

HOW MIGRATION HAS CONTRIBUTED THE RISE OF THE
FAR-RIGHT IN GERMANY

by

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Increased migration into Europe in the summer of 2015 signified a shift in how the European Union responds to migration, and now more so than in Germany, which has opened its doors to about 1.5 million migrants as of 2018. While Chancellor Angela Merkel's welcome helped alleviate the burden placed on countries that bordered the east as well as the Mediterranean, it has been the subject of a lot of controversy over the last three years within Germany itself. Drawing on this controversy, this study explores how migration has affected Germany's migration policies, and the extent to which it has affected a shift towards the right within the government. I conclude that Germany's relationship with migration has been complicated since its genesis, and that ultimately Merkel's welcome was the exception to decades of policy, not the rule. Thus, as tensions increase between migrants and citizens, and policy fails to adapt to benefit both parties, Germany's politicians will advocate to close the state from migrants more and more. However, these actions will fail to account for how Merkel's decision has already drastically changed Germany's culture, socially, demographically, and economically, as well as politically.

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Introduction

On September 24, 2017, Alternative for Germany was elected into the Bundestag, the first time a far-right party had gained seats since the Nazis in 1932. While the election of the four-year-old party was a shock to the international community, it also represented a shift in German politics. While the Christian Democratic Union maintained its majority in the Bundestag, and along with long time grand coalition partner the Social Democratic Parties, won the largest percentage of voters, the party, and its long-time leader Chancellor Angela Merkel, were markedly less popular than in past elections. The contentiousness of the election itself, as well as the rising popularity of nationalism, is attributed the Syrian Refugee Crisis, and Merkel's decision to open Germany's door to millions of migrants following the Summer of Migration in 2015.

The summer itself was characterized by the mass arrival of refugees and migrants into EU border states such as Greece and Italy, and their subsequent migration to northern states. This crisis represents only the most recent immigration influx in Europe, but it also brings into questions the efficacy of Europe's current asylum policies. The summer of migration ended through the creation of a cordon sanitaire around Western Europe with the closure of the "Balkan Corridor" however southern states—particularly Greece and Italy—bear the brunt of continued migration given their proximity to the Middle East and North Africa, while at the same time far-right parties in the North—such as the Netherland's Party of Freedom and Germany's Alternative for Germany—gain popularity.

I. The Research Problem

While the rise of the AfD was shocking, it also shifted the existing dynamic in the government. Both the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party lost votes, while the AfD and the Free Democratic Party, both right-wing parties, won votes. The rising popularity of these two parties is indicative of discord among Germans over whether or not to support internationalisation, and what both would mean for Germany. The election also illustrated decreased confidence in long-time German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who championed Germany's admittance of unprecedented numbers of refugees during the crisis in 2015, and their integration following. The influx of refugees has forced Germany to confront its complex and contradictory migration policies, and how it envisions solving the complex social, economic, and political challenges presented by the surge of migrants. At the same time, Germany must also address how the EU has responded to the problem, and how its domestic interests will be synthesised with international obligations in a period of decreasing support for globalisation, both within Europe and without.

II. Purpose of the Study

In this paper, I will explore how whether or not Germany has begun to move away from liberalism within the context of migration. Although it is just one piece of Germany's complex current challenges, the social, economic, and political concerns that immigration provokes is a good way to understand both modern fears and modern solutions to them. Germany's response to the Syrian refugee crisis is a product of contradictory policies internally and externally, and how the current political and social climate is a direct result of Germany's challenging history with immigration. This paper

will examine policy within Germany and within the EU to assess the origin of current response toward the refugee crisis in order to gauge whether or not Germany will sustain its current level of devotion to refugee acceptance and integration, or whether deteriorating internal and external support will cause Germany to adopt less migration friendly policies.

III. Proposed Methodology

This paper contrasts how migrants have historically been accepted and integrated into Germany, as well as how they are currently being accepted and integrated, to analyze how individual and institutional changes have occurred. The main categories of analysis will be economic, political, and social, particularly in the context of the following categories:

- The dilemma between integrating or adapting
- Deteriorating birth rates
- Gaps in the labor market
- Evolving political response

To conduct this study, I have used both qualitative and quantitative methods. My qualitative data came from historical accounts of migration policy, as well as past legislation and elections, as well as first person interviews with politicians, migrants, and German citizens, and news articles, to understand how opinions toward migration have shifted since the conception of Germany, and the contemporary struggles of all involved parties in Germany to integrate, assimilate, or adapt.

In addition to my qualitative research, I have also used data taken from Think Tanks, surveys officially conducted by the government as well as unofficially by

researchers and newspapers, and government statistics about migration-related institutions, to understand how data differs from observation, and what this reveals about Germany's political climates. I also the data collected from other researchers on similar subjects to understand what the political climate is like in other EU countries, to make conclusions about the effect of the Refugee Crisis on the EU as an institution, and its members as sovereign states.

IV. Definitions

1. Liberalism – The belief that protecting and enhancing individual freedom is the central role of politics
2. Far-Right – Politics that oppose socialism and social democracy, and are usually characterized by nationalism, nativist ideologies, and authoritarianism
3. Asylum – A protection granted by a nation to a political refugee
4. Assimilation – The process of integrating people into a wider society and culture
5. Integration – Bringing people into equal participation in or membership of a social group or institution

V. Research Questions

1. To what extent has recent migration affected the shift towards the right in Germany's political system?
 - a. How do we understand the problems that have generated Germany's complex migration politics?
 - b. What can we expect from Germany's migration policy going into the future?

Historical Context

To understand how Germany's current challenges, it is necessary to understand the country's history with migrants, and how its policies have been adapted overtime to reflect social, economic, and political pressures. By analysing its nationality laws, foreign labourer programs, and immigration laws, as well as competing laws issued by the European Union, it becomes clear that Germany's policies have been historically reactionary, which has created an insufficient system for responding to crises. To understand Germany's complex political problems, it will be necessary to first understand Germany's policies, and then those of the EU.

I. National Identity in Germany

While Germany's states¹ were not fully united until the World Wars, its conception of citizenship and nationality originates far earlier, and informs not just Germany's history of migration policies, but its current response to them. For many Europeans, "the first significant interaction with government officials from beyond their localities came when they were drafted into the military," (Lachmann, 2011, p. 261) which became increasingly common following the 16th century, as social, political, and economic structures shifted. This altered individual's relationships with the states, and "the appeal and worth of what states offered their citizens or what citizens demanded of states, and hence the commitment to nationalism, was further strengthened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the weakening of alternate bases of solidarity" (Lachmann, 2011, p. 265). It was also the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that

¹ Länder

concepts such as welfare and the market were also introduced, thus strengthening the bond between the individual and the state. In Germany, Chancellor Otto von Bismarck introduced one of the first welfare systems, which was founded to address Germany's rapid industrialisation and urban population growth and created programs for national health care, insurance, and pension. All of these programs were rooted in Prussian Nationalism, which maintained that the Prussian people themselves were the nation, and that the cultural unity of Prussians was paramount (Motyl, 2001, p.426). This concept of nationalism transformed the state further so that it was no longer just a physical concept, but an ideological concept as well, one which hinged on the idea of "us" and "them."

The "us" and "them" is at the heart of anti-immigration rhetoric, because it defines the immigrant and access to citizenship, as well as Germany's relationship with physical and metaphorical borders in the twentieth century. The First and Second World Wars utilised the German conception of nationalism in order to mobilise the country. In the aftermath of the First World War, the nationalist sentiments persisted, which then led to the Second World War, and the rise of the Nazi party, perpetuating both the root and the problem. The Nazis targeted subhumans² on the basis of ethnicity, religion, political belief, and sexual orientation in the Holocaust in order to maintain the Aryan master race.³ The result was the death of 17 million people (Holocaust Encyclopaedia 2019). While Germany lost both the First and the Second World War, this did not immediately erase nationalist ideologies, nor xenophobic tensions. In fact, tensions

² Untermenschen

³ Herrenvolk

were exacerbated by the division between the East and the West, which left the German people culturally divided and struggling to reconstruct itself after thirty years of warfare.

Weakened by the war, Germany had to rely on foreign labourers during its reconstruction, thus for the first-time establishing government-sponsored migration into the country and establishing the foundation of future policy problems in relation to residency and nationality. During the reconstruction, Germany established labor recruitment bureaus in low-wage countries, generally in eastern and southern Europe, to bring in guest-labourers. This caused Germany's non-German population to expand, however its laws dictation nationality and naturalisation remained dated. The Germany Nationality Law⁴ was first introduced in 1913 order to create a common nationality for all the states under the German Reich, and to give all citizens, including expatriates, the same rights. These rights included equality, freedom of speech, belief, and expression, the right to vote, and the right to participate in the economy (Amt, Auswärtiges 1913). During the Nazi regime, this law was amended repeatedly in order to restrict the definition of citizens to apply on to those of the Master Race through the Nuremberg laws. These restrictions removed citizenship from of all those who had destroyed the German nation (political radicals) and redefined the rights of others based on ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. The effect was that people from "subhuman" classes no longer were under the explicit protection of the German state, and were not ensured equal access to the economy, politics, or society itself (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).

⁴ Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz

When the regime fell, West Germany was faced with the task of redefining nationality once again, in order to address both the removal of nationalities as well as the classification of rights (Hailbronner, 2006, p.214). In 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany elected to base use the nationality law of 1913, with the addition of three amendments in 1955, 1956 and 1957. These amendments addressed the nationality of residents of occupied territories and victims of the Nazi regime, as well as a time limit to raise claims. The problem of nationality, however, persisted along with the division of Germany and the question of whether or not East and West Germans should be considered the same nationality, or separate. Based on the German Nationality Law of 1913, West Germany insisted that every German should be considered German on the basis of their ancestry, regardless of residency. Accordingly, “19 (Hailbronner 2006, p.218; Klein 1983, p. 2289). While these laws were inclusive of the German diaspora, they neglected to include the foreign-born population of residents, some of whose families had resided in Germany for multiple generation yet were deigned citizenship on the basis of their lack of German blood. The policy of inclusivity towards German expatriates, while exclusivity to foreign-born residence, engendered social, political, and economic pressures upon the country. The state would not be able to use foreign-born labourers perpetually, especially as these labourers began establishing enclaves within the country and it became clear that many would not be temporary.

II. The Challenges of Reconstructing a Fractured Nation

The growing number of foreign labourers augmented concerns over access to jobs and other economic opportunities for German citizens. The guest workers⁵ had been brought into Germany through the Agreement on the Recruitment and Placement of Workers,⁶ which itself was a result of the economic boom in West Germany and caused the unemployment rate to shrink drastically. These labourers were employed as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in positions that German labourers considered unattractive. They augmented the upward mobility of the core “German” workforce, while at the same time were excluded from all the benefits of being actual citizens (Documentation Center and Museum of Migration in Germany, 2015). Then, in 1966, an economic crisis caused backlash against all foreign workers, and the recession-induced insecurity caused debates over the utility of employing foreign workers, culminating in an oil crisis in 1973. In the same year, the employment of foreign labourers, largely from Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Italy, reached a peak of 12 percent of all the West German labour market. Concerns directed at these workers led to the Recruitment Ban in 1973,⁷ which terminated the Agreement on the Recruitment and Placement of Workers, and prohibited the entry of guest workers from non-members of the European Economic Community,⁸ although some legal channels remained such as family reunification and asylum, as well as exceptions for seasonal and contract workers, higher level workers, and artists and students.

⁵ Gastarbeiter

⁶ Abkommen über Anwerbung und Vermittlung von Arbeitskräften

⁷ Anwerbestopp

⁸ Precursor to the European Union

The inclusion of asylum is important to understand in the context of Germany as a member state of the European Union. Since the Second World War, European asylum policy hinged on the concept of “non-refoulement.” Non-refoulement is defined by the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, itself a response to Article 14 of the universal Declaration of Human Rights, and forbids a country receiving asylum seekers from returning the asylum seekers to a country in which they would be in likely danger of persecution based on “race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion,” (Melander, 1986, p.221). However, this policy was been applied unevenly since its establishment, which led to the creation of the Schengen and the Dublin agreements. These agreements created a conflicted policy in Europe. The first Schengen Agreement in 1985 aimed to abolish internal border control between participating states, while also creating a responsibility to secure this region through the policing of a common border. The second convention, in 1990, created the infrastructure to enforce this, while also banning multiple asylum applications in different states of the Schengen area. Finally, the Dublin Convention assigned the role of policing the borders—and migrants—to emergent border states. The problem is that no quota of asylum acceptances was created, clearly placing the brunt of the problem on the south and east.

Bernd Kasperek hypothesises four reasons for this clear loophole: at the time, the EU’s policy was still anti-immigration; there was no true enforcement of the Dublin system; the South was enthused about the European project; and ultimately asylum seekers were not seen as problematic as they are today (2016, p. 17). The problems, of course came when the EU introduced the Amsterdam treaty in 1997, which

institutionalised these agreements into Europe's legal framework and introduced the Common European Asylum System. Furthermore, the Eurodac database enforced Dublin system by entering the fingerprints of all asylum seekers and irregular migrants apprehended at the border into a European database. The basis of this new legal framework was that states could not encourage migrants to leave, however Kasparek was quick to point out the flaws in their reasoning. "Once the European Court of Justice ruled that member states seeking to initiate a Dublin deportation first had to establish that the conditions in the country to which the asylum seeker should be deported would not be in violation of his/her human rights," he wrote, "the fiction that, by virtue of being a EU member state, the asylum system could not be deficient was shattered, revealing the dire state of the CEAS," (2016, p.26). Thus, while Germany makes exception for asylum, among other claims, it only needs to do so to the extent of the law. Economic asylum is not considered.

While the recruitment ban was intended to prohibit more foreign workers from entering Germany to seek employment, in effect the ban "unintentionally led many foreigners to stay in the country. After all, the option for re-entry had been explicitly rejected" (Borkert and Bosswick, 2011, p.97). Although in the following years, immigration decreased as well as the total number of foreigners, the rate was not significant as migrants already in the country understood they would not be granted exception, despite their opportunities and quality life being significantly greater in Germany.

The declining employment of foreigners during this period can be attributed to slow economic growth, as well as a reduction of jobs in the unskilled labor market, the

branch that employed the majority of foreigners (Münz and Ulrich, 1993). However, the lack of foreign labourers to occupy the existing positions did pose a problem to the German government, and in 1983, the Law for Promoting the Repatriation of Foreigners⁹ was introduced to subsidise the voluntary return of foreign workers so that they could obtain pension. This law was the first of its kind to start granting foreigners rights similar to those of citizens. However, this failed to encourage migrants to return, and repatriation numbers fell far below the intended figures (Santel and Weber, 2000). The contradictions between the Recruitment Ban of 1973 and the Promotion of the Repatriation of Foreigners in 1983, just ten years later, illustrates Germany's reactionary history. While initially banning them dressed political pressures, they failed to address the social and economic problems the ban would engender.

While West Germany's reconstruction was funded and encouraged by West Europe, East Germany's was the result of the Soviet Union. Thus, although linked by a common culture and history, the thirty-five years of separation did create noticeable regional differences in the newly united Germany. With the fall of the Soviet Union, and the integration of East Germany into West Germany's framework, the government became focused on how political, social, and economic questions would be answered during the reunification. The Christian Democratic Party won the election in 1990, and so party leader Helmut Kohl was tasked with leading the united Germany forward. Politically, East Germany would almost uniformly adopt the laws of the West, and integration went smoothly due to a shared history and culture prior to the Second World War. Economically, the reunification would become more difficult. Despite massive

⁹ Rückkehrförderungsgesetz

transfers of capital from the West to the East, by 1997 East Germany's GDP was still only 57 percent of that of the West, while wages were around 75 percent and unemployment was double the Western level (Hunt, 2000, p.1). At the time, rife with political pressures to recreate the miracle of West Germany's economy in the east, the problem of migration policies became all the more complex. The fall of the Soviet Union, while resulting in the Reunification, also resulted in the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, and thus Germany, as well as Europe, experienced its first refugee crisis at the same time as it was desperately trying to reconstruct itself once more.

III. Post-Cold War Migration and Integration Debates

At the start of the Bosnian crisis in 1992, Germany rejected many asylum applications from Bosnian refugees on the basis of the 1951 refugee definition, which only required that states accept refugees fearing government persecution (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1993, p.2). At the same time, Germany had already accepted tens of thousands of Slovenes and Croats fleeing the violence caused by Slovenian and Croatian secessions in 1991 (Stets, 1992, p.52) and the surge of labor supply increased unemployment and magnified the effects of Europe's recession in Germany (Frank, 2009, p.3). In some areas of the East Germany, unemployment ranged from 50-70 percent, and reports of gang violence rose, especially toward migrant residents (Woodward, 1995, p.368). The response toward the migrant crisis, particularly in East Germany, shows that the state's ability to respond has historically been reactive rather than proactive, and that ultimately the government has always had trouble adapting its migrant policy in order to reflect shifting climates.

By the end of the 20th century, there were more than seven million foreign nationals living in Germany, about 9 percent of the population. Approximately 30 percent of them had been in Germany for twenty years or more, 40 percent for more than fifteen years and almost 50 percent for more than ten years and finally more than 20 percent had been born in Germany (Hailbronner, 2006, p.221). The large non-national population placed pressure on the German government to introduce nationalisation reforms, so that those who had lived in Germany for an extended period of time, or those who had been born in Germany and had always lived in Germany, could have a voice. While the government recognised the disconnect, the Federal Constitutional Court maintained that political rights, as defined in the Basic Law, are dependent on the concept of nationality. A variety of solutions were proposed, from simplifying the naturalisation process, to introducing jus soli for third-generation foreigners born in Germany. The solution of jus soli was popular across the Bundestag, although the way it was proposed varied between the Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Green Party, and the Free Democratic Party. However, shifting political tensions made it difficult to decide how to begin the process of incorporating jus soli into the Nationality Act.

As Chancellor of the Bundestag, Kohl amended immigration regulations to make all laws across Germany and its states uniform, while also guaranteeing return entry for permanent residents, access through one of nine doors of immigration,¹⁰ and the ability to become naturalised after 15 years (although a deadline to apply by 1995

¹⁰ 1) internal EU migrants; 2) spouses and children of permanently resident foreigners; 3) ethnic Germans; 4) Jewish immigrants from CIS countries; 5) asylum seekers; 6) Geneva Convention refugees; 7) temporary protection refugees; 8) new guest workers (e.g. contract labourers); 9) foreign students.

was also established). For the first time German migration policy reflected elements of citizenship regulations found in classic countries of immigration, albeit restricted (Borkert and Bosswick, 2011, p.99).

While laws were becoming less strict, the 1990s in Germany was still dominated by a heated political and public discourse on asylum. Facing increasing political pressure from local communities sheltering migrants, compounded with the EU's London regulations, the Social Democratic Party agreed to amend article 16 of German Basic Law to restrict the right to asylum to the safe third country rule. These restrictions continued throughout the 1990's, and the asylum and temporary protection regulations in effect pushed the majority of refugees into voluntary return, specifically those from the Balkans. This response illustrates how, when experiencing its first refugee crisis at the same time as political pressures to reform nationality laws peaked, the government responded by instituting policies to discourage migration, and thus limit the problem. Germany was facing increased economic and social problems during the reunification, and thus could not expend the same level of resources on non-nationals. Its response was a direct result of national priorities. It is clear from Kohl's decision to amend the Nationality Act that the state recognised the definition of what it meant to be German was shifting, the restriction on asylum reflects how Germany's progress would be slow moving in to the future, and still focused on maintaining its status quo.

IV. From Jus Sanguinis to Jus Soli

Along with the new century came a profound change in Germany's nationalisation and immigration policies, and perspectives regarding them. The new millennium also marked a new era in how Germany regarded migration. Discourse no

longer held that immigrants were a burden on the economy, but instead a valuable resource, discourse that reflects Germany's need of non-nationals during the Reconstruction. In July of 1999, the Bundestag voted to introduce an amended jus soli principal and in January of 2000 it became law. The new law allowed children of foreign parents to become naturalised provided that one parents have their habitual residence for eight years, as well as possession of a residence permit for three years. Should these conditions be met at the time of the child's birth, they would be entitled to citizenship following their tenth birthday. Adults were entitled to naturalisation so long as the former qualifications were met, along with proof that they would be capable to live without public assistance or unemployment benefits, that they had no criminal record, and that they would pledge themselves to the constitution. This principal was critically received because it also forced foreigners (both children and adults) to decide on a singular nationality, rather than being allowed to hold multiple. Although children had by their eighteenth birthday to decide on their German citizenship or their foreign citizenship(s), adults had to renounce theirs in the process of naturalisation. While there were exceptions to the renunciation of dual nationalities, they were limited.¹¹ Germany's liberalisation was slow, and focused on non-nationals that were already heavily invested and integrated into the social and economic framework.

Shortly after the new naturalisation laws were established, a commission chaired by Rita Süßmuth of the CDU was created in 2002 to addresses the development in discourse toward migration, and included representatives from churches, unions, and

¹¹ Disproportionate difficulty or hardship, economic or financial disadvantage, and the existence of reciprocity for EU citizens.

industries as well as politicians. The commission found that immigration had become necessary economically and demographically, and that as such, Germany needed to find a method to expand access to immigration such as through the establishment of a Federal Office for Immigration and Integration, the function of which would be to coordinate immigration and refugee protection. While the SPD, FDP, and Green Party all supported this recommendation, it was rejected by the CDU, which did not favour attempts to expand rather than limit immigration. This has long been a part of the CDU's platform, and so Merkel's decision to support the Blue Card, as well as amend residency applications, represents a significant departure from her party.

The Immigration Act of 2004 further amended Germany's nationalisation policy, while also emphasising the necessity of integration. In regard to nationalisation, the act made citizenship dependant upon a proof of sufficient knowledge of the German language as well as history and political system. This was in an effort to make all nationals, regardless of heritage, culturally uniform. It also applied a directionally clause for individuals with a criminal record, as well as individuals not capable of making a living without government assistance. In regard to loosing dual or multiple citizenship, loosened restrictions, particularly for children born into citizenship through the principle of jus soli. By previously signing the European Convention of Nationality in 2002, Germany had agreed to provide dual nationality for these children, and by passing the Act the Bundestag codified this convention into German law. The Act also addressed provisions established by the European Union. EU citizens were already privileged in that they could retain their dual citizenship, particularly for German nationals reclaiming their citizenship. In this regard, Germany actually elected to take a

more liberal approach to citizenship, allowing EU citizens nationally regardless of reciprocity. The new nationalisation policies, with the focus on integration, is demonstrative of how Germany prioritises non-national's ability to function in the society and the economy above all else.

In the same year, the Bundestag finally introduced a new immigration law that would reflect the findings of the commission in 2002. Although a general ban on low skilled workers remained in effect, and a restriction was placed on recruiting highly skilled workers, the new law did reduce residence types to limited and permanent, expanded its acceptable reasons for asylum, and created a federally-funded integration course for new immigrants eligible for permanent residence. It also introduced mandatory expulsion for foreign nationals who are members or supporters of terrorist organisations. Discretionary expulsions could also be imposed on so-called 'intellectual arsonists.' This marked the first time that Germany's regulations for immigration, labour market access, and residency were combined under one act, and it streamlined the application process to a single procedure for both residence and work permits. Refugees would also all be treated under the heading of humanitarian integration, abolishing the narrow criteria for political asylum. Accordingly, the Federal Office for the Recognition of Foreign Refugees (BAFl) was renamed the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and it began to cooperate with labour offices and the federal labour administration to implement integration measures. The name change is significant because it expanded Germany's response, and created a department devoted not just to asylum, as mandated by the EU, but migrants as well. However, by interweaving the two causes, Germany also linked asylum and migration, complicating

future responses to crises. The shared office treats asylum seekers almost exactly like migrant applicants, which creates problems for how the former will be integrated into Germany.

While Germany has reformed its laws, so too has the EU and indeed the laws established by the CEAS were most recently reformed in 2014, just prior to the summer of migration. Thus, policy has not been updated to address the most recent crisis, and in the last five years, the main priority has become exercising asylum laws, rather than reforming them to ameliorate the crisis, particularly for states in the South and East which are unfairly burdened. Fig. 1 represents the path of the average asylum seeker into Europe, showing how migrants view each part of the EU, and what is their ultimate goal.

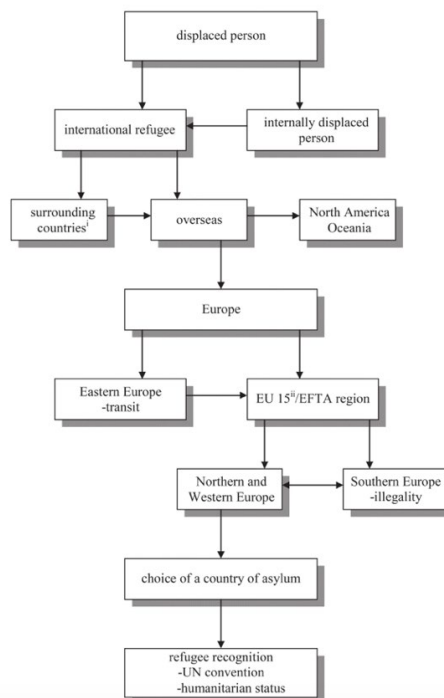


Figure 1: The course taken by a displaced person to become an asylum migrant in Northern or Western Europe until the extension of the EU in 2004 (Source: Jennissen & van Wissen, 2015).

The figure shows that although asylum seekers travel through or to both eastern and southern, their ultimate goal are the wealthier EU-15 countries, that have the social and economic infrastructure to sustain increased population level, unlike other EU members (Jennissen & van Wissen, 2015, p.112). Thus, when Germany decided to examine the asylum applications of those forced migrants whose first EU country of entry was not Germany, disregarding the Dublin III Regulations, states such as those in the Balkan corridor found themselves affected by the many ambiguities with regard to how to interpret EU law, as well as the actions of Western and Northern European states like Germany (Sardelić, 2017, p.101). The complexities created by Germany's contradictory migration policy didn't just affect itself, but all countries within the EU,

who had to shift their response to EU-law in order to address not only the refugee crisis, but Germany's political crisis. This is in part why the EU began to pursue a refugee agreement with Turkey in the aftermath of the crisis. The partnership between states in the Balkan corridor was unsustainable, particularly because while Slovenia and Croatia are both members of the EU, Serbia and Macedonia were only candidate states. Consequentially, at the EU-Turkey Summit in March 2016, representatives from all four post-Yugoslav countries agreed that leaving the Balkan corridor would need to be closed down.

Literature Review

With so many complex challenges to solve, there are a lot of different approaches Germany could take going in to the future. Possible responses will be rooted the actions of the EU, and its commitment both to Germany and an EU-wide solution, as well as the actions of Germany itself, and how it will continue to respond to the influx of refugees.

What Europe Can expect From Germany's Changing Migration Policy

speculated that Europe, and indeed the rest of the world, most expect a “gradual mainstreaming of immigration-critical positions on the part of the German government” as the segments of the population that have grown disaffected with [Merkel's] leadership torn to the populist anti-immigrant AfD (Tassinari & Tetzlaff, 2016, p. 4). As tensions rise between migrant communities and Germans, it will become necessary for the right-leaning CDU to take a more discursive middle ground between the centre and the far-right, so that populists cannot argue that they are being deprived a voice, while also reflecting Merkel's legacy. Indeed, the problem in the EU is rooted in its polarised conceptual spectrum, wherein on one hand the EU believes that security best attained by opening borders, lowering trade barriers, and joining a single currency, while on the other hand security is better attained by protecting borders, keeping sovereignty in national hands, and reversing supranational integration (Tassinari, 2016, p.80). While Tassinari does not analyse the spectrum in the context of the EU, he does conclude that EU-wide response to the refugee influx, as well as other crises, points to a future wherein EU policies are renationalised, and the vision of the Union, with common policies, borders, and currency, is shattered.

To avoid this renationalisation, the International Strategic Research Organization recommends that the entire EU implement more proactive, rather than reactive, policies to end the civil war in Syria, and help stabilise other countries exporting refugees, so that rather than consolidating and securing the “fortress” of Europe, the EU instead expends its resources on border countries as well (Yılmaz-Elmas et al., 2016, p. 25). While this is occurring to an extent with the EU-Turkey Refugee Agreement, as well as in the Balkan corridor, the division between EU internal border states, and external border states, augments tensions. However, in a study performed on the role of the EU countries in the Syrian refugee crisis, researchers concluded that despite the principles of common asylum outlined by the EU, and enforced by the Schengen agreement and the Dublin regulation, the refugee crisis clearly demonstrated that the EU member states will not adopt a common position, and that their goal will always be securing their own borders (Havlová & Tamchynová, 2016, p.100). To that extent, the EU’s efforts to keep refugees in their own region, such as Syrian refugees in Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon, is not sustainable because it is not a European solution, but a response to internal desires.

These studies ultimate conclusions that the refugee crisis is causing divisions within the EU is also confirmed in a study published by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, wherein researcher Gideon Rachman concluded that Germany will be troubled going into the future not by its own government, but by decreasing global support. The United States is held by an anti-immigration right-wing government, while both Russia and Turkey have increasingly hostile views of both Germany and the EU, and support from EU member-states is dwindling, with Poland and Hungary both

characterised by increasingly nationalist and authoritarian governments, debt crises plaguing Greece and Italy, and the United Kingdom on the verge of leaving the EU entirely. While Rachman maintained that Germany itself is committed to the core elements of liberal globalism, the fear is that Germany will not be able to sustain this vision in isolation (Rachman, 2017, p. 1). In fact, despite predictions that Merkel's refugee policies would lead to political and social disaster, Germany still remains strong. While its relationship with the US is troubling, it is far more dependant on its relations with other European powers, and in this regard a similar study conducted by Markus Kaim established that Germany's strength will persist only so long as its allies, such as France, are weak and occupied with domestic rather than international priorities (Kaim, 2017, p. 43). This does not, however, mean that Germany is unbreakable: while Germany is committed to globalism, Merkel still must ensure that Germany become committed to immigration and integration.

While these studies all place the crux of the failure on Germany's allies, a study published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs claimed that Germany's own citizens would be up for the challenge ahead, and that unlike anti-immigration politicians, ordinary Germans have responded to migrants with open-arms through the creation of volunteer programs and civil society organisations (Connolly, 2015, p. 37). However, this study still placed the issue on a spectrum, and divided Germany between its politicians and its people. Researcher Joyce Marie Mushaben had a much darker outlook on Germany's future, wherein the failure of the Green Card to "generate an expected tidal wave of super-competent, information-technology specialists eager to uproot their families, relegate their wage-earning spouses to unpaid care-work, learn

fluent German, pay outrageous rents, and then go back home after five years” has demonstrated how Germany’s “Germans first” attitude has only augmented its demographic and economic problems (Mushaben, 2010, p. 160-161). The failure does not seem to be the result of individuals themselves, who seem to have acquired multicultural tastes for Turkish or Italian customs, but the politicians who invoke the idea of “German-ness” while ignoring the critical need for deeper socioeconomic reforms. Thus, the way forward for Germany is riddled with possibilities: will the EU become more globalist, or nationalist, and will Germany government continue its internationalist commitments, championed by its citizens, or collapse under the weight of its history?

Analysis

Although it is clear that Germany wants to maintain its globalist approach to foreign relations, it is unclear what its idea of globalism will look like in the context of its policies. While Germany has a history of migration, from guest workers during the reconstruction, to refugees from Turkey and the Balkans, these policies have always been reactive, and aimed at restricting access, rather than opening it. The first of its policies toward foreigners was the establishment and re-establishment of nationality law, which prioritised German blood. This prioritisation persisted until 2000, when nationality law was reformed to address the growing problem of immigrant enclaves that had formed from internationally recruited workers who had never left the country, and yet had been ignored by nationalisation policy for decades. The shift was a result of decades of foreign labourers and economic migration, which allowed Germany's economy to grow it times of economic surplus, but threatened Germany's cultural uniformity, especially as the labourers failed to become integrated, politically and socially. The Syrian refugee crisis has caused Germany's contradictory history to come to light and has raised questions as to how Germany's perception towards immigration will change in the future as a result of shifting social, demographic, economic, and political realities.

I. The dilemma between integrating or adapting

One of Germany's greatest challenges is the disconnect between its government and citizens' desires to assimilate migrants, and migrants' desires to maintain their own culture and traditions. One highly contentious example is the use of veils, which

Germans view as a symbol of unwillingness to embrace their new home and culture, and Syrians concede that women who continue to wear the veil are considerably limited in their employment opportunities (Hindy, 2018). The fear of segregation is unavoidable, considering the Germany's historic failures to ensure the migrant populations are integrated. During its post-war reconstruct, hundreds of thousands of foreign labourers were contracted to work, with the misguided belief that the labourers would return to their country of origin when their contract was terminated. The result are ethnic enclaves of Turks, Poles, and other minorities, that persist to this day. With that failure in mind, the government has worked to establish language courses and vocational training to ensure that migrants have the tools to integrate, while also ensuring that migrants are spread out across the country. One Syrian migrant in Kaufbeuren, believes that "the government doesn't want the Turkish style, they want [Syrian] decentralized... the government wants the Syrians everywhere. Not one million in one city, and no Syrians in another city." While a German claimed that "We don't want the danger of parallel societies" (Hindy, 2018). Both opinions are reflections of the integration process and finding harmony between the host-country and the asylum seekers. This is one of the greater challenges Germany must address, because it is neither political nor economic, but ideological. The state simply cannot integrate migrants who do not want to be integrated, nor can they drastically alter its cultural norms in so short a period.

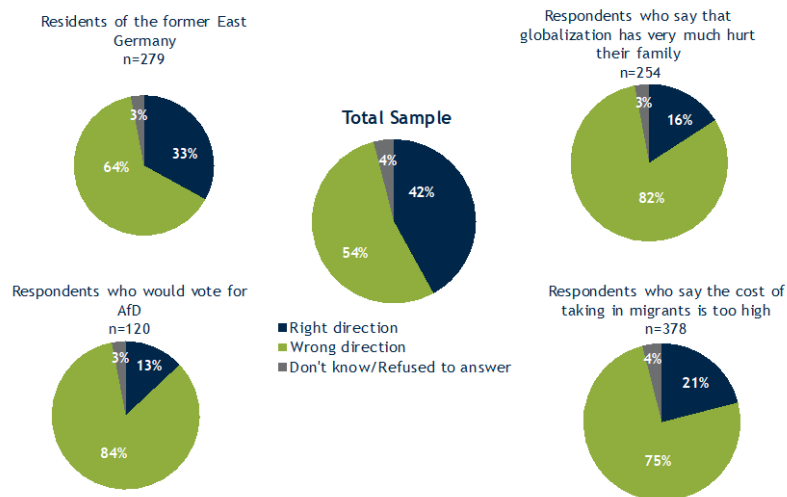
While many Syrians acknowledge that they are grateful for the safety, financial support, education, and job opportunities provided by Germany, and recognise that they have given more attention than other categories of refugees, like Afghans and those

from the African continent, they too held resentment towards the way they were treated by policymakers. They felt that Germans were trying to shape them as entirely new individuals, through the use of language and vocational programs, instead of welcoming what they bring to German society (Hindy, 2018). Germans, meanwhile, maintain that the burden to maintain harmony is on refugees, and that their welcoming culture has been abused, although its extent was likely exaggerated (Liebe & Glenk, 2018). This only augments the challenge posed to both the policy-makers, citizens, and migrants.

While a disconnect exists between visions of integration, the sheer number of social movements in Germany devoted to refugees highlights how Germans, particularly those living in large cities such as Berlin and Frankfurt, support them. Prior to the 2017 elections, about half of voters cited the refugee crisis, and response, as one of the primary challenges facing the nation. Despite Merkel's progress within Germany to reform migrant institutions, and outside of Germany to encourage EU relations with Turkey, as well as more EU-wide support for asylum-seekers, many Germans feel that Merkel has set a bad precedent, and are skeptical of her promise that 2015's mass influx won't repeat itself (Davis, 2017). One Berliner complained that "Merkel has handled a very complex topic too simplistically" and that the refugee crisis "isn't a problem that will be solved anytime soon." While this complaint is reflective of German sentiment, it hardly addresses the complex political and economic realities of integration that Merkel has had to face in the years post-2015, as well as the state's complex history with migration and integration. However, even prominent politicians within Merkel's government believe her approach to integration has misguided. "There is a dual task of integration: to integrate those who are new to us, but also to stand by those who already

live here," said Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel in an interview with Bild. Gabriel's comment accurately encompasses the divide between migrants and citizens, and how each perceive the integration process, as well as how Germans have felt left out of the political process of accepting new migrants. Thus, Merkel will need to address not only integration, but also voter confidence within her and her party going in to the future.

Generally speaking, would you say that Germany is heading in the right or wrong direction?



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Figure 2: This August 2017 poll, comprised of German-speaking residents, aged 18 years and older, along with an oversample of 200 in East Germany, shows the difference in opinion on whether Germany is heading in the right or wrong direction based on different demographics (Source: International Republican Institute, 2017)

In a poll conducted in August 2017 in fig. 2, shortly before the election, 54 percent of respondents said that Germany was heading in the wrong direction (Center for Insights in Survey Research, 2017). However when broken down by socio-demographics, the survey found that that number increased to 64 percent among respondents from East Germany, 75 percent among respondents who say the cost of taking in migrants is too high, 82 percent among respondents who say that globalisation

has very much hurt their family, and 84 percent among respondents who would vote for AfD. While the survey does not assess whether Germany is heading in the wrong direction based solely on migration, the dissatisfaction increases for respondents who priorities the problems that increased levels of migration augment, such as the cost of migrants and the effect of globalisation on German identity and values, priorities which are also encompassed by the AfD's platform. Thus, fig. 2 reveals the divides within Germany, and how response to migration is so complex. It is clear that East Germans, with their own unique values and fears, have not been fully integrated into Germany. It is also clear that other fears that are not a direct result of the migration crisis, but still related, such as the impact of globalisation, have increased.

What has the greatest likelihood of threatening our way of life and our children's future?

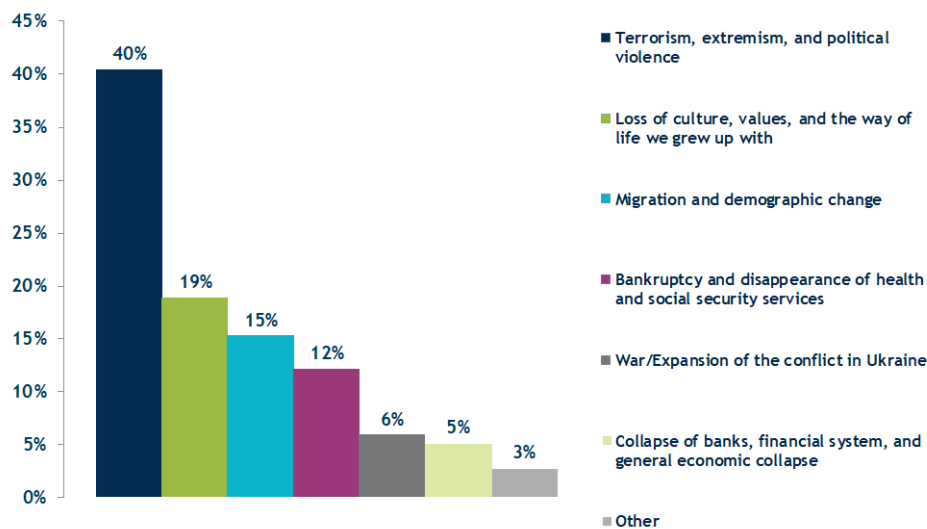


Figure 3: This August 2017 poll of 1,630 interviews, comprised of German-speaking residents, aged 18 years and older, along with an oversample of 200 in East Germany, shows what has the greatest likelihood of threatening Germans' way of live and their children's future (Source: International Republican Institute, 2017)

Fig. 3 highlights the fact that 40 percent of respondents thought terrorism, extremism, and political violence had the greatest likelihood of threatening the German way of life and children's futures, while 19 percent believed loss of culture and values would be the greatest threat, and 15 percent migration and demographic change. All these fears are connected to migration and globalisation, which is why it is so important that the government address the issue in a way that reflect commitments to Human Rights, the European Union, and above all, their own citizens. While Germany has not been subject to terrorist attacks to the same extent as its neighbor France, it is still a very real fear among Germans, as with many Europeans, as evidenced by the fact that two in every five Germans polled cite it as the biggest threat. In response to this the government has enacted stricter controls on asylum and integration, however the challenge remains that while German themselves champion integration, migrants don't want to lose their own cultures and values. To address this issue, the government has purposefully spread out Syrian refugees across states, regions, and migration centres in order to ensure that the Turkish enclaves of the 20th century will not be repeated, but in doing so they create a different challenge of cultural imperialism to which Syrians object.

II. Deteriorating birth rates

Germany's history of migration policies highlights how complicated the present challenges are to solve. While the influx of migrants risks the German identities, it is also clear that Germany cannot afford to reject migration completely, especially as its native population fails to maintain its current demographic. For decades, the annual death rate has outweighed the annual birth rate in Germany. However, in 2016, the year

following the Refugee Crisis, the Federal Statistical Office¹² reported that 792,131 babies were born, representing a 7 percent increase from the previous year (Nienaber, 2018). The office suggests that this may be in part due to the increased immigration level, which brought an estimated 890,000 asylum seekers in 2015. This is in part due to the fact that while the number of babies born to German citizens increased by 3 percent in 2016, the number born to non-German women jumped by 25 percent compared to 2015, and in total about 23 percent of all newborns were born to non-German women (Wróbel, 2018). This is not the only way immigrants have affected Germany's demographics: the influx of refugees in 2015 also brought the average of in Germany down for the first time since Germany reunified in 1990. In response to Germany's changing fertility demographics, the AfD published controversial posters of a smiling pregnant white woman lying down in a field, captioned "New Germans? We'll make them ourselves,"¹³ as seen in Fig. 4. The campaign was widely criticised for its xenophobia, but ultimately it also fails to accept the reality that Germans cannot expand, or even maintain, their population on their own. It is not a coincidence that 2016 was the first time the fertility rate outweighed the death rate. While there are many reasons for demographics to decline among German citizens, the propaganda also fails to suggest how Germany can augment its birth rate, or even that there is a problem. The effect is thus not only offensive towards migrants, but also ineffective as a campaign tool.

¹² Destatis

¹³ Neue Deutsche? Machen wir selber.



Figure 4: The AfD hoped to encourage German-centric population growth through its ad campaign stating “New Germans? We’ll make them ourselves.” Source: Vox (2017).

The 2016 fertility rate—at 1.59—was the highest record in Germany since 1973, however the Federal Statistical Office warned that “The decades of imbalances in the age structure of the population remain,” (Pearson, 2018). While the fertility rate has been growing since its historic low of 1.24 in 1994, it is still not sufficient to keep Germany’s population static in comparison with its death rate (World Bank, 2019) and in fact in 2017 the fertility rate went down again in Germany to 1.57 (Eurostat, 2017). This is a problem because Germany’s ageing population requires higher birth rates in order to maintain Germany’s infrastructure: as the population ages, the number of people actively involved in the workforce decreases, thus limiting economic growth and potential.

Parties with highest support after CDU/CSU and SPD

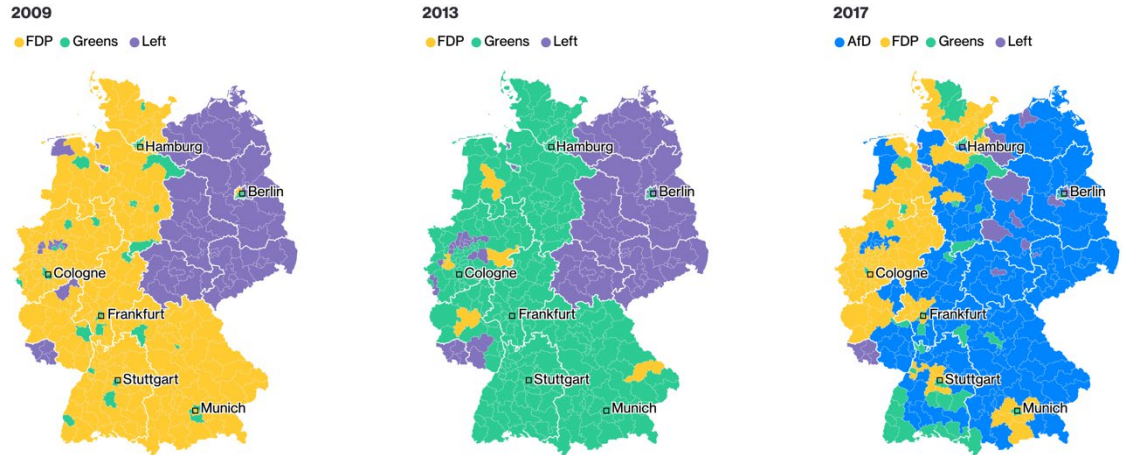


Figure 5: The first two election maps show a clear division between East and West Germany. While the 2009 elections favoured the FDP in the West and the Left in the East, the 2013 election saw the West favouring the Green Party. The 2017 map, however, shows an overwhelming support for the AfD among minority parties, followed by the FDP. Sources: German Federal Returning Officer, German Federal Statistical Office, ARD/Infratest exit polls and ZDF/FG Wahlen exit polls.

Currently, Germany has the largest national economy in Europe, and the fifth largest in the world as of March 2019. Accordingly, Germany has more than 1.2 million job openings, the highest record number of vacancies since 1990, when East and West Germany reunited. The manufacturing and construction sectors have seen the strongest growth in in open positions, however the highest number of open jobs are in business administration, marketing, and sales. While there is a large number of job vacancies is at record highs, it is not evenly distributed. While the former West Germany has 918,000 positions, an average 194 people unemployed for every 100 vacancies, East Germany has only about 265,000 positions, and an average of 225 people unemployed for every 100 vacancies (DPA, 2018). This uneven distribution is highlighted by the uneven popularity of the AfD, as well as other right-parties, in the East. Fig. 5 shows

the popularity of minority parties in the 2009, 2013, and 2017 elections. While the parties change, in both 2009 and 2013 there was a clear distinction between the East and the West, as well as popularity for the Left party, which originated in the East. The political division also underscores the historic and cultural divisions between the two former countries that formed during the post-war separation. One of the primary challenges of the reunification was to address this divide, particularly economically, and while large sums of money were transferred into the East, the historic inequalities persist to this day. This map underscores the point of fig. 2, which underscored the divides between the two former countries. While Germany has been reunited for almost thirty years, the fact that inequalities still persist, at the same time that Germany is investing so much into migrants and foreign labourers, is grating to Germans who are not benefitting from the union as much as hoped, or promised.

III. Gaps in the labor market

As the largest economy in Europe, and the fifth largest in the world as of March 2019, Germany's economy is part of what attracts so many migrants. Accordingly, there are more than 1.2 million job openings, the highest record number of vacancies since 1990, when East and West Germany reunited. The manufacturing and construction sectors have seen the strongest growth in in open positions, however the highest number of open jobs are in business administration, marketing, and sales. While there is a large number of job vacancies is at record highs, it is not evenly distributed. While the former West Germany has 918,000 positions, an average 194 people unemployed for every 100 vacancies, East Germany has only about 265,000 positions, and an average of 225 people unemployed for every 100 vacancies (DPA, 2018). This uneven distribution is

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All population forecasts in Germany indicate decreasing fertility rate over the next few decades, which will in turn result in declining population levels. It is therefore essential that Germany turn toward foreign labourers in order to continue growing its robust market, as higher immigration leads to higher supplies of labour. Recognising this, Germany had adopted the use of blue cards more than any other EU state, however it is still not enough to fully address the needs of Germany's economy and population. When analysing the difference between Germany maintaining a static population, and then Germany expanding its population, it becomes clear that while no, or low immigration increases employment and wage, it also decreases the GDP and public and private consumption (Lutz & Wolter, 2001, p.10).

In an attempt to attract more skilled workers, Germany's coalition government between the CDP and the SPD has agreed to make it easier for non-EU skilled workers to search for a job and work in Germany, particularly if there are vacancies in the field. The new law was created to address two key points: How to fill the skilled labor gap in

Germany through targeted immigration from non-EU countries; and prospects of remaining in Germany for asylum seekers that were rejected but have in the meantime found work and integrated into society. This means that German companies, regardless of sector, will now be able to recruit foreign skilled workers, and job seekers will have six months to find a job in Germany, with the requirement that they have vocational training or a degree course and an employment contract, and the stipulation that they will not be eligible for social benefits until a job is found (Taube, 2018). In fact, those in search of work will not even be allowed to find work below their qualification level to secure income while searching for a job. The government is also reserving the right to reintroduce the necessity of proving that German citizens could not take the job, so that local workers are protected. By reserving the right, Germany creates a complex future challenge for itself, reminiscent of the Recruitment Ban of 1973, wherein it will need to once again address the migrants that have permanently settled in the midst of a period of economic success.

Prior to this new proposal, anyone outside of Germany had to apply for a long-stay employment visa (known as a Blue card), or for EU-citizens as well as a few other exceptions,¹⁴ a residence permit for work purposes. To qualify for a visa, applicants had to be a highly qualified foreigner, such as researcher with special technical knowledge of teaching or scientific personnel in prominent positions, or an intra-corporate transferee. However, before the Blue card or work residency is accepted, the Federal Employment Agency must first identify a market need, and the corporation must first

¹⁴ Citizens of the United States, Australia, Canada, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, The Republic of Korea

prove that there are no German, or EU-citizens eligible for the position. The new proposal creates an addendum specifically for applicants from “third-world” countries with qualifications that do not meet the criteria for Blue cards. These applicants will largely be individuals whose asylum applications have been rejected, but still cannot return to their home countries. BAMF estimated that at the end of June 2018, there were 230,000 such individuals, and 174,000 who were granted exemptions. The addendum was at the insistence of the SPD, which wanted to ensure that skilled refugees that were denied asylum were not sidelined based on ideological grounds. The CDP agreed to form a coalition proposal on the grounds that Germany adhere to “the principle of separation between asylum and labor migration,” (Taube, 2018) thus excluding the possibility of a “lane change.” The CDU’s decision once again shows the party’s commitment not to expanding migration, but to maintaining it. While Germany recognises its EU-mandated duty to accept asylum-seekers, its acceptance of Syrian refugees in 2015 was the exception to its historic rule, albeit one that will resonate.

Ultimately, this change to work eligibility reflects the reality of integration in Germany. While there is consensus, both among citizens and political parties, that there is an issue, it is still difficult to find consensus on what exactly to do about the immigration problem, and who the immigrants should be. It is clear from Germany’s legislation that they priorities highly skilled workers—that is, workers with expertise in engineering, software development, health, or business, as well as tradesmen such as plumbers, mechanics, and machinists. While the shortage of such workers is not unique to Germany, or indeed, any other country in the world, it is a problem so long as Germany desires to continue expanding its economy at the same pace.

A study performed by RAND from 2016-2017 found that non-citizens in Germany, Greece, Italy, and the United Kingdom were proven to show higher levels of joblessness when compared with citizens in the same countries, despite efforts, such as in Germany, to improve active labor market policies and mandatory integration measures (such as language courses and mechanisms to assess skills) (Amaral et al., 2018). However, the study also found that the criteria set by Germany regarding the employment of noncitizen prioritised the individual's willingness to be committed to the German way of life, the equating economic integration with social integration. This is reflected by Germany's requirement of language classes, as well as historical and cultural competency, in order to gain citizenship. Fig. 6 illustrates how significant the gap has been since 2000. Although the gap has been decreasing since 2009, when the difference was 6.1 percent, there still remains a significant difference between the unemployment rate for migrants, and the total unemployment rate. What the graph does also reveal is that in times of economic decline, the unemployment rate increases much more among migrants than it does in the total population. In general, when the total unemployment rate is 10 percent, the difference in the migrant unemployment rate is 3 percent or less. This number however increases drastically after 10 percent, so that in 2005 and 2006, the difference was more than 7 percent, and from 2007 and 2009, the difference was around 6 percent.

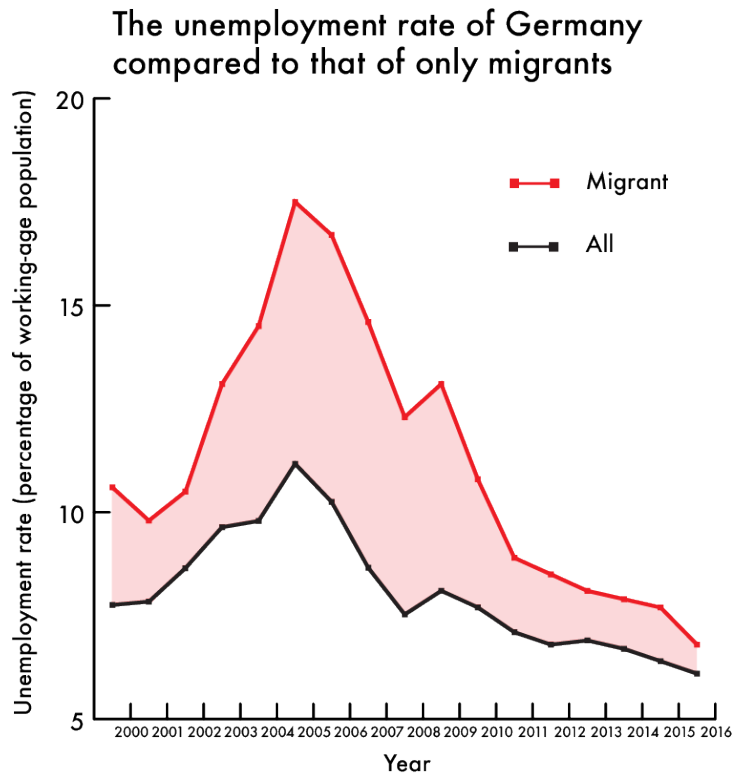


Figure 6: This graph tracks the unemployment rate in Germany and compares it to the unemployment rate only among migrants. Source: Migration Data Portal.

It is thus clear that Germany, in a period of increased economic activity, not only needs to supplement its labor market, but is actively doing so. However, with that being said, migrant unemployment does not solely refer to refugees, but to people who have been living and working in Germany for decades. Thus, the new refugee population still needs to be integrated, with the language barrier being one of the most pressing issues. While the language requirement is, at its foundation, a necessary part of integrating migrants into the population, in 2017 the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees reported that only 33.25 percent or 113,050 of the 340,000 of the migrants who participated in the government-funded language courses received passing grades (Springer, 2017). While language is necessary to integrate into Germany, it is also necessary to obtain a job, or access to education or vocational training. Thus, though

language courses are intrinsic to migrants' abilities to stay in Germany, the failure of the majority to achieve fluency limits their ability to achieve stability limits the refugees' abilities to integrate, both into the economy and into the society. The courses are necessary investment on behalf of the state to increase fiscal and macroeconomic advantages in the future. The Federal Employment Agency's Institute for Employment Research reports encourages "investments in education and language abilities" with the qualification that "It will take time to convert the additional potential of refugees into significant actual employment," (Chase, 2018). This is a reflection of both Germany's declining population, as well as the fact that it is a country of immigration. It cannot afford to ignore its migrants' economic potential, especially given the influx, as well as its history of ignoring the essential role foreign labourers play in its economy. Enzo Weber, the head of the IAB's macroeconomic research department affirmed thus, pointing out that "The demographic trend is pointing clearly downward, and it was only possible to compensate for this with immigration and rising employment."

Despite migrants' potential, 27 percent or 1.6 million of the 5.9 million Hartz IV recipients between November 2016 to October 2017 were non-EU migrants. Hartz IV is a reform to Germany's welfare system that was passed in 2003 and increasing the difficulty of accessing welfare and unemployment benefits. This reform prioritises employment—regardless of its pay or whether it is in the recipient's field—above all else and introduced a number of requirements to ensure benefits (Zimmerman, 2017). The problem is that although employment is increasing among non-EU migrants, so too the number who receive Hartz IV. This places a dual burden on states and cities accepting migrants: they need to be not just integrated into the labour market, but into

welfare and other aid opportunities as well. While Germany's economy is currently thriving, this might not always be the case, and should the economy decline once more, that employment gap illustrated in fig. 6 will increase, and so too will the burden placed on Germany's welfare system. Germany recognizes its duty to protect asylum seekers, but at the same time it prioritises skilled labourers due to this fear, and fears of the problem increasing especially in light of difficulties integrating migrants, culturally, linguistically, and economically.

IV. Evolving political response

Germany's political concerns in regard to refugees can be operated into three levels: local, national, and international. While local policies are concerned with the minute of accepting and integrating immigrants, national policies still struggle with finding consensus on what the German response should be to migration in the future. The CDU and the CSU are divided between Angela Merkel and Horst Seehofer, while its coalition partner, the SPD, pushes for more liberal policies, and minority parties such as the AfD, the Free Party,¹⁵ and the Green Party, all have their own vested interests. At the same time, Germany must balance its domestic interests, with its international interests, particularly in the context of the future of the European Union, the uniformity of its policies.

i. Local Policies

While Germany's government must respond to and regulate the refugee crises, local governments and institutions are challenged with incorporating the refugees into

¹⁵ Freie Demokratische Partei

city and state institutions. While the number of asylum applicants in Germany has declined by 2/3 since 2015, Germany's capacity to process applicants is still overburdened. Most refugees spend months in temporary camps, with temporary residence permits, denied access to school enrolment and job training that was initially supposed to revolutionise Germany's integration program. These temporary camps are known as migrant reception centres,¹⁶ and across Germany they have been established in order to process migrant registrations, give health check-ups, house migrant applicants, and initiate the asylum procedure. The idea was to speed up asylum proceedings while also conducting all necessary processes in one building. The centres themselves were first established in Bavaria on a trial basis, however there is also a centre in Saxony, as well as plans to create centres in Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia. This is unsurprising, given that 27 percent of asylum application were lodged in North Rhine-Westphalia in 2016, while Bavaria received approximately 20 percent (Luyken, 2017). The problem, however, is that these institutions don't just fail to accelerate the process, but in fact also isolate migrants in close quarters away from the general population. The Bavarian refugee council found that refugees in these centres are subject to "bans on working, compulsory stays, having cash taken away from them, a lack of German language courses and insufficient schooling," (Felden, 2018). It is undeniable that these centres fail to allow refugees the chance to integrate into Germany, thus decreasing their chance of success. This is unsurprising given that the centres have only been established thus far in the conservative regions of Bavaria and Saxony. The centres have been compared to prisons, by migrants and citizens alike.

¹⁶ Anker

Anger over the conditions came to head on April 30 of 2018, one four police officers arrived at Landeserstaufnahmeeinrichtung Ellwangen, a migrant reception centre in Stuttgart, in order to arrest Yussif, an asylum seeker believed to be from Togo (although it was later found that he was Ghanaian) and deport him to Italy (Martin 2018). When the officers tried to leave, 150 centre residents surrounded them to prevent them from leaving. The residents gave an ultimatum: if they would not remove the handcuffs of Yussif O. within two minutes, they would storm the gate. The police left, but three days later on May 3, hundreds more returned to arrest Yussif, as well as several other migrants suspected of drug offences, and to re-home about 500 migrants, largely from Africa. Ultimately, twelve people were injured including one officer (Knight, 2018). On May 8, the Stuttgart Administrative Court ruled that it was legal to deport him to Italy, a ruling that was upheld again on May 14 by the Federal Constitutional Court (B.Z., 2018).

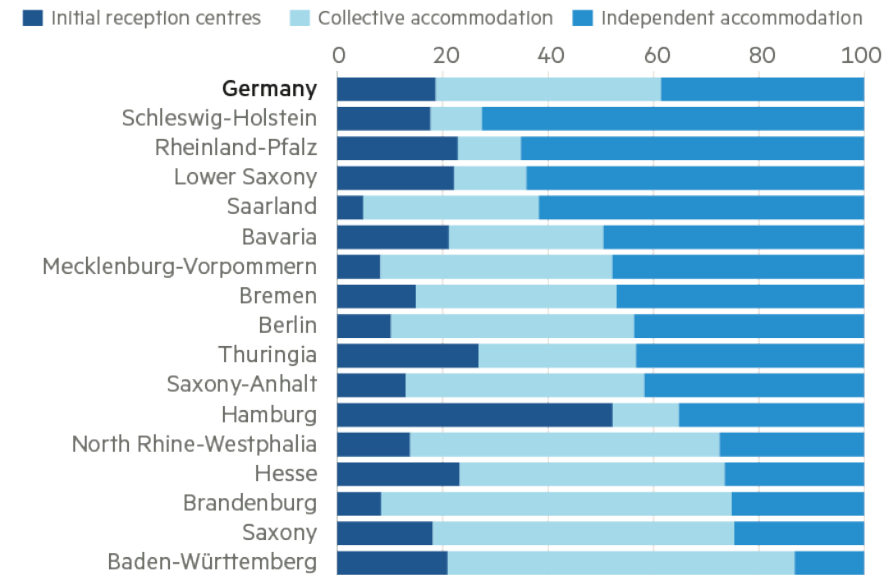
CDU German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer condemned the refugees' violence, and praised the police operation, saying that the violence "is a slap in the face of law-abiding citizens" and that "Such behaviour has to be tackled with the full force of the law," while Alice Weidel, the co-leader of the AfD insisted that "The rule of law is being trampled on by its 'guests,'" (Chambers, 2018). While Germany, especially right-parties such as the CDU and the AfD, was largely supportive of the police action, as well as critical of any support for the migrants' violence, international critics are far from consensus. It is, however, clear that Germany needs to reevaluate its institutions. The problem is that the asylum process is by nature time-consuming. Between 2016 and

2017, 406,153 people were denied asylum, however only 49,300 were deported or left voluntarily.

While the centres were created to address these issues, and indeed they were based off of similar centres in the United Kingdom and Hungary, they are not supported by human rights organisations for the very fact that they leave their residents in a liminal ground, completely apart from society. They thus become home to tensions and hostilities, as in the case of Ellwangen. While conditions have changed in more recent years, fig. 7 shows that at the end 2015, the majority of asylum seekers in Germany were housed either in collective accommodation, or in initial reception centres. While the ratio varied between states in the former East Germany had fewer migrants established in independent accommodations, and that while many migrants had been able to move out of initial reception centres, many remained in collective accommodation.

At the end of 2015, the majority of asylum seekers in Germany were in collective accommodation or initial reception centres

Asylum seekers (%)



FT graphic: Valentina Romel
Source: Destatis
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Figure 7: The distribution of migrants in initial reception centres, collective accommodation, and independent accommodation, by state. (Source: Destatis, 2015)

The uneven distribution in fig. 7 reflects the sheer magnitude of migrants that Germany received, as well as its lack of institutions to receive them. One of the primary problems with migrant reception centres is that there is no common standard for reception centres, although federal states have established standards to varying degrees in regional legislation. For example, sanitation is usually adapted from regulation that exist for other communal accommodations, such as homeless shelters. There are rough guidelines as well for the provision of personal spaces and toilet facilities, however these provisions have been ignored more recently do to issues of overcrowding (AIDA 2018). Furthermore, the buildings themselves are often refurbished army barracks,

whose locations can vary significantly from in or close to big¹⁷ and small¹⁸ cities, to small towns¹⁹ and isolated rural areas.²⁰ In the case of the small towns and rural areas, issues regarding integration are exacerbated. What is more, the centres in Eisenhüttenstadt, Neumünster, Halberstadt, Eisenberg, and Lebach are all in areas with low existing migrant populations, while the migrants in Nostorf-Horst and Manching/Ingolstadt are in regions with higher migrant populations, but lower access to them. In effect, this cuts off migrants from the ability to become integrating, but also cut-off German citizens from adapting to their presence. Fig. 8 illustrates the location of each centre, in relation to the foreign-born population, while Fig. 9 also illustrates the location of each centre, along with what party voters elected. The figures both show the centres have been placed across Germany, and across a wide variety of political beliefs and ethnic backgrounds. As the majority party, it is not surprising that centres are concentrated in areas dominated by the CDU/CSU, however it is interesting to see the juxtaposition between centres and the migrant population.

¹⁷ Berlin, Munich, Brunswick/Braunschweig, Bielefeld, Dortmund, and Karlsruhe

¹⁸ Eisenhüttenstadt, Neumünster, and Halberstadt

¹⁹ Eisenberg and Lebach

²⁰ Nostorf-Horst and Manching/Ingolstadt



Figure 8: Centres exist in almost every region, with varying degrees of foreign-born residents (Source: Bloomberg, 2017; AIDA, 2018)

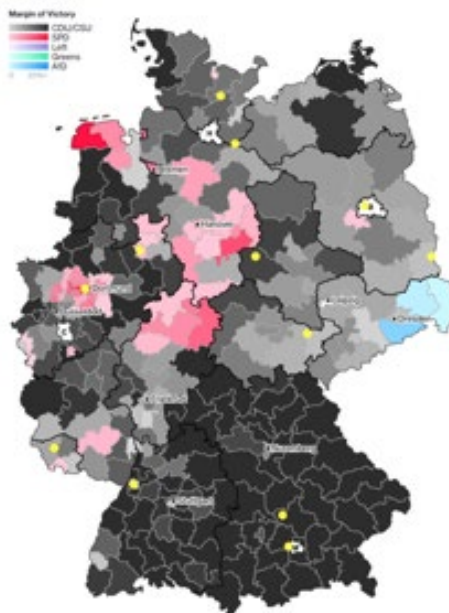


Figure 9: Centres are largely concentrated in conservative areas, with a few exceptions (Source: Bloomberg, 2017; AIDA, 2018)

These maps show that these institutions are overwhelmingly popular in areas less favourable towards immigrants, and thus integrating immigrants. However, when compared to unemployment levels in Fig. 10, the data also shows that while immigrants are largely not being placed in areas with high unemployment, they are also not being placed in areas with low unemployment. In placing migrants in areas with higher unemployment levels, the effect is two-fold. First, there is increased pressure placed on migrants who wish to find a job, as they have to compete in an even more competitive labour market. Second, German citizens who themselves are struggling to become employed look for a reason why. This exacerbates tensions, because migrants are left in the centres with little idea about what will happen to them, and little access to the programs that were promised to them in order to help solidify their applications.

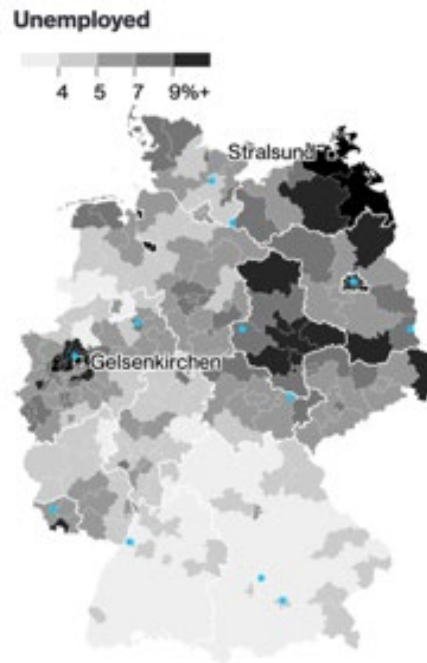


Figure 10: Most of the centres (with the exceptions of large cities) are in areas with moderate levels of unemployment (Source: Bloomberg, 2017; AIDA, 2018).

While the State and local governments are responsible for ensuring that migrants are distributed equally across migration centres, as well as language courses and vocational training, volunteers and civil society organisations often supplement aid in order to ensure that all needs are being met. However, the popularity and investment of these volunteers and organisations is often region-dependant, and reflective of public sentiments. In the former East Germany, where anti-immigrant seems the strongest, and the economy the weakest, fewer refugees are hosted than the former West Germany and Berlin, and likewise, support for refugees by civil society organisations and volunteers is more popular (Hindy, 2018).

Number of Asylum Applications compared to Asylum rejections by country in Germany in 2017

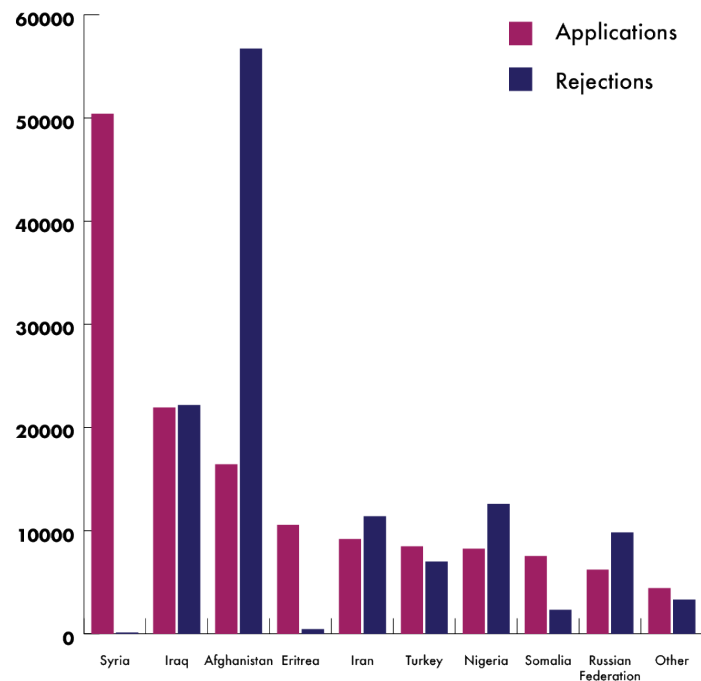


Figure 11: Asylum Applicants in Germany in 2017, broken-down by the top 10 countries of origin, and then compared to the number of rejections. Source: the Asylum Information Database (2019).

While the government is trying to ensure that migrants are dispersed evenly across the country, so as not to overburden institutions, Germany is not as committed to ensuring that asylum applicants are accepted as equally. Fig. 11 presents the breakdown of asylum applicants by country in Germany in 2017, it to those rejected by country. Juxtaposing the two shows that while the most applicants do come from Syria, a large number also comes from Iraq and Afghanistan. However, when compared to the rejections, it becomes clear that Germany overwhelmingly favours Syrian immigrants, and in fact almost no immigrants (compared to the numbers applying/receiving) are being accepted, save from Eritrea. Thus, Germany's decision to accept migrant cannot be viewed as a benevolent decision, but rather a calculated one: in the years following the Syrian refugee crisis, Germany has focused almost exclusively on accepting and integrating Syrians. Asylum seekers from other countries also at risk, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, benefit far less.

The higher level of rejected Afghan applicants is demonstrative of the controversial policy to begin deporting failed asylum seekers back, despite the fact that Afghanistan is not listed on Germany's official list of "safe countries of origin." This is believed to be in response to the terrorist attack at Berlin Christmas market, wherein a failed Tunisian asylum seeker, believed to have connection with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, drove a truck into Berlin's Christmas market, killing 12 people and injuring another 56 (Walsh, 2017). The problem with returning these asylum applicants is that Afghans returning from Europe are particularly in danger, given that the Taliban still controls nearly 40 percent of the country, and anyone found dressed in western clothes, or indeed supporting the West, would be viewed as a potential collaborator.

However, the fact that the asylum seeker was Tunisian, not Afghan, still highlights Germany's overwhelming favour of Syrians, at the risk of other asylum seekers. The fact is that it does not matter where the asylum seeker comes from: Merkel made a commitment to Syrians, in order to alleviate the burden on the South in the midst of a crisis, but the state's actions sense, as well as the ratio of asylum seekers applying and being rejected from other countries, underscores the fact that Germany's ultimate goal has always been crisis mitigation in order to preserve both the integrity of Germany itself, as well as the European Union. The fact is that refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Turkey, as well as others, do not qualify for the state's definition of asylum, and thus are outside its sphere of concern.

The rejection of Afghan asylum seekers, as well as others from North Africa, is demonstrative of how Germany has already started limiting its accessibility to migrants. Although no new legislation has been adopted, the deportation of these people has been away for Germany to legally prohibit migrants, and thus control the ratio of refugees. It also reflects the fears of terrorism reflected in fig. 3, as well as efforts by national and local governments to limit migrant access.

ii. National Policies

Since Germany—led by Chancellor Merkel—opened its borders in 2015, asylum and immigration topics have dominated German politics. It is therefore unsurprising that it was one of the main issues discussed leading to the elections in 2017. Figure 12 presents the current composition of the Bundestag while figure 13 demonstrates the popularity of different parties since Germany's reunification in 1990. The latter reveals that the CDU has maintained majority with only one exception in the

last thirty years, the SPD has dramatically declined in popularity since 2002. In fact, the popularity of the SPD and the FDP are inverse: when the former gains popularity, the latter loses it, and vice versa. Tracking the six party also reveals how relatively new the Left and the AfD are to the Bundestag, however while the former has existed in at least some form for more than fifty years, the AfD is an incredibly new party, making it all the more surprising that it was able to get so many votes in the 2017 election.

2017 Germany Federal Elections

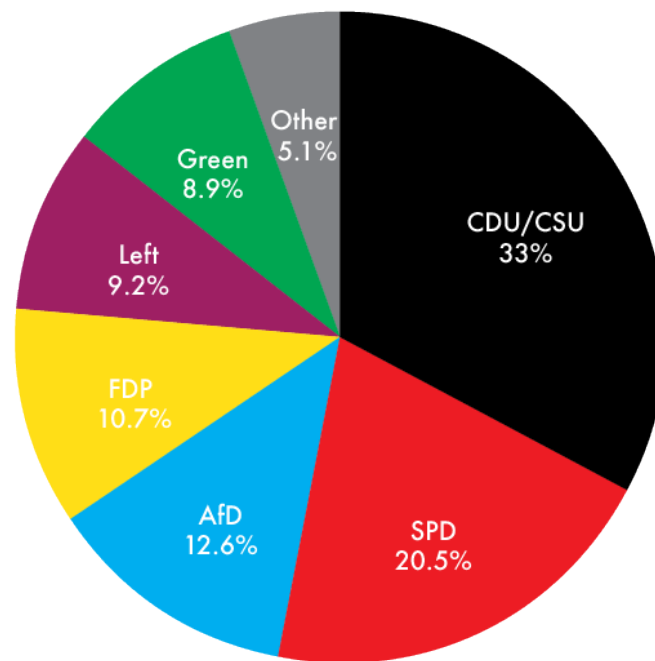


Figure 12: The newly elected 2017 Bundestag with 709 seats, 111 more than the previous Bundestag, showing the election of six parties: the CDU/CSU, the SPD, the AfD, the FDP, the Left, and the Green party. Source: The Federal Returning Officer (2017).

Percentage of votes each party has won in the German elections since 1990

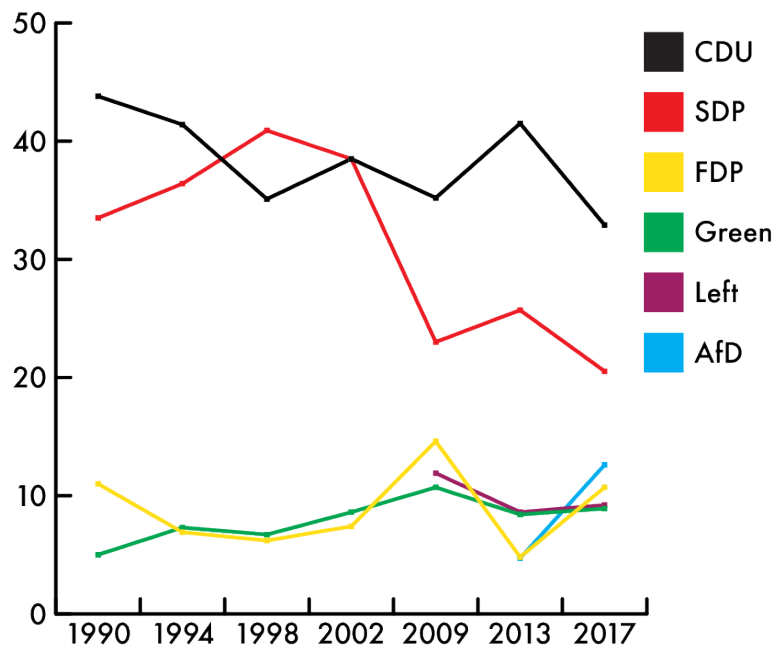


Figure 13: The percentage of votes each of the six parties in the 2017 has received since Germany’s reunification in 1990.

The fact that the AfD managed to get so close to the Bundestag in 2013 at all is remarkable, considering it was only formed earlier that very year. For such a new party, the AfD is becoming increasingly popular in Germany. Its platform is characterised by its nationalism, populism, and Euroscepticism, but also expresses elements of racism, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and neo-Nazism. Membership to the AfD has nearly doubled since its foundation, from 17, 687 in 2013, to 35,000 in 2019. The doubling of popularity is in direct response to what German perceive to be the biggest threats to their state. In the case of the AfD, it would be refugees, and their impact on the culture and economy. While the AfD is still a minority party, and the CDU and SPD maintain a coalition, fig. 5 illustrated how for the first time in the past three elections, the minority opinions truly transcend the boundaries between the former East and West

Germany's. Prior to the rise of the AfD, The Left was the most popular party in the East, and was a result of the merging of the Party of Democratic Socialism²¹ and the Electoral Alternative for Labour and Social Justice, a direct descendant of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany,²² the ruling party of East Germany. Thus, its popularity in the East, and its lack thereof in the West, was indicative of persisting divisions between the two former countries. The FDP, meanwhile, was founded in 1948 following the end of the Second World War, and has held the balance of power in the Bundestag for most of West Germany's history. Thus, the election in 2009 are especially indicative of tensions. In contrast, Alliance 90/The Greens was formed in 1993, following the reunification of East and West Germany, as a merger between the West German Green Party and the East German Alliance 90, with a shared focus on sustainability. This leaves the AfD as Germany's newest party in the Bundestag, and the most popular following the CDU and the SPD.

According to the Wall Street Journal, the party “urges Germany to close its borders to asylum applicants, end sanctions on Russia and to leave the EU if Berlin fails to retrieve national sovereignty from Brussels, as well as to amend the country's constitution to allow people born to non-German parents to have their German citizenship revoked if they commit serious crimes,” (Troianovski, 2017). Björn Höcke, one of the AfD's main speakers, has spoken out against immigration, saying that proponents are “liquidating our beloved German fatherland, like a piece of soap under warm running water. But we, we beloved friends, we patriots, we will close this open

²¹ Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit – Die Wahlalternative

²² Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands

tap, and we will win back our Germany, piece by piece,” (Taub & Fischer 2017). The idea that immigrants are diluting the German nationality is a common one. In an interview with Spiegel Frauke Petry, Höcke’s rival within the party, said that “Germany's currency and migration policies are currently destroying European solidarity, and the return to the idea of one's own nation in all European countries is a natural corrective to Brussels centralization,” (Beyer & Fleischhauer, 2016).

This distaste for Eurocentricity is not unique to the AfD. Far-right parties are becoming increasingly popular in countries such as Austria, France, and Italy. Across Europe, people are responding to increased centralisation with fears that their own national identities are becoming diluted, fears that are exacerbated with the influx of refugees with their own national identities, separate not just from individual states, but that of Europe as well. Germany is poised at the forefront of these fears due to its power within the European union, and its involvement in the refugee crisis. Geert Wilders, leader of the Dutch Party of Freedom, emphasised in his speech at the “Europe of Nations and Freedom” conference that “Europe needs a strong Germany, a confident and proud Germany, a Germany that stands for its culture, its identity and civilisation. Europe needs Frauke instead of Angela,” (2017).

As of this moment, however, Germany still as Merkel, although following the election in 2017, she announced that it will be her last term. This poses a problem not just to Germany, but the EU. Merkel has been leading Germany since 2005, and is credited for Germany’s increasing acceptance migrants, especially following 2015. The CDU’s current stance toward asylum seekers opposes an upper limit, but also supports deporting rejected asylum seekers. While Merkel’s decision to accept asylum seekers is

2015 was quite liberal, especially by her party's standards, it could also be viewed as a growing trend to liberalise migration policy, as shown in fig. 14. Most significantly, and in line with Germany's priorities, restrictiveness toward labour migration has declined since 1980, when it was at its highest at 1.0, to 2016 when it was rated 0.3. Conversely, both the restrictiveness of migration control policy and family reunification has increased since 1980, while ultimately asylum policy has remained static. Since migration control began to increase in 1990, this could be attributed to the growing instability in the region: first in the Balkans following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and then later in the Middle East. The increase of asylum applicants is also reflected in the increased restrictiveness of family reunification. Prior to increased migration, it would not have been an issue, while afterwards the government would not have to just control asylum and migration, but also the extent to which families could provide a route into the country.

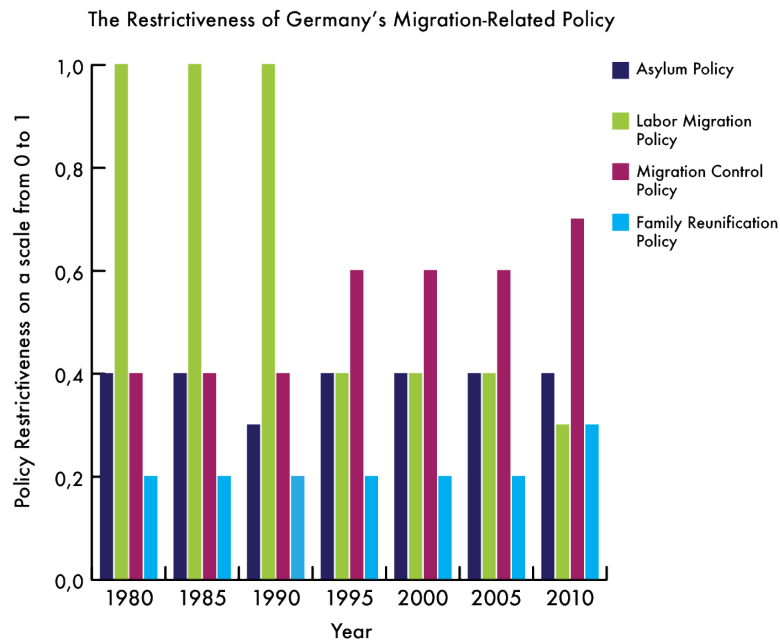


Figure 14: The restrictiveness of Germany's migration policies has changed over the course of the thirty years. Source: Migration Data Portal.

Currently, the CDU's priority is increasing access for migrant labourers (Bierbach, 2017) which is again reflected in Germany's national policy in fig. 14. The CDU's coalition partner, the SPD, also opposes limitations on accepting asylum seekers, and additionally wants to support more family reunification and support, enable rejected asylum applicants to stay in the country for a longer period in order to search for a job, and create more legal ways to immigrate to the country, especially for skilled workers (Bierbach, 2017). The Green Party and the Left agree with the SPD, to varying extremes, while the FDP largely supports the CDU. The parallels between the CDU and SPD, particularly in regard to skilled workers, is what resulted in the newest reform of visa regulations. However, the differences between the AfD, and the other Bundestag parties, also highlights the divide between the Germany of the past, and the Germany of the future.

iii. International Policies

German consensus is that their needs to be a solution to the refugee crisis, and that Germany cannot continue to sustain high levels of migration, and in a poll performed in August 2017, just prior to the election, 16 percent of those polled said that refugee policy is the single biggest problem facing Germany today, while 18 percent cited poverty and social inequality, 7 percent unemployment and jobs, and 6 percent immigration control. In fact, of the 20 issues listed in fig. 15, each would be affected by growing levels of refugees and immigrants. What is more interesting is that when this question was expanded to address Europe, not just Germany, 20 percent of those polled cited refugee policy as the biggest problem, a 4 percent increase, while only 10 percent cited poverty and social inequality as seen in fig. 16. The difference between these two responses indicates a division between how Germans perceive domestic priorities and international priorities.

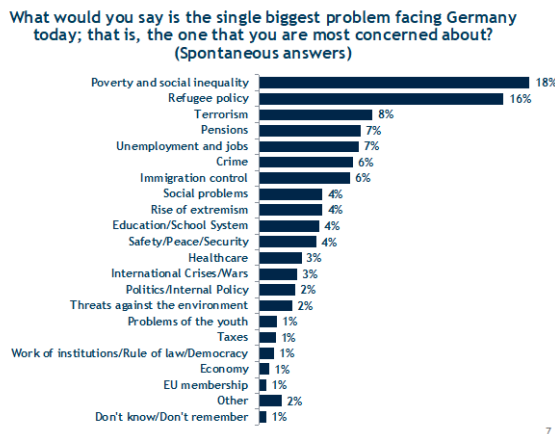


Figure 15: This August 2017 poll of 1,630 interviews, comprised of German-speaking residents, aged 18 years and older, along with an oversample of 200 in East Germany, shows the top twenty concerns facing Germany today. (Source: International Republican Institute, 2017)

What is the single biggest problem facing Europe today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about?
(Spontaneous answers)

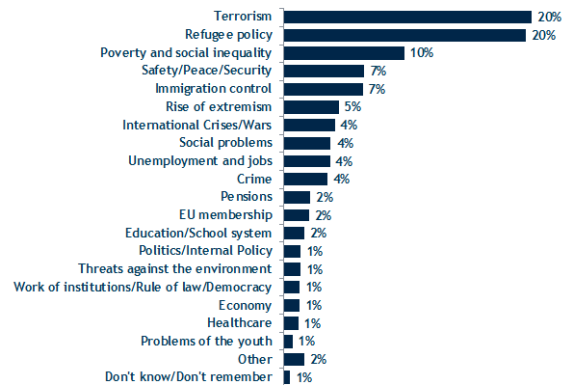


Figure 16: This August 2017 poll of 1,630 interviews, comprised of German-speaking residents, aged 18 years and older, along with an oversample of 200 in East Germany, shows the top nineteen concerns facing Europe today. (Source: International Republican Institute, 2017)

A similar study conducted in April 2017 found that 81 of Germans polled said that other European countries should take more refugees to ensure "a fair distribution" across the EU, and that while 59 percent of Germans said they welcomed refugees, and 70 percent said they welcome immigrants, 54 percent believed Germany had reached its limit in its refugee intake, 14 percentage points up from 40 percent in 2015. The survey indicates the voters would like to extend Germany's commitment to the Dublin Agreement, and treat the crisis not as a nationwide problem, but as an EU-wide problem. The data also suggests that Germans themselves, while embracing the "welcome" culture²³ championed by Angela Merkel in her September 2015 speech, are fatigued by the influx, and resent the burden.

In a survey conducted by ARD in June 2018, three quarters of Germans supported Merkel's approach of finding a European solution to the asylum problem, and

²³ Willkommenskultur

only 22 percent were in favour of taking a national approach. This opinion is shared regardless of region or party support, with the exception of AfD supporters, 60 percent of whom were against a European compromise (ARD, 2018). However, while most voters were in favour of a European solution, 36 percent of respondents believed that a European solution to the refugee crisis would be found in the near future, while 59 percent were sceptical that this could be achieved at all. The poll also assessed whether or not Germans would like to start turning away refugees who had already been registered in another country. 62 percent said that supported rejecting these refugees, while 31 percent said such people should be allowed into the country. When broken up by political party, support became much more polarised: 96 percent of AfD voters supported rejecting already-registered refugees at Germany's borders, and 68 percent of Green Party voters were against rejecting already-registered refugees at Germany's borders.

While all EU member countries are required to accept all asylum seekers, to a certain degree, it does also pursue other avenues to limit migration into its borders. Turkey has long been one of the European Union's most important partners along the border. Its role as a gate to the EU was cemented in the 2000s, when it "europeanised" its migration and asylum laws in an effort to integrate itself into the Union itself. Problems, however, are still numerous, but can be broken down into three main issues: the immigration of Turkish nationals into the EU, Turkey's liminal role between the Middle East and the Balkans, and the EU, and finally, the presence of Turkish nationals already in the EU. It is necessary for the EU and Turkey to come to an agreement on these issues because the "problem of the EU's external borders could jeopardise the

intra-EU freedom of movement,” especially given that the issue of porous Turkish borders could “intensify with the Schengen accession of Bulgaria and Romania,” (Benvenuti 2017, p.8). Thus, in October of 2015, in response to the failing of the EU’s infrastructure in the wake of the refugee crisis, the EU presented the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan, which would also establish a readmission agreement and visa liberalisation, as well as humanitarian assistance and 3 billion euros in financial aid for Syrian refugees in Turkey (Eran & Lindenstrauss, 2015, p.1). In return, Turkey would block access routes into the EU, and provide better conditions for refugees. The deal was revised again in 2016 so that Turkey would take back new refugees arriving in Greece for 3 billion euros with the establishment of a one-to-one clause that “for every Syrian deported to Turkey from the Greek islands, another Syrian would be resettled in the EU directly from Turkey,” (Benvenuti, 2017, p.10). While all these measures have been aimed at reducing the influx of refugees into Europe, while still ensuring they are cared for, the agreement has ultimately been rife with discord. The EU has so far failed to initiate visa liberalisation, financial help has been delayed, and the one-to-one clause has been almost completely ignored, with only 2,747 of the proposed 72,000 Turkish Syrians having been resettled into the EU as of January 2017.

The problem is that although Turkey’s relationship with the EU is dependant on the promise of visa liberalisation and accession, these promises are impossible to fulfil. As a border country, Turkey has been relegated to the role of “gatekeeper” to the EU, a role it can only continue to fulfil so long as it is not part of the EU itself. What is more, Turkey’s eastern borders with Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, would only make the EU’s borders even more vulnerable to irregular migrants. The

EU's partnership with Turkey is demonstrative of how it wants to limit asylum seekers even in times of crisis. While too many refugees would over-burden the Union, and its capacity to fund integration, the commitment also shows how EU members, especially those not along the borders, want to maintain its current balance and prioritise citizens, nationally and within the Union, above all others.

Germans' insistence that the rest of the Union be involved in a solution reflects Merkel's own cries for help. While the Bundestag struggles to reconcile internal differences in regards to refugee policy, Merkel struggles to secure allies in neighbouring states, despite or perhaps in light of her assertion that the refugee crisis is a European challenge that requires a European solution, and that the issue is decisive in keeping Europe together (Borrelli, 2018). Potential allies in the east, such as Poland, Austria, and Hungary, have closed their borders to refugees, and the latter two to Germany as well in light of its 2015 "open-door policy," while the United Kingdom in the West is waffling on whether to leave the Union entirely, and France's centrist government leaves President Macron focused on domestic affairs. While all these countries have their own policies and challenges in regards to migrants and asylum, their priorities all reflect growing trends towards the right, and towards isolation and nationalism. In the coming years, it will be interesting to see the difference in responses from Eastern and Western Europe, as well as how all countries within the EU will continue to integrate refugees. It will be necessary for the Union itself to reevaluate its migrant policies, especially in light of how the Dublin system contributed to the crisis in the first place, and how member countries have reacted to the crisis in the last five years.

Conclusion

From analyzing Germany's response to the refugee crisis, it is clear that Germany's shift to the right is a reaction to migration. The decision to accept migrants at all was political: Germany's population was in danger of extended stagnation, while at the same time gaps in the labor market were not being filled by Germans, and the crisis was placing extreme pressures on the stability of the EU. Thus, Merkel's decision was not an act of increased liberalism in Germany, but an act of pragmatism. However, the impact of increased levels of migrants has caused a shift towards the right as Germans fear that their very values and culture are in danger.

Historically, Germany has not been a country of migration so much as a country with migrants due to its prioritization of its own culture and values. The initial shift was catalyzed by the need to reconstruct West Germany after the Second World War, and thus foreign labourers were imported from poorer countries in the East and South. While this decision benefitted citizens, who enjoyed more advantages than foreigners, it was rescinded when the economy experienced its first plateau. Regardless, the damage was done: West Germany now had a basis of migration policy, as well as its first significant migrant population in the new era.

When the West and the East were united in 1990, it was in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union, which in turn caused Europe's first refugee crisis in the Balkans. This crisis generated refugee policies in Germany, as well as tested the EU's ability to address the problem in a way that mitigated burdens. However, instead of mitigating the burden, the crisis, and others like it, only revealed clear gaps within the EU's policy, and individual states' willingness to address the issue.

The hesitance of these individual states, including Germany, highlights how migration, nationality, and sovereignty, has always been contentious within Europe. While Germany's policies evolved, and became more and more liberal going into the 21st century, as larger migrant enclaves were established, and the concept of migration became rooted in the EU, commitment was always to the letter of the law. Thus, Merkel's decision to welcome Syrian refugees into Germany, despite established asylum applications in other border states, represented a significant shift in policy. The fact that the shift was temporary is not surprising. In the midst of an economic crisis in the South, and a political crisis in the East, Merkel's decision to accept migrants was rooted in the preservation of the EU.

Once true crisis was averted, it is not surprising that Germany became less and less welcoming towards migrants, however it still had the challenge of integrating the millions of migrants already accepted. While Germany learned from the mistakes of its past, particularly in regard to ensuring the migrants were not only integrated into political and economic institutions, but social as well, gaps still persist between political and personal rhetoric. This gap is concerning because it highlights how not even Germany is certain of what it wants. While politicians preach the necessity of retaining German identities and values, citizens themselves praise foreign importance, and look favorably upon not just integration, but exchange. While institutions move to increase deportations and rejections of asylum applicant, civil sector organizations mobilize to help supply migrants with the tools they need to live in Germany: from housing and food, to linguistic immersion and vocational training.

The people themselves—at least those in these volunteer or civil society organizations—are working not just to integrate migrants into Germany’s wider societal framework, but also working to ensure that migrants are being treated justly by political, economic, and social institutions. They have done so by donating goods, establishing vocational programs, and advocating on their behalf. The existence of these organizations, and the devotion of the people, indicates that Germany’s future in regards to migrants is less dire than politicians would have their constituents believe, and that while Germans may be advocating to return to the Dublin Convention, and halt the rapid escalation of migration, they are already adapting to include the migrants already accepted.

Germany’s shift away towards rejecting migrants is sourced in the challenges of integration: while education the new migrant population has been difficult, so too has encouraging them to replace their own values and culture with that of Germany. The problem is that unlike other migrants, Syrian refugees are in Germany because they no longer have a home. Thus, the division is also a result of two different agendas that are impossible to synthesize. Germany’s priority will always be its people and its stability.

With this in mind, it is very likely that Germany will attempt to unite its more centrist parties in order to form a coalition to prevent a rapid shift in German politics. The CDU and the SPD already have a coalition, and by augmenting this coalition with the Free Party and the Green Party, as it tried to do in the 2017 election, they will be able to diminish the power of the AfD, and its extreme anti-immigration rhetoric. While this coalition would unify Germans, the next question is how Germany will address its new migrant population, and the permanent effect it will have on Germany for decades

to come. Ultimately, even while Germany is leaning further towards the right, and away from liberal institutions and policies particularly related to migrants, the divide between the rhetoric of politicians and the rhetoric of civilians does not mean the shift is permanent. Rather, it means that Germany is simply reverting to historic policies and values, but the fact that it has already changed, and evidenced by the sheer number of migrants in the country, means that it will not be able to revert entirely.

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