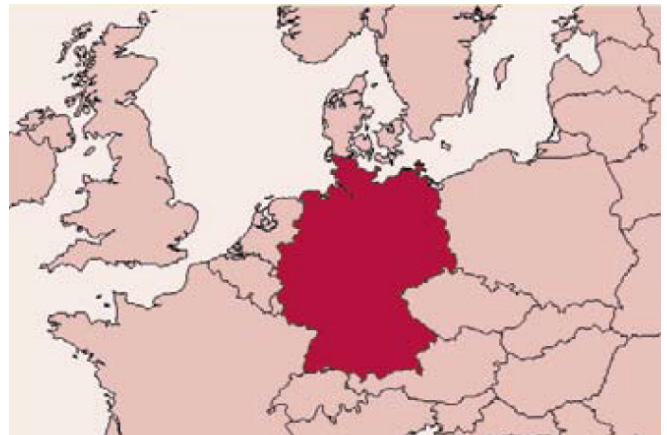


# Germany

Germany is a nation of immigrants. More than 20 percent of the population have a migration background. Despite a long history of immigration, it took Germany until the beginning of the new millennium to accept this reality. Since then, immigration laws have been liberalized, at least for qualified migrants. Since the extensive refugee immigration in 2015, the topic of asylum is (again) at the center of public attention and has led to opposing attitudes and reactions among the country's population.



## Background Information

Capital: Berlin

Official language: German

Area: 357,386 km<sup>2</sup>

Population (2016): 82.5 m

Population density (end of 2015): 230 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>

Population growth rate (2013-2014): 0.5%

Foreign population (end of 2016): 10.0 m

Population with 'migration background' (2016): 18.6 m

Working population (national territory, 2016): 43.6 m

Labor force participation rate (2016): 54.9%

Unemployment rate (July 2017): 5.6%

Religious affiliation (Census 2011): Roman Catholic 24,740,380, Protestant 24,328,100, Other/no religious affiliation/not specified 31,151,210 (among them approx. 0.1 m members of Jewish communities and 4 m Muslims)

## Historical and Current Development of Migration to and from Germany

Germany can look back on a long history of migration. Emigration flows dominated until the late 19th century. After that, the migration direction increasingly shifted and various migration flows to Germany occurred during the 20th and 21st century.

### Migration Flows during the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) led to serious destruction and a significant reduction in population in some German regions. The respective sovereigns therefore recruited employable and tax-paying people from other overpopulated regions who were looking to settle in the war-ravaged areas ('population policies'). As a result, they transformed into Central European immigration regions. Religious refugees from other parts of Europe were also drawn to early modern Germany. The largest as well as economically, culturally and politically most significant group of immigrants were the Huguenots. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1598) in 1685, thirty to forty thousand Huguenots immigrated to the German territories, primarily north of the Main River (especially to Brandenburg-Prussia, Hessen-Kassel, the Guelph Duchies and the Hanseatic Cities).<sup>1</sup>

After these immigration flows, which continued until the middle of the 18th century, the continental emigration to Eastern and Southeast Europe prevailed until the 1830s while transatlantic emigrations, especially to the United

States, were predominant until the late 19th century. From the 1680s to the year 1800, more than 740,000 people emigrated from German-speaking regions to Eastern, Central Eastern and Southern Europe. And from 1816 to 1914, more than 5.5 million German emigrants departed for the United States. There, from 1820 to 1860, German immigrants represented the second-largest group of all immigrants behind the Irish at around 30 percent; from 1861 to 1890, they were even the largest. The extensive expansion of economic opportunities due to high industrialization and agricultural modernization in Germany as well as the economic crisis in the United States finally led to a significant reduction in transatlantic migration flows.

### **Flight and Forced Labor during and between the Wars**

The ‘Century of Refugees’ began, starting with World War I. The Weimar Republic became the destination for hundreds of thousands of refugees who escaped the aftermath of the Russian Revolution in October of 1917, the subsequent civil war and the implementation of the Soviet system. The same fate was shared by tens of thousands of Eastern European Jews who were looking for protection from pogroms and anti-Semitic developments in many parts of Eastern Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe. With the National Socialists’ rise to power, Germany yet again – as before World War I – became an asylum-opposed state. The new rulers also cast out more than half a million people. This affected political opponents of the regime, those who the regime deemed to be opponents and especially all those who were being increasingly dehumanized and persecuted due to the racist ideology of National Socialism. Primarily, it was the Jews of whom about 280,000 to 330,000 were able to flee the Reich from 1930 to 1940. Approximately 195,000 German Jews, who were not (or no longer) able to escape, were murdered by the end of the war. Only about 15,000 to 20,000 survived the camps or remained hidden in the Reich. Asylum for those refugees was granted by more than 80 states worldwide; frequently – and increasingly during the 1930s – this occurred with

reluctance and hesitation because the people seeking refuge from Germany were perceived to be a burden on the economy and social security systems, especially against the backdrop of the Great Depression.

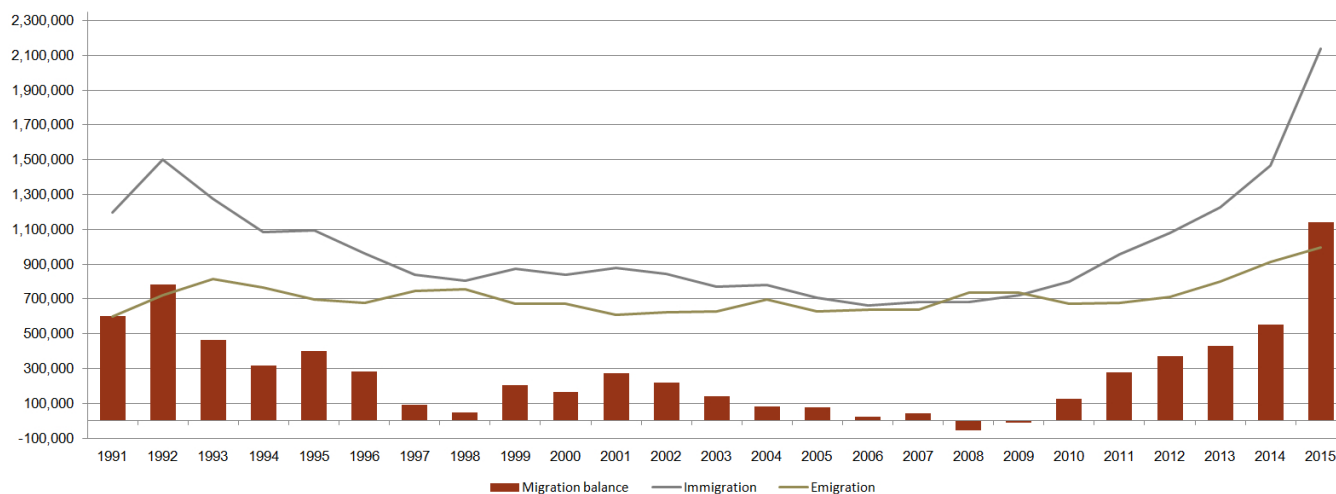
During both world wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), the need for labor force (especially in the weapons industry) resulted in strong migration by laborers from various other countries. Generally, this was not a voluntary process: Forced labor was typical of the employment of foreigners during wartime. The first few years after World War II were dominated by displacement and flows of refugees. More than 14 million ‘Reichsdeutsche’ and ‘Volksdeutsche’ (members of German minorities without German citizenship) fled from Eastern, Central Eastern and Southern Europe towards the West. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the booming economy of the 1950s and 1960s fundamentally facilitated the economic and social integration of refugees and German expellees. At the same time, they represented a qualified and highly mobile potential for labor, which helped carry the economic recovery.

### **‘Guest Worker’ Recruitment, the Labor Recruitment Ban and Family Reunification**

During the 1950s and 1960s, the young Federal Republic of Germany experienced an economic boom which went hand in hand with an enormous expansion of the labor market. Since the domestic workforce was no longer sufficient to cover demand, Germany entered into the first agreements for the recruitment of workers with Italy in 1955, and with Greece and Spain in 1960. Treaties with Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968) followed suit. The migrant workers generally assumed unskilled labor and positions with minimal training requirements in industrial production with high physical stress, health burdens and wage conditions that many locals were not willing to accept (any more). The recruitment of so-called ‘guest workers’ was terminated during the oil (price) crisis and due to increasing unemployment in 1973. Yet, this decision can also be

### **And in the GDR?**

The German Democratic Republic also experienced a shortage of workers, especially due to massive emigration to the West: From 1949 until the Berlin Wall was built in 1961, at least 2.7 million people emigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, while only about 500,000 left Western Germany to live in the GDR. The lack of young and well qualified workers that resulted from the emigration was to be partially compensated through foreign workers. To this end, the government entered into agreements with socialist ‘brother countries’. In 1968, the first of these contract workers arrived from Hungary. More workers followed from Algeria, Angola, Poland, Mozambique and Cuba. The largest group came from Vietnam. These people were only allowed to remain in the GDR for a limited period. As private contact to the locals was unwanted, they lived in isolation in dormitories. Close contact with GDR citizens required approval and reporting. When the two countries unified, more than 94,000 contractual workers were present in the GDR, including 60,000 Vietnamese. After the unification of the two German states in 1990, many of them left the country – generally because they had no alternative after their residence permits expired.<sup>2</sup>

**Figure 1: Migration across Germany's Borders between 1991 and 2015**

Source: Authors' own graph based on data from the Federal Statistics Office: Statistisches Bundesamt (2017): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Wanderungen 2015*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 1.2. Wiesbaden.

ascribed to the increased permanent settlement of foreign workers in the self-proclaimed 'non-immigrant country' of Germany.

From the late 1950s until the stop in labor recruitment in 1973, approximately 14 million foreign workers came to Germany, of whom 11 million only stayed in the country temporarily and eventually returned to their home countries. The others remained and their families joined them. Because of this development, the number of foreign workers decreased after the end of the recruitment period – from 2.6 million in 1973 to 1.6 million in 1989 – but the foreign population grew from 3.97 million to 4.9 million during the same period.

#### Immigration in Unified Germany: Asylum Migration and the Influx of Ethnic German Resettlers in the 1980s and 1990s

With the opening of the 'Iron Curtain', the transformation of the political systems in the former states of the 'Eastern Bloc' and the collapse of the GDR in 1989/90, the migration patterns in Europe drastically changed. In Germany, the number of asylum applications rose significantly, especially from Eastern, Central Eastern and Southern Europe. It surpassed 100,000 in 1988, climbed to approximately 120,000 in 1989 (the year of the European Revolutions), reached 190,000 in unified Germany in 1990, and finally soared to almost 440,000 by 1992 (see 'Flight and Asylum').

In addition to the immigration of asylum seekers, the number of ethnic German resettlers increased significantly in the Federal Republic of Germany in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. The designation 'resettler' comes from the early 1950s. After the end of refuge and displacement caused by World War II, approximately four million ethnic

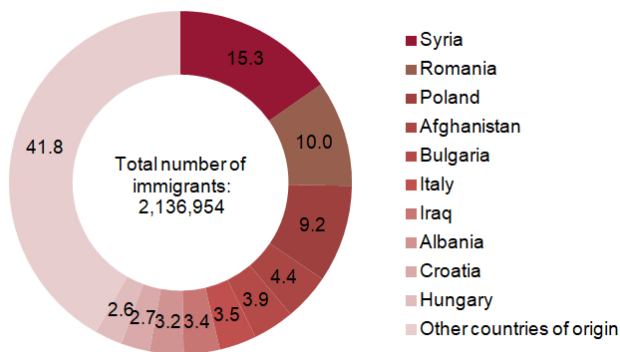
Germans still lived in Eastern, Central Eastern and South-eastern Europe in 1950, according to official numbers. The Federal Expellee Law from 1953 assured them acceptance as German citizens. Between 1950 and 1975, a total of 800,000 ethnic German resettlers, and between 1976 and 1987 616,000 more passed through West German Border Transit Centers for Resettlers. Then, once the 'Iron Curtain' was lifted, their mass immigration set in: Starting in 1987 and against the backdrop of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' in the USSR, the numbers quickly increased and more than three million resettlers came to the Federal Republic of Germany in the subsequent 15 years. In total, 4.5 million ethnic German resettlers immigrated to Germany between 1950 and 2016.

#### Current Developments

Immigration reached its first climax in reunified Germany in 1992. During that year, more than 1.5 million people immigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, while 720,000 left the country. The result is net migration of approximately 782,000. During the following years, immigration significantly decreased. Statistically speaking, Germany was an emigration country in 2008 and 2009: The number of people leaving the country was higher than those arriving from abroad. Since 2010, the influx of migrants has been increasing again. In 2015, immigration was at its highest in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany especially due to the large influx of asylum seekers (cf. Fig. 1).<sup>3</sup>

In 2015, a total of 2.14 million people immigrated to Germany, while approximately 998,000 people left the country during the same period. This results in a migration surplus of approximately 1.14 million people. Over the past few years, the majority of immigrants arrived from European countries, especially from EU member states. One excep-

**Figure 2: Immigration in 2015 by the Ten Most Frequent Countries of Origin (in Percent)**



Source: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2017): *Migrationsbericht des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung. Migrationsbericht 2015*. Nuremberg.

tion was the year 2015. Due to the large number of asylum seekers from countries outside of Europe, the share of citizens of the European Union among all immigrants was only around 40 percent.<sup>4</sup> Syria was the main country of origin of new immigrants, ahead of Romania and Poland (cf. Fig. 2).

**The Immigrant Population**

An analysis of the immigrants and their descendants who since 2005 are also statistically recorded as ‘population with a migration background’, underlines how greatly immigration has shaped the population of the country in past and present. According to the definition applied by the Federal Statistics Office, a person is considered someone with a migration background “if they themselves or at least one parent did not obtain German citizenship through birth” (*loose translation*).<sup>5</sup>

According to the results of the micro-census in 2016, more than 18.6 million people living in Germany (22.5 percent of Germany’s population) have a migration background. That includes nine million foreign nationals (10.9 percent of the population) as well as 9.6 million Germans (11.7 percent of the population). Most people with a migration background are of Turkish or Polish descent (15.1 percent and 10.1 percent respectively) or come from the Russian Federation (6.6 percent).

The regional distribution of the population with migration background var-

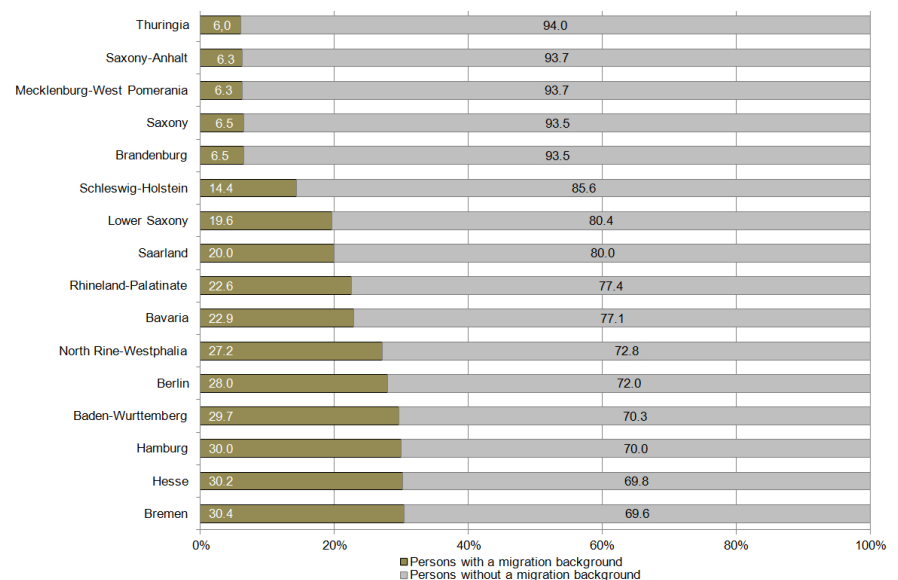
ies. Among the old West German states, especially the city states of Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin, as well as the federal states of Hesse, Baden-Wurttemberg and North Rhine Westphalia have a high percentage of persons with a migration background: Immigrants and their descendants represent more than 26 percent of the population of these states. In contrast, the share of persons with migration background is less than seven percent in all the ‘New Länder’ (cf. Fig. 3).

**Germany’s Migration Policies**

Despite its long history of migration, politics and society long resisted a definition of Germany as an immigration country. Only the admission of this reality paved the way for migration policy reforms that affect immigration as well as citizenship laws.

Even though Germany counts among the countries with the highest share of immigrants in its population, the migration policy debate has for a long time nevertheless been dominated by the question of whether Germany is an immigration country or not. This process blocked a reform of German immigration policies. Overall, the ‘Ausländerpolitik’ (policy on foreign nationals) of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s concentrated primarily on the prevention of further immigration.<sup>6</sup> Since the turn of the millennium, a change of paradigm can be observed in immigration pol-

**Figure 3: Population with Migration Background in the Federal States (in Percent)**



Source: Federal Statistics Office. Statistisches Bundesamt (2017): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2016*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2. Wiesbaden. (Authors’ own calculation and presentation, numbers rounded.)

icies that is accompanied by a gradual liberalization for qualified immigrants. In this context, migration was no longer perceived only as a problem but instead also seen as an opportunity. The Green Card Initiative, which facilitated the temporary immigration of IT specialists from 2000 to 2004, was followed by the implementation of the 'Immigration Law' in 2004. This law provided a fundamental adjustment of existing laws on foreign nationals and asylum. The support of the integration of immigrants and their descendants was established as a governmental task for the first time (see 'Integration policies'). The goals of the law include the management of immigration with consideration of economic and labor-market interests. It contains certain facilitations for the influx of (highly) qualified foreign labor. Further immigration obstacles were reduced with the Law on the Regulation of Labor Migration which came into effect in 2009 and significantly reduced the minimum income to be proven by highly qualified immigrants to be able to be granted a permanent residence permit immediately.

Impetus from the EU also contributed to a further liberalization of laws on labor migration. Since August 1, 2012, highly qualified members of third countries can apply for the Blue Card. The requirements are a German or comparable university degree or a recognized foreign university degree as well as a labor contract with a gross annual income of €50,800 (€4,234 per month) (as of 2017). If applicants work in designated shortage professions (natural scientists, mathematics, engineers, IT experts, medical professionals, etc.), proof of a gross annual income amount of €39,624 (€3,302 per month) suffices.<sup>7</sup> The law for the implementation of the highly qualified labor directive of the European Union achieved further relief for foreign university graduates and foreigners with a German education degree who would like to look for work in Germany. Other EU directives for regulating labor migration were transferred to national legislature through a law which came into effect on August 1, 2017. It included extensive new provisions for internal European mobility and regarding the residence laws, for example for intra-corporate transferees (ICTs), students and researchers from third countries.

In Germany, the demand for human resources is not restricted to academically trained specialists. Therefore, the government amended the employment regulations and opened the labor market for certain specialists from third countries. The Federal Employment Agency is responsible for determining the professions in need of specialists who may be recruited from abroad (positive list). In 2015, the Employment Directive was supplemented by options for economic immigration to Germany in order to open up an alternative to the generally hopeless asylum process for people from the Western Balkan states of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia who are looking to immigrate to Germany. Citizens of those countries may be granted a residence permit if they can prove valid and current employment, have passed a priority review and were not awarded any asylum seeker benefits over the two previous years.

The hurdles for labor market access were also gradually reduced for asylum seekers 'with good perspectives to remain in Germany'<sup>8</sup> over the past years. This step was

taken to facilitate social integration. During the first three months of their stay in Germany, asylum seekers are not permitted to work. After that, they may start employment with the consent of the Federal Employment Agency, in most regions of the country even without a priority review.<sup>9</sup> The Federal Employment Agency only assesses the comparability of the working conditions, meaning whether working hours and wages are comparable with those of German employees. The priority review no longer applies after a 15-month stay in Germany. After a period of four years, the assessment of comparable working conditions is suspended as well. Asylum seekers and those granted leave to remain from 'safe countries of origin' who applied for asylum in Germany after August 31, 2015 have been facing restrictions since the inception of 'Asylum Package I' ('Asylum Procedure Acceleration Law'). These people may not work.<sup>10</sup>

The provisions of the immigration regulations basically only apply to people from third countries. EU citizens are covered by the Freedom of Movement Act/EU. They do not require any special employment or residence permits and are largely treated equally to German citizens. However, in 2013 and 2014, growing immigration numbers from Romania and Bulgaria led to a discussion about the alleged abuse of the freedom of movement by 'poverty migrants'. In response, the German Bundestag adopted a law for modifying the Freedom of Movement Act in the EU in November of 2014. It stipulates that immigrated EU citizens who were found guilty of abuse of right or fraud can be sanctioned with temporary re-entry restrictions. Furthermore, the right of residence for employment seeking is restricted and child benefits are only paid out if the applicant has provided their tax ID. A law adopted in December of 2016 stipulates that EU citizens who have never worked in Germany will only qualify for basic provision and social benefits after five years of residence.

According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the migration policy reforms have contributed to the fact that Germany has transformed into one of the most liberal countries among the 35 member states of the organization in terms of labor migration policies. However, selective liberalization for qualified immigration must accept the criticism that immigrants are basically evaluated on the basis of their economic (and demographic) usability and are treated as 'goods'.<sup>11</sup>

### Citizenship

In 1999, the German Citizenship Law was reformed. It enabled people to acquire German citizenship not solely through ancestry (*jus sanguinis*) but also through birth on German soil (*jus soli*). This step represented a significant break with the previously applicable ethno-national notion that one can be German but never become German. Unlike in the United States, where all children born on US soil automatically qualify for US citizenship, the acquisition of German citizenship remains conditional. As a first step, the 'option obligation' was introduced. It stipulated that children born in Germany to foreign parents are automatically awarded German citizenship if one of the parents has been

residing in Germany for at least eight years and was in possession of an indefinite right of residence. If such children also acquired the foreign citizenship of their parents, they were forced to opt for one of the two citizenships between their 18th and 23rd birthday (option obligation). Children of EU citizens were exempt from the option obligation.

Since the option obligation was modified in December of 2014, children of foreign parents born and raised in Germany are no longer required to opt for one of the citizenships under certain circumstances. They may keep the German citizenship as well as the citizenship of their parents if they lived in Germany for at least eight years before their 22nd birthday, attended school in Germany for at least six years or attained a school or apprenticeship degree in Germany. The condition of one of the parents having resided in Germany for at least eight years and having been in possession of an indefinite right of residence at the time of birth remains in effect.

German citizenship can also be acquired through naturalization. This is a possibility after eight years of residence in Germany and fulfillment of further conditions, including the assurance of earning a living for oneself and family members entitled to maintenance, impunity as well as sufficient German skills. In addition, knowledge of the legal and social structure, and the living conditions in Germany must be verified through a citizenship test since January 1, 2008.

When it comes to naturalization, the principle of preventing multiple citizenships is in effect. People who wish to be naturalized must give up their former citizenship. EU citizens as well as citizens of states who cannot renounce their citizenship or who come from countries that regularly deny their citizens the renouncement of their citizenship are exempt from this provision. In practice, continuation of the former citizenship is accepted in more than half of all naturalization cases. In 2016, 110,400 foreign nationals became naturalized in Germany, 57.8 percent of them also retained their former citizenship.

## Integration and Integration Policies in Germany

*Germany's population has been shaped through immigration; more than 20 percent of the country's residents have a migration background. However, the promotion of the integration of immigrants was only specified as a governmental task in the Immigration Law in 2005. To this day, immigrants and their descendants do not have the same opportunities to participate in central social areas.*

The maxim that Germany is not a country of immigration, upheld until the turn of the century, stood in the way of conceptual integration policies. Instead, the government delegated integration efforts to welfare organizations for a long time and ignored any criticism from science and politics. Such criticism noted the urgency of active integration support as early as the 1970s. Integration was only defined as a governmental task with the Immigration Law which came into effect on January 1, 2005. To this end,

the Federal Authority for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFI) became the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) and was commissioned with regulating measures for integration support. Such measures include the integration courses introduced in connection with the Immigration Law, for example.<sup>12</sup> These courses consist of language classes for a total of 600 hours as well as a 100-hour orientation class to acquire knowledge about the country, for example regarding Germany's legal system, history and culture (as of 2017).

The integration policies follow the principle of support and demand. Immigrants are obligated on the one hand to acquire German skills and respect the fundamental values of German society, especially the free democratic basic order. On the other hand, German society is obligated to "ensure equal opportunity and treatment access to all important aspects of society, business and politics by recognizing and removing existing obstacles" (*loose translation*).<sup>13</sup>

In 2006, the annual Summit on Integration<sup>14</sup> in the Federal Chancellery as well as the German Islam Conference<sup>15</sup> were initiated, the latter at the initiative of the Minister of the Interior. Both initiatives are intended to demonstrate that German politics not only talks about immigrants but engages in active dialog with them as well. Therefore, both initiatives have symbolic significance. Moreover, a 'National Integration Plan'<sup>16</sup> and a 'National Action Plan for Integration'<sup>17</sup> resulted from the Summit on Integration. Reviewable target specifications and regular evaluations are supposed to make integration policy in Germany more binding, and determine the progress and deficits of integration support. The focus is on structural integration into the employment market. The Expert Council of German Foundations for Integration and Migration (SVR) recommends including indicators in integration monitoring which measure the social and cultural participation of immigrants and their descendants. This demand represents a recent development: For the last few years, the aspect of cultural integration has (again) moved to the center of the integration debate. There are particularly discussions about the 'German Leitkultur' and the question of whether 'Islam' is reconcilable with European values and ways of living. However, the perception of the heterogeneity of Muslim life in Germany is lost throughout this debate. The recognition that Islam is part of this country and its society because of its Muslim population of approximately four and a half million<sup>18</sup> can (also) be interpreted as a central result of the German Islam Conference. Its successes also include finding solutions for the introduction of Islamic religious instruction in schools as well as the creation of five centers (so far) for Islamic theology for training and educating Islamic religion teachers, theologians and Imams.

The integration policy progress of recent years also included a law from 2012 which is intended to improve the opportunities for immigrants to have their foreign university and apprenticeship degrees recognized more easily in Germany. This used to be quite difficult due to a non-transparent recognition system and caused many immigrants in Germany to work well beneath their qualification levels – a loss not only for the German economy but also for the immigrants themselves whose (life) achievements were

not recognized. However, the recognition law only applies for professions regulated on a federal level. That is why the 16 states were obligated to create their own recognition laws for professions regulated on a state level (for example, educators and teachers) which by now has occurred comprehensively. Five years after the recognition law came into effect, education transfer experts are still criticizing the lack of standardization in implementation. According to them, this leads to the recognition system remaining non-transparent.

Due to the high influx of asylum seekers in 2015, an Integration Act was passed in 2016. Unlike one may suspect from its name, it does not provide a framework for extensive integration policies but instead contains only technical provisions dealing primarily with the labor market integration of asylum seekers with good prospects of being granted a residence permit and recognized refugees.<sup>19</sup> In doing so, it follows the principle of support and demand. It facilitates access to the labor market for asylum seekers and allows those with leave to remain to complete an education program they may have started. But it also stipulates that benefits will be cut for those who do not participate in integration measures. And unlike before, recognized refugees will no longer be granted a permanent residence permit after three years but only after five years. This right is also conditional upon proof of basic German skills and integration achievements. Moreover, a residence requirement for recognized refugees without employment subject

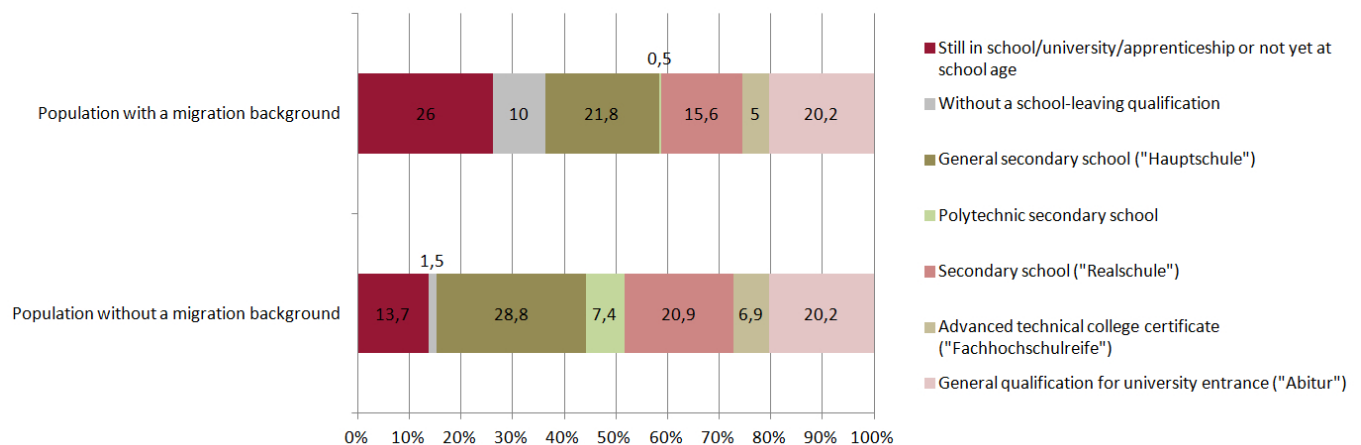
to social insurance contributions or enrollment in university obligates them to reside in the state to which they were assigned. Refugee aid organizations criticize the fact that the residence requirement stands in contrast to free mobility which must be granted to recognized refugees according to the Geneva Refugee Convention.

In addition to the federal integration measures, integration policy is also executed on state and municipal level. All states have developed an integration concept and/or corresponding guidelines.<sup>20</sup> Three states – Berlin (2010), North Rhine Westphalia (2012) and Baden Wurttemberg (2015) – have adopted integration laws which are intended to increase the commitment to migration policy efforts. Several municipalities have created their own integration concepts as well.

The integration policy efforts in Germany are assessed as positive. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (2015) which applies 167 indicators to investigate the social participation opportunities of migrants over time has ranked Germany in the top 10 of the 38 countries studied.

However, people with a migration background still do not have the same participation opportunities in central social areas, such as education, employment market, residence and political involvement. This situation was also caused by years without a coherent integration policy. But various statistics show that the structural integration has improved in some areas. People with a migration background still do not finish school or an apprenticeship as frequently

Figure 4: Population in 2016 by Migration Status and General School Qualification



Note: Deviations from 100 percent (line totals) are due to rounding.

Source: Authors' own calculation and presentation based on data provided by the Federal Statistics Office. Statistisches Bundesamt (2017): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund. Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2016*. Wiesbaden.

as those without such a background (cf. Fig. 4). However, they do attain their *Abitur* to the same ratio as people without a migration background and the share of university graduates among immigrants is somewhat higher than in the population without a migration background. In 2015, 64.6 percent of the population with a migration background were employed, while this proportion was 76.3 percent for people without a migration background. Members of immigrant families are more frequently unemployed than those without a migration background. They are also at a higher risk of poverty.<sup>22</sup> So far, only European Union citizens living in Germany are able to partake in municipal elections. Members of third states are excluded from voting, even if they have been living in Germany for decades. Many municipalities have created foreigner or integration councils to be able to represent their interests.

### Irregular Migration

Integration measures are only intended for immigrants with right of residence. Estimates based on the police criminal statistics state that 180,000 to 520,000 people lived in Germany without right of residence in Germany in 2014.<sup>23</sup> It should be assumed that the high number of asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016 will lead to an increase in people living in Germany without proper documentation: As the number of completed asylum proceedings increases, so does the number of those without protective status who then are obligated to leave the country. At the end of 2016, 54,437 people living in Germany were 'immediately obligated to leave the country'. Another 153,047 people were living in Germany with an exceptional leave to remain. Parts of both groups may opt for an irregular stay by going into hiding and thereby avoiding (potential) deportation.<sup>24</sup> It is also not certain how many of the rejected asylum seekers who voluntarily return to their home country indeed actually leave Germany.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, tightening of the asylum laws in 2015 and 2016 regarding people from the Western Balkan states may lead to citizens of those countries foregoing applications for asylum due to the negative prospects of the application and instead remaining in Germany illegally.<sup>26</sup>

The aspect of illegal stays was not of central significance in the discussions about migration for many years. The discussions about the deportation of rejected asylum seekers to their countries of origin have recently become more virulent. This aspect is frequently linked to questions of interior security, especially since it became known that the man who, in 2016, drove a truck into a Christmas market in Berlin for Islamic motives, killing 12 people in the process, was a rejected Tunisian asylum applicant who could not be deported to his country of origin on account of lacking documents.

## Refuge and Asylum in Germany

*The admission and treatment of asylum seekers regularly trigger intense debates in politics and society, especially since the massive refugee influx of 2015. Asylum and refugee policies oscillate between the demand for the unrestricted protection of refugees on the one hand and protection from (too many) refugees on the other.*

### Development of Asylum Laws

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the signatory states of the Geneva Refugee Convention in 1951 and the supplemental protocol from 1967. Legally regulated asylum procedures were introduced for the first time in 1953. However, the right of asylum has existed in Germany for much longer.<sup>27</sup>

Legal categories for the acceptance of refugees existed as early as in the Weimar Republic (1918-1933). The German Deportation Act of 1929 stipulated the first prohibition of deportation in case of political offenses while the Prussian Foreigner Police Regulation of 1932 stated that political refugees must be granted asylum. However, the National Socialist rise to power in January of 1933 marked a turning point: Germany became opposed to asylum, as it was during the 19th century. Moreover, the National Socialist regime forced hundreds of thousands of people into exile.

As a reaction to displacement from the 'Third Reich', the Parliamentary Council anchored a relatively expansive fundamental right for asylum in the Constitution in 1948/49 and clearly distanced itself from the National Socialist past. Article 16, Paragraph 2, Section 2 of the German Constitution stated without restrictions that: "Politically persecuted people shall be granted the right of asylum" (*loose translation*), until 1993. Nonetheless, only approximately 70,000 people applied for asylum in Germany in the first 20 years after the Federal Republic was founded.

During the 1970s, the refugee influx gained significance, especially after the Vietnam War and the acceptance of 'Boat People'. The military coup in Turkey in 1980/81, the political shift in Iran and the interior conflicts in Poland due to the rise of the union movement 'Solidarność' also contributed to growing numbers of applicants for asylum. In 1980, the number of asylum seekers grew to more than 100,000 for the first time. 439,000 submitted applications for asylum in 1992 formed a preliminary peak (cf. Fig. 5). In light of increasing numbers of asylum seekers, discussions about reforming asylum laws took on a very polemical tone during the 1990s. The debate was also accompanied by growing racist violence. Xenophobic perpetrators committed arson attacks on refugee accommodation and the houses of immigrant families in several German cities. Several people were seriously injured or killed.<sup>28</sup>

The reform of the asylum law from 1993, which became known as the 'asylum compromise', significantly restricted the right to asylum anchored in Article 16 of the Constitution. Since then, anyone entering via an EU country or a third country which is observant of the provisions of the



Geneva Refugee Convention will not be granted the right to asylum. As Germany is completely surrounded by EU member states or Schengen states which signed the Geneva Refugee Convention, only those entering the country via air or sea travel have the right to asylum.

Asylum seekers from countries classified as 'safe countries of origin', meaning countries in which no (apparent) persecution is to be expected, generally do not have the right to asylum. Their applications for asylum may be rejected more quickly. According to the asylum law, the 'safe countries of origin' include Ghana and Senegal as well as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. Except for citizens from Kosovo, the visa requirement was abolished for citizens from all aforementioned Balkan states in 2009 and 2010. This step led to an increase in asylum applicants from those countries. The classification as 'safe country of origin' which was applied to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia in 2014 and to Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro in 2015 was intended to send a signal to the countries of origin and prevent people from making their way to Germany. Human rights and refugee aid organizations criticized the decision as minorities such as the Roma are subject to discrimination and social exclusion in the supposedly safe countries of origin. A classification of the three North African states Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as safe countries of origins adopted by the Bundestag in 2016 was rejected by the Bundesrat in the spring of 2017.

Only those persons have the right to asylum who can prove that they are being "persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (Art. 1A No. 2 of the Geneva Refugee Convention). Civil wars, poverty or natural disasters do not qualify as reasons for asylum.<sup>29</sup> During the asylum proceedings, four different forms of protection may be granted: the recognition as someone eligible for asylum (according to German Basic Law) or as refugee (according to the Geneva Refugee Convention), subsidiary protection and deportation prohibitions.

Those eligible for asylum as well as foreign nationals who were granted refugee status initially receive a residence permit for three years which also entitles the holder to employment. After five years, a settlement permit, meaning an unlimited residence title, can be granted if certain integration conditions, such as German skills and largely independent assurance of livelihood are fulfilled. Persons who were granted subsidiary protection receive a residence permit limited to one year which also entitles the holder to employment. A permanent residence permit may be granted after five years at the earliest.

At the end of 2016, approximately 452,000 people lived in Germany who were granted refugee protection according to the Geneva Refugee Convention as well as 40,000 people eligible for asylum and 73,500 people entitled to subsidiary protection. Another 37,300 qualified for a deportation prohibition.

From 2014 to 2017, the German asylum laws underwent significant reforms. These reforms resulted in the strictest tightening of asylum laws since the 'asylum compromise' in

1993. Applicants for asylum 'with poor prospects to remain' are obliged to live in reception facilities and only qualify for non-cash benefits. Those with subsidiary protection may also not bring any family members to Germany until March 2018. Moreover, the list of safe countries of origin was expanded while several laws for the facilitation of deportations were adopted.

On the other hand, measures were taken to accelerate the integration of those eligible for protection in Germany. For example, applicants for asylum with 'good prospects to remain' may participate in language and orientation classes (integration courses). People with exceptional leave to remain who have attained an apprenticeship training position may remain in Germany for the duration of the apprenticeship. After that, they have six months to find a job if not employed by the company of the apprenticeship.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the asylum proceedings, refugees may also be accepted via humanitarian intake programs and resettlement.

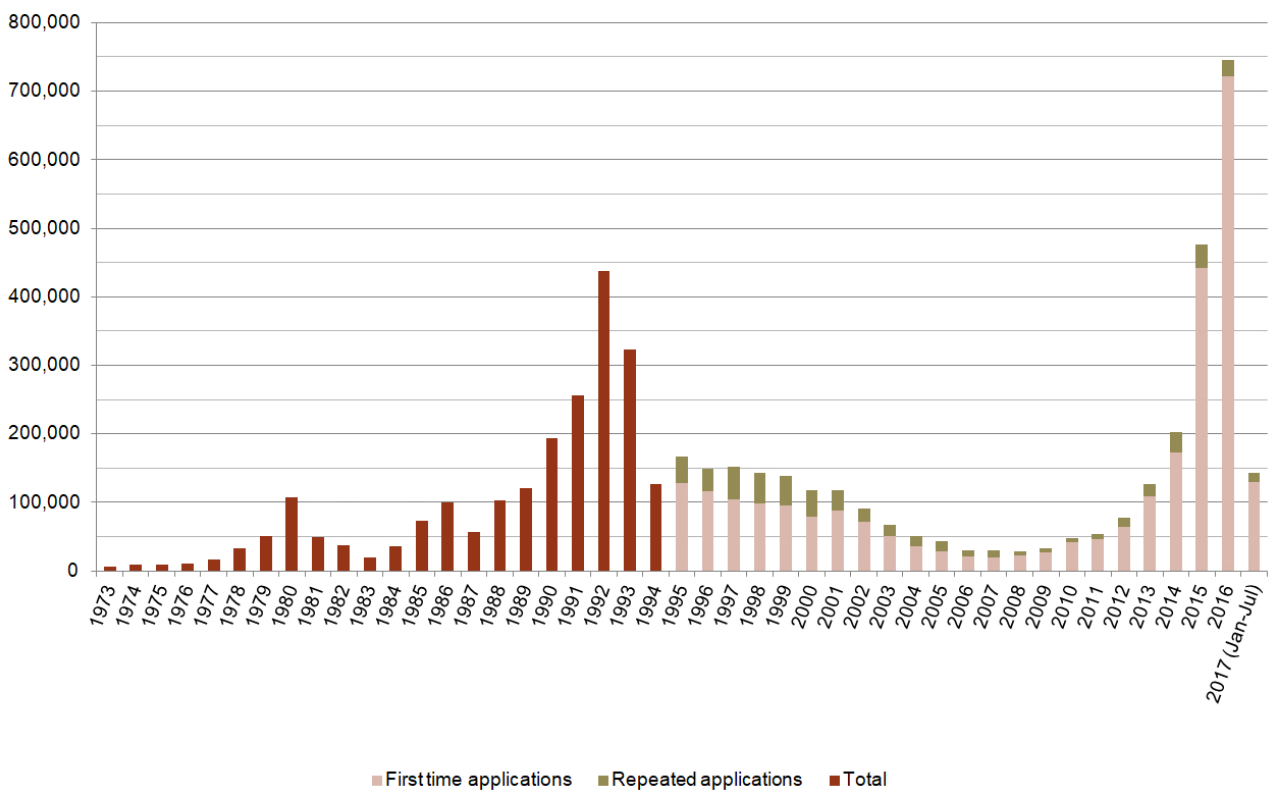
### **Development of the Numbers of Asylum Seekers**

After increased asylum migration at the beginning of the 1990s, applications for asylum reached a low in 2007 at only 19,000.<sup>32</sup> Since then, the number of applications for asylum has been steadily growing again. In 2015, it reached a new high with approximately 476,000 initial and repeated applications; this peak was significantly surpassed in 2016 with more than 746,000 applications (cf. Fig. 5). Yet, the number of applications for asylum reflects the refugee influx to Germany in 2015 and 2016 only insufficiently. In 2015, 890,000 people traveled to Germany to apply for asylum.<sup>33</sup> The authorities were not prepared for this volume. In particular, personnel shortages at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, which is responsible for processing asylum applications, resulted in the fact that many of those who arrived in 2015 were only able to submit a formal application for asylum during the following year. The refugee immigration to Germany in 2015, generally perceived as a 'crisis', was abated primarily due to the border closures along the 'Balkan route' and the refugee agreement generally referred to as the 'EU-Turkey Deal'. In 2016, a total of 280,000 newly arrived asylum seekers were registered. During the first half of 2017, this number was 90,400.<sup>34</sup>

With the backdrop of the political developments in Eastern, Central Eastern and South-Eastern Europe (including the opening of the 'Iron Curtain' and the Yugoslavian War) during the 1990s, the majority of asylum applicants in Germany came from within Europe (including Turkey and the USSR/Russian Federation). During most years in the period from 2000 until 2015, most applicants came from Asia rather than Europe, especially from the countries ravaged by war and interior conflicts, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, but also Iran. Since the beginning of the civil war in Syria in 2011, Syria has been among the main countries of origin of asylum seekers.

Germany is among the most important destination countries in Europe for those who are seeking asylum. Com-

**Figure 5: Applications for Asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1973-2017**



Note: The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees only began to distinguish between first time and repeated asylum applications in 1994.

Source: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2017): *Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl*, Ausgabe: Juli 2017. Nuremberg.

pared with the 27 other EU member states in 2016, Germany accepted more asylum seekers in absolute numbers as well as in relation to the size of the population. Germany is advocating a refugee distribution quota to share the burden in a more balanced manner. The same goes for an externalization of the EU’s external border: Refugees and immigrants are to be dissuaded from making their way to Europe by moving border controls to their regions of origin.

### Migration to Germany: Current Challenges and Future Developments

*Germany has undergone extensive immigration and emigration flows throughout its history. Today, more than 22 percent of the population have a migration background. The prevalent maxim that Germany is not an immigration country blocked migration and integration policy reforms until the new millennium. The large influx of asylum seekers in 2015 and 2016 triggered an emotionally charged debate and now confronts political and social institutions with challenges that must be solved.*

The year 2015 entered the collective memory of Germany’s population as the year of the ‘refugee crisis’. Never

before in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany were the numbers of incoming asylum seekers higher. The reactions among the population oscillated between euphoric readiness to take in refugees and violent rejection of those seeking protection, between a ‘welcome culture’ and the demand for isolation, between cosmopolitanism and nationalism. There was unparalleled civic support for refugees which often enabled housing and supplies for the refugees since the public structures seemed to have been temporarily overstrained, considering the sheer number of asylum seekers. At the same time, violent acts against refugees and their accommodation facilities also increased significantly. According to analyses by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation and refugee aid organization Pro Asyl, an arson attack against a refugee accommodation was carried out once every three days.<sup>35</sup> The populist right-wing party ‘Alternative for Germany’ (AfD) managed to enter several state parliaments, sometimes even with double-digit voting results, by instrumentalizing the topic of migration. Since the elections on 24 September 2017 the AfD is also represented in the German Bundestag.

In light of social polarization, questions regarding social integration are experiencing increased significance: How can we and how do we want to live together in this country in the future? Politics and civil society will have to find an

answer to that question. A representative survey among the population which is eligible to vote in January 2017 indicates similar trends: Those polled considered the topic of migration and integration as the most important element to be tackled by the federal government in 2017, followed by the aspect of domestic security,<sup>36</sup> which has not only gained significance due to Islamic terror attacks in Germany and other EU states but is also being increasingly linked to the discourse about (asylum) migration. For example, the terror attack at the Berlin Christmas Market, which killed 12 and seriously injured 48 people in December of 2016, was carried out by a Tunisian man who had entered the Federal Republic of Germany as an asylum seeker. The fact that he was living in Germany with exceptional leave to remain since he could not be deported due to a lack of documentation, fueled the debate about stricter expulsion laws and more efficient deportation practices. In July of 2017, stricter regulations for those with exceptional leave to remain and for people classified as 'potential dangers' were implemented through the 'Law for Better Implementation of the Obligation to Leave the Country'. It stipulates that people who pose a 'danger for life and limb of third parties' can be more easily detained prior to deportation and be monitored through an electronic ankle bracelet. In the future, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugee may also export data from laptops and mobile phones to determine the identity and origin of an asylum applicant. As with other tightening measures of asylum laws between 2014 and 2016, this law was also heavily criticized by welfare and refugee aid organizations. They claimed that all refugees coming to Germany were being treated like potential criminals and subjected to increasing disenfranchisement.

If refugee migration is taken to be a security risk, the logical consequence is to expand isolation inducing measures. Within the EU, Germany is advocating a stronger integration of states surrounding the EU into the European border regime to reestablish the system of 'preemptive security' which collapsed during the 'Arab Spring' and the corresponding destabilization of various EU neighbor states. In addition to the refugee agreement between the EU and Turkey, efforts are underway to cooperate more strongly with Libya, which is probably the most important transit country for refugees and migrants from Africa who are looking to enter the EU via the Mediterranean Sea. Agreements were also made with other African states. In connection with 'migration partnerships', African states are obligated to contain migration in the direction of Europe and to accept rejected asylum seekers. In return, the EU will increase the foreign aid for those countries to combat the causes of migration. People are to be kept from making their way to Europe. In Europe itself, many states have protected their borders against refugees through the use of fences. The European border protection agency Frontex has expanded into a European Border and Coast Guard and has been granted significantly more authority. For example, it is supposed to support the EU member states' efforts to return rejected asylum seekers to their countries of origin. The measures are effective: The number of newly arrived refugees in Germany and the EU has

significantly decreased since 2015. Over the first seven months of 2017, 117,000 (refugee) migrants have come to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM). During the same period, 106,604 asylum seekers were registered in Germany.

The decreasing numbers of asylum seekers are being declared a success by political parties but are being viewed with concern by human rights organizations. They point out that measures to close borders result in many people searching for protection not being granted the opportunity to apply for asylum – a right to which they are entitled according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>37</sup> More than 65 million people are currently seeking protection. And this number is rising. The decreasing numbers of asylum seekers in Germany may cover up the fact that there continues to be a global refugee crisis. The question of Germany's humanitarian responsibility remains.

### **Shaping a Society Characterized by Migration**

The fact that the aspect of asylum is dominating political debates and the calls for limiting refugee migration are growing obscures the fact that Germany will have to continue to rely on immigration from abroad due its demographic development. In Germany, the number of deaths has been larger than the number of births since the 1970s. Without the influx of migrants from abroad, the population would shrink. The high degree of immigration over past years has contributed to a growing population. But the Federal Statistics Office is estimating this to only represent a temporary trend. Moreover, a high number of incoming young people from abroad may slow down the ageing process of Germany's population but will not be able to stop it. There will be a growing number of older people, while the number of young people is shrinking. This phenomenon will also result in a shrinking labor force. In some industries and regions throughout Germany, many companies are already complaining about not being able to find suitable employees. Shortages of specialists are especially prevalent in engineering and medical professions as well as in the care sector. The gradual opening of Germany for (qualified) labor migration<sup>38</sup> from abroad is also impacted by this situation. Lobbying efforts for more liberal immigration laws by the German industry have led to a reduction of migration barriers and a paradigm shift in migration policies. Migration is not rejected as vehemently and is no longer seen only as a strain (on the social system) but instead also viewed as a potential for economic and social improvement.

To counter the demographic shift and shortage of specialists, high immigration numbers will not suffice. The immigrants must also opt for a long-term stay in Germany. For some years now, representatives from politics and business have been discussing the development of a 'welcome and recognition culture' in order to positively influence this decision. What is intended, is to increase Germany's attractiveness for potential (qualified) immigrants. The objective is to support a development of the

state into a true 'home' for migrants and their descendants. Initially, the term referred primarily to the influx of specialists but has been increasingly connected to the refugee issue since 2015. The images of Germans welcoming refugees at train stations with applause and signs stating 'Refugees Welcome' went around the world. But the initial euphoria during the 'long summer of migration'<sup>39</sup> subsequently cooled down considerably. Doubts began to arise as to whether Germany would actually be able to integrate so many people.<sup>40</sup> Studies conducted by the Bertelsmann Foundation about the welcoming culture in Germany confirm this trend. For example, a central result of the study 'Stress test of the welcoming culture' published in 2017 showed that Germany may have presented itself as an "open and mature society shaped by immigration" (*loose translation*) in 2015 and 2016, but that skepticism towards immigrants has also grown. People asked in the framework of the 2017 survey found that immigration produces less positive effects than respondents in previous studies undertaken from 2012 to 2015. However, the study also shows that a society shaped by immigration is largely being viewed as normal by the younger generation.

The future assessment of immigration will also depend on the successful integration refugees into society. A report by the Institute for Employment Research shows with the example of labor market integration that this goal will not be achieved overnight. Experiences with refugee migration in the past have shown that approximately 50 percent of the refugees become employed within five years of arriving in Germany. After 15 years, the employment rate grew to 70 percent and corresponded to that of other immigrant groups.

But the progress of integration does not only depend on the integration efforts by the immigrants but also on the participation opportunities offered to them by the new society. What kind of society do we want to be? What kind of (immigration) country should Germany be? Those are the questions which will be negotiated in the future.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> For more information, also about the following, see Oltmer (2016).

<sup>2</sup> Further information about migration patterns in the GDR at: <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossier-migration/56368/migrationspolitik-in-der-ddr?p=all> (accessed: August 24, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt (2017c).

<sup>4</sup> Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2017).

<sup>5</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt (2017b).

<sup>6</sup> Angenendt (2008).

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.bluecard-eu.de/blau-karte-eu-deutschland/> (accessed: August 14, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Asylum seekers from countries of origin with a recognition rate over 50 percent are considered to have good prospects to remain in Germany. It is highly likely that they will be granted asylum and the right of residence. Every six months, it is determined which countries of origin comply with these criteria. In 2017, asylum

seekers from Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Syrian and Somalia have good prospects to remain. <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Infothek/FragenAntworten/IntegrationskurseAsylbewerber/integrationskurse-asylbewerber-node.html> (accessed: August 15, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> During the priority review, it is determined whether a German employee, an EU citizen or a legally equal foreign national from a third country is available for the position. If that is the case, the asylum seeker may not be employed because the aforementioned groups of people have priority in gaining employment.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.bmas.de/DE/Schwerpunkte/Neustart-in-Deutschland/Neustart-Asylsuchende/arbeitsmarktzugang-asylbewerber-geduldete.html> (accessed: August 15, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich (2011).

<sup>12</sup> Information by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees regarding content and process of integration courses: <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/integrationskurse-node.html> (accessed: August 14, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Bundesministerium des Innern (2014).

<sup>14</sup> In 2016, the 9th Integration Summit took place in the Federal Chancellery.

<sup>15</sup> Homepage of the German Islam Conference: [www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de](http://www.deutsche-islam-konferenz.de). For more information about the Islam Conference, also see Busch/Goltz (2011).

<sup>16</sup> The national integration plan can be accessed at: [www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Archiv16/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=3](http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Archiv16/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3) (accessed: August 24, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> The national action plan can be found at: [www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/\\_Anlagen/IB/2012-01-31-nap-gesamt-barrierefrei.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/IB/2012-01-31-nap-gesamt-barrierefrei.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 28, 2017).

<sup>18</sup> According to a projection by the research center of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, between 4.4 and 4.7 million Muslims lived in Germany on 31 December 2015. That amounts to a population share of between 5.4 and 5.7 percent of a population of 82.2 million people. [http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/WorkingPapers/wp71-zahl-muslime-deutschland.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/WorkingPapers/wp71-zahl-muslime-deutschland.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 15, 2017).

<sup>19</sup> For more information about the content of the Integration Law and its limits, see Thym (2016).

<sup>20</sup> Gesemann/Roth (2014).

<sup>21</sup> Data refers to the employment rate. Source: Konferenz der für Integration zuständigen Ministerinnen und Minister / Senatorinnen und Senatoren der Länder (2017), pp. 52-60.

<sup>22</sup> "People are considered poor if their dispensable net income (...) is less than 60 percent of the average income" (*loose translation*). Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (2011), p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> Vogel (2015).

<sup>24</sup> Vogel (2016).

<sup>25</sup> Leubecher (2016).

<sup>26</sup> For more information about the topic 'Illegally in Germany', see <https://www.igfm.de/menschenrechte/hilfe-fuer-den-notfall/illegal-in-deutschland/> (accessed: August 24, 2017).

<sup>27</sup> For more detailed information about refugees and asylum, see the short dossier 'German Asylum Policy and EU Refugee Protection: The Prospects of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS)'.

<sup>28</sup> Oltmer (2014).

- <sup>29</sup>Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (2013): Vor zwanzig Jahren: Einschränkung des Asylrechts 1993. [www.bpb.de/politik/hintergrund-aktuell/160780/asylkompromiss](http://www.bpb.de/politik/hintergrund-aktuell/160780/asylkompromiss) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- <sup>30</sup>Asylum seekers from countries of origin with a recognition rate over 50 percent are considered to have good prospects to remain in Germany. It is highly likely that they will be granted asylum and the right of residence. Every six months, it is determined which countries of origin comply with these criteria. In 2017, asylum seekers from Eritrea, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Somalia have good prospects to remain. <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Infothek/FragenAntworten/IntegrationskurseAsylbewerber/integrationskurse-asylbewerber-node.html> (accessed: August 15, 2017).
- <sup>31</sup>For an overview of the reforms to asylum laws since 2014, see <https://mediendienst-integration.de/migration/flucht-asyl/asylrecht.html> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- <sup>32</sup>Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2015).
- <sup>33</sup>The EASY system, an IT application about the distribution of asylum seekers to the 16 states (*Länder*), registered approximately 1.1 million asylum seekers who arrived in Germany in 2015. This number also included multiple registrations which were corrected later on. Asylum seekers who continued their travel elsewhere or returned to their countries of origin were later deleted from the system so that the number of people who actually arrived in Germany in 2015 and remained in the country was revised and found to be much lower. For more information, see: <http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2016/09/asylsuchende-2015.html> (accessed: August 14, 2017).
- <sup>34</sup>For more information about asylum numbers, see the publication series of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees "Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl", accessible at: <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Infothek/Statistiken/Asylzahlen/asylzahlen-node.html> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- <sup>35</sup><https://www.proasyl.de/news/2015-dramatischer-anstieg-von-gewalt-gegen-fluechtlinge/> (accessed: August 17, 2017).
- <sup>36</sup><https://www.infratest-dimap.de/umfragen-analysen/bundesweit-ard-deutschlandtrend/2017/januar/> (accessed: August 28, 2017).
- <sup>37</sup>For example, see the petition by Amnesty International "The basic human right to search for asylum may not be restricted any further!" (*loose translation*) <https://www.amnesty.de/mitmachen/petition/das-menschenrecht-asyl-zu-suchen-darf-nicht-weitereingeschraenkt-werden> (accessed: August 29, 2017).
- <sup>38</sup>For an overview of labor migration policy regulations, see also Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (2017).
- <sup>39</sup>Also see Sabine Hess et al. (2017).
- <sup>40</sup>Ehni, Ellen (2015).
- Bade, Klaus J./Oltmer, Jochen (2008): 'Deutschland'. In: Klaus J. Bade/Pieter C. Emmer/Leo Lucassen/Jochen Oltmer (Ed.): *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. Paderborn, 2nd Edition, pp. 141-170.
  - Braun, Daria (2012): More Uniform, Transparent, Effective? Procedures for the Assessment of Qualifications Acquired Abroad in Transition. *focus Migration*, Policy Brief No. 18. <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/kurzdosiers/141828/bewertung-von-im-ausland-erworbenen-qualifikationen> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
  - Brücker, Herbert/Hauptmann, Andreas/Sirries, Steffen (2017): 'Arbeitsmarktintegration von Geflüchteten in Deutschland: Der Stand zum Jahresbeginn 2017'. Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung. *Aktuelle Berichte* 4/2017. [http://doku.iab.de/aktuell/2017/aktueller\\_bericht\\_1704.pdf](http://doku.iab.de/aktuell/2017/aktueller_bericht_1704.pdf) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
  - Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Ed./2014): Die Blaue Karte EU. Wesentliche Inhalte dieses Gesetzes. As of 1 January 2014. <http://www.arbeitsagentur.de/web/wcm/idc/groups/public/documents/webdatei/mdaw/mtaz/~edisp/16019022dst-bai420319.pdf> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
  - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2017): *Migrationsbericht des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung. Migrationsbericht 2015*. Nuremberg.
  - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2015): *Migrationsbericht des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung. Migrationsbericht 2013*. Nuremberg.
  - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (2013): *Migrationsbericht des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge im Auftrag der Bundesregierung. Migrationsbericht 2011*. Nuremberg.
  - Bundeskriminalamt (2017): *Kernaussagen 'Kriminalität im Kontext von Zuwanderung' Betrachtungszeitraum: 1.1.-31.3.2017*. <https://www.bka.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Publikationen/JahresberichteUndLagebilder/KriminalitaetImKontextVonZuwanderung/kernaussagenZuKriminalitaetImKontextVonZuwanderungIQuartal2017.html?nn=62336> (accessed: August 25, 2017).
  - Bundesministerium des Innern (Ed./2014): *Migration und Integration. Aufenthaltsrecht, Migrations- und Integrationspolitik in Deutschland*. Berlin.
  - Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Ed./2017): *Bericht zum Anerkennungsgesetz 2017*. Berlin. [https://www.bmbf.de/pub/Bericht\\_zum\\_Anerkennungsgesetz\\_2017.pdf](https://www.bmbf.de/pub/Bericht_zum_Anerkennungsgesetz_2017.pdf) (accessed: August 14, 2017).
  - Bundesrat (2017): *Verordnung zur Umsetzung aufenthaltsrechtlicher Richtlinien der Europäischen Union zur Arbeitsmigration*. Drucksache 10/17. Erläuterung, 954.BR, 10.03.17. [https://www.bundesrat.de/SharedDocs/TO/954/erl/76.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=1](https://www.bundesrat.de/SharedDocs/TO/954/erl/76.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=1) (accessed: August 14, 2017).
  - Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (2013): *Vor zwanzig Jahren: Einschränkung des Asylrechts 1993*. [www.bpb.de/politik/hintergrund-aktuell/160780/asylkompromiss](http://www.bpb.de/politik/hintergrund-aktuell/160780/asylkompromiss) (accessed: August 24, 2017).

## References

- Angenendt, Steffen (2008): *Die Steuerung der Arbeitsmigration in Deutschland. Reformbedarf und Handlungsmöglichkeiten*. Gutachten im Auftrag der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Bonn.
- Bade, Klaus J. (2004): *Sozialhistorische Migrationsforschung*. Göttingen. (Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung, Vol. 13).

- Busch, Reinhard/Goltz, Gabriel (2011): 'Die Deutsche Islam Konferenz – Ein Übergangsformat für die Kommunikation zwischen Staat und Muslimen in Deutschland'. In: Hendrik Meyer/Klaus Schubert (Ed.): *Politik und Islam*. Wiesbaden, pp. 29-46.
- Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (2016): *11. Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration – Teilhabe, Chancengleichheit und Rechtsentwicklung in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft Deutschland*. [https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/Infomaterial/BPA/IB/11-Lagebericht\\_09-12-2016.pdf?jsessionid=92C0B73B7034B6C69B4F52A42D69C63F.s4t2?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=4](https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/Infomaterial/BPA/IB/11-Lagebericht_09-12-2016.pdf?jsessionid=92C0B73B7034B6C69B4F52A42D69C63F.s4t2?__blob=publicationFile&v=4) (accessed: August 28, 2017).
- Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration (Ed./2011): *Zweiter Integrationsindikatorenbericht*. Cologne/Berlin. [http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/2012-01-12-zweiter-indikatorenbericht.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/2012-01-12-zweiter-indikatorenbericht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 28, 2017).
- Deutscher Bundestag (2017): *Antwort der Bundesregierung auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Ulla Jelpke, Sevim Dağdelen, Frank Tempel, weiterer Abgeordneter der Fraktion DIE LINKE. Drucksache 18/11032. Zahlen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland lebender Flüchtlinge zum Stand 31. Dezember 2016*. Drucksache 18/11388. March 7. <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/doc/btd/18/113/1811388.pdf#page=34> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Ehni, Ellen (2015): *ARD-DeutschlandTrend. Deutsche besorgt über Flüchtlinge*. <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/deutschlandtrend-405.html> (accessed: August 29, 2017).
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Forum Berlin/Universität Bielefeld, Institut für interdisziplinäre Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung (2016): *Presse-Handout: Zusammenfassung zentraler Ergebnisse der Studie ›Gesplante Mitte – Feindselige Zustände‹*. [http://www.fes-gegen-rechtsextremismus.de/pdf\\_16/Presse-Handout-2016.pdf](http://www.fes-gegen-rechtsextremismus.de/pdf_16/Presse-Handout-2016.pdf) (accessed: August 28, 2017).
- Friedrich, Sebastian (Ed./2011): *Rassismus in der Leistungsgesellschaft: Analysen und kritische Perspektiven zu den rassistischen Normalisierungsprozessen der ›Sarrazin-debatte‹*. Münster.
- Gesemann, Frank/Roth, Roland (2014): *Integration ist (auch) Ländersache! Schritte zur politischen Inklusion von Migrantinnen und Migranten in den Bundesländern*. Eine Studie des Instituts Demokratische Entwicklung und Soziale Integration (DESI) für die Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Berlin.
- Hess, Sabine et al. (2017): *Der lange Sommer der Migration. Grenzregime III*. 2nd Edition. Berlin/Hamburg.
- Konferenz der für Integration zuständigen Ministerinnen und Minister / Senatorinnen und Senatoren der Länder (Ed./2017): *Vierter Bericht zum Integrationsmonitoring der Länder 2013-2015*. <http://www.integrationsmonitoring-laender.de/> (accessed: August 28, 2017).
- Leubecher, Marcel (2016): 'Wenn Asylbewerber verschwinden'. *Welt.de*, March 21. [https://www.welt.de/print/die\\_welt/politik/article153514221/Wenn-Asylbewerber-verschwinden.html](https://www.welt.de/print/die_welt/politik/article153514221/Wenn-Asylbewerber-verschwinden.html) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Meier-Braun, Karl-Heinz (2006): 'Zuwanderung und Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Der lange Weg ins Einwanderungsland Deutschland'. *Der Bürger im Staat*, Vol. 56, No.4, pp. 204-209.
- Neue Deutsche Medienmacher (2013): *Dokumentation des Workshops ›Neue Begriffe für die Einwanderungsgesellschaft am 29. und 30. April 2013 in Nürnberg*. Berlin. <http://www.neuemedienmacher.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Tagungsdokumentation-NDM-Begriffe-2013.pdf> (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Oberndörfer, Dieter (2007): *Zuwanderung nach Deutschland - eine Bilanz*. Rat für Migration: Politische Essays zu Migration und Integration 2/2007.
- Oltmer, Jochen (2016): *Migration im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. 3rd Edition, Munich.
- Oltmer, Jochen (2014): 'Politisch verfolgt? Asylrecht und Flüchtlingsaufnahme in der Bundesrepublik'. In: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Hg.): *Immer bunter. Einwanderungsland Deutschland. Begleitbuch zur Ausstellung im Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Bonn, pp. 106-123.
- Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (2017a): *Fakten zur Asylpolitik* (updated version). Kurz und bündig. August. <https://www.svr-migration.de/publikationen/fakten-zur-asylpolitik/> (accessed: August 25, 2017).
- Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (2017b): *Zuwanderung zum Zweck der Erwerbstätigkeit. Wichtige Regelungen im Überblick*. August 30, updated version. [https://www.svr-migration.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/SVR\\_Zuwanderung\\_Erwerbstaetigkeit.pdf](https://www.svr-migration.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/SVR_Zuwanderung_Erwerbstaetigkeit.pdf) (accessed: August 30, 2017).
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2017a): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Einbürgerungen 2016*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.1. Wiesbaden. [https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Einbuengerungen2010210167004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Einbuengerungen2010210167004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2017b): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2016*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2. Wiesbaden. [https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund2010220167004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund2010220167004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Statistisches Bundesamt (2017c): *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Wanderungen 2015*. Fachserie 1 Reihe 1.2. Wiesbaden. [https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/Wanderungen/Wanderungen2010120157004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/Wanderungen/Wanderungen2010120157004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (accessed: August 25, 2017).
- Thym, Daniel (2016): 'Integration kraft Gesetzes? Grenzen und Inhalte des ›Integrationsgesetzes‹ des Bundes'. *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR)*, Vol. 36, No. 8, pp. 241-251.
- Vogel, Dita (2016): *Kurz Dossier: Umfang und Entwicklung der Zahl der Papierlosen in Deutschland*. October. Universität Bremen. Fachbereich 12. Arbeitsbereich Interkulturelle Bildung. AbIB-Arbeitspapier 2/2016. <http://www.fb12.de/>

- uni-bremen.de/fileadmin/Arbeitsgebiete/interkult/Arbeitspapiere/Vogel\_2016\_Kurzdossier\_Umfang\_Papierlose\_in\_Deutschland\_Abib-Arbeitspapier\_2.pdf (accessed: August 24, 2017).
- Vogel, Dita (2015): *Update report Germany: Estimated number of irregular foreign residents in Germany (2014)*. Clandestino Database on Irregular Migration. [http://irregular-migration.net/fileadmin/irregular-migration/dateien/4\\_Background\\_Information/4.5.Update\\_Reports/Vogel\\_2015\\_Update\\_report\\_Germany\\_2014\\_fin-.pdf](http://irregular-migration.net/fileadmin/irregular-migration/dateien/4_Background_Information/4.5.Update_Reports/Vogel_2015_Update_report_Germany_2014_fin-.pdf) (accessed: August 24, 2017).
  - Vogel, Dita (2013): 'Deutschland: 1,5 Millionen Menschen weniger als angenommen'. *Migration und Bevölkerung*, 5/2013.
  - Vogel, Dita (2013a): 'Deutschland: Erleichterte Einwanderung für nichtakademische Fachkräfte'. *Migration und Bevölkerung*, 3/2013.

### Online Resources

Association Pro Asyl e.V.: [www.proasyl.de](http://www.proasyl.de)

EU Blue Card Germany:  
[www.bluecard-eu.de/blaue-karte-eu-deutschland](http://www.bluecard-eu.de/blaue-karte-eu-deutschland)

Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration: [www.svr-migration.de](http://www.svr-migration.de)

Federal Office for Migration and Refugees: [www.bamf.de](http://www.bamf.de)

Federal Ministry of the Interior: [www.bmi.bund.de](http://www.bmi.bund.de)

Federal Statistics Office: [www.destatis.de](http://www.destatis.de)

Information portal on resettlement: <http://resettlement.de>

International Organisation for Migration (IOM):  
[www.iom.int](http://www.iom.int)

Make it in Germany (official website for qualified professionals) [www.make-it-in-germany.com](http://www.make-it-in-germany.com)

Media Service Integration:  
<https://mediendienst-integration.de>

Migrant Integration Policy Index: <http://www.mipex.eu>

Statistical Office of the European Union (Eurostat):  
<http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR): [www.unhcr.org](http://www.unhcr.org)

### About the authors

**Vera Hanewinkel** is Research Assistant at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) of the University of Osnabrück.

Email: [vera.hanewinkel@uni-osnabrueck.de](mailto:vera.hanewinkel@uni-osnabrueck.de)

**Jochen Oltmer**, Dr. phil. habil., born in 1965, is Associate Professor of Modern History and Member of the Board of the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) of the University of Osnabrück.

Email: [joltmer@uni-osnabrueck.de](mailto:joltmer@uni-osnabrueck.de)

## ABOUT FOCUS MIGRATION

Publishers: Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) of the University of Osnabrück, Neuer Graben 19/21, 49069 Osnabrück, Germany, Phone: +49 (0)541 969 4384, Fax: +49 (0)541 969 4380, Email: [imis@uni-osnabrueck.de](mailto:imis@uni-osnabrueck.de)

Federal Agency for Civic Education (bpb), Adenauerallee 86, 53113 Bonn, Germany;  
with the collaboration of Network Migration in Europe e.V.

Editorial staff: Vera Hanewinkel, Apl. Prof. Dr. Jochen Oltmer (head)  
Translation into English: Fachübersetzungsdienst GmbH

focus Migration country profiles (ISSN 1864-6220) and policy briefs (ISSN 1864-5704) are produced by the above-named cooperation partners. The information contained in these publications does not necessarily reflect the opinions of the publishers. Partial reproduction and citation are authorized, provided the source is acknowledged.

Further online resources: [www.bpb.de](http://www.bpb.de), [www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de](http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de)

Our country profiles and policy briefs are available online at: [www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration](http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration)