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The Impact of Immigration Policies & Integration Programs on Multicultural Identity in Germany

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The Impact of Immigration Policies & Integration Programs on Multicultural Identity in Germany

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

**MASTER OF ARTS
IN
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**BY LAILA B. SCHNEIDER-GOSSENS
DATE SUBMITTED: DECEMBER 2011**

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

**Under The Guidance And Approval Of The Committee, And Approval By All The
Members, This Research Thesis Has Been Accepted In Partial Fulfillment Of The
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INTRODUCTION: WALKING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Immigration laws and integration policies and the formation of immigrants' national and self-identity have a symbiotic relationship ignored by many. Immigrants face the dilemma of maintaining their ethnic sense of identity while simultaneously needing to adapt to the cultural, social and political norms in their host country. Many host countries, however, have shaped societies where the cultures of immigrants and those of the autochthonous population do not intersect, thus creating separate entities that exist in a parallel reality. As a consequence these countries' governments have to face the challenge of re-evaluating the adjudication of existing immigration laws while taking into consideration their local people's sentiments toward immigrants and the demand for integration processes.

In a democratic society like Germany intercultural understanding and the development of legally binding policies are interdependent factors reflecting communication strategies between the people and their respective political administrations. For decades, the influx of people migrating into Germany has been an essential element affecting economic, cultural, and political development. Moreover, this movement has created new social challenges as well. Today, Germany's government struggles with finding a political consensus sanctioning more restrictive immigration laws while at the same time focusing on the country's need to develop integration programs. In the interim, harshly affected are the lives of various immigrant groups, among them asylum seekers, migrant workers, ethnic German repatriates, and persons with migrant background who are not citizens. I argue, that immigration policies and integration programs in Germany can - if structured and implemented based on long term concepts- motivate immigrants to feel a stronger cultural connection to their host country without weakening Germany's existing culture and traditional value system. This is to say that political changes can contribute

positively to how identity is formed in an ethnically diverse society. In fact, such assiduous developments will ultimately promote a more homogenized approach towards the acceptance of multiculturalism in Germany. It is important to note that it was not until recently that popular discourse began to acknowledge the reality that Germany has not been a mono-ethnic society for decades.

A politically re-structured aim of wanting to integrate rather than assimilate immigrants describes a liberal inclusiveness where immigrants are perceived as ethnic groups of people and therefore a constituent element pertinent to the functioning of German society as a whole. To integrate is "to give or cause to give equal opportunity and consideration to a racial, religious, or ethnic group or a member of such a group" (Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, 1996, p. 990). This point of view contrasts those who expect immigrants to simply assimilate, meaning, "to bring to conformity with the customs (and) attitudes of a nation" (Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, 1996, p. 126). While I find that all people over time adapt, meaning they experience a "slow and usually unconscious modification of individual and social activity in adjustment to cultural surroundings" (Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, 1996, p. 22), I also argue that one cannot decouple from childhood socialization processes that form a person's initial self-identity regardless of what nation-state this person was born in.

What individually determines national and cultural identity and the value system it is based on needs as much consideration as do the changes of laws and policies. Discussed against the background of current political developments and attitudes in Germany, the following research examines what roles immigration policies and locally implemented integration programs play in

the development of immigrant identity in Germany and how they could effectively lead to a new conscious understanding of multiculturalism.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

A main goal of this study is to illustrate the relationship between German immigration laws and policies, subsequently developed community based integration programs, and their influence on immigrant identity. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is to focus on the subject of individual and national identity and how traditional value systems change over time for those living in a foreign country, but, immanently, also for those native to the very same country.

For this research to illuminate the significance of Germany's current controversial debate on multiculturalism and its challenging socio-political impact on the whole of the German nation, it was important to examine how factors such as long term structured integration programs, mandatory language and civic courses, and the status of citizenship influence the evolution of immigrant identity. This study researches how structured integration models can evoke localized social change and how these changes may consequently demand political reforms on a national level.

This study intends to illustrate the relationship between immigrants and autochthonous Germans and the opinions they hold of each other. How can theoretical concepts be of better value than connecting them to the practical reality they principally explain? Working closely with immigrant participants of integration and language programs, their administrators and the surrounding community over a period of five months, I anticipated getting a glimpse into the life of immigrants and their day-to-day reality. Finally, an in-depth analysis of the empirical data gathered from extensive fieldwork, then, needed to be correlated with the current political discourse on multiculturalism in Germany and an analytical literature review on related topics of

immigrant identity formation. The overall results of this study are intended to provide policy makers as well as local community leaders with a framework to better understand the lasting effects that reforms to immigrant law and integration policies have on the foreign population's self-identity. If immigrants feel welcomed as an integral part of the whole of German society, will that impact their willingness to consciously identify with the German nation?

METHODOLOGY

This research was initially intended to set a primary focus on the political and theoretical aspects of how immigration laws and integration policies affect the identity of German immigrants and their children. However, personal experience gained through a five months stay in Germany researching the subject intertwined theory and practice. While completing an internship at a non-profit immigration agency and, further, being allowed to observe and participate in local integration programs at an elementary school and other governmental and non-profit organizations, previously assumed results shifted with the experience of conducting an empirical field study.

In order to obtain the necessary information to complete this research there were five objectives that needed to be considered. First, it was necessary to examine the theoretical framework of immigrant ethnic and national identity and multiculturalism in Germany. This was accomplished by gaining insight into scholarly literature and prominent theories that contributed to the field and within the framework of this study has been presented in the form of a literature review. Second, an evaluation of the current political discourse concerning immigration, integration and multiculturalism had to be established. This evaluation evolved from the analysis of government statistical publications, immigration laws and policies, and the personal observation of government mandated integration and language courses. Third, it was imperative

to determine the opinions that immigrants and native Germans have of one another and how each group values integration programs. Fourth, it was important to identify the level of willingness of immigrants to participate in language and civic courses within the research's specified targeted population. Lastly, it was as important to examine the acceptance and opinions of the autochthonous population towards multicultural development. To address these last three objectives I have conducted personal interviews with immigrants and administrators associated with integration and language courses offered in the vicinity of Frankfurt am Main and with clients and administrators of governmental and non-governmental immigrant organizations such as the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, iaf e.V and the Kreis Offenbach, Hessen, Ausländerbeirat (County of Offenbach's Foreigners' Advisory Council). Interviews were also conducted with native Germans living in the Frankfurt am Main area.

In order to achieve a full understanding of the multilayered aspects of this research topic, I have conducted qualitative interviews as well as analyzed quantitative statistical data and governmental policy documentation. Rather than basing research results on anecdotal findings, this study conducts a cross-validation of a selected group of immigrants living in Germany and the autochthonous Germans living in the same area. This study includes specific data analysis based on concrete facts derived from German government reports and public opinion poll statistics. Relevant data was accessed both through the Bundestag (German Parliament) online resources as well as through direct archival research at the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office of Migration and Refugees) in Nuremberg, Germany. The analysis of quantitative data has provided evidence as to the demographic status quo of immigrants living in Germany, their level of participation in language and integration courses, and their religious affiliation. Further, this study incorporates the analysis of immigrants' and native Germans'

personal perception on various dimensions of integration policy: structural integration (participation), cultural integration (competence and values), social integration (relationships and networks), and identification integration (self-perception and national identity). Interview results and data collected illustrate the current level of participation the immigrant community was willing to exercise at the time of the research. The information gained from the interviews more specifically provides insight into the effectiveness of locally implemented integration programs and the community's intercultural interactions.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

Although statistics determine Turkish inhabitants to be the largest immigrant group in Germany (see Tables 1 and 2, p. 18-19), this study was primarily constructed around the ethnic and native population in and around Frankfurt am Main, accessible at the time of inquiry. Quantitative analysis of policy and law plays a large role in all associated research studies; however, it is the empirical field research that herein validated prior assumptions concerning Germany's general perspective on immigration laws and integration processes. As pointed out before, this research was conducted in the defined region of Frankfurt am Main, and thus the results of the observations made and the interviews completed are only representative of the perspectives of individuals in that region. Further, the results of the empirical field study are based on a limited number of active participants. While quantitative research often focuses its outcome on large sample size, qualitative research gains its validity by concentrating on smaller but highly targeted samples. This research bases its conclusions on lengthy interpersonal interviews allowing the researcher to build an intimate relationship with the participants and therefore elicits very personal and candid information that would not be obtainable from a quantitative study. On the other side, qualitative small sample research shows obvious

weaknesses and limitation due to the fact that the analysis remains rather subjective and therefore cannot provide generalized and definitive conclusions. However, whether it is more important and reliable to base an empirical study on large numbers of participants versus shifting the focus to more in-depth impressions, feelings and opinions of the interviewees depends on the researcher's goals. For this particular research, a quantitative study alone would have minimized the possibilities of finding that locally based multicultural integration programs are assumed to be an essential part of the collaboration of immigrants and native Germans.

It is important to note that for the purposes of confidentiality and because of the sensitive nature of the subjects and topic, I have maintained strict confidentiality of the names of the interviewees, as well as any names mentioned within the interviews. I obtained verbal, rather than written, consent from each individual prior to my interview in order to minimize the risk of exposure. In addition, I formulated my questions in such a way that the participants might choose to elaborate further on their own experiences but did not necessarily have to do so.¹ All interviews were conducted in either English or German except for two interviews with Muslim women who had recently immigrated to Germany. In these two cases an Arabic speaking native acted as a translator when necessary. All interviews conducted in German were directly transcribed on paper into English at the time of the interview. All persons named are present in this paper as aliases.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study reflects that intercultural understanding and the development of policies are interdependent of circumstantial and situational conditions determining the relationship between communities, their local political administrations and respective state departments. On the other

¹ See Appendix A-D for detailed interview questions

side, national and cultural identity is a value of personal and emotional belonging. Immigration policies and bureaucratic processes can help or be an obstacle for immigrants to feel successful and therefore want to identify with their host country. Will the individual, who can positively identify with what s/he represents as a member of society, not want to contribute as an active member of that society?

Furthermore, being a German as well as American citizen myself, I felt compelled to explore this research subject from different angles, most importantly from the recognition that I am a person of immigrant background. Although, in the eyes of the German law, I am not considered an immigrant, I do embrace my sense of multinational identity.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In the early nineteenth century there still was no unified German nation, therefore German identity was not rooted in a consciousness of geographically or politically defined national identity. It, rather, was defined by language and a sense of belonging to the same cultural, traditional and religious value system without necessarily living within the boundaries of a defined nation. This was later described as the concept of a ‘Kulturnation’ (Hoelscher, 2005). It stands to reason, that the rejection many Germans show to embracing other cultures very different from their own may characterize an unconscious disconnect, but also in many cases a conscious judgment, towards the essential differences that strongly contrast the cultural values they themselves so strongly identify with.

Historically, when in the late 19th century, Germany was united into the German Empire its government was faced with the enormous economic growth of the Industrial Revolution. For the first time, Germany looked for foreigners to fill a domestic demand in the employment market. A similar situation emerged in the 1950s when the German economy stabilized leaving the horrendous effects of the Nazi-regime and World War II behind. The Recruitment Treaties, started in 1955 with an agreement with Italy, then in 1960 with Greece, and in 1961 with Turkey, followed later by agreements with Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia (Göktürk and Gramling, 2007). These treaties ruled over the rights and responsibilities of recruited “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers). Germany needed more workers than its own country had available; middle and large size German companies advertised for and actively recruited guest workers who were hired as temporary or seasonal workers. Their right to live and work in Germany was legally limited by a visa granting a restricted work permit. At the time there was

no political intention by the government to consider an economically equal status to the German work force, rather, the guest workers were supposed to work in Germany then return to their home countries (Göktürk and Gramling, 2007). Although, in many cases, immigrants who initially had come to Germany to better their family's economic status and intended to return to their home country, remained in Germany for many years. However, German people still viewed migrant workers as guests, and the observed cultural differences often formed into prejudices against them (Legge, 2003). In 1964, a clause in the treaty limiting a guest worker's right to stay for maximally two years was removed under the pressure of businesses that complained about the costs of having to retrain workers too often. Despite the fact that the economic crisis of 1973/74 caused then Chancellor Willy Brandt and his government to freeze the expansion of the foreigners' workforce, slowly the status of Gastarbeiter was transformed into the status of immigrant without the state adequately addressing the rising social and cultural difficulties. "Attitudinally, sentiments began to change with the advent of the oil embargo in 1973...the growth of foreigners and high unemployment led most of the German population to believe that foreigners were direct competitors for German jobs...(there was)...a public perception of the 'threat' posed by foreigners" (Legge, 2003, p. 5.). Insofar, the strengthening of the German economy after WWII birthed the multicultural society of today. "Germany is virtually an immigration country...for 40 years we have been a country of immigration and we have denied it" (Collier, 2005) said Prof. Dr. Rita Suessmuth, a former Christian Democratic federal legislator and former President of the German Parliament, who chaired a government commission that helped shape an immigration law reform intended to broaden Germany's welcome for migrant families and asylum seekers. Suessmuth's position stands in contrast to Chancellor Angela Merkel's statement in October 2010 that efforts to create a multi-cultural

German nation had absolutely failed (Zizek, 2010). The German chancellor vehemently argued that multicultural idealism forgets that a society is founded on more than its constitution, that German cultural traditions are embedded in Christian-Jewish heritage, the fundament that feeds the German democratic culture, she emphasized. Merkel spoke despite the fact that President Christian Wulff had earlier in October 2010 visited Turkey and in a very diplomatic speech encouraged the Turkish-German relationship. He alluded to the controversial issues concerning cultural and national identity when he consented that Islam has become a part of German culture.

GERMAN IMMIGRATION LAW

Since the amendments to the Nationality Act in the year 2000, children of immigrants born in Germany are allowed to choose their citizenship as long as one of their parents has legally resided in Germany for 8 years prior to the birth of the child (Nationality Act, section 4). It is interesting to note that an “increasing number of second generation Turks have opted for German citizenship and are becoming more involved in the political process” (Xavier, 2008, p.188). However, under the Law of Nationality the “rules of citizenship were thoroughly revised with the entry into force of the amended Nationality Act (Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz) on 1 January 2000... [and] with the entry into force of the Immigration Act on 1 January 2005” (Winter, 2010). A clear statement was documented that “the aim of avoiding multiple nationality remains a key feature of German law on nationality... those applying for naturalization must give up their foreign nationality” (Winter, 2010). However, legal review claims to provide for “generous exceptions, which allow applicants to retain their old nationality... elderly persons, and victims of political persecution... economic disadvantages or problems with property and assets” (Winter, 2010). Nevertheless, the interpretation of the federal law still lies within the authorities of local and state governments.

In January 2005 essential amendments to the Immigration Act took effect. It made government-funded German language and civic courses obligatory for those seeking employment and newcomers seeking to obtain legal immigration status but, nevertheless, these reforms still kept tight limits on new immigration (Winter, 2010). Critics voiced concern about possible legal implications for the large number of foreign citizens who proved unable to comply with the ruling that all immigrants must speak German at a basic level (Collier, 2005). Chapter three of the Immigration Act, Promotion of Integration, Section 44a, Obligation to Attend an Integration Course, clearly rules that “A foreigner shall be obliged to attend an integration course, if... he or she is unable to communicate verbally in the German language at the very basic level... successful attendance is documented by a certificate confirming that the test has been passed” (Federal Law Gazette, 2005). The Immigration Act reform stands in stark contrast to the initial Recruitment Treaty of 1961, but, for the first time, with the enactment of these reforms Germany officially accepted its own identity as a country of immigrants.

A review of German laws and the current status of ordinances revealed the ordinance IntV (Gesetz über die Wahrnehmung der Integrationsverantwortung des Bundestages und des Bundesrates in Angelegenheiten der Europäischen Union- Bundesministerium der Justiz, 2004) in connection with IntVG (Verordnung über die Durchführung von Integrationskursen für Ausländer und Spätaussiedler-Bundesministerium der Justiz, 2009), the law that regulates the responsibility of the German government to act according to agreements with the European Union. The change of the integration ordinance was implemented in December 2007 and mandates who as a lawful immigrant “has the right” to participate in integration and orientation courses. Paragraphs ten to thirteen further structure the curricular content of these integration and language courses and allow for determination of individual needs. Paragraph eleven, section 3

also offers participants to opt for an internship with the intent to practice the use of the German language interactively.

All rules and regulations also have to be in accordance with EU qualification directives. Germany is at a crossroads where national identity and overcoming the challenges of integrating immigrants into its society stand as a symbol of national homogeneity. Projecting into the future it characterizes the transition from national government to global governance. Already today, Germany as a member state of the EU assumes transnational and transgovernmental network systems that pose the challenges of how to redefine national identity. It is increasingly important to consider national identity under the different political circumstances of a growing internationalism. Who in the definitive portrait of being of foreign origin is then also German and therefore also of European nationality? This has become an unanswerable question that has evolved into a mix of political, social, and psychological attempts wanting to understand the diversity of cultures. A European consensus is developing but far from homogenous in its definition.

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF IMMIGRATION

A study by the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (German Federal Office of Migration and Refugees) in 2005 entitled, *The Impact of Immigration on Germany's Society*, illustrates that Germany's ethnic and economic survival is not threatened by immigrants, which is the popular public sentiment, but rather by the simple facts that there is an extremely low birth rate and a rising percentage of the older population (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge - Migration and Integration Research Department, 2005). The former Integration Minister of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Armin Laschet, states that "we must compete for the brightest talents in the world. We must get away from the idea of a ban on recruitment and clearly define

who we need and under what criteria people can come to Germany" (Ripperger, January 12, 2011). To support Germany's aging work force and to sustain its current standard of living, Germany's leading economists agree that the country must obtain a large number of skilled immigrants. Right wing politicians, such as Thilo Sarrazin and Minister President of Bavaria, Horst Seehofer, often express their concerns with the German social welfare system as not being rooted in economic destabilization but rather as caused by the millions of immigrants portrayed as undeservingly receiving welfare and social benefits. Whereat, the study by the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge further "indicate(s) a positive fiscal impact of immigration, which depends, however, on the migrants' duration of stay and the legal regulations regarding their entitlement to social benefits" (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge - Migration and Integration Research Department, 2005). Additionally, the study illustrated that immigrant contributions to the German social security and welfare system have at least statistically off-set the rising concerns around the issue of the aging German population and the fear of a dwindling social benefits system.

An analysis by Reinhard Schunck and Michael Windzio (2009) reflects on the *Effects of Social Embeddedness within Neighborhood[s] and Household[s]* in Germany. Their research, based on data of a 2004 census, reveals that the self-employment rate among immigrants in Germany has strongly risen since the end of the 1990s. There are very few empirical field studies addressing the subject of self-employment of immigrants, the successes or failures of their economic endeavors and the economic and ethnic influence on immigrants that own businesses in Germany. Schunck and Windzio address exactly these issues, specifically, whether there are measurable factors that evidence the effects of social embeddedness of immigrant entrepreneurs,

their economic contributions to German society, and how their self-identity is shaped by their economic status.

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

A demographic shift in the population of a society will have profound impact on this society's social, political, and economic structure. An analysis of current numbers of immigrants living in Germany can provide an insightful prognosis as to the need of structured integration programs. In December 2010 the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF) published numerous statistics evaluating Germany's successes and/or failures as an immigration country that is home to almost 6.8 million foreigners (AppendixC).

TABLE 1: Foreigners in Germany by Nationality

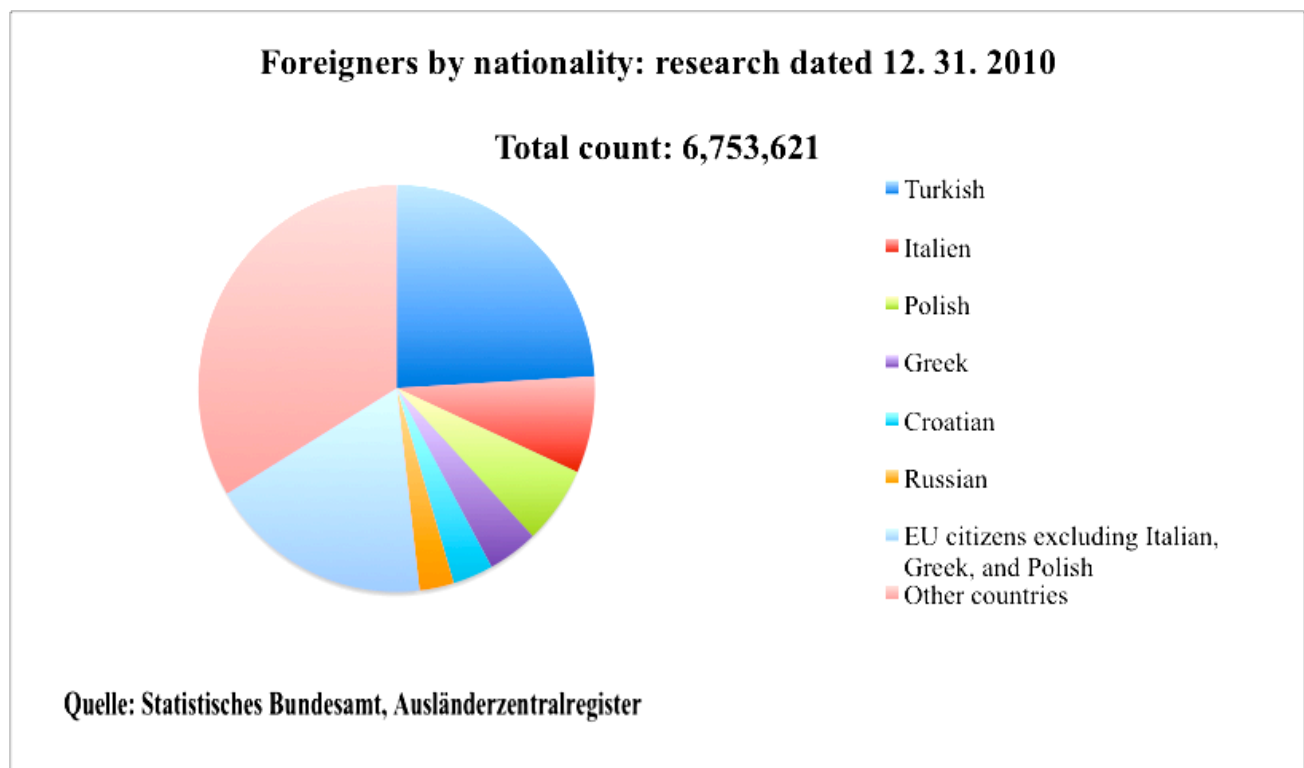


TABLE 2: Numbers of Foreigners Listed by Nationality

Foreigners by nationality: research dated 12. 31. 2010 Total count: 6,753,621	
Turkish	1, 629, 480
Italian	517, 546
Polish	419, 435
Greek	276, 685
Croatian	220, 199
Russian	191, 270
EU Citizens- Excluding Italian, Polish, and Greek	1, 229, 664
Other countries	2, 269, 342
Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt, Ausländerzentralregister	

The AZR (Ausländerzentralregister/ registry for foreigners) quotes that the majority, or 24.1% of all foreigners are of Turkish decent. Italy is the second largest nationality representing 7.7%, followed by 6.2% Polish immigrants, 4.1% Greeks, 3% Croatians, 2.8% Russians. 18.2% are immigrants from EU-countries excluding Italy, Poland and Greece, and 33.7% are from other countries than those mentioned (Appendix E and F).

Generally, statistical analysis is a reliable method of recognizing the need for change, however, only if the findings are applied properly. The use of statistical data as a fundamental basis of policy creation and implementation can have detrimental consequences and can easily be misunderstood or misinterpreted. This is not to say that data cannot provide a good insight into the positive and negative effects that immigration has had on the political development of a country, it can. However, caution should be exercised when comparing any statistical data

referring to the status of immigrants because the use of different methodological approaches may differ, though they may appear the same. Further, politicians and the intellectual elite can highly impact the information flowing to the general public and seriously infiltrate the public opinion. We have seen such actions either strengthen or decrease existing prejudice against immigrants. For example, the statistical analysis of the Bundesamt für Statistik based on the latest micro census illustrated that adult males and females in Germany with a Turkish background have a lesser level of education compared to the average native German population (Das Bundesamt in Zahlen, 2010). This would also be true for the second and third generation of Turkish immigrants. Assumed, that these statistical quantitative results are generally true, without further correlation to cause and effect of these outcomes, the statement does neither offer an explanation nor a resolution. What was needed was an empirical study of diverse approaches aiming at a sincere evaluation that predominantly focuses on the quality of life of immigrants in Germany. A detailed review of a scientific study on Muslim life in Germany will follow in the section addressing governmental integration efforts.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although the discourse of immigration issues and integration policies throughout Europe is not a new one there recently have been a rising number of publications addressing the German government's failing success in integration efforts. Since the Second World War, the theoretical framework of immigrants' identity formation in Germany also has received increasing attention. The following section examines primary and secondary literary sources and prevalent theories addressing the changing relationship between integration policies and immigrants' sense of identity. The categorizations are as follows; (a) cultural integration, (b) the role of citizenship in identity formation, (c) education and religion as defining elements of identity, and (d) Germany as a multicultural nation. The analysis of scholarly literature offers a deepened insight relevant to the development of current perspectives on the subject. Examining literary theories that speak to specific elements of identity formation and the psychological influence of political and legal processes allow for a sharpened discourse.

CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Recent literature points to the importance of recognizing a person's ethnic background when discussing the development of individual and collective identity. Respecting diversity must be embedded into the goal of building communities where individuals not only value their cultural differences but also learn from them. Apitzsch and Jansen (2003) stress the importance of categorizing and structuring integration programs and opportunities to support and promote the cultural belonging of immigrants to German society at large. The authors offer a philosophically sound foundation establishing that socio-economic disadvantages and cultural differences in Germany cannot exclusively be discussed from a political perspective. Aspects of individual biographies, collective consciousness and the socio-political cohesiveness of migrant groups play

a significant role in this discourse of how socio-economic disadvantages and cultural differences of immigrants are being determined (Apitzsch and Jansen, 2003). .

Apitzsch (2008) focuses on educating the individual and specifically aims at integrating women with migrant backgrounds into the formal economic sector of society. She argues that multiculturalism implies that the political development of a respective host state embraces the co-existence of different ethnicities under the umbrella of mutual respect and tolerance of differences (Apitzsch, 2008). Equal rights need to be protected by the law. As Apitzsch and her associates point out, when immigrants first arrive in a foreign country, they experience a spatial and psychological split from their daily known routines while at the same time they are not provided with any orientation as how to adapt to the perceived cultural differences of the host country. The identity formation processes largely depend on a respective state's institutional, bureaucratic and educational systems.

In a collection of analytical essays, *Jenseits von Identität oder Integration- Grenzen überspannende Migrantenorganisationen*² Pries and Sezgin (2010) emphasize the importance of organized immigrant groups bound by mutual interest, as well as labor unions and immigration support groups. The shift in demographics in Germany is reflected in minority groups becoming a larger share of the general electorate. Integration cannot happen without organizations supporting the interests of the immigrants as a politically accepted social group. Active dialogue is essential with immigrant organizations and especially religion based groups to undercut the rising, media-hyped anti- immigrant position, such as the Islamophobia syndrome (Pries and Sezgin, 2010). Pries and Sezgin point out that government reports from the German Ministry of Education document positive results of integration willingness in other European countries, both

² Translation: *Beyond Identity or Integration: Migrant Organizations Across Borders.*

on the part of immigrants and of the state, when regular communication between native citizens and immigrants occurred.

Examples from other countries show that the integration of Islamic organizations into societal structures, in which they contribute constructively, considerably helps integrative processes and breaks down the prejudices against Muslims.³

(Pries and Sezgin, 2010, p. 9)

Rauer, in collaboration with Pries and Sezgin (2010), argues that a new level of immigrant identity has developed. Many second and third generation migrants do not fully or at all identify with either their parents' cultural heritage or with the culture of their present life. Rauer concludes that there needs to be a serious re-evaluation of integration policies in Germany. These policies need to be reviewed particularly taking into consideration the expectation of national assimilation while keeping in mind that the tolerance and acceptance of multiculturalism need to be fostered.

Since the beginning of the 1960s when the "Gastarbeiter" (guest worker) immigration policies were first implemented, there has been an increased amount of academic literature and popular discourse expressing the thought that immigrants in Germany cannot be expected to forget the core values they internalized when growing up in a different culture, religion, and history. Taylor (1992), in *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*, argues that a democratic government has to recognize the existence of multicultural traditions and value systems as being an essential part of a diverse modern society. His position sparked critical responses by other contemporary philosophers contributing to Taylor's book, such as Anthony Appiah, Juergen Habermas, Stephen C. Rockefeller, Michael Walzer and Susan Wolf. These

³ Translated from German: Beispiele aus anderen Staaten zeigen, dass die Einbeziehung islamischer Organisationen in die gesellschaftlichen Strukturen, in denen sie einen konstruktiven Beitrag leisten, erheblich zur Integration und zum Abbau von Vorurteilen gegenüber Muslimen beitragen.

authors speak to the importance of bringing public awareness to issues of multicultural education, individual versus collective identity, and cultural separatism. Habermas questions how collective group identities of minorities relate to each other, to the normative cultural system of the greater society and how the democratic constitutional state recognizes their differences. Appiah reflects on personal versus collective identity, stating that both are predominantly shaped through childhood experiences embedded in the cultural traditions of family and community. Written in a clear, jargon-free yet thought provoking style, the book was translated into Turkish, Czech, Japanese, and Macedonian languages promoting intercultural understanding and offering foreigners and Germans alike an opportunity to actively participate in the process of defining one's national identity.

Further, Taylor addresses the problematic issues of present day democracy, which constitutionalizes equal rights and equal treatment of all individuals living in its society. Specifically with respect to their cultural and ethnic differences he theorizes that a democratic and multicultural society cannot be dominated by one culture or another. He instead emphasizes the importance of honoring and valuing the individual human being. His elaborate form of defending multiculturalism presupposes a complex philosophical understanding of the human being's need of feeling accepted and respected. While others argue that immigrants need to be welcomed into a community and seen as an equal member with equal rights of this community, Taylor argues that this is not enough. He theorizes that while a human being generally needs to be allowed to live in dignity within a society, it is as important to consider human beings' distinct differences that are based on their ethnic heritage; meaning their gender, color of skin, cultural tradition, religion and language. He indicates that self-realization and the feeling of pride and self-respect are aspects of the right to equality that need to be included in the immigration

and integration discussion (Taylor, 1992). His book has inspired a continuing constructive public discourse about the challenges concerning the multicultural future of the democratic society.

Another contributing scholar to Taylor's book, Amy Gutmann (2003), published a research study *Identity in Democracy* where she unifies multiculturalism and personal identity processes in relation to group identity. She outlines a complex theory that an individual dominantly identifies with the respective community and its social norms, (s)he is a member of .

THE ROLE OF CITIZENSHIP IN IDENTITY FORMATION

Successful integration will encourage the responsibility of civic duties and one's identity with the nation. The classic liberal theory of citizenship is notably addressed by T.H. Marshall in his essay *Citizenship and Social Class*. National identity in the form of citizenship, he says "...is divided into three parts (elements)...civil, political and social...it is the right to defend and assert all one's rights on term of equality with others and by due process of law...the social element is most closely linked to the educational system and social services" (Marshall, 1950, p. 11-12).

Citizenship on the socio-economic level symbolizes social justice and the guarantee of fair access to the benefits of the modern welfare state while politically it carries the right to participate fully in the government of society, usually through voting (Henry, 1990). A decisive factor of defining citizenship is how the term is bound to a state's constitution. Thomas Hammar is the first theorist to coin the term 'denizens' for those who have lived in a foreign country for many years, have gained legal permanent residency but are not citizens by the process of naturalization (Hammar, 1997). Denizens are allowed to work, conduct business, pay taxes, but are not allowed to vote. How does this affect their civic and their national identity? It is important to note that Marshall does not reflect upon cultural rights in the framework of his theory. Cultural rights have become a more recent development in the discourse of citizenship.

The rights of a person and a person's self-identity have become the two main components in the understanding of the contemporary formation of citizenship. Yasemin Soysal (1994) hypothesizes that the nation-state is not a collapsing system but is losing its authority and predominance and hence is no longer the inevitable factor that determines citizenship. She introduces the idea of post-national forms of citizenship, for example, declaring that "a Turkish guest worker need not have a 'primordial' attachment to Berlin (or to Germany, for that matter) to participate in Berlin's public institutions and make claims on its authority structures. It is such postnational dictums that undermine the categorical restraints of national citizenship..." (Soysal, 1994, p. 3). Citizenship is not a unitary concept as there are more and more controversial discourses concerning the conventional use of the term. Soysal illustrates that citizenship no longer determines whether and how immigrants integrate but rather how immigrants integrate determines the content and importance of citizenship. This paradigm change was justified through the establishment of human rights and through the emerging discussion of 'Universal Personhood' (Hansen and Gibney, 2005, p. 483).

EDUCATION AND RELIGION AS DEFINING ELEMENTS OF IDENTITY

Christina Langenfeld (2001), a professor at the University of Göttingen, Germany, agrees with T.H. Marshall's statements that the social elements of national identity should be supported in the educational and social services system. She questions the right of parents, students and teachers alike to publically display their religious convictions in a school setting (Langenfeld, 2001). Freedom of religion is an implied right of the state that acts in neutrality and according to the German democratic constitution. She clearly expresses that since the migration of Muslims, and predominantly Turkish Muslims, the Federal Republic of Germany has been challenged with problems of controversy amongst the followers of Christianity versus those of Islam.

”Christianity and Islam have to find a way to co-exist and, most importantly, to keep peace.”⁴

(Langenfeld, 2001, p. 476). For followers of either religion it is true that culture is learned through human experiences in social settings. Professor Langenfeld examines the topic reflecting structural similarities of integration attempts in the 1970s. Resentments based on prejudice between conservative Germans and foreign workers were undeniable then and still exist today. Then and now there also have been groups of Germans promoting constructive dialogue between foreigners and German citizens progressively furthering the integrative processes. However, there also have been those who declare that Germany will lose its integrity as a national culture if it does not adhere to and maintain the traditional German value system (Langenfeld, 2001).

GERMANY AS A MULTICULTURAL NATION

Unlike other immigration countries such as Canada, Australia and the U.S, Germany has historically been a country essentially defined by its own mono-ethnicity with no perceived need to question national identity. Immigration trends in Germany over the past fifty years reflect a social change that necessitates the acceptance of the truth that Germany has become an immigration country. Despite Germany’s social struggles and political efforts to overcome racial issues, there are still those who view immigrants not to be of equal status. Legge (2003) voices concerns about the seemingly growing racist behavior among conservative Germans. He cites Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack (1973) recognizing that,

the deepest fear of German workers, especially unskilled workers is that immigrants may replace them in employment...those who are in the most vulnerable economic positions or who are dissatisfied with economic status would be least sympathetic toward policies that might benefit the immigrants (Legge, 2003, p. 6).

⁴ Translated from German: Christentum und Islam müssen Wege finden miteinander umzugehen und vor allen Dingen Frieden zu halten.

Parts of the native German population, especially people living in poor conditions in the eastern part of Germany, are struggling to welcome foreigners. Legge (2003) points out that this is because in the recent past East Germany was not ruled by a democratic constitution. They often support the politicians who want immigration limited and resent being subjected to additional federal taxes intended for the development of integration programs (Legge, 2003). Legge asks the pertinent question whether “the present difficulties with minorities are a temporary product of economic difficulties or an expression of chauvinism and bigotry” (Legge, 2003, p.13) with roots in the nation’s mono-ethnic cultural history.

As of late, the existence of anti-immigrant sentiment in Germany cannot be denied and has been most recently illustrated by Thilo Sarrazin (2010) in his book *Deutschland Schafft Sich Selbst Ab-Wie wir unser Land aufs Spiel setzen*. He laments that he does not want us to become strangers in our own country and warns that Germany needs to take a strong stance on the issues of immigration and integration and rehabilitate itself as “Leitkultur”, a leading culture (Sarrazin, 2010, p. 266). Otherwise, he concludes, Germany will suffer a decline in its collective cultural intelligence and a breakdown in its traditional values based on Christianity.⁵ Sarrazin’s book reminds us of the past when in 1982, a collaboration of 15 professors published the *Heidelberger Manifest*, a highly controversial thesis that many critics say displays as much racist demagoguery as Sarrazin’s statements. Then, as today, parents were being influenced into fearing that their children will academically, morally and culturally suffer when attending school with children from other ethnicities (Burgkart, 1984). Frank Eckardt (2007), in *Multiculturalism in Germany: From Ideology to Pragmatism-and Back?* finds the term ‘Multiculturalism’ in itself to be a highly debated issue. He asserts that Germany needs to openly claim its national status as an

⁵ A discussion of Sarrazin’s theory will follow in the chapter *Current Political Discourse and Data Findings*.

immigrant country where ethnic diversity and universal democracy are no longer perceived as antagonistic. Assimilation into a “Leitkultur”, as proposed by Sarrazin, carries little understanding of people’s roots to their culture of origin and the socialization process that defines that person’s conscious and subconscious psyche of personal and national identity.

The immigration laws and integration policies in Germany and the formation of national and self-identity have, separately, been thoroughly written about, yet, the analysis of the literature examined here shows a disconnection between these two specific aspects. Establishing the relationship between German immigration and integration policies and the theoretical findings of how immigrant identity is formed will provide a framework to better understand the socio-cultural implications of legislative revisions of integration policies. Understanding this connection will allow for a more reflective analysis on how to respect a foreign populations’ self-identity while simultaneously honoring German national identity connected to the country’s traditional value system. Classical theorists such as T.H Marshall, Thomas Hammar, and Charles Taylor provide an encompassing yet also critically viewed contribution to the philosophical complexity on the issues of multiculturalism, citizenship and identity in a democratic society. Using their theories as fundamental stepping-stones other critical theorists such as Ursula Apitzsch and Christine Langenfeld expand our understanding through thorough empirical field research. Therefore, they allow the analysis of the subject to be rooted in the reality of those human beings that it actually concerns.

CURRENT POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND DATA FINDINGS

ISLAM IN GERMANY

The globalization of Islam has re-awakened a controversial political discourse regarding the effects Islam has on German society and its socio-political integration issues. Religion and its moral value system determining the conduct of human affairs is a most pertinent and controversial, yet not necessarily obvious subject when debating immigration and integration issues in Germany. But how will German public discernment support any ecclesiastical controversy?

In Germany there are strong voices, such as that of former Bundesbank board member and author Thilo Sarrazin, and the Minister-President of Bavaria, Horst Seehofer, who are strongly influencing public opinion that immigrants, and specifically Muslim immigrants, are not only of lesser cognitive intelligence but that because of their statistically higher birth rate, they represent a viable threat to the decline of the German cultural value system. Sarrazin hypothesizes that the influx of immigrants, again, specifically immigrants with a Muslim background, has endangered the German cultural value system and has compromised the economic and social benefit system for Germans. Sarrazin boldly calls on the fear of those Germans believing that their personal economic status and morality will be diminished because of an obvious demographic shift. This sense of fear has become more prevalent because of the recent economic crises, which has left many families financially desperate forcing them to depend on social welfare (Sarrazin, 2010). Sarrazin claims that problems in Germany associated with the social welfare system are not rooted in economic destabilization but rather are the result of an intellectual and moral poverty caused by millions of immigrants he portrays as being unwilling to integrate into the German way of life. However, in his discussion of Islamic influence in Germany he does not

acknowledge the many cultural and ethnic differences among Muslims. This is to say, he does not differentiate between the cultures of Turkish, Kurdish, Iraqi, Afghani and Moroccan Muslims, etc., nor does he recognize Shiite, Sunni or Alevi Muslims. Critics condemn his genetic based theory saying Sarrazin arbitrarily uses statistical data from intelligence research reports and falsely concludes that people are less or more intelligent according to their ethnic heritage. He bases intelligence not on the evaluation of the individual but rather on whole ethnic groups, subjectively judging that specific minority groups are of lower intelligence. These generalized racist assumptions further breed xenophobic attitudes among those Germans who are manipulated into believing that Muslims living in Germany will be a main cause for Germany's culture to deteriorate.

A new study released by the University of Leipzig in Germany, titled *Die Mitte in der Krise* documents that extreme right-wing political views in Germany are not simply found as a peripheral voice of society but rather have been observed as growing into a possible threat to democracy (Decker, 2011). The study's section on hostility toward Islam depicts statistics of a new growing racism that wants Muslim immigrants to only have very limited permission to practice their religion. Furthermore, the study results show that the autochthonous German population's anti-Islam sentiments have grown by 34% between the years of 2002 – 2010. These results indicate that about half of the total population feels apprehensive and expresses distrust towards Islam. A recent article published in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* quotes the leading scientist behind the study, Dr. Decker, as saying, "there is a danger that democratic consent will change how male and female migrants are being treated" (Islam: Neue Studie - Der Sarrazin-Effekt: Deutschland wird islamfeindlich, November 10, 2011). Inherently, there also is the opportunity to reflect on cultural values embedded in traditions and national history without the fear of losing

national identity when recognizing the values of others. Is the problem Islam as it is written in the Koran versus Christianity as portrayed in the Bible? Or is it not the interpretation of the sacred texts by human beings holding different perspectives on the very significance of human life itself? And, is it not understandable that a country does not want to lose its perpetuated traditional values?

In the summer of 2010 the Federal Ministry of Education chose the University of Münster/Westphalia to develop a concept for an Islamic training center. Federally subsidized programs are to train religious teachers staffing German public schools as well as imams leading religious programs at mosques based in Germany. The University of Münster reputed to carry one of the oldest and most respected traditional theological research programs in Germany, indeed, intends to offer the study of Islamic Theology as an addition to its otherwise diverse academic study programs (Völker, 2010, October 15). Based on the concept of mutual consensus between government and academia it addresses societal issues arisen from multicultural differences in a positive, inclusive approach. Pedagogically, it stands to reason that well integrated religious leaders will positively support the integration process of the wider population. A constructive dialogue needs to be based on the mutual understanding of the differences and similarities between Christianity and Islam.

GOVERNMENTAL INTEGRATION EFFORTS: DEUTSCHE-ISLAM-KONFERENZ

Defending democratic governance while creating a dialogue forum between representatives of the German government and Muslims living in Germany is an alternate approach that encourages re-determination of Germany's value system based on the collaboration of two sides. In 2006, then Interior Minister, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble initiated such dialogue through the

Deutsche-Islam-Konferenz (DIK), which under the tutelage of the German Ministry of Interior has since met annually.

In 2009 the DIK published an empirical research study *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland* (Muslim Life in Germany) documented by Leila Üretmek (2009) that presented a detailed data basis on how many Muslims live in Germany, what their predominant religious beliefs are and what they consider to be positive aspects for their own successful integration into the German culture and society. Schäuble, from the beginning, defined the goal of integration efforts as needing to focus on a person's feeling of belonging and wanting to belong. He, further, emphasized that integration is a two-way endeavor. On one side, immigrants need to want integration into the German society which means that they will have to accept the differences of the immigration country's general philosophy of life expressed in its legal, economic and socio-cultural context. Successful integration as importantly depends on the autochthonous population's willingness to extend an inviting environment for foreigners to feel welcomed and, moreover, to recognize the fact that society historically changes.

The DIK has worked continuously to find common ground between its members. In the annual assembly in May 2008 its members generated an agreement that defines integration as a process that fundamentally changes the German society at large as well as the life of immigrants (Deutsche-Islam-Konferenz [DIK], 2009). However, the agreement also puts a higher expectation on immigrants to adapt to the host country's legal and cultural orientations, while the latter is reminded to represent migrants as equal persons and to recognize them as an overall enriching entity (Deutsche-Islam-Konferenz [DIK], 2009).

The study *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland* is one of the only recent studies that illuminates extensive and reliable data on Muslims; how they live their daily lives in Germany

and to what extent they feel integrated in the society of their host country. The study claims to have interviewed 6,004 persons and subsequently extracted statistical information from a total of 17,000 household members (Üretmek, 2009). The reported results show that there are between 3.8 and 4.3 million Muslims living in Germany of a total of almost 6.8 million foreigners all together. This number translates to the fact that Muslims represent approximately between 4.6% and 5.2% of the total German population of 82 million. Further, the research established that about 45% of all Muslims are already nationalized citizens (Üretmek, 2009). Here, the desire of immigrants to become naturalized German citizens needs to be further researched as to the subjective reasons of why they chose to change their national identity.

The DIK research is the first to personally interview Muslim immigrants from 49 different countries and evaluates the data as to the interviewees' religious orientation and their social and economical status in Germany (Üretmek, 2009). It is imperative to mention that while the study confirms immigrants of Turkish descent to represent the dominant group of Muslims (about 63%), there is a large number of immigrants that do not identify themselves with Islam although others may assume they are because of the country of their origin. The study, for example, finds that 40% of immigrants from Iraq state that they are not devoted to Muslim religion (Üretmek, 2009).

The DIK research project, further, evaluates the aspects of structural and cognitive integration correlated with Muslims' status of education and employment in addition to social and identifiable integration. The latter speaks to the immigrants' active membership in cultural and political organizations, their contacts with friends, the German community and neighborhoods they live in and how satisfied they are with the circumstances of their living status quo (Üretmek, 2009).

Over the years, the DIK has developed and restructured its concept to delegate specific projects to committees with the intent to correlate theory and practice. The above referenced empirical study *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland* addresses problems of a socio-cultural disconnection between Muslims and native Germans by establishing statistical evaluations of different ethnic groups, their interrelated cultural and religious understanding of themselves and their educational and social status quo. Based on the results of the study exhortations were formulated that initiated the organization of multicultural community events, the modification of school curriculums and scientific publications. The DIK's long-term goal of peaceful co-existence has already created immense socio-political changes on a community level.

INTRODUCTION TO DATA FINDINGS

Field studies often reveal a deeper, more personalized insight into the challenges surrounding the struggles of immigrants living in a host country of their choice, yet feeling culturally disconnected. The objective of empirical research, generally, is to correlate the theoretical understanding of a subject with aspects of its practical environment. Insofar, empirical research requires a systematic approach of collecting informational data based on either scientific experiment, observations and/or field interviews. It bases our knowledge on our experience. Initially, this research was intended to primarily focus on the more theoretical aspects of how laws and integration policies affect the identity conflicts of immigrants. However, during a five months stay in Germany, working with governmental and non-profit immigrant organizations in the small town of Egelsbach, Hessen, as well as in the metropolitan stronghold of Frankfurt am Main, the research focus shifted to include practical experiences gained from interacting with different groups of individuals comprised of immigrants, native Germans, persons born in Germany with a migrant background and administrative representatives of

government and non-profit organizations. The conclusions of this field research need to be evaluated and understood under the preamble that identifying a problem and seeking a solution is a constructive as well as a reconstructive process.

DATA ANALYSIS

The small sample findings documented in the empirical field study presented here were congruent with larger surveys such as the one published in *Die Zeit* in 2008 (Wir Wollen Hier Rein, March 17, 2008). In particular, the survey's results confirm that Muslims living in Germany more often than not feel unwelcomed in their host country. The study found that 89% of 400 Muslim interviewees with predominantly Turkish descent want the autochthonous German population to show more tolerance toward their Muslim cultural traditions. Furthermore, 83% of the responses agree that learning to speak the German language provides an essential tool to gain employment and to more effectively integrate into the German society. The study documented that 65% of the Muslim Turks interviewed stated that while they identify with being Muslim, they also believe that they, nevertheless, can be "a good German". The study further elicited that 41% of the interviewees had native German friends and concluded that "the percentage increases with higher education. Segregated worlds start to mix and the educational system...still...is the catalyst of this development" (Wir Wollen Hier Rein, March 17, 2008). This illustrates that immigrants with higher education show a higher level of wanting to integrate into the German society.

In order for immigrants to start or continue an academic education or a skilled labor profession, proficiency in the German language is a prerequisite. The Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF) carries a major responsibility for the implementation of integration courses, legally sanctioned and mandatory for all newcomers to Germany since January 2005.

Knowledge of the German language as well as a basic understanding of the host country's cultural and historic background are essential elements for a successful integration process that ultimately reshapes immigrant identity in a new homeland.

The law mandates new immigrants and those integrating into the work force to be able to speak and understand German at a basic level and offers voluntary participation for those already living in the country. In fact, the *Bundesamt in Zahlen 2010* report illustrates that one third of participants that year are those who chose voluntary participation, proving that integration courses are “a valuable instrument” (BAMF, 2010, p.111). The report, further, concludes that between 2005 and 2010 over 900.000 participants graduated such courses.

TABLE 4: New participants in integration courses, listed by nationality

		2009		2010		
Rank			Percentage	Rank		Percentage
1	Turkey	19, 245	16,6%	1	12, 088	13,6%
2	Germany	13, 499	11,6%	2	7, 993	9,0%
3	Iraq	6, 528	5,6%	3	4, 019	4,5%
4	Poland	4, 786	4,1%	4	3, 178	3,6%
5	Russia	5, 014	4,3%	5	3, 116	3,5%
6	Kosovo	3, 069	2,6%	6	2, 076	2,3%
7	Ukraine	2, 982	2,6%	7	1, 715	1,9%
8	Vietnam	2, 194	1,9%	8	1, 571	1,8%
9	Morocco	2, 093	1,8%	9	1, 490	1,7%
10	Afghanistan	1, 968	1,7%	10	1, 400	1,6%
	Other countries	52, 438	45,2%		48, 491	54,7%
Total		113, 816	98.1%		87, 137	98.3%%
	Ethnic German Repatriates	2, 236	1.9%		1, 492	1.7%
Grand Total		116, 052	100%		88,629	100%

Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt, Ausländerzentralregister

The above graph demonstrates that, while the combined percentages of ‘other countries’ represent the largest group of all participants, Turkish immigrants make up the largest percentile of participants identified by nationality, followed by German citizens with a migrant background.

The statistical findings speak to the immigrants' willingness- identified by their country of origin- wanting to integrate into their German societal environment. It does not, however, depict whether individual immigrants chose participation in courses because of legal mandate or individual desire to integrate. The same report, documenting the number of foreigners identified by nationality, confirms the Turkish population to be the overall largest group of immigrants living in Germany. It, therefore, is not surprising that they constitute the largest number of participants in integration courses.

Mandated integration courses combine German language classes with a civic orientation class. The former requires between 400-900 45 minute lessons with a curriculum that focuses on the participants' daily life experiences, simulating situational experiences pertaining to work, school, housing, shopping, etc. The orientation class consists of 45 lessons and intends to inform the participants of their civil rights and duties, introduce cultural and social traditions and ingrains the concept that life in Germany is based on the values of religious freedom, tolerance and equality (BAMF, 2010).

Recent articles in local newspapers and magazines (e.g., *Der Gemeindebrief- Evangelische Kirchengemeinde Egelsbach*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, and *Der Spiegel*) and interview responses evaluated in this study testify to a shift in the general political discourse in Germany but also indicate a change in the German people's sentiments of wanting more restrictive immigration regulations. Claims of rising racist and ethno-centric prejudice and discrimination potentially threaten the socio-cultural and civic development toward non-segregating transnational relations (Königseder, 2009). It is my point of view, that active dialogue is essential with immigrant grassroots organizations, and especially religion based

groups, to undercut the rising media-hyped xenophobia syndrome in Europe and, specifically, in Germany.

FIELDWORK/LOCAL INTEGRATION PROGRAMS

An intensive three months internship with the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, allowed a focused insight into the struggles of a federally subsidized immigration organization caught in the challenges of bureaucracy. The agency represents the interests of immigrants and their families living in Germany and describes itself as “an association deeply rooted in the realities of bi-national life” (Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, 2010, p. 1)⁶. They promote and support the civic rights of their clients, all of which have different ethnical migrant backgrounds, to be recognized on a political level. Their 2011 publication emphasizes “democracy instead of separatism – promoting togetherness at eye-level” (Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, 2010, p. 2). When asked to describe the most influential work that the organization fulfills, Hiltrud S., the organization’s director, explained that “through educating immigrants and native Germans on their legal rights, by hosting community events focused on diversity and integration and by sponsoring German language courses, we have guided our communities to better understand and accept each other’s differences” (Hiltrud S., personal communication, July 18, 2011). She continued to illustrate that the organization was initially founded on the need for, “immigrants’ voices to be heard at the federal level. We have facilitated open dialogue between the local immigrant community and the government” (Hiltrud S., personal communication, July 18, 2011).⁷

⁶ Translated from German: Ihr Verband mit tiefen Wurzeln in binationalen Lebenswelten.

⁷ All interviews conducted in German where translated into English by researcher.

The organization has gained political and federal financial support from the Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend- thus recognizing the high need for their invaluable work. The administrative management confirmed that they process approximately 16,000 applications annually from immigrants and German citizens with a migrant background seeking assistance for legal, educational and/or therapeutic matters that hinder individual integration into the German society at large. Their annually published brochure underlines what this research has pointed out before, namely, that there is an ongoing debate in politics, journalism and general media and the population at large asking to redefine the term integration and the role immigrants themselves play in the process of establishing a new social community structure that rejects “prejudiced separation into ‘we,’ ‘them’ and ‘the others,’ based on origin, nationality and status of immigration” (Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, 2010, p. 1). At the end of the interview Hiltrud S. quoted an excerpt from the organization’s implied mission statement that “one of our most important tasks is to highlight the chances and possibilities that arise when people of different cultures live together”(Hiltrud S., personal communication, July 18, 2011). During the time of actively working with this and other organizations, I experienced first hand how fundamental grassroots initiatives are to the success of individual immigrant integration. Their programs represent an essential educational tool for immigrants, naturalized German citizens and native Germans alike. Moreover, their feedback can establish a guiding reference for the constituents’ political representatives.

In their last annual brochure the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften states that “German society, in general, identifies with mono-lingualism and therefore expects that all its members speak German.... Multilingualism mirrors a fundamental cultural aspect ...and is an essential steppingstone in the education of our children and further helps them identify with their

immediate environment” (Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, 2010, p. 8).

Projects such as *Unsere Omas und Opas erzählen in vielen Sprachen* (Our Grandmas and Grandpas tell stories in many different languages), facilitated by the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, are designed to encourage children to unabashedly speak their mother tongue while simultaneously learning German. These projects, in turn, encourage teachers and parents to support their children in becoming bilingual. Grandma and Grandpa are the elders from within the immigrant community who actively engage with pre-school aged children by reading books and telling stories in German as well as in the children’s native languages.

Another project, also overseen by the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften, titled *Rucksack* works with migrant mothers and their children in a classroom setting. They fill their backpacks with multicultural games and children’s literature. These activities encourage the children to learn German while simultaneously strengthening the cognitive competency of multilingualism when practicing the same activities in their native language at home. The focus of the program is on developing healthy self-images for children, parents and all other adults involved by acknowledging cultural difference to be a valuable resource of individual and societal growth.

Community building programs are not only seeking federally financed subsidies but people who are willing to develop them with an optimistic outlook towards strengthening community ties across the board. Another example of community inspired integration programs is the *Frauencafé*, a social gathering for immigrant and native German women to meet and socialize over cake and coffee, held in the refugee housing center in Egelsbach. The meeting is offered bi-weekly and on the average attended by 15-20 women. During the period of observation,

participants were predominantly migrant women from Afghanistan, Turkey and Ethiopia. It is necessary to mention that no native German women attended the meetings. By sharing their individual stories and experiences the women create a bond out of which integration conflicts can be transformed into constructive assets of reflecting on a new social role- ultimately, a determining variable of self-identity.

Also offered in Egelsbach is a program titled *Mama Lernt Deutsch*, a German language class offered at the Wilhelm-Leuschner-Schule that encourages female migrants to participate in a fun classroom environment to learn German. The curriculum differentiates between basic and intermediate speakers and classes are held twice a week. Although, the title suggests that it is geared toward mothers, all women of all ages and backgrounds are welcomed. On average, 25 immigrant women attended the sessions during the observation period of two months. Attendees were from different countries of origin, such as Columbia, Romania, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Russia and Iran.

INTERVIEWS AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

This study does not claim to be based on a scientifically structured system but rather lends its validity to openly administered qualitative interviews and participant observation. Again, the specific target population of the interviews conducted was autochthones German citizens, persons born in Germany with a migrant background, immigrants living in Germany and representatives of governmental and non-profit immigrant agencies such as the Kreis Offenbach Ausländerbeirat (County of Offenbach's Foreigners' Advisory Council) and the Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften in Frankfurt am Main. An overall total of 32 face-to-face, in-depth interviews were conducted during the period of July to October 2011 in the general vicinity of Frankfurt/Main, Germany.

TABLE 3: Demographics of Interviewees

	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANT INTERVIEWEES 20
Immigrants with a strong religious affiliation to Islam	Turkey	2	2	
	Afghanistan	1	1	
	Ethiopia	1	0	
Muslim immigrants without a strong religious affiliation Islam	Turkey	2	1	
	Afghanistan	1	0	
	Iran		1	
Immigrants (with a strong religious affiliation to Islam) representing an organization	Egypt	1	0	
Non-Muslim immigrants	Turkey	2	1	
	Russia	1	1	
	Romania	0	1	
	Ethiopia	1	0	
Native Germans representing an organization (All had frequent interactions with foreigners)	Germany	4	0	TOTAL NUMBER OF NATIVE GERMAN INTERVIEWEES 12
Native Germans with frequent interaction with foreigners	Germany	2	1	
Native Germans with rare or no interaction with foreigners	Germany	3	2	
TOTAL		21	11	32

Of the 32 interviewees, 20 were from various countries of origin, and 12 of the total of interviewees were native German citizens. 13 of the 20 immigrant interviewees defined themselves as being Muslim (refer to Table 3 above for specific religious affiliations and countries of origin). 5 of the total of 32 interviewees were representatives of immigrant organizations, 1 of which was an immigrant herself; 2 were married to immigrants and 2 were native Germans.

There was an overarching commonality in the immigrant interviewees' responses to questions 5 and 6 of the immigrant interview questionnaire (see Appendix A): 16 out of the total

of 20 immigrants interviewed expressed that their country of origin is viewed as a land of economic hardship, but remains the core source of the moral and cultural values they aspire to live their daily lives by. 8 of the 13 Muslim interviewees, who illustrated a strong affiliation to Islam perceived Germany as a land of material gain but, on the other side, expressed sincere concern about a moral and ethical decay for their children and grandchildren, who are being raised in Germany. They lamented the younger generations' assimilation into the western material value system and portrayed their lives in Germany as being swept into such a different life style that it triggered a sense of deep loss of the cultural values of Islam they learned to and still do identify with. Overall, 14 out of the 20 immigrants interviewed responded to question 6 of the questionnaire saying that they identify stronger with their homeland than with Germany. However, each of them also stated that they would not return to their country of origin and that Germany has become their permanent residence. This illustrates an obvious split between emotional and rational factors that both play a role in identity formation. While these particular interviewees' primary cultural socialization is deeply anchored in the traditions of their country of origin, they, on the other side, do not want to give up the economic and social benefits Germany has to offer.

6 of the 7 native German interviewees, who had frequent contact with the immigrant populations in their neighborhood, their work place, or as friends, conveyed an overall positive view about integration efforts in their respective areas. Nevertheless, the majority expressed the need for more extensive outreach from both Germans and foreigners alike. Locals in Egelsbach, Hessen, familiar with the language integration classes (*Mama Lernt Deutsch*) at the Wilhelm-Leuschner-Schule offered to female immigrants, showed nothing but support of the program and, indeed, they voiced concern about continuing annual federal funding which officially expires at

the end of 2011. On the other side, the majority of immigrant interviewees expressed a fear of rising xenophobia and prevalent prejudices against immigrants in Germany overall (see question #8, Appendix A). There was no clear correlation as to how these interviewees had developed their subjective opinion, especially, since most of them kept a rather segregated family life, culturally adhering to Muslim tradition.

The other 5 native German interviewees, who had relatively few interactions with non-western foreigners, expressed rather negative opinions towards integration initiatives and multiculturalism in general (see question #11, Appendix B). These 5 interviewees cited a lacking effort of immigrants wanting to learn German as the primary barrier, followed by judgments about how immigrants dress (e.g. headscarves) and how they observe religious practices. As those interviewees admitted to not having had much or any personal contact with non-western foreigners these statements are largely considered biased opinions based on media-hyped and generalized assumptions of how immigrants, especially Muslims, live their lives.

A spontaneously developed interaction with another German passenger on a train to Frankfurt led to his permission to conduct an ad hoc interview, which therefore is an unsolicited, non-coerced representation of the thoughts and feelings of a middle-aged, 48 year old male native German. Stephan J. left his job as a manager at a prominent local auto production factory because, he said, the crew he oversaw was mostly foreigners, especially Turks. He complained that the factory management, in his opinion, had let go of 'more productive German workers' in lieu of employing 'Gastarbeiter' for cheaper hourly wages. He, further, pointed out that the language barrier between him as a manager and his subordinates resulted in him feeling disrespected and, subsequently losing respect for the workers. He, ultimately, quit his job and chose to be self-employed by opening his own auto mechanic shop. He said, "more and more I

see mosques being built, women wearing headscarves, and good German workers being replaced by cheap foreign labor. I want my daughter to be exposed to good, traditional German values not poisoned by Islam” (Stephan J., personal communication, October 7, 2001). His sentiment gives a voice to the majority of the autochthonous German interviewees who perceived Germany as experiencing a deepening concern that modern immigration trends will contribute to the erosion of the traditional German culture, its intellectual aptitude and moral and ethical value system as a result of an obvious demographic shift. 5 out of 12 native Germans interviewed agreed that, due to the influx of immigrants coming into Germany, there has been and will continue to be a decline in the traditional German cultural value system. However, the opposing argument, an argument that the remaining 7 German interviewees supported, evidences that Germany will not suffer a decline in its collective cultural intelligence nor a breakdown in its traditional values but, rather, benefit from the acceptance that multiculturalism and intellectual diversity has historically become a part of the modern German society.

In an interview, Stephanie S., a 32-year-old native German and an elementary school teacher in Frankfurt am Main says,

I see immigrants as contributing positively to Germany’s economic transformation and cultural enrichment, insofar as, these economic and cultural changes have evoked a demand for much needed political reformation and social re-development.

(Stephanie S., personal communication, September 26, 2011)

Strongly supported by a growing number of integration initiatives, mostly organized by non-profit and public organizations, immigrants and Germans alike are being encouraged to actively participate in designing the future of multiculturalism and integration in Germany. A majority of all interviewees questioned and personal interactions and discussions I had with others evidenced

that respectful communication between concerned parties is a most important tool to dispel racially prejudiced tendencies. In an interview with Nico J., a 26-year-old native German and a political science student at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, he expresses that,

Germany is changing – and so must we as Germans. We must continue to grow and adapt due to the on going importance of the immigration issues at hand. For me, it is fighting for the right for all people to determine the values that guide their individual and family life, the right to thrive through multiculturalism, and the right to prosper in an intercultural and multi-religious society.

(Nico J., personal communication, August 19, 2011).

This interviewee clearly promotes community based cultural events and educational courses as fundamental to achieve necessary awareness that ultimately encourages the change of the individual perspective.

Zara A. is an immigrants' rights advocate and the leading force of integration efforts in Eggesbach, Germany. Her primary focus as a professional lies in the development of integration projects that support women and disadvantaged children to better integrate into the traditional German small town environment and to also be able to build a better future for themselves in Germany. She developed the curriculum and teaches the class *Mama Lernt Deutsch* at the local Wilhelm-Leuschner Schule and out of her heartfelt concern arose the project *Frauencafé*.

During an interview with Zara, I asked what it meant to her to feel at home.

Without hesitation she answered, "home to me is a place where I feel safe and secure. A place I share with family and friends" (Zara A., personal communication, October 7, 2011). Being a native of Egypt, who emigrated to Germany 22 years ago at the age of 25, she concluded that this experience entails the possibility of emotionally associating with more than just one place when

thinking of “feeling at home”. She continued to emphasize that language is the main key for successful integration into a foreign society, and moreover, for the developing desire to take an active part as a member of the chosen new homeland (Zara A., personal communication, October 7, 2011). However, while she empathizes with native Germans who are suspicious of others, sometimes only because of their different look, she also calls on them to become conscious of ingrained socio-cultural taboos and stereotypical clichés. As a professional, heavily involved in local politics and the implementation of educational language programs for immigrants, she voices concerns regarding her observation that many native Germans are less and less interested in actively shaping their living conditions. She cites declining statistics in the participation in local elections and points out that those who live in a democratic state like Germany have rights as well as responsibilities that the citizens of many other foreign countries are lacking and still are fighting for. She philosophizes that “in the end we are the ones that determine who rules over us...” (Zara A., personal communication, October 7, 2011).

Zara A. illuminated the fact that, historically, social systems have not been changed over the period of just a few months. Rather, they verify that systemic changes in a democratic society are reflective of political changes churned by the individuals living within the system. During the interview, Zara expressed that the voices of immigrants need to be heard and reflected in the important changes of educational and also legal policies. She elaborated that when the feeling of belonging is disrupted, a person’s self-identity and core values are lost, creating isolation (Zara A., personal communication, October 7, 2011).

Abida Z., a 29-year-old Turkish immigrant who has lived in Germany for 11 years, explained her experiences of being an immigrant in Germany as follows:

Growing up in Turkey I had always dreamed of coming to join my siblings in Germany. When I was 18 years old that dream came true. However, living here was nothing like I imagined it would be. I couldn't find a job because I didn't speak German, so I found myself relying on the Turkish community around me and I started to view Germans as intolerant, and unfriendly. Then, I too, became intolerant and unfriendly towards Germans. Thankfully, after 2 years of living in Germany I realized that it was my responsibility to change my situation. I joined non-Turkish groups and took intensive language courses. I found that language and contact with the German culture and its people was the most important tool to make me feel comfortable, supported and at home here in Germany. I no longer felt isolated.

(Abida Z., personal communication, September 23, 2011)

Abida's personal account illustrates that regardless of individual background, the search of belonging and finding support in the immediate social surroundings will determine the success or failure of the individual integration process. It therefore manifests a transformative element of individual self-identity.

While Abida Z. early on and proactively initiated the changes in her life and became an active member of society others, like Rita M. remained separated from the German cultural and social environment. Rita M., a 43 year old Turkish woman, has been living in Germany for over 20 years yet not until recently did she enroll in the *Mama Lernt Deutsch* program. At the time of the interview, Rita did not speak German proficiently, which necessitated the assistance of a translator. This particular interview underscored the importance of the power of language beyond it being a tool of communication. Rita described that she felt belittled and disrespected by her own husband and son for her inability to perform expected normal daily activities. As a mother

she was unable to assist her son to complete homework assignments and relied on her husband to pay bills, go shopping, etc. She spoke of the deteriorating relationship with her son, who at the age of only 9 years old, challenges his mother with disrespectful behavior because the language barrier surrenders her unable to support him. She felt left without a voice and no power, even within her own family (Rita M., personal communication, September 29, 2011). That she now, after 20 years, voluntarily participates in a language program supports the implementation of mandatory language and civic courses from the time immigrants arrive in Germany. All 20 of the immigrant interviewees responded to question 2 of the questionnaire (see Appendix A) by illustrating that language plays a major role in shaping their individual identity. Speaking German at a basic level fundamentally opens the door for immigrants to feel connected to the outer structures of communal life and especially asks foreign women to reflect on the more emancipated female role as a mother and wife living in a democratic society.

Although racism obviously still exists in Germany, local grassroots efforts, such as the *Frauencafé* and *Mama Lernt Deutsch* are manifesting a positive impact on how immigration and integration processes are viewed by the general population. The interview process allowed for an invaluable first hand experience illustrating that the willingness for collaboration outweighs negative xenophobic attitudes. It further demonstrated how cultural exchange can positively influence a person's sense of individual and national identity. This does not mean that their identity as immigrants has been resolved, but it means that they have developed a conscious willingness to sever their isolation from the culture of their host country. Coupled with the willingness and interest of the majority of autochthonous Germans I encountered who welcome a multicultural future, I gained a generally positive stance on how Germany will politically move forward regarding the integration of its immigrants.

CONCLUSION

Immigration has extensively affected German society, and it will continue to do so. Evident in this research is that Germany and Germans are split over the effects of immigration and integration processes. This problem sadly birthed new racist attitudes, especially against Muslims, in an otherwise democratic nation. As illustrated in the field research and literature examined, factors such as cultural integration programs, mandatory language and civic courses and status of citizenship have a significant influence on the evolution of immigrant identity. Promoting German language and cultural orientation classes intends to break down communication barriers between immigrants and native Germans. Embracing multiculturalism is to promote the co-existence of culturally diverse traditions and value systems as an essential part of modern German society. To this day, multiculturalism in Germany cannot be described as a complete success because integration efforts still have not replaced the expectation of assimilation. Merging the concepts of multiculturalism and assimilation into structured integration might bridge the gap between how immigrants identify themselves and how the general German population perceives them. However, I contend that foreigners need to understand that a certain level of assimilation is, as importantly, an integral part of preserving the democratic constitution, the socio-economic standards and cultural traditions of the German society- the land they, by their free will, chose to live in.

Through the outcome of the interviews conducted, and participant observation, I found that successful individual integration depends as much on community grassroots organizations as on the reformation of law and policy. Community advocacy promoting cultural events, language and civic courses is essential to establish a fundamental basis of achieving a heightened social awareness. Ultimately, this will encourage social and political change. As substantiated by

Schunck and Windzio (2004), feeling socially embedded in the local community they live in has become a crucial factor for immigrants and the transformation of their national and self-identity.

The main focus of this study highlights possibilities of overcoming problems that hinder the success of integration processes. It emphasizes the importance of categorically structuring implementation strategies on a federal, state and local level that are geared toward integration programs that succeed because of evidence stemming from evaluations of community feedback. It is important that policy makers carefully evaluate the reasoning behind all policy changes to ensure that quantitatively administered statistical data is not the sole underlying factor that prompts policy revision. It is my belief that it is imperative to correlate cultural, ethnic, and moral factors as they play a crucial role in the formation and implementation of policy reforms. Further, it is important that structural changes within the bureaucratic system are addressed by identifying what obstacles have been created for immigrants and how to remove them. The analysis of subject related literature, quantitative and qualitative statistics, and participant observations points to an ongoing polarization and mistrust between immigrants and autochthonous Germans. Emphasized by authors who present opposing arguments, such as evident in the writings by Sarrazin, there is a growing fear of identity loss by both, immigrants and native Germans. Throughout Europe, and specifically in Germany, there is a need for the recognition that cultural differences carry the seed of intellectual and cultural enrichment. Integration itself is not a fixed entity. Rather, it symbolizes fluid approaches to a multitude of cultural differences rooted in tradition, language, education, religion, and political governance. These aspects in turn define social and behavioral norms of family and community life as exemplified in the interview responses from Zara A., Rita M., and Abida Z.

The clash of ideas and opinions can be a powerful tool to foster understanding, tolerance and acceptance as well as the respect for diversity and manifold intelligence. On the other side, when we perceive our individual or collective reality as being challenged by moral and ethical values that differ from ours, we, often unconsciously, tend to push these challenges away rather than reflect upon and learn from them. Despite prevalent prejudice against immigrants by some, I believe that in Germany the power of understanding cultural diversity will lead to a re-evaluation of existing thoughts, beliefs and viewpoints and can therefore only instigate a positive developmental change in immigration and integration processes where German society as a whole embraces its multicultural identity.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions Foreigners Living in Germany

It should be understood that the interview will also include general quantitative questions about age, gender, employment, interviewees country of origin of in, their parents and grandparents, family size, etc. that are not listed here in detail.

1. Why did you decide to move to Germany?
2. Can you describe to me the way in which language shapes your sense of identity?
3. Do you speak German fluently? If not, are you interested and willing to learn German?
4. Can you describe the opportunities you have been given to participate in language or integration programs?
5. Can you describe to me the main aspects that have shaped your sense of identity?
6. Which country do you strongest identify with? And why?
7. Do you feel respected as a foreigner living in Germany?
8. Do you feel that there are prejudices against immigrants in Germany?
9. Do you know of prejudices immigrants carry against Germans?
10. What is your legal status in Germany? (Provided that you are comfortable to answer)
11. Do you associate citizenship as belonging to a certain nation?
12. Can you imagine denationalizing citizenship?
13. Do you ever think of returning to your homeland? And if so why?

Appendix B

Interview Questions The Autochthonous German Population

It should be understood that the interview will also include general quantitative questions about age, gender, employment, interviewees family size, etc. that are not listed here in detail.

1. Can you describe to me the way in which language shapes your sense of identity?
2. Can you describe to me the main aspects that have shaped your sense of identity?
3. Do you feel that there are prejudices against immigrants in Germany?
4. Do you know of prejudices immigrants carry against Germans?
5. Do you associate citizenship as belonging to a certain nation?
6. Can you imagine denationalizing citizenship?
7. Do you have personal contact with migrants or foreigners in your neighborhood, your place of work and/or your circle of friends?
8. Do you believe that immigrants have a negative or positive influence on German culture?
9. Why or why not? Which migrant group do you perceive as having the strongest influence?
10. Do you personally have had negative or positive experiences with immigrants?
11. What do you think about the integration programs offered in your local community? (e.g. language courses; cultural and civic orientation classes, etc?)

Appendix C

Interviewfragen

Ausländer die in Deutschland Leben

Es soll hier klargestellt werden, dass das Interview ebenso generelle quantitative Fragen beinhaltet, die hier nicht weiter im Detail aufgeführt werden. Dies sind Fragen bezüglich Alter, Geschlecht, Beschaeftigung/Beruf, das Ursprungsland der Befragten, das ihrer Eltern und Grosseltern, Familiengroesse, etc.

1. Warum haben Sie sich entschlossen nach Deutschland zu ziehen?
2. Können Sie beschreiben wie Sprache (an sich) Ihr Verständnis von Identität prägt?
3. Sprechen Sie fließend deutsch? Wenn nicht, sind Sie daran interessiert deutsch zu lernen?
4. Können Sie beschreiben welche Möglichkeiten Ihnen geboten wurden in Sprachkursen und/oder Integrationsprogrammen teilzunehmen?
5. Können Sie die wichtigsten Aspekte beschreiben, die Ihre Wahrnehmung von Identität prägt?
6. Mit welchem Land identifizieren Sie sich mehr? Warum?
7. Fühlen Sie sich respektiert als Fremde(r), die (der) in Deutschland lebt?
8. Fühlen Sie Vorurteile gegen Immigranten in Deutschland?
9. Wissen Sie ob es Vorurteile von Immigranten Deutschen gegenüber gibt?
10. Können Sie mir sagen was Ihr legaler Status in Deutschland ist?
11. Glauben Sie, dass Staatsbürgerschaft immer mit einen bestimmten Land verbunden werden muss?
12. Können Sie sich vorstellen, dass es keine Staatsbürgerschaft mehr gibt, vielleicht nur noch eine globale „Weltzugehörigkeit“?
13. Denken Sie manchmal daran wieder in Ihre ursprüngliche Heimat zurück zugehen?

Appendix D

Interviewfragen

Die Autochthone deutsche Bevölkerung

Es soll hier klargestellt werden, dass das Interview ebenso generelle quantitative Fragen beinhaltet, die hier nicht weiter im Detail aufgeführt werden. Dies sind Fragen bezüglich Alter, Geschlecht, Beschäftigung/Beruf, das Familiengröße der Befragten, etc.

1. Können Sie beschreiben wie Sprache (an sich) Ihr Verständnis von Identität prägt?
2. Können Sie die wichtigsten Aspekte beschreiben, die Ihre Wahrnehmung von Identität prägt?
3. Fühlen Sie Vorurteile gegen Immigranten in Deutschland?
4. Wissen Sie ob es Vorurteile von Immigranten Deutschen gegenüber gibt?
5. Glauben Sie, dass Staatsbürgerschaft immer mit einem bestimmten Land verbunden werden muss?
6. Können Sie sich vorstellen, dass es keine Staatsbürgerschaft mehr gibt, vielleicht nur noch eine globale „Weltzugehörigkeit“?
7. Haben Sie Kontakt mit Ausländern in Ihrer Nachbarschaft, an Ihrem Arbeitsplatz oder in Ihrem Freundeskreis?
8. Glauben Sie, dass Immigranten einen negativen oder positiven Einfluss auf die deutsche Kultur haben?
9. Warum oder warum nicht? Welche Migrantengruppe betrifft das am stärksten?
10. Haben Sie persönlich positive oder negative Erfahrungen mit Migranten gemacht?
11. Was halten Sie von den lokalen Integrationsprogrammen in Ihrer Gemeinde? (z.B. Sprachkurse und Orientierungskurse über Kultur und Staatsbürgerkunde)

Appendix E



III. Ausländische Bevölkerung – Ausländer nach Staatsangehörigkeit

Ausländer nach Staatsangehörigkeit

Am 31.12.2010 stellten gemäß Ausländerzentralregister die Staatsangehörigen aus der Türkei mit 1.629.480 Personen (24,1%) die weitaus größte ausländische Personengruppe. Die zweitgrößte Nationalitätengruppe in Deutschland bildeten die italienischen Staatsangehörigen mit 517.546 Personen (7,7%), gefolgt von polnischen Staatsangehörigen mit 419.435 Personen (6,2%).

Abbildung III - 3:
Ausländer nach den häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten am 31.12.2010

Gesamtzahl: 6.753.621

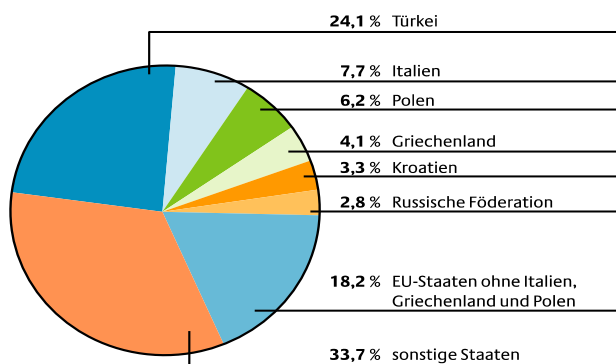


Tabelle III - 3:
Ausländer nach den häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten am 31.12.2010

Türkei	1.629.480
Italien	517.546
Polen	419.435
Griechenland	276.685
Kroatien	220.199
Russische Föderation	191.270
EU-Staaten ohne Italien, Polen und Griechenland	1.229.664
sonstige Staaten	2.269.342

Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt, Ausländerzentralregister

Appendix F



III. Ausländische Bevölkerung – Ausländer nach Geburtsland

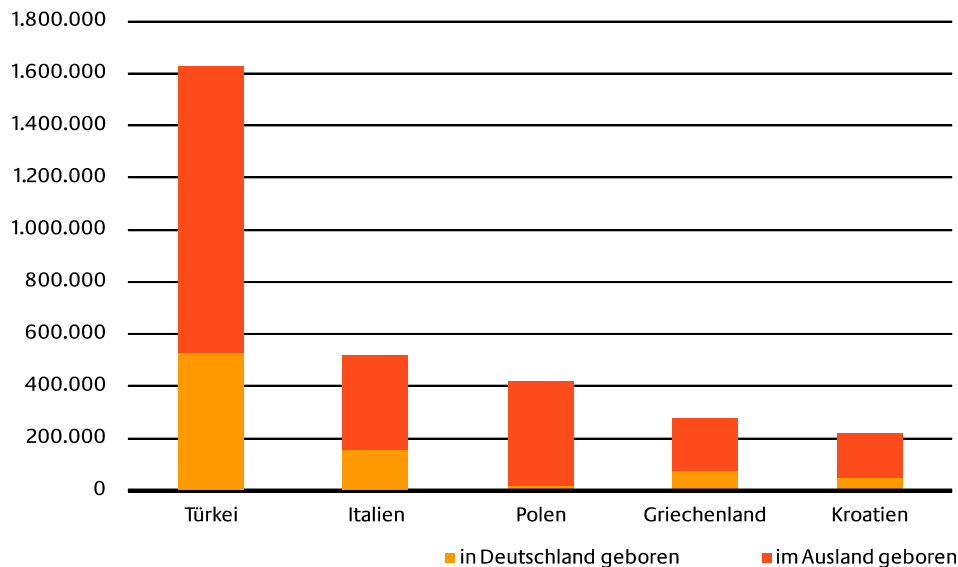
Ausländer nach Geburtsland

Von den 6,7 Millionen in Deutschland lebenden Ausländern wurde fast jede fünfte Person (19,0 %; 1.280.074) in Deutschland geboren; hierbei handelt es sich um die so genannte zweite oder dritte Migrantengeneration mit ausländischer Staatsangehörigkeit. In der Altersgruppe der unter 18 Jahre alten Ausländer sind etwa 70 % bereits in Deutschland geboren.

Werden die größten Ausländergruppen in Deutschland betrachtet, so ergibt sich, dass

vor allem die türkischen Staatsangehörigen einen überproportional hohen Anteil an in Deutschland Geborenen aufweisen (32,5 %). Bei Italienern beträgt der entsprechende Anteil 30,2 %, bei Griechen 27,6 %. Dagegen liegt der Anteil der in Deutschland Gebürtigen bei polnischen Staatsangehörigen nur bei 3,9 %. Das bedeutet, dass 96,1 % aller in Deutschland lebenden Polen zugewandert sind. In diesen Zahlen spiegelt sich somit – ähnlich wie in denen zur Aufenthaltsdauer – die jüngere Migrationsgeschichte der einzelnen Herkunftsländer wider.

Abbildung III - 6:
Die fünf häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeitsgruppen nach Geburtsland am 31.12.2010



Angaben in Personen
Quelle: Statistisches Bundesamt, Ausländerzentralregister, eigene Berechnungen

Appendix G

IV. Integrationskurse - Teilnehmerinnen und Teilnehmer



Tabelle IV - 3:
Neue Teilnehmer in den Jahren 2009 und 2010 nach den häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten

Rang		2009		Rang	2010	
		absolut	prozentual		absolut	prozentual
1	Türkei	19.245	16,6%	1	12.088	13,6%
2	Deutschland	13.499	11,6%	2	7.993	9,0%
3	Irak	6.528	5,6%	3	4.019	4,5%
4	Polen	4.786	4,1%	5	3.178	3,6%
5	Russische Föderation	5.014	4,3%	4	3.116	3,5%
6	Kosovo	3.069	2,6%	6	2.076	2,3%
7	Ukraine	2.982	2,6%	7	1.715	1,9%
8	Vietnam	2.194	1,9%	8	1.571	1,8%
9	Marokko	2.093	1,8%	9	1.490	1,7%
10	Afghanistan	1.968	1,7%	10	1.400	1,6%
	sonstige Staatsangehörige	52.438	45,2%		48.491	54,7%
	Summe	113.816	98,1%		87.137	98,3%
	zuzüglich Spätaussiedler	2.236	1,9%		1.492	1,7%
	Gesamt	116.052	100,0%		88.629	100,0%