

CONTENTS

<i>Table of Contents</i>	vii
List of Tables.....	xii
List of Charts.....	xvi

1. Introduction: Immigration and Identity in the Federal Republic of Germany 2006	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Immigration in the Federal Republic of Germany 1945-2006: an overview.....	5
1.3 Aims and procedure.....	9
1.4 Methodology.....	14
1.5 Breakdown of study.....	22
2. Immigration, Ethnicity and the Welfare State in the Federal Republic of Germany: a Theoretical Overview	30
2.1 Introduction.....	30
2.2 Ethnicity and Nationalism.....	31
2.3 Exclusion as a prerequisite for inclusion in the nation-state.....	36
2.4 Citizenship and the Nation State.....	38
2.4.1 Ascription and naturalisation processes.....	40
2.4.2 Migrant poor, citizenship legislation and the development of closed welfare states.....	42
2.4.3 Citizenship and the inclusive welfare state.....	49
2.5 The social state in a reunified Germany (1990-2006).....	56
2.6 The modern welfare state and immigration.....	59
2.7 Conclusion.....	64
3. Migration in the Long Post-War Period, 1945-1973. Migration, Ethnicity and the Welfare State	67
3.1 Introduction.....	67
3.2 Between acceptance and societal rejection: West Germans and German migrants.....	70
3.2.1 Changing perceptions of expellees and refugees in	

post-war Western Germany.....	73
3.2.1.1 Fellow Germans or unwelcome competitors? Views on refugees and expellees in the British and American zones of occupation.....	74
3.2.1.2 The ‘ <i>Wirtschaftswunder</i> ’ and the economic integration of the expellees and refugees in the early years of the Federal Republic.....	81
3.2.2 East German migrants as “genuine refugees” fleeing from repression.....	88
3.3 An unwelcome legacy of the Second World War: Displaced persons (DPs) in Western Germany.....	98
3.4 Foreign labour migrants as a ‘symptom of West Germany’s new affluence’.....	106
3.4.1 The initial stage of recruitment of foreign labour: Opinions on foreign labour migrants in the late 1950s and 1960s.....	113
3.4.2 Foreigners as temporary ‘guest workers: opinions on differing groups of foreigners.....	130
3.4.3 Changing views on ‘guest workers’ at a period of mass recruitment, 1967-1973.....	132
3.4.4 Summary: Labour migrants as a temporary economic phenomenon 1955-1973.....	138
3.5 Conclusion: Immigration in post-war Western Germany.....	140
4. The Federal Republic as a ‘Reluctant Country of Immigration’: West Germans’ Changing Perceptions of Foreign Immigrants, 1973-1989.....	143
4.1 Introduction.....	143
4.2 Too many foreigners in the Federal Republic? General views on the quantity of foreigners in the country.....	144
4.3 The politicisation of the ‘ <i>Ausländerproblem</i> ’ and West Germans’ attitudes towards foreigners in the first half of the 1980s....	153
4.4 Increasing contact between West Germans and ‘guest workers’/foreigners.....	180
4.5 The ethnization of migrants from Turkey: changing	

Opinions of differing minority groups throughout the 1980s.....	192
4.6 West Germans' gradual familiarisation with the permanent presence of 'guest workers' and their families throughout the 1980s.....	197
4.7 West Germans' views on the issue of voting rights for foreigners, 1973-1993.....	201
4.8 The discussion over German citizenship legislation, 1979-1989.....	215
4.9 Economic migrants or people who are politically persecuted? Changing perceptions of asylum seekers during the late 1970s and 1980s.....	224
4.10 Conclusion.....	241

5. Immigration, German Reunification and Identity: Migration and the Revitalisation of Ethnic Concepts of Identity Immediately Before and After German Reunification..... 245

5.1 Introduction.....	245
5.2 The 'return of ethnicity' and perceptions of immigrants and immigrant groupings in the 'new migration situation'.....	246
5.3 Too many foreigners in Germany? General views on the quantity of foreigners in Germany.....	258
5.4 Immigration and attitudes towards different immigrant groupings on either side of German reunification.....	265
5.5 Fellow Germans or competitors for scarce welfare resources? Attitudes towards East German migrants in the months and years prior to German reunification.....	284
5.6 Ethno-cultural members of the German Volk or economic Migrants? Changing views of Ethnic German <i>Aussiedler</i>	292
5.7 Changing views on asylum seekers at a period of rising xenophobic tensions on either side of German reunification.....	317
5.7.1 Asylum seekers as 'economic migrants' at a period of rising social tensions.....	319
5.7.2 The debate on a possible amendment to the Basic Law (Grundgesetzänderung).....	331
5.7.3 Attitudes towards asylum seekers following the	

amendment to article 16a of the Basic Law.....	346
5.7.4 Summary: Asylum seekers as ‘ <i>Wirtschaftsasylanten</i> ’ in a non-immigration country.....	351
5.8 Xenophobia and attitudes towards foreigners in the ‘new immigration situation’.....	352
5.9 Conclusion.....	358

6. Germany: a Country of Integration? The Immigration and Integration Discourse, 1994-2006.....	362
6.1 Introduction.....	362
6.2 The declining importance attached to immigration with falling numbers of new migrants, 1994-2000.....	365
6.3 Germany as a ‘country of immigration’.....	367
6.4 Changing amount of contact between Germans and foreigners, 1994-2006.....	370
6.5 The gradual liberalisation of German naturalisation criteria and changing views on the issue of dual citizenship throughout the 1990s.....	375
6.5.1 Opinions on the proposed toleration of dual citizenship prior to the change of government.....	375
6.5.2 Opinions on the planned new citizenship legislation (<i>Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz</i>) following the change of government in 1998.....	386
6.5.3 Changing views on naturalisation criteria following the passing of the Citizenship Act in 1999.....	397
6.6 Views on the quantity of foreigners in Germany.....	402
6.7 The Green Card scheme and views on relaxing entry criteria for skilled foreigners at the start of the 21 st century.....	410
6.8 Does Germany require a ‘law on immigration?’.....	416
6.9 Foreigners as a threat to the German ‘way of life’ at the start of the 21 st century?.....	424
6.10 Views on migrants’ adaptation to the German culture and ‘way of life’.....	428
6.11 The integration debate of the first few years of the 21 st century.....	435

6.12 Changing perceptions of cultural distance: Germans' views on Italian and Turkish migrants..... 442

6.13 Changing attitudes towards Muslims in Germany..... 444

6.13.1 Muslims as a threat to Germany and the country's 'way of life'?..... 445

6.13.2 The discussion about teachers wearing Islamic headscarves in German schools.....451

6.14 Conclusion.....459

Conclusion: Immigration and Perceptions of Identity in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945-2006: an Overview..... 463

Bibliography.....481

Section 1: Literature..... 481

Section 2: Source Material..... 508