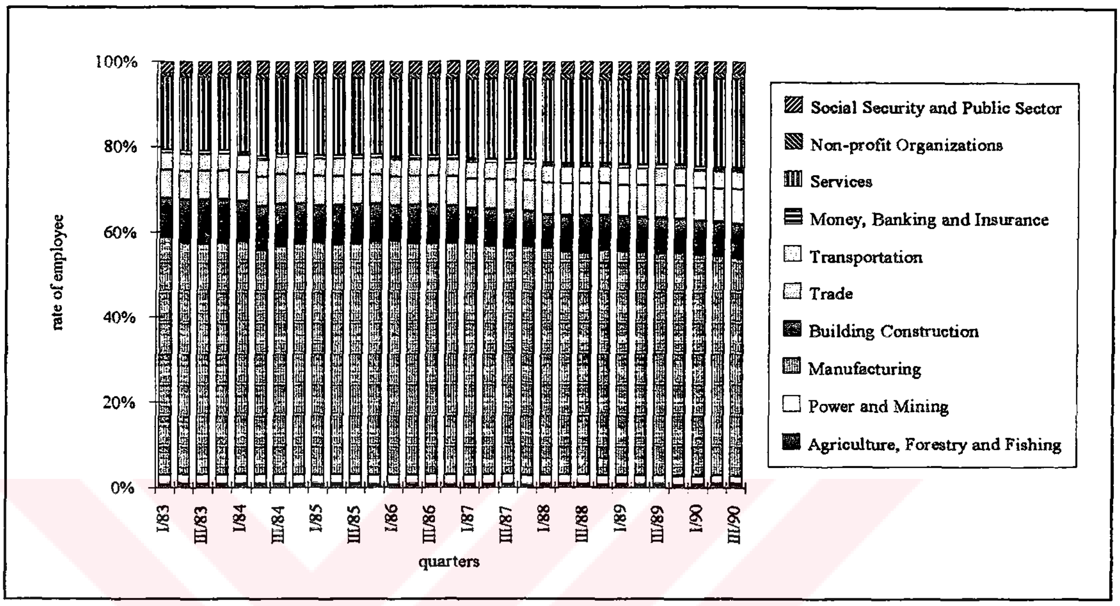


Figure 6.12 Sectoral development of ethnic labor in Germany (1983-1990) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1983-1990).

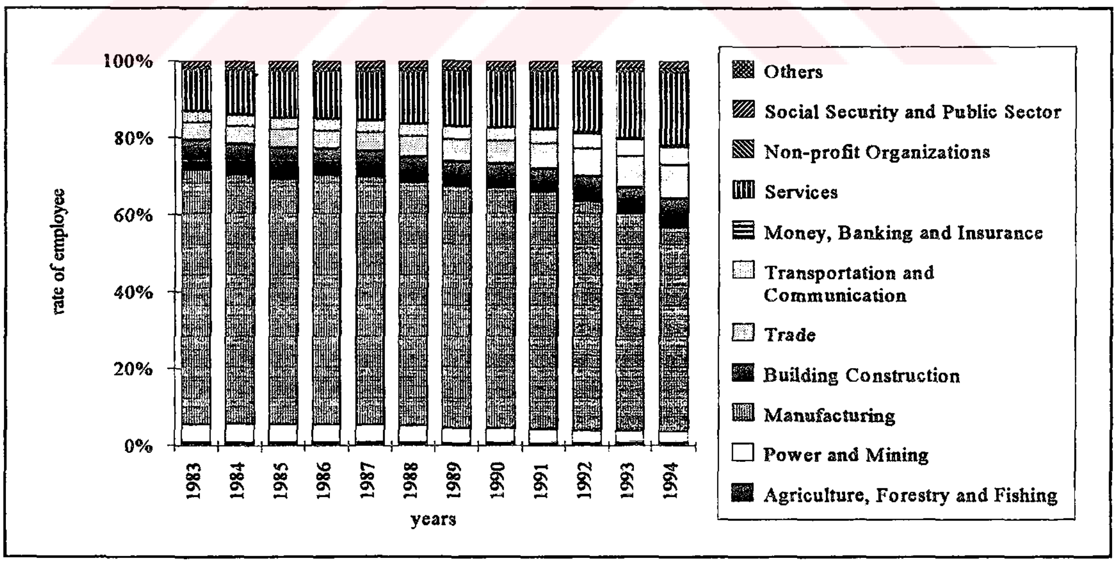


Figure 6.13 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Germany (1983-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1983-1994).

However, Turkish labor experienced a gradual increase in services between 1983 and 1994 with reference to the static development of ethnic labor (see Figure 6.14 and 6.15). In addition, the traditional dominant sector of Turkish labor, manufacturing saw a sharper decline in the last three years despite the gradual increase of total ethnic labor. Jones (1990a) emphasized a similar contradiction in the population structure and the settlement hierarchy.

The third important concentration of Turkish labor with a rate of 8% in the commercial sector also reflects significant points. Here, the weight of the commercial sector can be taken as a base for self-employment trends. This condition is analyzed by Şen (1993) to the increasing effectiveness of Turkish labor in the areas of East Germany such as Berlin, Dresden. The gradual concentrations of Turks are represented in construction with 7%, transportation with 4% and the energy and mining sector with 3%. Although some tendencies at lower level reflect the existence of self-employment in the construction sector, Turkish labor in transportation, energy and mining sectors have mainly employee characteristic. Here, the latter indicates that these sectors have national or strategic characteristics in Germany and they mostly need specialized and organized experiences. In addition, we need to emphasize that the lowest level concentration (0.3%) of Turks in banking and insurance sector constitutes a slight effect on business characteristics of German global cities.

The similarity of Turkish labor to whole ethnic labor in Germany can be observed in their spatial distributions on a national scale. The report of the General Directory of Foreign Worker Services (1992) stated that Turkish labor mainly concentrated in Baden-Württemberg and in Nordhein-Westfalen that comprise traditionally highest level migrant communities. The report also indicates that 31% of

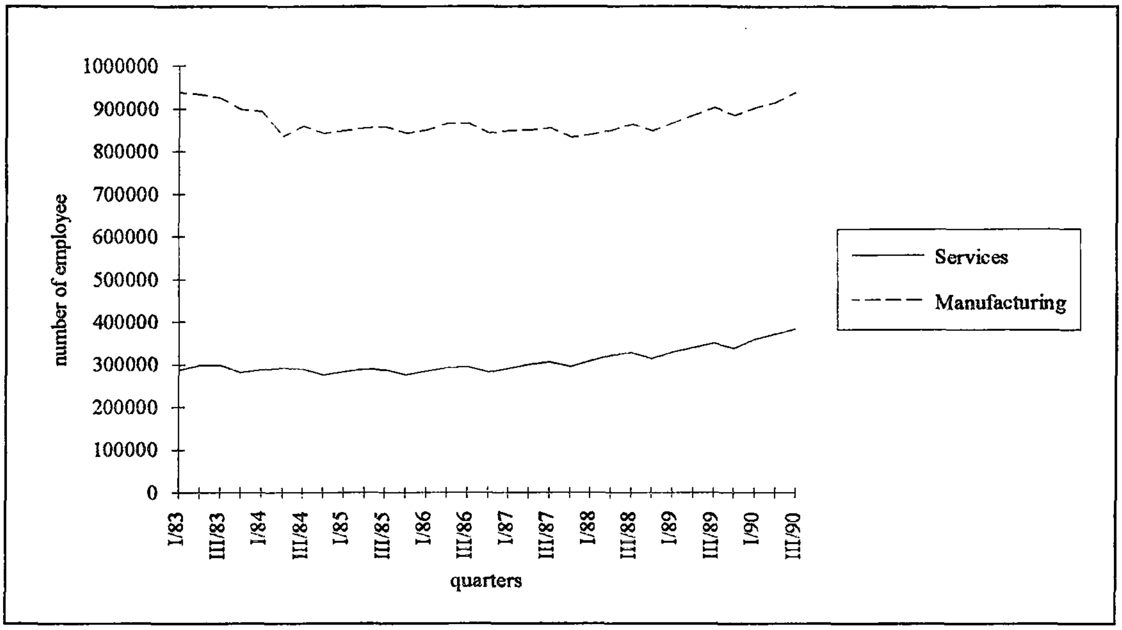


Figure 6.14 Ethnic labor of Germany in manufacturing and services (1983-1990) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1991).

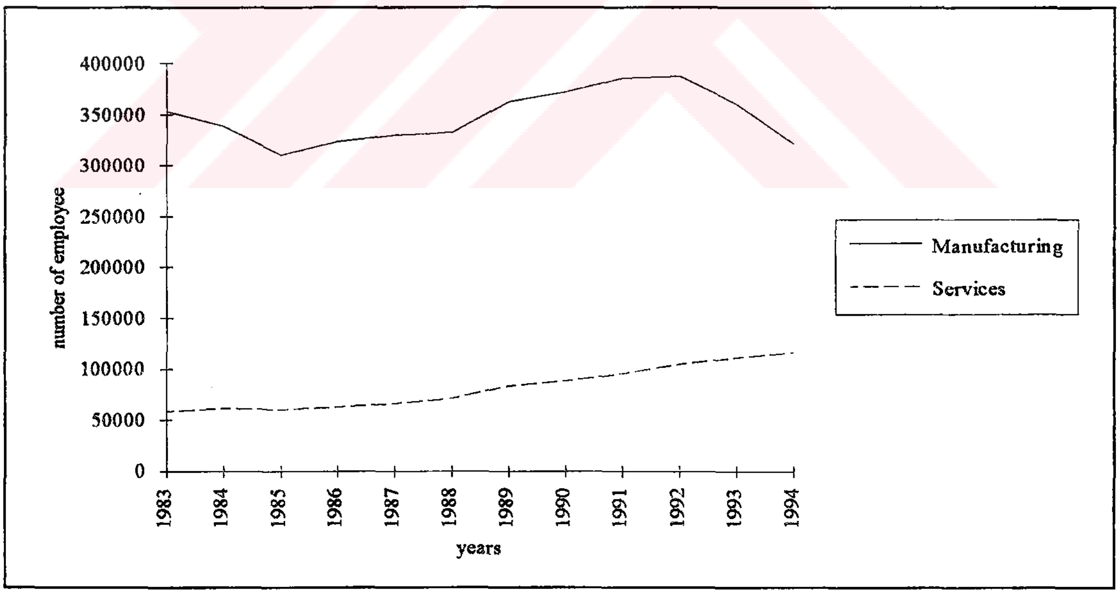


Figure 6.15 Turkish labor in manufacturing and services, Germany (1983-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1983-1994).

total Turkish labor concentrated in Nordhein-Westfalen and 19% in Baden Württemberg. Despite the situation in the 1980s which was analyzed by Jones (1990a) as the dominance of Turkish guestworker population in the Northern Germany, the first signals of a locational shift to the industrialized regions of South began to influence the labor characteristics of Turks in the 1990s. While, a contradiction between Turkish and foreign labor in the 1980s related to their regional concentration affected the population structure and the settlement hierarchy, now the relative effects become less influential.

After the statement of recent situation of Turkish labor at sectoral level, some developments at firm level can be discussed. Here, the developments at firm level mainly indicate the role of Turkish business in German economy, the new investment areas and the future developments of Turkish self employment. These patterns will be discussed in a context associated with ethnic entrepreneurship.

A tendency of self-employment among foreign nationalities affects German cities at urban and regional levels. Nowadays, the commercial organizations that belong to ethnic labor increase their concentrations in these cities. In the mid-1970s, such organizations especially including travel agency, cloth-making and grocery, had small firm characteristics. According to the study of the Ministry of Nordrhein-Westfalen Employment and Social Security, today the businesses of foreigners in Nordrhein-Westfalen, most of which belong to Turkish population (309 of the total 500 firms) show a family entrepreneurship characteristic with a rate of 75%. Businesses in the other category comprise especially multi-national and large firms that have a high number of employees.

The situation of ethnic entrepreneurship also corresponds to the Turkish case. The reports[55] prepared by Turkish Research Center (1992) signify that the tendency for Turkish entrepreneurship shows a sharp increase since the early 1980s. According to the study, the number of Turkish businesses reached 35,000 in 1992 and 11,000 of these operate in Nordrhein-Westfalen whereas in 1985 the total number of Turkish businesses was only 22,000 in Germany.

Furthermore, the impacts of self-employment on the national economy, reflect some similarities between Turkish and total ethnic labor. These influences are observed in the states[56] that have a high rate of ethnic population, such as Nordrhein-Westfalen and Baden-Württemberg. However, most foreigners face certain difficulties in German market mechanism because they have a lack of knowledge in management, market conditions and marketing strategies.

In the Turkish case, mentioning some specific economic indicators can be useful to understand the effects of foreign business on the national economy. Some estimations signify that 125,000 new jobs were created by 35,000 Turkish businesses in the Federal Republic of Germany. These businesses have crucial positions in the national economy. The average annual endorsements of Turkish labor reached 780,000 marks, while their average investments are 174, 000 marks. New generation of Turkish entrepreneurs[57] with an investment size of 7.2 billion DM (1992) at the national level, and with their 2.8 million DM in Nordrhein Westfalen, increase their dominance in the general context of ethnic labor.

The new locational orientations of Turkish firms are also important in understanding their dominance in the national economy and in the regional dispersal of Turkish labor. After the reunification of Germany, Turkish entrepreneurs also orientated towards East German Market. The study of Turkish Research Center in 1991, which mainly depends upon the data of a limited number of Turkish businesses in fifteen major cities, proved that the region of former German Democratic Republic attracts Turkish employers in terms of the investment opportunities. Research on the middle size Turkish firms with at least four employees also supports this tendency. According to this study, the 61.1% of employers subject to the research, plan to set up a firm department or to extend their investment effectiveness to the new areas in the East Germany. Here, the important point is that the 55% of these firms have begun to operate in these new areas. The most preferred areas for investment are the major cities such as Leipzig, Berlin, Dresden, Magdeburg and Rostock. The investment size of these firms in these areas reached a rate between 50,000 DM and 3 millions DM.

While the economic dominance of Turkish employers increase in the West of Germany, new five provinces also (Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen) offer suitable opportunities in terms of economic growth towards future. The positive development in the investment activities of Turkish employers is expected to continue in the East of Federal Republic. At this point, what is crucial is the increasing dominance of the foreign entrepreneurship in the service industry. The first signals of the success of Turkish investment in this sector support this phenomenon in the East Germany.

Finally, it can be said that Turkish businessmen who played a crucial role in the transformation of monotonous economical structure in Nordrhein Westfalen by establishing their own firms. Now they provide a growth in the product supply and in new job opportunities in the eastern region of Germany.

6.3 Global Characteristics of Major German Cities and Turkish Labor

As discussed in the previous sections, the European case of ethnic labor and specifically, the situation of Turkish labor supports increasing participation of ethnic labor in consumer and low-wage producer services. Here, the global production characteristics in the cities of host country need to be elaborated;. This discussion will be raised in relation to the German case.

In Germany, the analysis of global production characteristics of major cities comprises the economic and spatial considerations at hierarchical level. The spatial structure of Germany can be divided into three regions; core, ring and peripheral areas (see Figure 6.16). The study by Bade and Kunzman[58] (1991) is important to understand the developments in these regions. The developments of producer services are taken as a basic criterion here.

The sectoral performances of major German cities can be analyzed in two periods; 1976-1986 and 1986-1994. The first period is important to understand the further effects of oil crisis and deindustrialization process in the 1980s. Between 1976 and 1986, the national employment orientated towards service sector in West Germany. In the same period, employment in the service sector increased by 14% despite the decrease in the goods-producing sector by 5%. These trends do not show a homogeneity in the regions. While the core areas in the South and North (Hamburg, Bremen, Hannover) experienced a decline in the service and good-producing sector, the peripheral and ring areas had the highest growth rate in both sectors. Especially the ring areas have shown an increase in the service sector (see Figure 6.17).

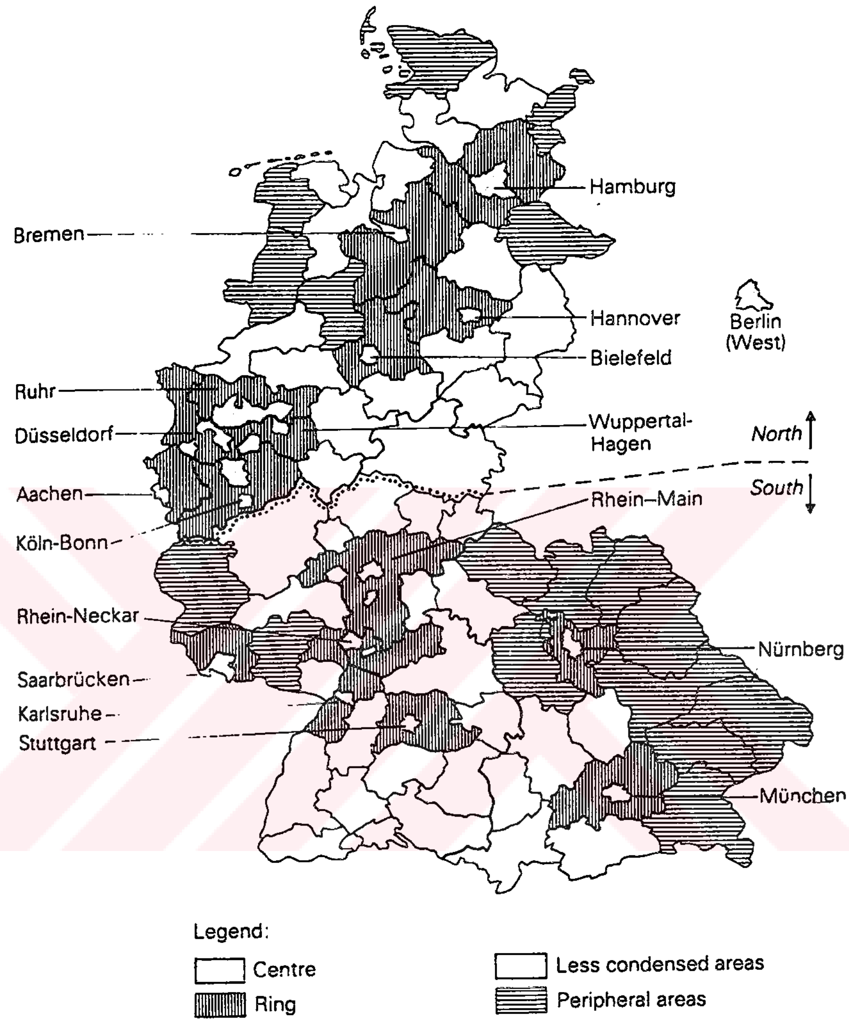


Figure 6.16 The Spatial structure of the Federal Republic of Germany (Bade and Kunzman, 1991;85).

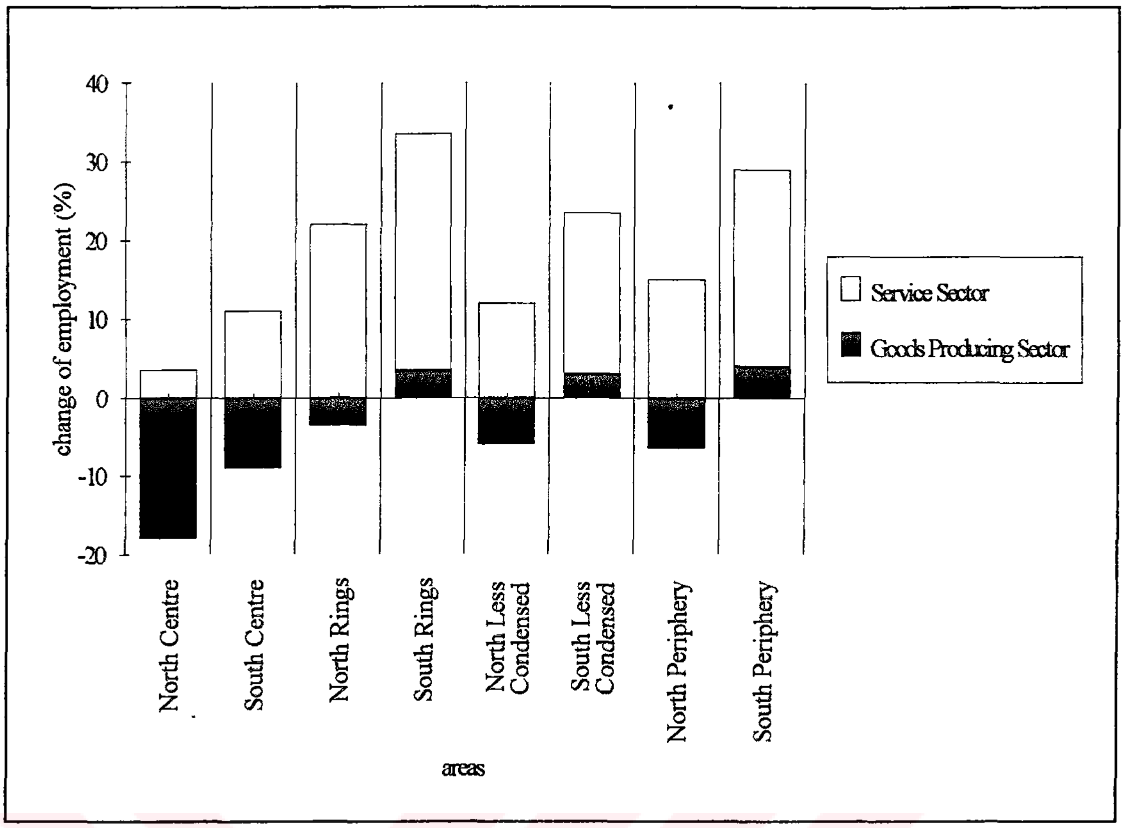


Figure 6.17 Spatial trends in the changes of sectoral employment, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991; 86).

Despite the overall picture, some agglomerations in the South such as Nürnberg, München, Rhein Neckar and Rhein Main, have shown a gradual increase. Other exceptions, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf and Aachen are the core areas of Germany including a number of foreign nationalities (see Figure 6.18). At this point, the existence of a correlation between the service sector growth and the traditional areas of ethnic labor (Nordrhein Westfalen and Baden Württemberg) can be clearly seen. The sectoral employment trends of Stuttgart and Düsseldorf -both of which are international financial centers- support this linkage.

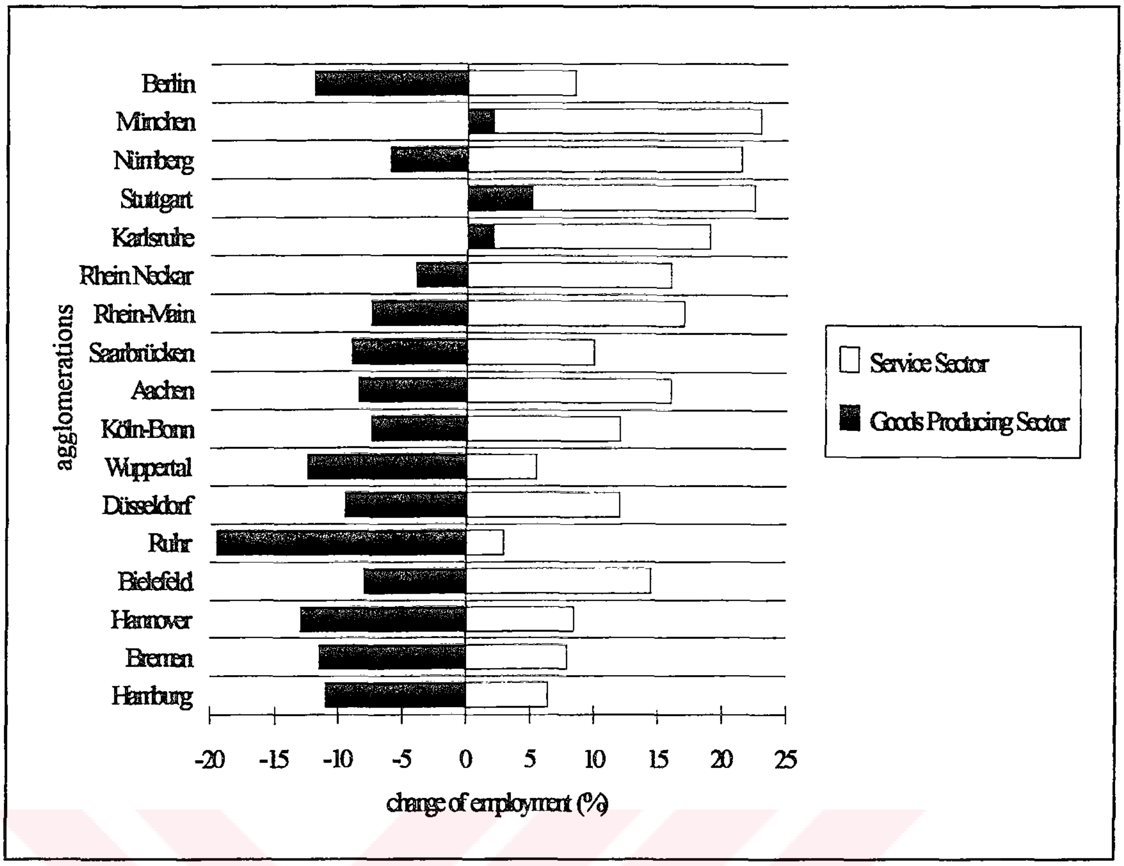


Figure 6.18 Sectoral changes of employment in the agglomerations, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;87).

After the general picture of regional service growth in the period of 1976-1986, the analysis of tendencies on business and consumer services constitutes the other part of the discussion.

Specifically, the tendency of total services also corresponds to business and consumer services. However, the growth rates of both services in central areas (Southern areas) are greater than the total services. Peripheral regions preserved their dominance in personal and business services (see Figure 6.19).

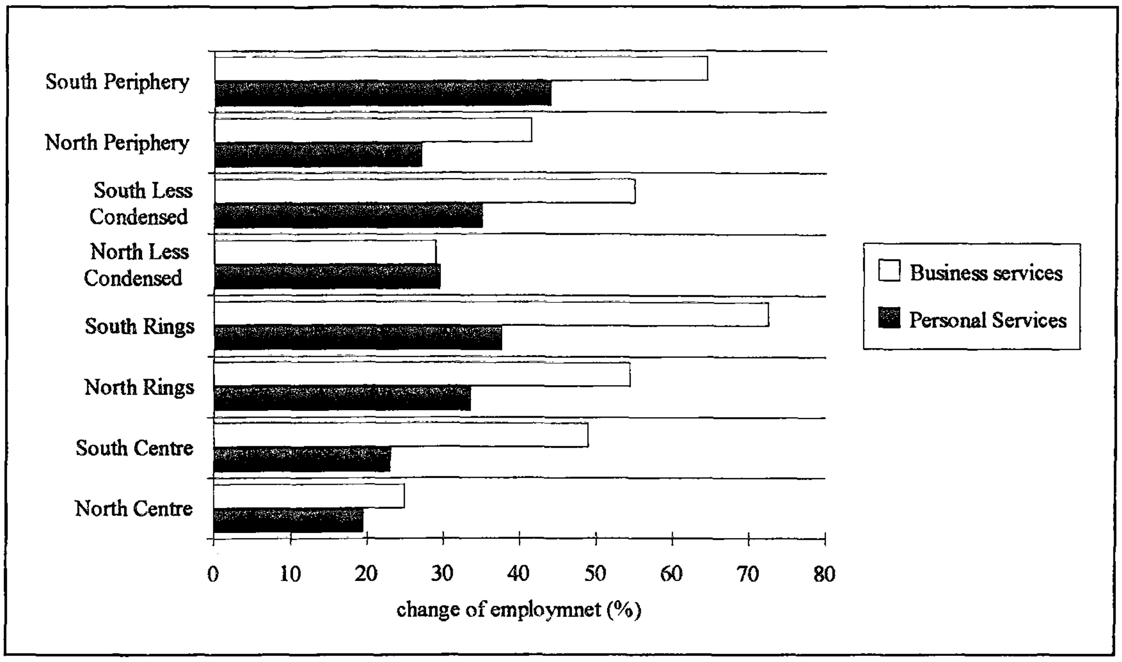


Figure 6.19 Spatial trends in the employment of selected service industries, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;88).

At an urban level, Southern agglomerations (Stuttgart, München, Karlshure, Nürnberg) showed a greater increase in producer services such as R & D, electronic data processing (EPD), strategic planning and marketing. However, the Northern cities, Hamburg, Bremen, Düsseldorf and Hannover experienced a gradual increase in the same services (see Figure 6.20 and 6.21). Here, Düsseldorf as the core area of Germany had a lower increase rate in producer services but it experienced a major increase in total services. This can only be explained with the growth of personal services (see Figure 6.20).

The development of producer services in the number of German cities reflects regional specialization in the Southern areas. Especially, München, Frankfurt and Stuttgart have strongly increased their service shares in total regional employment. At this point, the functional specialization of the relative regions is important to determine their positions in the West European industrial development and to analyze their weights in the regional networks.

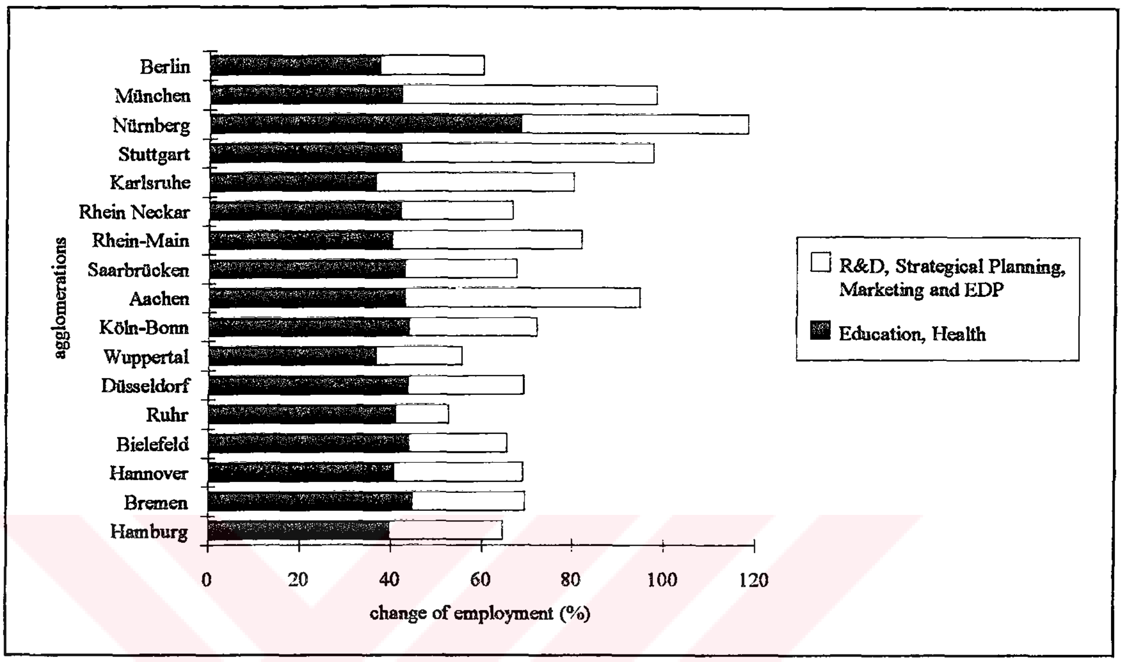


Figure 6.20 Development of selected service functions in the agglomerations, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;90).

The existence of a correlation between the service sector growth and the traditional areas of ethnic labor in total services is also evident to production services. The growth of producer services in the Southern areas represent the two German states. Baden Württemberg and Bayern (North and South) are the areas dominated by a huge guestworker concentration. The major agglomerations (Nürnberg, München, Karlsruhe, Stutgart) have the greater ethnic labor populations (Amtliche der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, 1990 and the General Directory of Foreign Worker Services,1993)[59] .However, the other state with guestworker concentration,Nordrhein

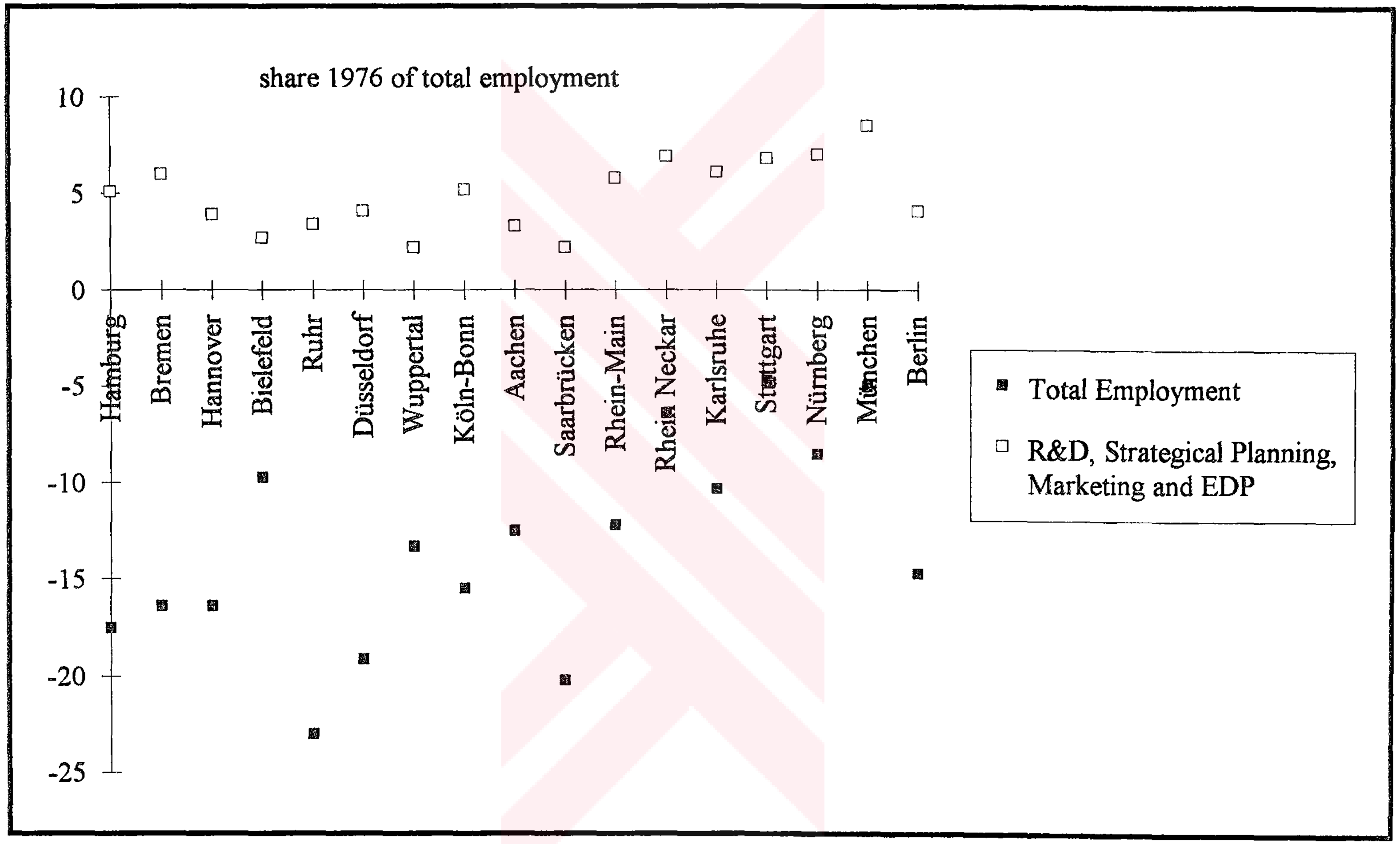


Figure 6.21 Producer services and employment change in the manufacturing industry of agglomeration centers, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;97).

Westfalen, faced a decline in producer services. This can be observed in the case of Düsseldorf. The only exception, Aachen, showed an increase at a national level (see Figure 6.20 and 6.21)

The period of 1986-1994 involves the data of only seven cities; Hamburg, Berlin, Mainz, Hannover, Nürnberg, Frankfurt and München. Here the majority of the sectoral data, except for Hamburg and Berlin, show a regional characteristic. These are also the concentration areas of Turkish guestworkers.

As a starting point, the sectoral performance of agglomerations at a national level can be explained.

The Figure 6.23 represents the sectoral employment in seven cities dominated by service sector between 1986-1994. Despite the situation in first period (see Figure 6.22), the Northern agglomerations, Hamburg and Berlin experienced a sharp increase in this period. Especially, Berlin showed a higher increase rate in services while the goods producing sector had a stable growth. What is significant here is that the rate of goods producing sector increased slowly in most of the agglomerations of North and South. This signifies that the impacts of deindustrialization in the North lose their importance and the Southern agglomerations show an increase in goods producing sector. At this point, the major exceptions Frankfurt and Mainz decreased their share in manufacturing, in spite of the overall picture in the first period.

The reversal of the sectoral developments in the 1976-1986 can only be explained with the tendencies of selected service functions (see Figure 6.24 and 6.25). The Figures indicate that the cities maintain their sectoral position in personal and consumer services. The continuous growth of some services and the creation of additional jobs in this sector support this development in Germany as a global

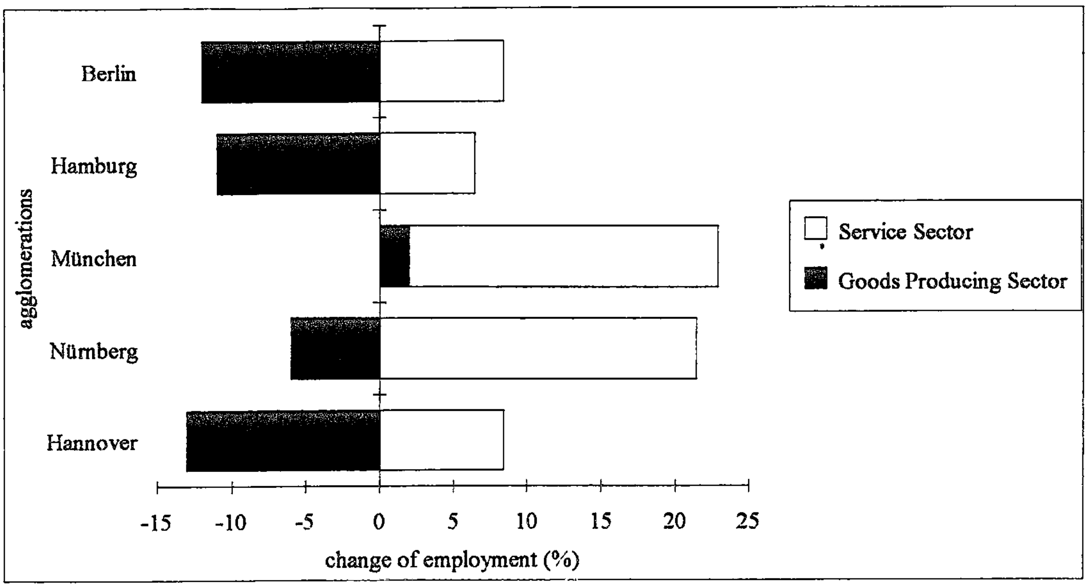


Figure 6.22 Sectoral changes of employment in the five agglomerations, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;87).

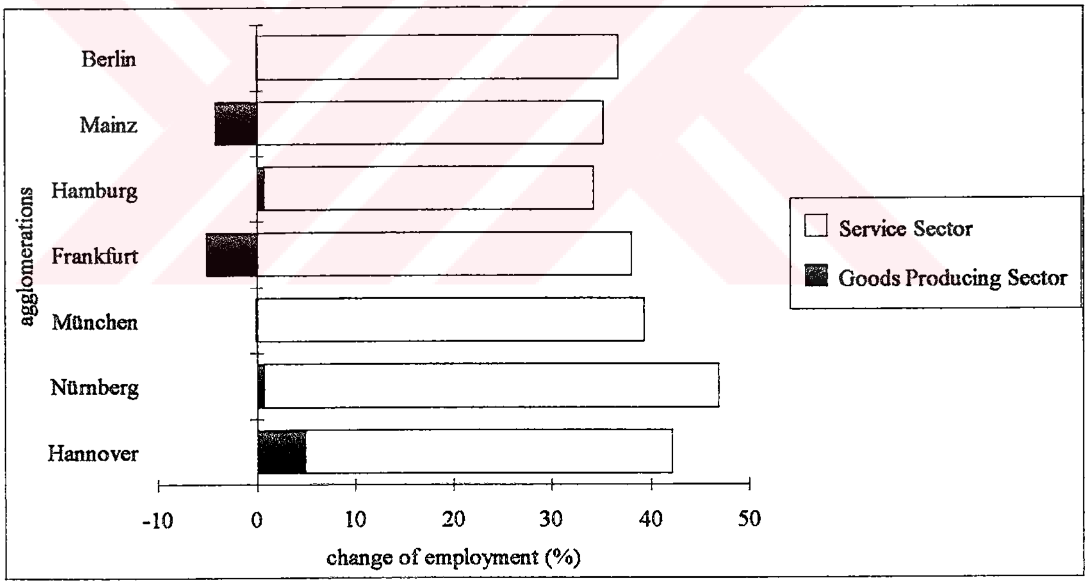


Figure 6.23 Sectoral changes of employment in the seven agglomerations, West Germany (1986-1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit,1986- 1994).

Figure 6.24 Development of selected service functions in the five agglomerations, West Germany (1976-1986) (adapted from Bade and Kunzman, 1991;90).

Figure 6.25 Development of selected service functions in the seven agglomerations, West Germany (1986-1994)(Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit,1986- 1994).

phenomenon.The second period (1986-1994) also saw the gradual increase of producer services in all cities. This condition signifies that the growth of some branches of manufacturing (manufacturing of professional and scientific equipment, optical equipment, electronic etc.) can only be explained with the developments of R&D, marketing and strategical planning. In addition, this reinforces the reversal of deindustrialization in the Northern areas. The existence of a correlation between global city status and producer services is also important. With the highest growth rates in the employment of producer services, Berlin and Frankfurt are the typical examples. While Frankfurt maintains its international financial characteristic, Berlin is emerging as a new node between two different economic systems; the central planned economy of East and capitalist economy of West. The other important city, Hannover experienced a gradual decrease in producer services while the employment in personal services increased.

After the statement of regional and sectoral tendencies in relation to service growth, a summary of the discussion can be given here. If professional services are taken as a base for global production characteristics of German cities, the dominance of Southern agglomeration can be observed between 1976 and 1986. A few exceptions in the middle and the northern areas (Rhein Main, Aachen) also experienced the growth of these services. However, the period of 1986-1994 saw the service dominance in the agglomerations of North and South. This period also experienced the lower increase of goods producing sector in the Northern and Southern areas despite the deindustrialization of Germany in the mid-1980s. This is explained with an employment growth in the specialized sectors of manufacturing which compensate for the loss in traditional manufacturing (iron and steel, mining etc.). The other tendency in this period indicates the increase of producer services in all agglomerations subject to analysis.

In the case of ethnic labor, the existence of a correlation became a phenomenon between 1986-1994; the increasing participation of ethnic labor in services and the service growth of major German cities. However, the conditions and the causes of this phenomenon are not clear in productional terms. In the following sections, the situation of Turkish guestworkers will be analyzed in relation to the study.

6.3.1 Turkish Labor in the Major German Cities

The Figures 6.26-6.31 emphasize the weight of Turkish labor in the manufacturing industry of seven cities. However, services increased gradually in this decade, as manufacturing experienced a gradual decrease. The only exceptions, Hamburg and Berlin, showed a rapid increase in services in the last three years. Berlin and Mainz had a sharper decrease in manufacturing. In this connection, Berlin and Hamburg reflect the traditional role of Turkish labor in service. Nevertheless, the sharper increase of services in Berlin between 1993-1995 signals the orientation of Turkish labor towards the East German market after the reunification.

A comparison between the sectoral changes of Turkish and national labor emphasizes the service sector growth in the 1986-1994 (see Figure 6.23 and 6.32). Turkish labor showed an increase under the national level. This reflects that most of the Turkish guestworkers still maintain their manufacturing dominance in the total production of German cities. Two Southern cities, Mainz and Nürnberg had a growth parallel to national tendencies. This reinforces the service shift from the formerly

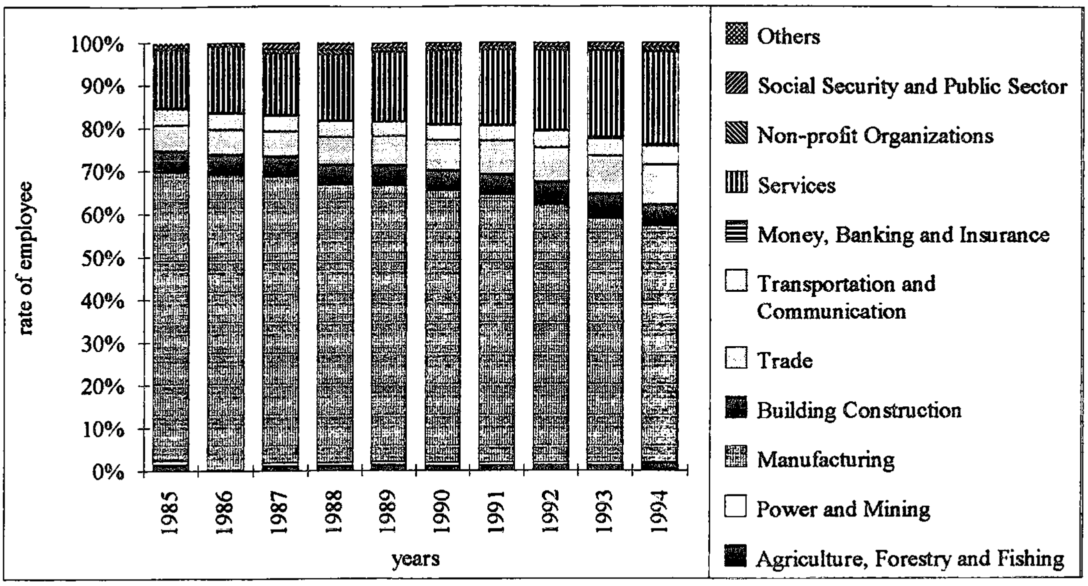


Figure 6.26 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Hannover (1985-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1985-1994).

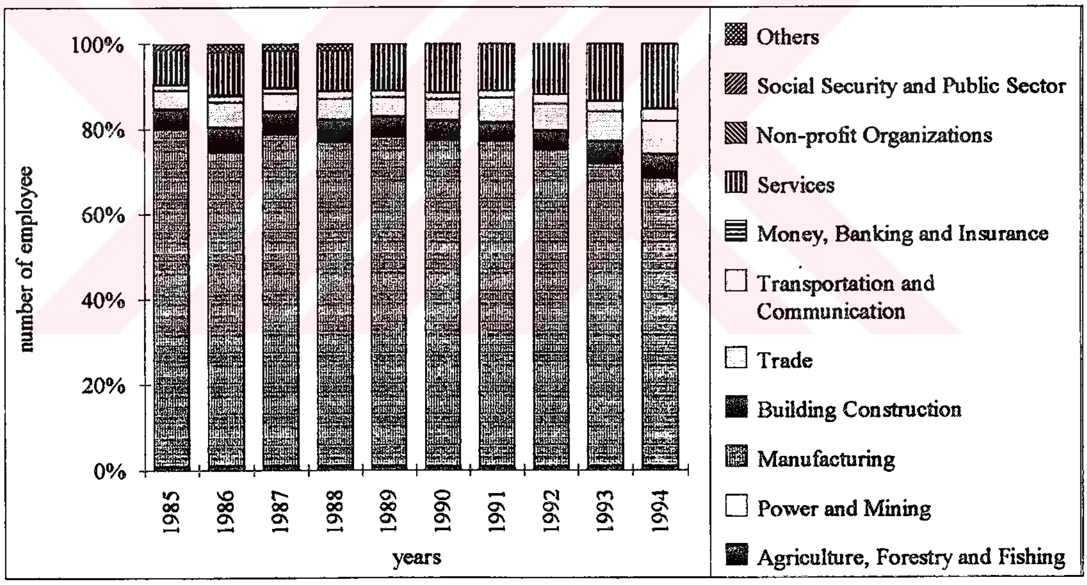


Figure 6.27 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Nürnberg (1985-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1985-1994).

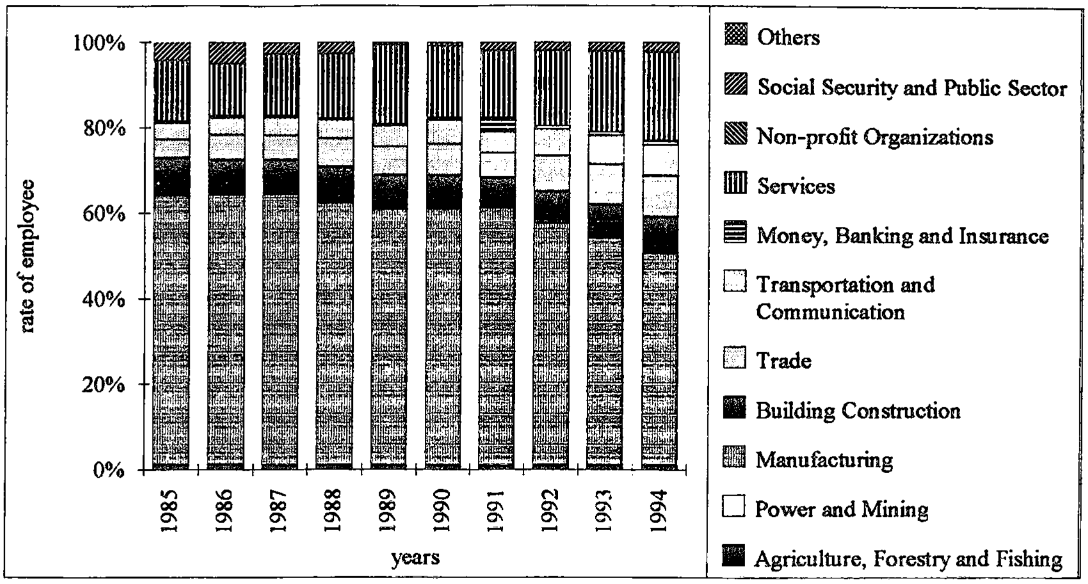


Figure 6.28 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Frankfurt (1985-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1985-1994).

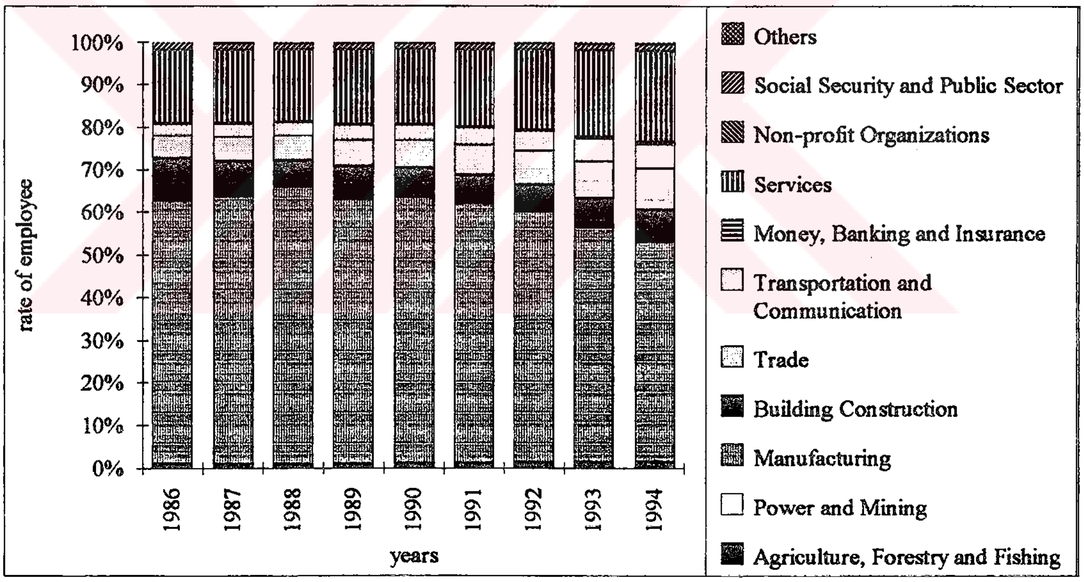


Figure 6.29 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in München (1986-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1986-1994).

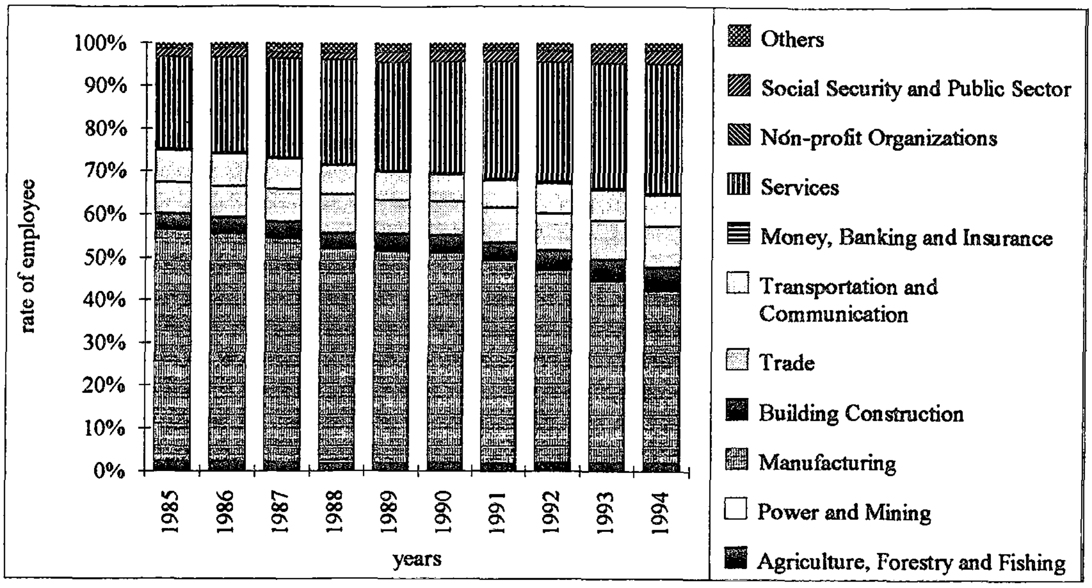


Figure 6.30 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Hamburg (1985-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1986-1994).

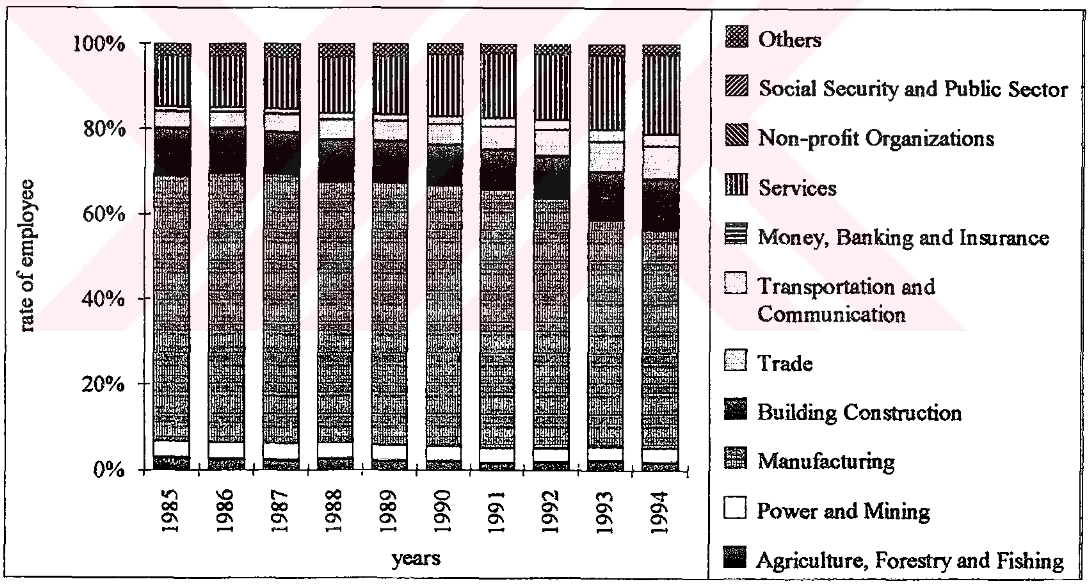


Figure 6.31 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Mainz (1985-1994) (The General Directory of Foreign Worker Services, 1986-1994).

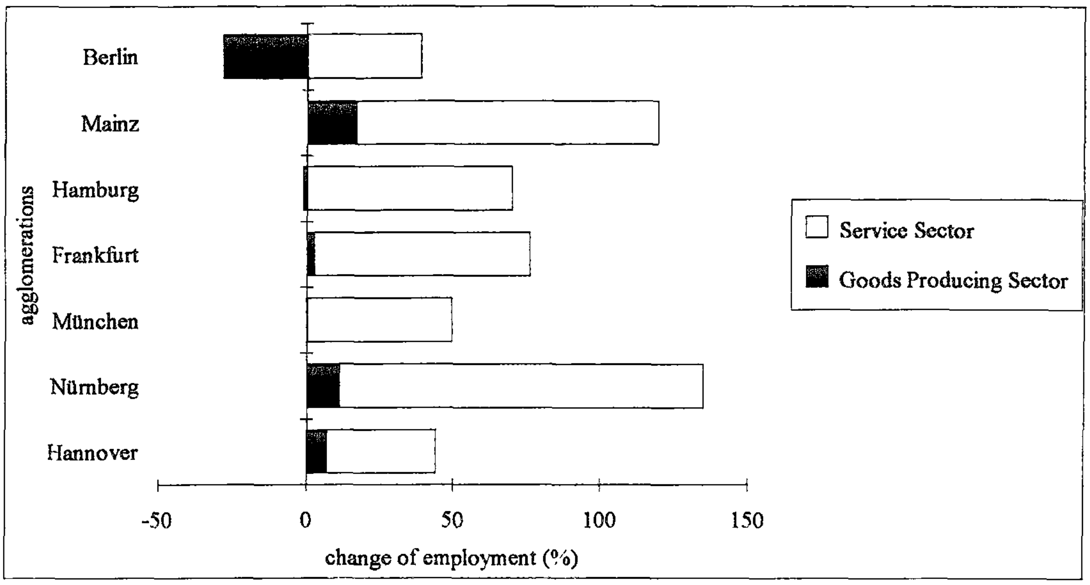


Figure 6.32 Sectoral changes of Turkish labor in the seven agglomerations, West Germany (1986-1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1986- 1994).

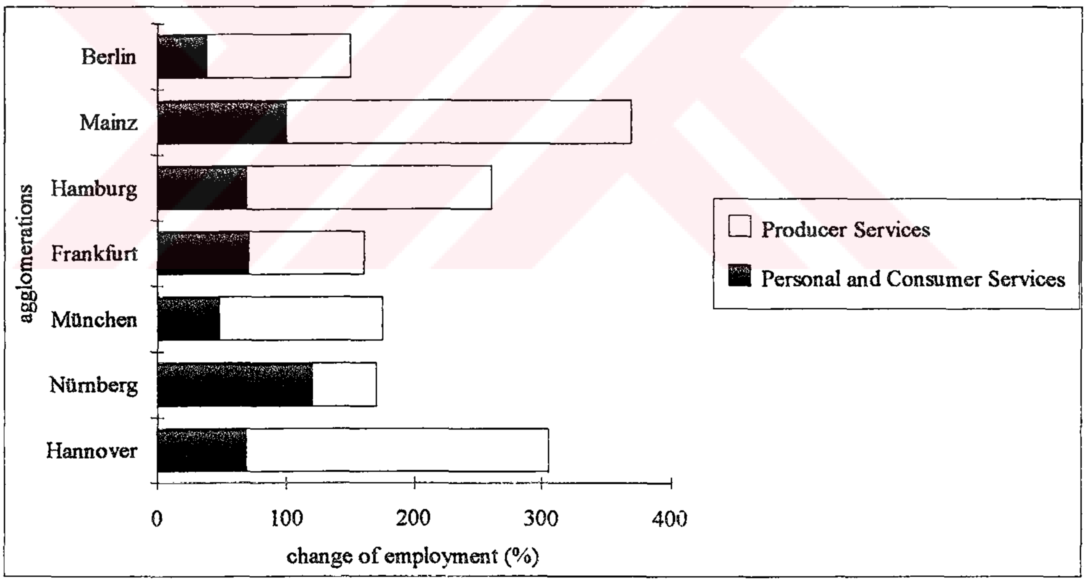


Figure 6.33 Development of Turkish labor in selected service functions of the seven agglomerations, West Germany (1986-1994)(Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1986- 1994).

concentration areas of North (Nordrhein Westfalen) to the Southern areas (München, Hessen). In the selected service functions, Turkish labor showed a sharp increase in producer services (see Figure 6.33) with regard to the gradual increase rates at a national level (see Figure 6.25). Although the highest growth rate belonged to aSouthern agglomeration, Mainz, the total growth in producer services was dominated by the Northern cities; Hannover, Hamburg and Berlin.

What is significant is that a linkage between the growth of Turkish labor in producer services and their role in German global cities does not reflect the facts at this point. In fact, Turkish employment in R&D activities, strategical planning and marketing have a lower share in total services (see Figure 6.34). However, the sectoral performance in personal and consumer services indicates the dominance of Turkish labor nationally. This situation of services indicates a new correlation; the performance of Turkish labor in consumer services and global cities of Germany. To this linkage, a detailed analysis will be made for Berlin.

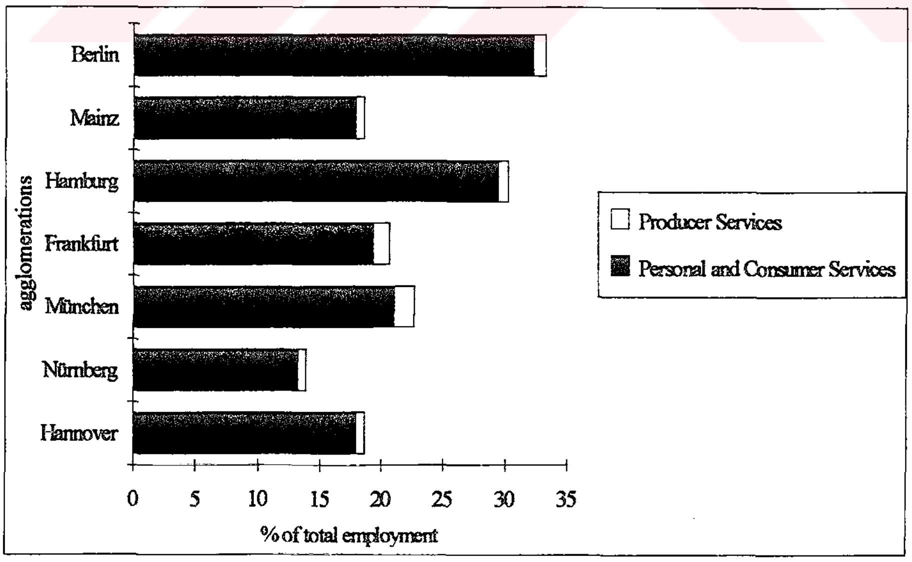


Figure 6.34 Share of selected services in total Turkish employment of seven agglomerations (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1994).

6.3.2 Turkish Labor in Berlin

The case study, global city status of Berlin, needs to be elaborated independently. The data of Berlin show a regional and urban characteristic because of its status in the spatial organization of Germany (see Figure 6.35).

The sectoral changes of employment represent that Berlin experienced a sharper increase in service and a lower increase in goods producing sector (see Figure 6.22 and 6.23). In the last decade, the growth rate of goods producing sector showed no change because of several reasons. First, the local policies in the 1980s affected the labor intensive industries and the new industrial activities (engineering and electronics) were supported by development of commercial activities and head-office functions. Second, the tendencies of manufacturing did not influence goods producing sector because other sectors, power and mining and building construction maintained their positions in production.

As a new land, the global city status of Berlin was strengthened by the growth of producer services between 1986 and 1994 (see Figure 6.25). In this period, the highest growth rate in the agglomerations belonged to Berlin. However, the growth of employment in the former period had a rate under the national average. This reversal was mainly performed by the highly skilled East Germans in the early 1990s and by the further effects of local policies in the 1980s. Personal and consumers services saw no change in the same period. In spite of the stable development of consumer services, they have the biggest share in total services. In addition, ethnic labor formerly concentrated on these activities in Germany. As a result, possible sectoral developments in Berlin are expected in consumer services in the short-run. The growth of producer services is associated with the movements of the highly-

Figure 6.35 The states of Germany after re-unification (Schröder, 1990; 4).

skilled (post industrial movement) and the classical brain-drain effects. Thus, its development is possible to be observed in the long-run.

The situation of Turkish labor in Berlin has a crucial importance for the study and it differs from the general picture of employment. Here, a chain-reaction reflects recent sectoral situation; employment in goods producing sector continuously decreases and the job-losses in this sector are compensated by the additional activities in services (see Figure 6.32). In this connection, Turkish labor can be analyzed as a typical example to generalize ethnic labor developments in global cities.

The major tendencies in selected service functions signal the higher degree participation in personal services and a lower participation in producer services. Here, an interesting point indicates that the growth rate of producer services is higher than the rate of consumer services (see Figure Turkish 6.33). This can be explained with the orientation of some of the labor to financial sector. In fact, these services have a lower share in total services (see Figure 6.34). Conversely, a smoother increase in personal services between 1986 and 1994 does not indicate a reduction in their share of total services. This can be evaluated as the increasing inter-regional mobility of Turkish labor in the new lands of Germany and a movement of some entrepreneurs from West Berlin to the East.

In conclusion, two important tendencies point out the interrelation between ethnic labor and the global city status of Berlin. First, the national trends in the 1976-1994 signal the emergence of a phenomenon; the growth of service sector and gradual increase of producer services and a lower decrease in goods producing sector in all regions (North and South) of Germany. The main concentration areas of service sector development are the Northern cities; Berlin as an emergent node, Frankfurt as a former international center and Hannover. Here, Berlin has a crucial importance and its status is supported by a highest level development of producer services in the agglomerations.

Second, Turkish labor in Berlin is a typical example representing the ethnic labor in Germany. Its situation signifies that a correlation can only be established between consumer services and ethnic labor participation globally. However, employment in producer services gains a certain degree dominance due to the stable brain-drain movements of traditional ethnic groups and to the dynamic movements of East Germans.

In the following section, Turkish labor of Berlin towards the future is analyzed in detail and the major outcomes will be generalized for total Turkish and ethnic labor in Germany.

6.4 The Role of Turkish Labor in the Global Characteristics of German Cities Towards the Future

In this section, the possible sectoral development of Turkish labor towards the future and its roles in the global cities of Germany are analyzed. Here, the tendencies of Berlin are used to generalize the situation of Turkish labor.

The case study attempts to test the two hypotheses; what is the role of ethnic labor in global cities according to the occupational situation -high and low-skilled-? and what is its role according to the business status, employee/entrepreneur?

For the occupational tendencies, it is necessary to analyze the sectoral trends in the last decade. The previous sections of chapter 6 point out the developments of global functions in Berlin on two grounds; services and goods producing sector.

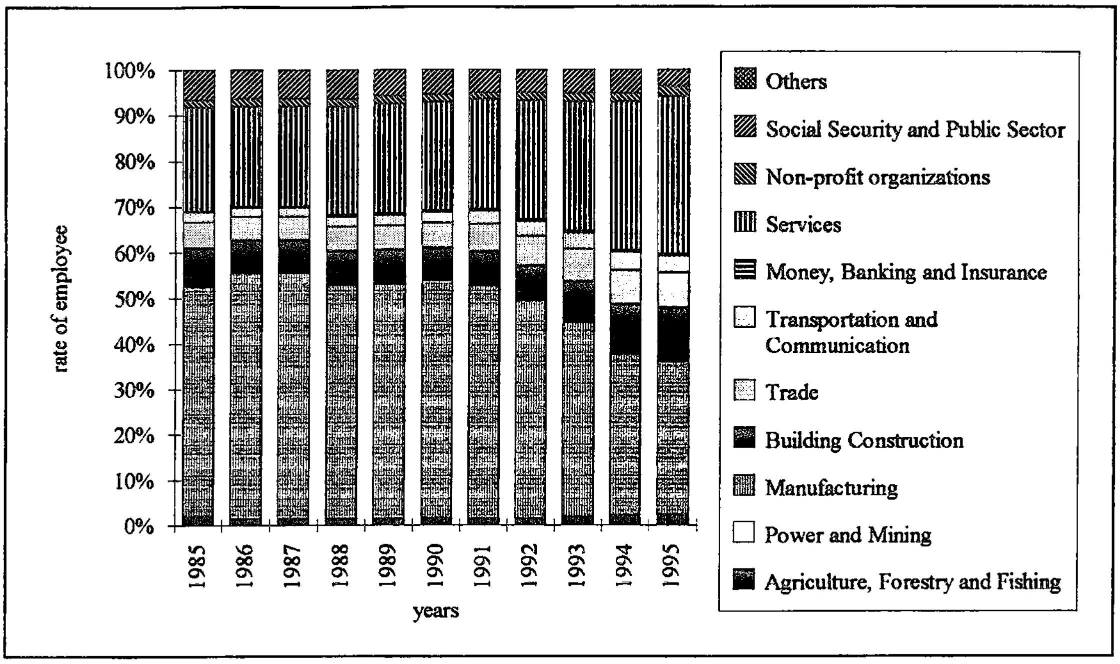


Figure 6.36 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in Berlin (1985-1995) (Turkish Consulate of Berlin on Employment and Social Security, 1985-1995).

Figure 6.37 Turkish labor of Berlin in manufacturing and services (1985-1995) (Turkish Consulate of Berlin on Employment and Social Security, 1985-1995).

Although the basic criterion of participation in global city is the performance of producer services nationally, it depends on the growth of consumer services in the Turkish case.

In spite of the general tendencies (gradual increase in services and goods producing sector), Turkish labor of Berlin experienced a gradual increase in service and a lower decrease in goods producing sector in comparison with the former period.(see Figure 6.36). However, a comparison between services and manufacturing in the last three years (see Figure 6.37) signifies different points; services increase gradually and manufacturing decreases sharply. The development between 1994 and 1995 shows that both sectors are going towards a stable sectoral growth. Thus, it is expected that an important fluctuation in these sectors of Berlin will not occur in the short-run. From an occupational point of view, this signals two important points; high and low-skilled Turkish labor in Berlin are likely to operate in the several branches of services and its dynamic occupational development in manufacturing can only be realised in the long-run. A detailed sectoral development of Turkish labor in manufacturing and services reinforces this phenomenon.

The Figure 6.38 represents that employment in food industry and textiles decreased sharply in the last four years. The highest proportion in manufacturing, professional and scientific equipment experienced a relatively slight reduction. This sector can be evaluated only as a branch of manufacturing in which highly-skilled labor will be employed in the long-run. Traditional sectors (iron and steel, industrial chemicals etc.) showed a gradual decrease or no change. This can be evaluated as an opposite development in comparison with the national tendencies of ethnic labor in Germany.

The service growth was dominated by personal services such as medical services and personal care (see Figure 6.39). This reflects the formerly dominant role of lower-skilled labor in services. The high-level services (law, economics and consultation) had an unimportant role in the growth of total services.

However, a detailed analysis of producer services is necessary to understand the possible role of highly-skilled labor in the future. Figures 6.40 indicates that the period of 1986-1994 saw a sharp increase in the national producer services of Berlin. This development was mainly dominated by financial services, banking and marketing. At this point, the role of high-level technological activities (R&D and EDP) in the growth of producer services is invisible. For this negative development, possible causes involve global and national tendencies; a universal shortage of some high-level jobs (system engineering, software engineering etc.) and a locational shift of high-skilled labor from Berlin to the Southern agglomerations. Here, the movement of East Germans constitutes an early development and its patterns can only be analyzed in the late 1990s.

In the Turkish case, producer services have a minimum share in total services and a relatively lower growth rate in comparison with national development (see Figure 6.34). However, the growth in producer services is higher than in consumer services (see Figure 6.33). This condition can only be explained with a consistent movement of high-skilled Turkish labor. A detailed analysis of selected producer (see Figure 6.41) services indicates the dominance of financial services in total growth. Employment in banking, marketing and strategical planning experienced a sharper increase in the Turkish case rather than in the national case. The general tendencies of R&D and EDP also correspond to Turkish labor. However, these showed a

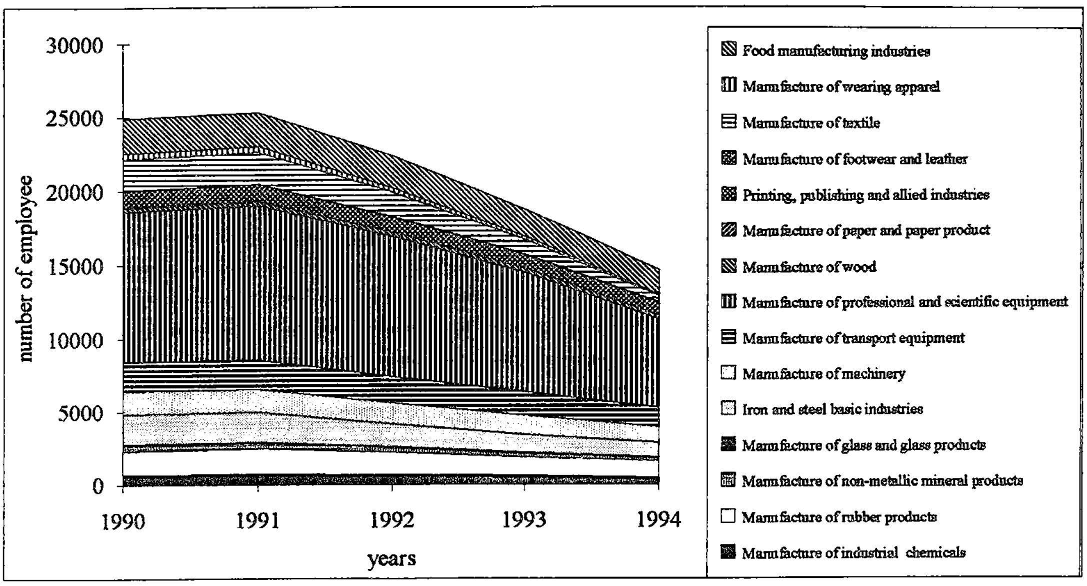
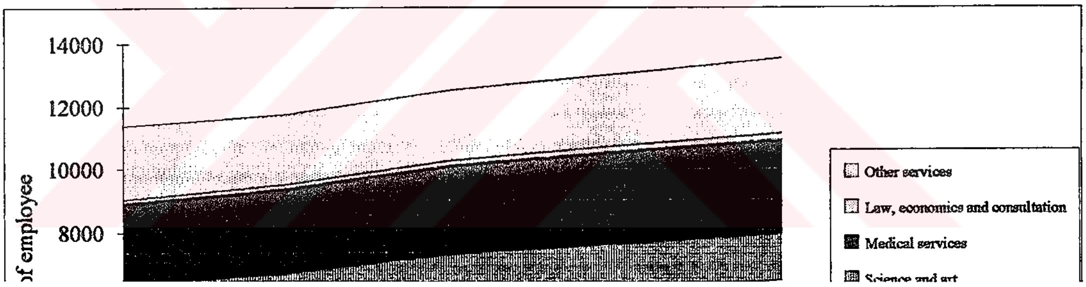


Figure 6.38 Sectoral development of Turkish labor in manufacturing, Berlin (1990-1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1990-1994).



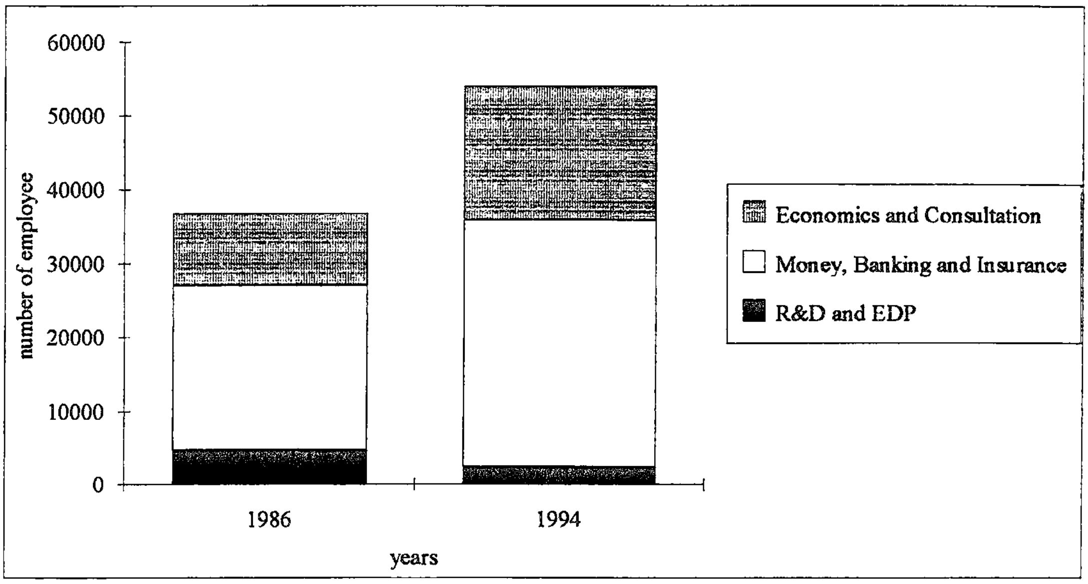


Figure 6.40 Development of producer services in Berlin (1986-1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit,1986- 1994).

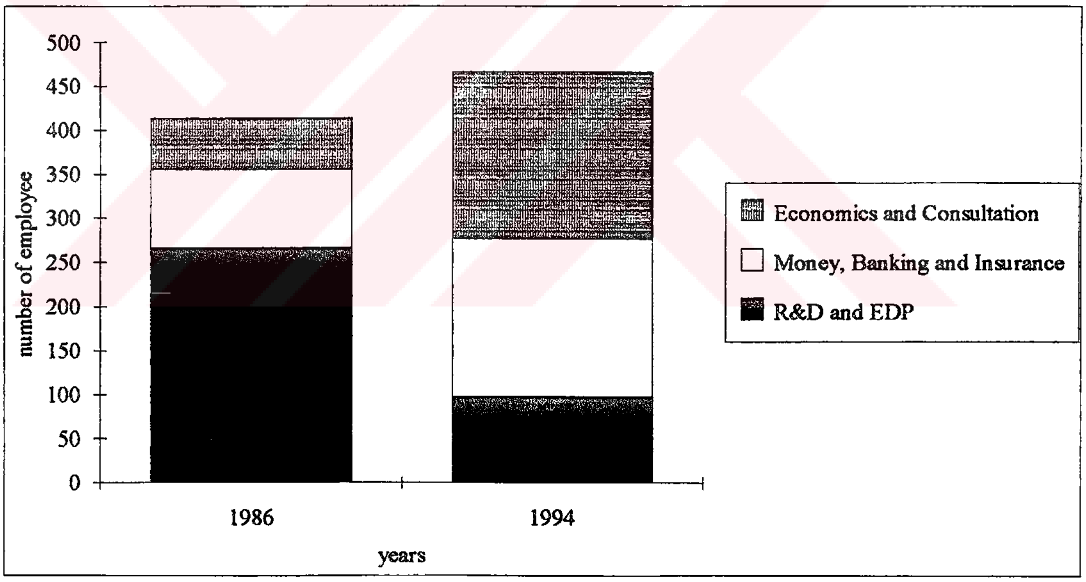


Figure 6.41 Development of Turkish labor in producer services, Berlin (1986-1994) (Amtliche Nachrichten der Bundesanstalt Für Arbeit, 1986-1994).

remarkable decrease. Both trends in producer services point out that an intra-regional mobility of skilled labor is likely to play a crucial role in the sectoral development. The development of financial sector in Berlin attracts Turkish staff in recent years. On the other hand, R&D and EDP staff are likely to orientate towards the Northern agglomerations which showed a greater increase in producer services (see Figure 6.33) or the tributary areas of Berlin land.

The analysis of developments in relation to the business status of Turkish labor constitutes the second part of the discussion. This is necessary to conceive the sectoral preferences of new generation Turkish labor[60] i.e. Turkish entrepreneurship. Recent occupational tendencies emphasized the growth of Turkish labor in consumer and personal services. The development of Turkish business also fortifies this tendency. Figure 6.42 demonstrates that Turkish firms concentrated on services and related commercial activities. In services, the majority of firms operates in catering (restaurant, snack bar, cafe etc.) as professional services are represented at a lower level.

The growth rates of both services between the 1990 and 1993 reflect important points. In 1991, the period saw a turning point in catering and it reached a peak in 1992. The major reason for this development can be connected to the increasing effectiveness of Turkish business in open market after the re-unification of two Berlins. The slight fluctuation of catering in the 1990-1993 also signals a locational shift; the movements of Turkish firms from the tributary areas (former areas of entrepreneurship) to Berlin due to the increasing intra-regional mobility in services. In the same period, the trends in professional services are consistent with the general

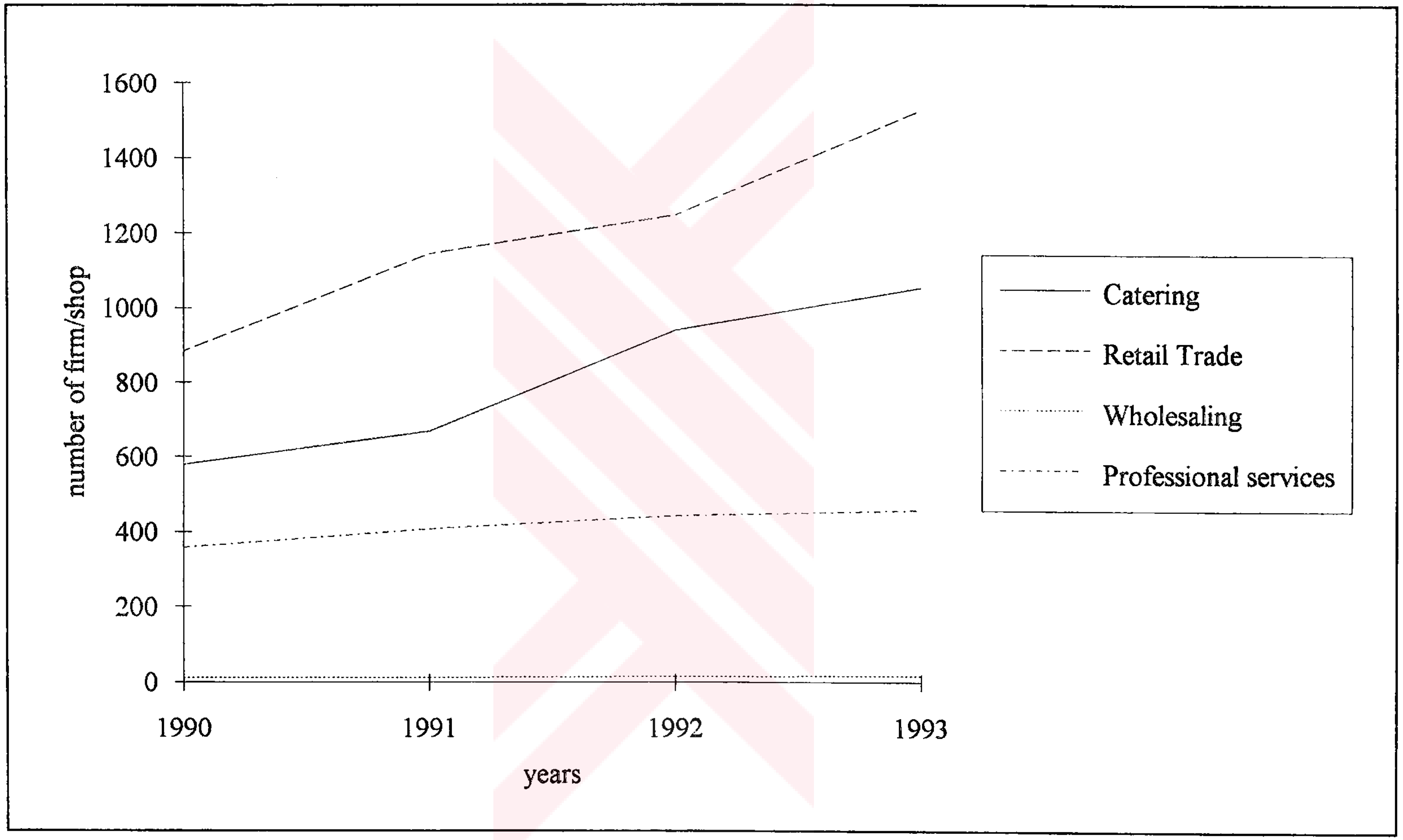


Figure 6.42 Sectoral development of Turkish business in West Berlin (1990-1993) (Turkish Consulate of Berlin on Employment and Social Security, 1990-1993).

occupational context of high- or medium -skilled labor in Germany. The firms/shops in this services mainly operate in non-ethnic market.

Retail trade constitutes the highest share in total business and its growth in the 1990-1993 shares similarities with catering. However, the rapid increase of firms in the last two years suggests that commercial activity in retailing is likely to dominate Turkish self-employment in the late 1990s. In the Figure 6.41, 1991 and 1992 peaks are also evidence to a locational shift of firms in retailing due to the reunification. Nevertheless, the increase in the number of firms are greater than in catering. Here, a sectoral shift of firms (replacement effect) from catering to retailing can be evaluated as a major reason. The specialization in many business types assists this process. In catering and professional services, the degree of specialization is at a lower level (see Table 6.2 to a detailed distribution of firms in Berlin).

After the statement and interpretation of general occupational tendencies of Berlin, the possible role of Turkish labor in its global characteristics can be generalized to German cities.

In a general occupational context, a dynamic development is not expected. The tendencies show that the participation of Turkish labor in high-level technological activities (R&D and EDP) is invisible. Here, the major development can be expected in financial activities. It is likely that high-skilled labor will have a certain degree of dominance in headquarters functions. Despite the rapid growth of this type of employment, an increase in the employment in top-level business functions can only occur in the long-run. The Berlin case indicated that this type of labor maintains its dominant position in the major agglomeration centers. Thus, a regional mobility of high-skilled labor is likely to occur in the long-run, especially for R&D

Table 6.2 The growth of Turkish Business Activity in West Berlin (1990-1993).

	NUMBER OF SHOP/FIRM			
BUSINESS TYPE	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**
Snack bar	374	460	615	727
Grocery and butchery	311	385	439	455
Travel agency	134	161	206	255
Coffeehouse	126	121	231	240
Interpreting	84	84	84	46
Free shop	62	84	84	91
Textile	58	79	102	128
Video shop	57	16	14	12
Tailoring	51	55	62	58
Bakery	49	70	68	74
Peddler fruit and vegetable)	46	79	83	114
Mechanic (automobile)	63	98	105	140
Restaurant	42	46	51	57
Movie making	38	38	38	32
Music cafe	37	41	44	30
Taxi	35	38	38	61
Doctor	32	35	38	42
Floristry	29	34	37	44
Shoe repairing	29	40	40	51
Bookkeeping	20	26	26	28
Jewellery	20	24	24	28
Antiquing	20	26	26	26
Construction	20	28	16	16
Ceremony hall	20	24	36	47
Newsagent	20	54	52	64
Driving school	18	22	23	21
Döner-Kebap	14	38	38	41
Insurance	12	13	12	18
Wholesaling (meat and fish)	12	12	14	16
Miscellaneous				92
Total	1833	2231	2646	3054

Source: Turkish Consulate of Berlin on Employment and Social Security, 1990-1993 activities. The growth of producer services in the Northern cities supports this phenomenon. However, a major development of an occupational shift occurs in manufacturing. The tendencies in some branches of manufacturing (scientific equipment), which requires technical knowledge and qualification, indicate a gradual increase. This development is likely to bring an increase in some producer services. In this connection, a lower level participation in technological activities may lead to the emergence of a new category; medium-skilled labor.

In a lower occupational context[61], the trends of Turkish labor confirm one of the hypotheses; a gradual increase in total services may emerge, and this development may be dominated by a growth of personal and consumer services employment for ethnic labor. A consistent development of medical services between the 1990 and 1994 indicates that an inter-regional movement of labor in this sector has no importance. However, personal care may be experienced as an intra-regional movement from the tributary areas in the short-run.

An evaluation of the business status of Turkish labor also reinforces the other hypothesis; the developments in the business status of ethnic labor may be dominated by the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship In spite of the static position of employee immigrants in consumer services, Turkish business continuously increases its effectiveness in this sector. The Berlin case proved that an inter-regional mobility of business in retail trade and catering rapidly increases due to the further effects of re-unification. Here as an anticipated effect, Turkish entrepreneurship will be mostly represented in commercial activities (retailing) with reference to a sectoral movement of firms from catering to retail trade. In addition, the developments in some branches confirm this weight of commercial activity. The increasing effectiveness of Turkish firms in building construction sector of Berlin is evidence to this development. The other important point is that the possible growth of Turkish business in retail trade will also affect the general structure of financial services. It is anticipated that Turkish firms operating in trade can extend their efficiency in financial services only in the long run. This signals an emergence of a relationship between the business status and the occupational characteristic of Turkish labor. Here, these firms can be possible actors of specialized financial services in the long-run.

The general composition of employment in traditional industries (iron and steel, chemicals etc.) signals that an important change in the employee position of lower-skilled labor is not expected in the short-run. A gradual decrease of labor in these industries emphasizes that an occupational shift from manufacturing to services or commercial activity is not expected. However, the general characteristics of goods producing sector signify an opposite tendency; a transition from total manufacturing to services.

In conclusion, the Berlin case shows that Turkish labor will mainly operate as a dynamic actor of informal economy in German global cities. A transition from traditional service activities to top-level regional activities of these cities may occur in a long time and Turkish entrepreneurs are seen as possible actors of this anticipated development. Here, it is predicted that they will have a major role in financial services of global cities. However, the headquarters functions are possible to be dominated by local business of Germany.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE REMARKS

The Berlin case can be generalized for the situation of Turkish labor in major German cities. Here, the major outcomes of the study are also used to determine the role of ethnic labor in the new nodes of Western Europe. The consequences of the study can be given as follows:

1. In high-skilled activities in services and manufacturing, ethnic labor has a lower degree of participation.

1.a In producer services, a dynamic sectoral development is not anticipated in technological activities. Here, only the sectoral growth can be possible for the financial service employment in the long run.

1.b An inter-regional mobility of ethnic labor in producer services can only be realised in the long run. Especially the technological producer services (R&D and EDP) will become mostly mobile.

1.c In manufacturing, some specialized sectors such as scientific equipments are likely to experience ethnic labor increase. This will be dominated by medium-skilled qualifications.

2. In a lower-skilled context, ethnic labor preserves its dominant role in personal and consumer services.

2.a An inter-regional movement in this sector will not occur in the short-run. However, some branches of personal services are likely to face an intra-regional mobility of employment.

3. The business status of ethnic labor is going towards a dynamic sectoral development.

3.a Immigrant entrepreneurs are predicted to dominate an important part of local business in commercial activities.

3.b The increasing capability of ethnic business will lead to a development in the long run; a transition from lower-level commercial activity to top-level financial activities.

3.c Ethnic entrepreneurs are likely to become the most mobile actors of labor market with reference to their inter-regional and intra-regional movements.

4. Employee immigrants maintain their static sectoral characteristic in traditional industries.

4.a It is expected that a sharp decrease in manufacturing employment will negatively affect the non-qualified labor.

4.b The signals of an occupational transition of ethnic labor from manufacturing to services is not observed. Only sectoral development of this transition is likely to occur in the general composition of goods producing sector.

After the discussion of consequences, two major outcome (regional-economic and urban -sectoral) can be stated:

First, ethnic labor of periphery continuously increase its adaptation capacity in local business characteristics of core. These will mostly operate in the labor markets of

European global cities as the dynamic actors of informal economy towards the late 1990s.

Second, the last wave of international migration (post-industrial movement) in Western Europe is facing important transitions in ethnic labor characteristics; a shift from employee to entrepreneur, a transition from static sectoral and locational position to inter-regional mobility and a shift from a passive role in traditional concentration areas (old industrial cities) to an active role in new regional nodes (global cities) of Western Europe.

ENDNOTES

[1] The role of R&D activities of states or firms in production became a phenomenon in the last decade dominated by flexible specialization.

[2] It signifies a shift from competition to cooperation or collaboration among firms. Sub-contracting and franchise systems emerge due to this development.

[3] These areas can be evaluated as several geographies of marginality; the east-west and north-south divides.

[4] Recent studies also termed these as new regional level functions.

[5] London is at the intersections of three major trading economies; the Anglo-American, the Commonwealth and the European.

[6] This phenomenon is called by recent studies in the following ways: the growth of ethnic entrepreneurship, immigrant entrepreneurship or the emergence of ethnic self-employment.

[7] It comprises high-level production services such as processing and the applications of information technology.

[8] Locational shift means an intra-regional movement of these migrants to a temporary or permanent period.

[9] It refers to most of the refugees, asylum seekers or the previous immigrants.

[10] Refugee flows indicate the migratory movements of people forced to leave their country because of their political or religious beliefs.

[11] See Işık, 1994. Işık approaches modern/post -modern debate by the viewpoint of changing geography and space; "the post-modern can be best defined by the dominance of spatial categories over temporal ones".

[12] This principle is used in a methodological manner. In other words, the presentation of simultaneity principle here mainly aims at analyzing the scope of new space by the viewpoint of post- modernist thought.

[13] Reorganization of space is mainly related to recent territorial changes due to the changing production-space interrelations, such as the emergence of peripheralization process in many cities. In addition, this phrase has an economical and spatial meaning rather than socio-cultural in this section.

[14] The importance of this question is mainly based on the analysis of society with specific tools -they show a spatial characteristic here - and on the understanding of transformation process of society. The latter refers to spatial transformation and it can be discussed as part of transformation of society.

[15] See Pınarcıoğlu (1994) who states that new geography focuses on "the spatial construction of the spatial" and "the areal differentiation in social processes".

[16] The concept of modernity is given as a process which affected the whole structure of community by certain perspectives - here sociological and economical perspectives are subject to discussion-

[17] It mainly refers to the locally based characteristics and components of a specific place. Such a place is termed as powerless place (see following footnote) by Castells and Henderson (1987).

[18] It is fact that the power of core economies has been extremely improved by the utilization and control over a historically new phenomenon: information-flow technologies. Similarly, powerless places does not imply a zero sum notion of power, rather it refers to a fact that locally-based socio-political movements are organized according to a logic of power which is distinct from the global logic.

[19] Massey established a bridge between production and social change. She stated that "the concept of spatial structures provides a way into the analysis of the economic relations between regions, the geography of the social relations of production which underlie any particular form of uneven development" (1988; 264). Massey analyzed social change and spatial divisions of labor in the British experience.

[20] This process is dominated by recent economic and technological developments; the increasing role of information technology and multinational firms in the world. Here, the cooperation gains importance with regard to decreasing competition.

[21] France and Britain have historically colonial connections with most of Third World and African countries. The situation of Indians in Britain is a typical example to this relation.

[22] Oil crisis causes a chain reaction in production organization and socio-political order. A shift to the flexible production is motivated by worldwide effects of oil crisis.

[23] These corporations are the main actors of international economy. Here, firms of mother countries operate in several parts of the world and they use international capital. The examples in the last decade comprise giants such as General Motors, Ford, Philips and Sony.

[24] It refers to illegal migrants who enter host countries secretly or privately often for illegal intentions

[25] The term, asylum-seeker refers to any person seeking asylum on the basis of a claim that s/he is a refugee. Unlike refugees, these are perceived as economic migrants.

[26] It involves association of independent states that were formerly colonies and dominions of Britain (Australia, New Zealand etc.)

[27] These acts targeted three category of immigrants; migrants with a specific job to come, migrants with skills for which there was a shortage in the United Kingdom and lastly, migrants on a first-come-first-served basis.

[28] These are called by the most studies of migration as "xenophobic reactions".

[29] These aimed at restricting regularization of immigrants by confining the residence permits to those who could show evidence of employment and adequate accommodation.

[30] These were expressed by Golini, Bonfazi and Righi (1993) in geographical terms along the fault lines.

[31] Belgium, Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden and Austria also have a large number of foreign residents.

[32] According to the 1990 census, the proportion of naturalized French citizens was 3.1% of the total population. This proportion was 2.6 percent in 1982.

[33] The movement of large numbers or highly-skilled or professional people from the country where there are trained to other countries where they can earn more money.

[34] Sectoral specialization motivated the first stage of migratory movements (labor migration). That is why, it can be a starting point in the post-war history of migration.

[35] It mainly depends upon the strategy of Ford company at the beginning of century. The model of the Fordist organization was explained by Cooke as "hierarchical, bureaucratized, divisional, task-specified and spatially decomposed" (1990; 143). The large-scale mass production industries such as food, electrical goods, printing and clothing moved towards assembly-line production in the fullest sense.

[36] Informalization can be evaluated as a counter response to institutional framework of economic activity (formal economy). Castells and Portes stated that "this process greatly contributes to the formation of a decentralized model of economic organization" (1989; 29). The informal sector particularly involves service activities in consumer services.

[37] New nodes are evaluated as the growth centers of global economy in terms of the division of production activities. In this division, these centers attract the activities in both specialized industrial and service activities. The concept of multinational city corresponds to the case rather than the concept of world city or to its comprehensive form, namely global city.

[38] These include professional, managerial and technical activities.

[39] See section 2. 2. 2 (spatial transformation as a process).

[40] The multiplicity of geographies of centrality and marginality lead to functional and hierarchical developments; the emergence of new regional level functions (financial/cultural/service) and the continuity of traditional top level functions occur in the same context.

[41] These include the central urban hierarchy of cities of global system (Paris, London etc.), a major network of European financial/cultural/service capitals and the new European hierarchy in the South of Europe.

[42] These were located in high-speed transport and communication corridors.

[43] Lee and Marvede (1992) also used the term of "highly specialized division of labor".

[44] It refers to a direct channel in the access to ownership.

[45] It is mainly used in the condition that a person has a job which does not fit to their occupational and educational level.

[46] Producer services with low-wage were stated in the world city hypothesis of Friedmann (1986) as catering to management elites and upper echelons of professional business services. Here, Friedmann evaluated these services as the highest level jobs in the low-wage and informal labor markets

[47] Trade of this type of goods were also termed by Waldinger and Ward (1990) as "make and sell business."

[48] A number of authors also termed these cities as the comprehensive form of world cities.

[49] These functions include professional industrial activities and banking, insurance, high-level service activities, especially producer services.

[50] In the World City Hypothesis of Friedmann (1986) the only stated European secondary cities were Brussels, Milan, Vienna and Madrid. In this section, some European centers are added to this category with reference to a comprehensive form of Friedman's selection criteria.

[51] Despite a more political and social definition of global cities, Camagni et. al (1991) used it as an economic term.

[52] It is going from manufacturing to specialized technical and marketing services for that specific product.

[53] The creation of the Berlin Economic Development Corporation, the establishment of public venture capital fund for small and medium sized firms and the first German science park were the major outcomes of local policies.

[54] Innovation centers are both infrastructural facilities offering the usual consulting services, and a multitude of individual firms sharing a common location.

[55] These were prepared for the Association of Turkish Businessmen (TÜSİAD), International Labor Office (ILO) and for the Ministry of Nordrhein-Westfalen Employment and Social Security.

[56] The states correspond to provinces in German spatial organization.

[57] The two-thirds of foreign employers in Germany are under 35.

[58] Their study targeted the analysis of economical activities and employment change with reference to deindustrialization and service shift in West Germany.

[59] In both sources, the data of social insurance are used for a number of employees and workers -" sozialversicherungspflichtig beschaeftigte" in German terminology.-

[60] It is assumed that first generation of Turkish guestworkers completed their adaptation to German labor market in the last three decade. Despite the advantageous position of first generation in manufacturing, second generation workers, especially low-skilled labor face important problems such as unemployment, disqualification in labor market However, some developments shows that a transition of second generation Turkish labor from traditional activities to middle-skilled activities - in manufacturing and services- occurs in the 1990s.

[61] The developments in this context do not include an important growth of Turkish entrepreneurship in consumer services, especially in catering. Here, a classification is based on skilled/unskilled divide.

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APPENDIX A

Table A.1 The changes of sectoral employment in the regions of Germany (1976-1986)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Regions	**Goods Producing Sector**	**Service Sector**
North Center	-18	3.5
South Center	-9	11
North Rings	-3.5	22
South Rings	3.5	30
North Less Condensed Areas	-6	12
South Less Condensed Areas	3	20.5
North Peripheral Areas	-6.5	15
South Peripheral Areas	4	25

Table A.2 The changes of sectoral employment in selected services (1976-1986)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Regions	**Personal Services**	**Business services**
North Center	19.5	25
South Center	23	49
North Rings	33.5	54.5
South Rings	37.5	72.5
North Less Condensed Areas	29.5	29
South Less Condensed Areas	35	55
North Peripheral Areas	27	41.5
South Peripheral Areas	44	64.5

Table A.3 The changes of sectoral employment in selected services (1976-1986)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Regions	**Production Activities**	**Service Activities**
North Center	-14.5	-1.2
South Center	-7.5	7.5
North Rings		14.2
South Rings	3.5	22.5
North Less Condensed Areas	4	9
South Less Condensed Areas	4	16.5
North Peripheral Areas	2.5	11.5
South Peripheral Areas	5	20

Table A.4 The changes of sectoral employment in the agglomerations (1976-1986)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Goods Producing Sector**	**Service Sector**
Hamburg	-11	6.5
Bremen	-11.5	8
Hannover	-13	8.5
Bielefeld	-8	14.5
Ruhr	-19.5	3
Düsseldorf	-9.5	12
Wuppertal	-12.5	5.5
Köln-Bonn	-7.5	12
Aachen	-8.5	16
Saarbrücken	-9	10
Rhein-Main	-7.5	17
Rhein Neckar	-4	16
Karlsruhe	2	17
Stuttgart	5	17.5
Nürnberg	-6	21.5
München	2	21
Berlin	-12	8.5

Table A.5 The changes of sectoral employment in the agglomerations (1986-1994)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Goods Producing Sector**	**Service Sector**
Hannover	4.9	37.3
Nürnberg	0.7	46.3
München	-0.08	39.4
Frankfurt	-5.1	38.1
Hamburg	0.7	33.6
Mainz	-4.2	35.3
Berlin	-0.03	36.8

Table A.6 The changes of sectoral employment in selected services of agglomerations (1976-1986)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Education, Health**	**R&D, Strategical Planning, Marketing and EDP**
Hamburg	39.5	25.2
Bremen	44.7	25
Hannover	40.4	28.7
Bielefeld	43.8	21.8
Ruhr	40.9	11.9
Düsseldorf	43.6	25.7
Wuppertal	36.5	19.1
Köln-Bonn	43.8	28.5
Aachen	42.8	51.9
Saarbrücken	42.8	24.7
Rhein-Main	40	41.9
Rhein Neckar	41.9	24.7
Karlsruhe	36.3	43.8
Stuttgart	41.9	55.7
Nürnberg	68.2	50
München	41.9	56.3
Berlin	37.2	22.8

Table A.7 The changes of sectoral employment in selected services of agglomerations (1986-1994)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Consumer Services**	**Producer Services**
Hannover	36.2	16.2
Nürnberg	45	27.1
München	38.5	33.3
Frankfurt	34.8	36.6
Hamburg	32.2	16.9
Mainz	34.8	11.8
Berlin	34.3	47

Table A.8 Producer services and employment change in the manufacturing industry of agglomeration centres (1976-1986)

	Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Total Employment**	**R&D, Strategical Planning, and EDP**
Hamburg	-17.5	5.1
Bremen	-16.4	6
Hannover	-16.4	3.9
Bielefeld	-9.7	2.7
Ruhr	-23	3.4
Düsseldorf	-19.1	4.1
Wuppertal	-13.3	2.2
Köln-Bonn	-15.5	5.2
Aachen	-12.5	3.3
Saarbrücken	-20.2	2.2
Rhein-Main	-12.2	5.8
Rhein Neckar	-6.4	6.9
Karlsruhe	-10.3	6.1
Stuttgart	-4.7	6.8
Nürnberg	-8.5	7
München	-5	8.5
Berlin	-14.7	4.1

APPENDIX B

B.1 Sectoral development of ethnic labour in Germany (1983-1984)

Sectors	I/83	II/83	III/83	IV/83
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	14268	16548	16191	12509
Power and Mining	35018	35339	35768	35056
Manufacturing	939081	934940	924978	898077
Building Construction	154017	172292	179154	164257
Trade	111118	114010	114502	111274
Transportation	65280	65677	64899	62942
Money, Banking and Insurance	12512	12915	12925	12717
Services	288048	298914	297472	281878
Non-profit Organizations	14080	14562	15002	14950
Social Security and Public Sector	46228	47766	47863	46836
Others				
Total	1679665	1713645	1709085	1640593

B.2 Sectoral development of ethnic labour in Germany (1984-1985)

Sectors	I/84	II/84	III/84	IV/84
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	14203	16044	15421	12375
Power and Mining	35910	33569	33739	33092
Manufacturing	893399	836869	859561	842323
Building Construction	156547	163535	161914	146175
Trade	110736	111071	110588	107653
Transportation	62585	62966	62448	60713
Money, Banking and Insurance	12533	12636	12623	12449
Services	288216	292650	288979	275819
Non-profit Organizations	15308	15476	15766	15650
Social Security and Public Sector	47024	47455	46819	45877
Others				
Total	1636727	1592641	1608061	1552560

B.3 Sectoral development of ethnic labour in Germany (1985-1987)

	Quarter Periods							
Sectors	**I/85**	**II/85**	**III/85**	**IV/85**	**I/86**	**II/86**	**III/86**	**IV/86**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	13574	15407	14698	11138	12236	14556	14064	10811
Power and Mining	32979	33035	34002	33159	33018	33102	34348	33741
Manufacturing	848426	854721	857992	843352	850761	864568	865560	842251
Building Construction	133972	145574	148113	134128	125720	142803	145859	132950
Trade	107384	107866	108148	105730	105920	107200	108761	106695
Transportation	60227	62676	60585	58688	59185	60640	60936	59728
Money, Banking and Insurance	12412	12399	12430	12359	12509	12629	12804	12744
Services	283464	288450	287455	275606	284693	292459	293548	281704
Non-profit Organizations	16097	16167	16200	16067	16337	16717	17132	17246
Social Security and Public Sector	45943	46708	46419	45614	46061	46836	46994	46671
Others								
Total	1555321	1583898	1586603	1536007	1546532	1591547	1600216	1544745

B.4 Sectoral development of ethnic labour in Germany (1987-1989)

	Quarter Periods							
Sectors	**I/87**	**II/87**	**III/87**	**IV/87**	**I/88**	**II/88**	**III/88**	**IV/88**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	12050	14517	14474	11046	12126	15000	14700	11478
Power and Mining	33412	33288	34157	33523	33484	33319	33507	32805
Manufacturing	848875	850888	855373	833031	840408	850549	863535	849059
Building Construction	125284	139266	143082	130215	124081	139220	143545	132219
Trade	107916	110269	114587	113349	115911	118850	123967	120853
Transportation	60254	61335	62430	61279	62248	63597	65173	64075
Money, Banking and Insurance	12915	13032	13399	13226	13389	13399	13692	13618
Services	291322	299596	305852	294853	308305	321754	328505	314949
Non-profit Organizations	17710	17908	18236	18235	18770	19254	20011	19925
Social Security and Public Sector	47056	48441	48788	47409	47758	48627	48812	47638
Others								
Total	1557114	1588859	1610847	1557012	1577100	1624122	1656010	1607088

B.5 Sectoral development of ethnic labour in Germany (1989-1991)

	Quarter Periods						
Sectors	**I/89**	**II/89**	**III/89**	**IV/89**	**I/90**	**II/90**	**III/90**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	13380	14731	14605	11802	15070	18518	17888
Power and Mining	32728	32604	32570	31669	31494	31414	31545
Manufacturing	867432	884847	903216	885636	903456	916765	940827
Building Construction	131992	140111	144496	134480	138243	143896	147926
Trade	123195	125456	131861	129465	135337	139161	149203
Transportation	65632	67557	69818	69413	71664	74400	77808
Money, Banking and Insurance	13785	13947	14366	14230	14567	14828	15553
Services	329774	341059	350347	338276	360052	371714	383564
Non-profit Organizations	20090	20151	20647	20755	21104	21199	22129
Social Security and Public Sector	47985	48498	48608	47431	49128	50167	51100
Others							
Total	1646350	1689299	1730821	1683825	1740321	1782253	1837727

APPENDIX C

Table C.1 Sectoral Distribution of Turkish labour in Germany (1994)

Sectors	**Number of Employee**
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	5642
Power and mining	17120
Manufacture of industrial chemicals	12711
Manufacture of rubber products	27776
Manufacture of non-metallic mineral products	10124
Manufacture of glass and glass products	4324
Iron and steel basic industries	53008
Manufacture of machinery	23520
Manufacture of transport equipment	51144
Manufacture of professional and scientific equipment	64742
Manufacture of wood	12029
Manufacture of paper and paper product	2963
Printing, publishing and allied industries	10568
Manufacture of footwear and leather	2370
Manufacture of textile	13816
Manufacture of wearing apparel	5716
Food manufacturing industries	26254
Building Construction	46044
Trade	52564
Transportation and communication	27776
Money, banking and insurance	2657
Restaurant and hotel	17028
Personal care	37598
Science and art	11724
Medical services	23474
Law, economics and consultation	2752
Other services	23531
Organization and domestic services	5833
Social security and public sector	11328
Other	19
Total	606155

Table C.2 The Growth of Turkish Population in the States of Germany (1982-1992)

	Number of People										
States	**1982**	**1983**	**1984**	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**
Schleswig-Hols.	39200	38000	32951	31159	31200	31531	30930	32484	34837	36980	38562
Hamburg	57700	57700	55198	54472	54800	55057	51730	54067	58433	59111	60306
Niedersachsen	109400	106200	93993	90489	92000	94458	95965	102396	107879	114990	121446
Bremen	28200	27900	24655	23644	24000	24354	24230	25638	27228	28485	29723
Nordrhein-West.	555500	545800	492803	486893	500100	516978	523246	551429	578773	612464	639125
Hessen	140000	139200	132050	131183	136000	144162	148217	157244	162653	175358	184418
Rheinland-Pfalz	55500	53700	50161	48710	49600	51211	52034	55805	59356	63881	67966
Baden-Würt.	265300	257100	240790	236507	241700	250671	267778	283877	290391	309873	324463
Bayern	220000	216100	194066	189142	192500	197644	202233	215493	225116	238254	244379
Saarland	7300	7100	6950	7005	7500	7996	8515	9585	10403	11348	12577
Berlin	102000	103600	102181	102678	104900	107307	118800	124605	120842	127938	129847
Brandenburg										343	628
Mecklenburg-Vor.										109	191
Sachsen										156	539
Sachsen-Anhalt										208	438
Thüringen										80	377
Total	1580100	1552400	1425798	1401882	1434300	1481369	1523678	1612623	1675911	1779578	1854985

Table C.3 The Growth of Turkish Labour in the States of Germany (1982-1992)

	Number of Employee										
States	**1982**	**1983**	**1984**	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**
Schleswig Holstein-Hamburg	33607	31725	30080	27808	27484	27539	27968	30049	31321	33123	34722
Niedersachsen-Bremen	44430	40497	38161	34415	34551	34890	35607	40255	42258	44591	46608
Nordrhein-Westfalen	173772	163380	158436	145316	148685	152979	157439	174991	180396	199992	202023
Hessen	51550	49229	50058	47685	49013	51447	53020	58264	59850	62776	66295
Rheinland-Pfalz-Saarland	20447	18623	18512	17227	17777	17908	18749	20759	21578	22573	23999
Baden-Württemberg	111007	102958	102082	95237	97997	100658	103077	112181	114712	120854	126087
Nordbayern	33699	31481	30712	28033	29463	30459	31518	35738	36923	38771	40222
Südbayern	53478	52526	52117	48490	49163	50699	51717	56697	58347	60742	62475
Berlin	43631	42904	43951	42903	44568	44894	45969	48239	49201	48688	47426
Total	565621	533323	524109	487114	498701	511473	525064	577173	594586	632110	649857

Note: The new five states of Germany had not Turkish labour by 1992

Table C.4 Sectoral Development of Turkish Labor in Germany (1983-1994)

	Number of Employee											
Sectors	**1983**	**1984**	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture-Forestry	4926	5057	4343	4670	4409	4441	4057	4989	4848	5394	5612	5642
Power and Mining	24487	25157	22510	22734	23137	23125	22210	21835	21218	20332	19167	17120
Manufacturing	353175	338289	310515	323709	329899	332483	362518	371666	385586	387806	360184	321065
Construction	41371	42198	38921	33487	33642	33987	37373	37779	38124	41603	44170	46044
Trade	23734	24376	23652	23574	24739	27995	32868	34216	39983	46450	50872	52564
Transportation	15495	14665	14076	14361	15080	16085	18973	19711	22088	25182	27053	27776
Money and Banking	965	983	920	973	1016	1101	1296	1363	1563	1959	2402	2657
Services	58425	61170	59837	62514	65785	71105	83169	88230	95182	104657	110930	116107
Non-Profit Org.	2365	3078	3407	3569	4150	4573	5072	4802	5151	5355	5687	5833
Social Security	8377	9072	8933	9110	9531	10169	9609	9888	10272	11023	11803	11328
Others	3	64	0	0	0	0	118	107	95	94	56	19
Total	533323	524109	487114	498701	511388	525064	577263	594586	624110	649855	637936	606155

Table C.5 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Hannover (1985-1994)

	Number of Employee									
Sectors	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	428		358	379	418	420	521	522	513	526
Power and Mining	325		273	236	310	273	271	267	268	241
Manufacturing	23348	23410	23402	23132	24637	26219	27967	28224	26659	23821
Building Construction	1656	1523	1560	1659	1840	1937	2107	2354	2618	2021
Trade	2064	2014	2045	2347	2566	2883	3420	3722	4031	4003
Transportation and Communication	1312	1270	1280	1252	1251	1429	1599	1827	1916	1885
Money, Banking and Insurance	59	56	50	51	52	62	71	89	118	137
Services	4728	5276	5055	5577	6277	7139	7864	8741	9446	9317
Non-profit Organizations		254	298	357	341	368	347	360	403	443
Social Security and Public Sector			497	476	443	402	408	483	510	487
Others	541	1	72	141	48	26	16	19	22	18
Total	34461	33804	34890	35607	38183	41158	44591	46608	46504	42899

Table C.6 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Nürnberg (1985-1994)

	Number of Employee									
SECTORS	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	182	98	276	263	254	238	231	218	212	202
Power and Mining	35	25	15	17	18	23	24	32	37	35
Manufacturing	22357	9486	24269	25563	26832	28301	29642	29901	27796	24981
Building Construction	1368	773	1683	1833	1675	1715	1723	1842	1982	2126
Trade	1179	767	1321	1619	1542	1797	2188	2532	2750	2879
Transportation and Communication	351	177	370	517	517	573	635	828	949	1034
Money, Banking and Insurance	32	30	35	49						
Services	2317	1300	2749	3215	3889	4299	4346	4869	5305	5685
Non-profit Organizations										
Social Security and Public Sector	394									
Others	5	266	522	566						
Total	28220	12922	31240	33642	34727	36946	38789	40222	39031	36942

Table C.7 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Frankfurt (1985-1994)

	Number of Employee									
Sectors	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	452	404	389	411	384	357	389	495	538	476
Power and Mining	139	143	136	136	132	128	115	107	98	101
Manufacturing	30808	30903	32563	32998	33349	33251	38548	37635	34841	30684
Building Construction	4377	4097	4156	4462	4363	4380	4535	4886	5065	5221
Trade	2105	2842	2971	3554	3744	4103	3664	5486	5995	5894
Transportation and Communication	1870	1915	2093	2352	2642	3079	3160	4234	4492	4486
Money, Banking and Insurance	176	189	203	215	246	283	2055	400	475	520
Services	6984	6052	7490	8083	10317	9405	10115	11735	12358	12811
Non-profit Organizations										
Social Security and Public Sector	2113	2468	1446	1519	385	471	1262	1327	1363	1399
Others										

Table C.8 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in München (1986-1994)

	Number of Employee								
Sectors	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	336	302	357	372	538	558	558	523	482
Power and Mining	135	129	116	127	138	180	253	298	290
Manufacturing	29926	32006	35524	33471	35750	36982	36630	33712	30325
Building Construction	4871	4283	3568	4294	4120	4062	4166	4184	4435
Trade	2539	2765	3120	3249	3693	4279	4873	5413	5660
Transportation and Communication	1318	1541	1633	1804	2026	2392	2870	3150	3266
Money, Banking and Insurance	143	147	166	169	190	221	265	337	381
Services	8366	8764	9259	9518	10128	11062	11794	12474	12601
Non-profit Organizations									
Social Security and Public Sector	856	738	765	698	720	783	824	871	867
Others		164	189	203	204	223	236	272	298
Total	48490	50839	54697	53905	57507	60742	62469	61234	58605

Table C.9 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Hamburg (1985-1994)

	Number of Employee									
Sectors	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	476	477	462	505	395	463	445	498	498	486
Power and Mining	108	112	117	132	126	152	147	141	143	151
Manufacturing	14985	14644	14424	13873	14860	15304	15987	15730	14737	13600
Building Construction	1038	1025	1015	1021	1272	1323	1335	1533	1742	1840
Trade	1974	1973	2079	2509	2330	2424	2726	2996	3134	3177
Transportation and Communication	2078	2081	1944	1879	1917	1943	2135	2374	2458	2423
Money, Banking and Insurance	72	65	72	65	94	86	107	141	159	163
Services	5963	6173	6434	6860	7685	8243	9217	9715	10114	10128
Non-profit Organizations										
Social Security and Public Sector	547	571	351	416	735	750	829	908	953	1057
Others	338	343	641	708	635	633	652	680	706	648
Total	27579	27464	27539	27968	30049	31321	33580	34716	34644	33673

Table C.10 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Mainz (1985-1994)

	Number of Employee									
Sectors	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	501	454	409	518	420	425	407	445	577	468
Power and Mining	639	650	678	679	695	704	716	725	728	720
Manufacturing	10795	11264	11277	11800	12130	12989	13659	14172	12929	12242
Building Construction	1878	1868	1763	1935	1916	2015	2121	2348	2772	2841
Trade	696	670	731	865	896	1019	1209	1470	1741	1854
Transportation and Communication	161	199	225	292	319	394	443	544	630	647
Money, Banking and Insurance										
Services	2075	2163	2163	2546	2696	3074	3444	3687	4251	4455
Non-profit Organizations										
Social Security and Public Sector										
Others	510	509	572	610	576	564	474	608	667	620
Total	17255	17777	17818	19245	19648	21184	22473	23999	24295	23847

Table C.11 Sectoral changes of Turkish labour in the agglomerations (1986-1994)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Goods Producing Sector**	**Service Sector**
Hannover	6.9	37.3
Nürnberg	11.1	124
München	-0.07	49.6
Frankfurt	2.48	73.9
Hamburg	-1.18	70.2
Mainz	16.5	103.3
Berlin	-28.4	38.9

Table C.12 The changes of Turkish labour in selected services (1986-1994)

	Sectoral Change (%)	
Agglomerations	**Consumer Services**	**Producer Services**
Hannover	68.6	237.3
Nürnberg	120.3	50
München	47.6	127.4
Frankfurt	70.3	90.9
Hamburg	68.9	191.8
Mainz	99.7	269.8
Berlin	37.8	112.5

Table C.13 Share of selected services in total Turkish employment (1994)

	% of Total Employment	
Agglomerations	**Consumer Services**	**Producer Services**
Hannover	17.9	0.8
Nürnberg	13.2	0.7
München	21	1.7
Frankfurt	19.29	1.4
Hamburg	29.4	0.9
Mainz	17.8	0.8
Berlin	32.2	1.1

APPENDIX D

Table D.1 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Berlin (1990-1994)

	Number of Employee				
Sectors	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	668	622	598	647	726
Power and mining	84	92	110	118	117
Manufacture of industrial chemicals	702	732	693	612	484
Manufacture of rubber products	1610	1758	1546	1269	1123
Manufacture of non-metallic mineral pro.	422	397	326	274	237
Manufacture of glass and glass products	52	44	45	29	28
Iron and steel basic industries	2045	2049	1546	1234	1016
Manufacture of machinery	1594	1583	1417	1304	1044
Manufacture of transport equipment	1990	1989	1809	1604	1302
Manufacture of professional equipment	10209	10497	9549	8143	6117
Manufacture of wood	266	257	235	243	223
Manufacture of paper and paper product	55	50	50	49	42
Printing, publishing and allied industries	1077	1107	1013	898	828
Manufacture of footwear and leather	31	27	24	25	21
Manufacture of textile	2153	2172	1685	1031	426
Manufacture of wearing apparel	388	384	300	177	119
Food manufacturing industries	2332	2255	2183	1860	1664
Building Construction	3419	3524	3715	4236	4504
Trade	2603	2769	3082	3188	3080
Transportation and communication	1135	1265	1481	1625	1627
Money, banking and insurance	133	146	184	196	180
Restaurant and hotel	1110	1165	1317	1382	1503
Personal care	3824	4034	4399	4784	4956
Science and art	1424	1515	1584	1442	1482
Medical services	2576	2694	2821	2942	3007
Law, economics and consultation	112	141	174	184	189
Other services	2340	2227	2248	2294	2397
Organization and domestic services	766	762	836	845	750
Social security and public sector	2578	2373	2444	2216	2119

Table D.2 Sectoral development of Turkish labour in Berlin (1985-1995)

	Number of Employee										
Sectors	**1985**	**1986**	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**
Agriculture, Forestry and Mining	755	594	594	613	646	668	620	579	642	726	760
Power and Mining	61	66	66	72	77	84	108	107	125	117	106
Manufacturing	22563	23789	23789	23427	24336	24926	25479	22946	19456	14734	12933
Building Construction	3656	3200	3200	3391	3592	3419	3659	3656	4108	4504	4550
Trade	2571	2255	2255	2412	2485	2603	3060	3152	3233	3080	2934
Transportation-Communication	913	881	881	1010	1088	1135	1403	1523	1599	1627	1419
Money, Banking and Insurance	97	90	90	129	130	133	151	186	182	180	174
Services	10039	9737	9737	10855	11454	11386	12020	12550	12892	13534	13206
Non-profit organizations	801	727	727	777	788	766	765	814	857	750	833
Social Security and Public Sector	2891	2777	2777	2941	2691	2578	2475	2400	2322	2119	1389
Others	2	3	3	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	44349	44119	44119	45635	47287	47698	49740	47913	45416	41371	38304

Table D.3 Development of producer services, Berlin (1986-1994)

	Number of Employee	
Producer Services	**1986**	**1994**
R&D and EDP	4743	2370
Money, Banking and Insurance	22322	33593
Economics and Consultation	9675	18070

Table D.4 Development of Turkish labour in producer services, Berlin (1986-1994)

	Number of Employee	
Producer Services	**1986**	**1994**
R&D and EDP	266	97
Money, Banking and Insurance	90	180
Economics and Consultation	58	189