

FROM “GASTARBEITER” TO “PEOPLE WITH MIGRATION BACKGROUND”: A CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF GERMAN MIGRATION SOCIOLOGY

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Abstract: Migration as a social fact was neglected by German society and public bodies until the 1990s. Hence as sub-discipline migration sociology was a research area which received little attention. Only when the interest of German society on migration rose, migration sociology in Germany became important. The result was a explosion of academic publications on migrations and the problems of migrants. The aim of this article is to give a concise and critical overview about German migration sociology. It will draw its basic characteristics and the methodological and interpretative problems Migration sociology must deal with. By neglecting the fact that the contend of German migration sociology is shaped by means of public demand and discussion, the researchers with non migration background are faced with a lack of self reflexivity, which biased their results and gives a wrong picture of migration and migrants.

Key Words: Germany, Migration Sociology, Migration, Sociology of Knowledge

“Konuk İşçi”likten “Göç Arkaplanlı İnsanlar”a: Alman Göç Sosyolojisine Eleştirel Bir Bakış

Özet: Bir sosyal olgu olarak Almanya'ya göç toplumu ve kamu kuruluşları tarafından 1990 lara kadar inkar edilmişti. Bundan dolayı sosyolojinin bir alt disipline olarak göç sosyolojisi çok fazla ilgi görmedi. Ne zaman alman toplumu göç ve göçmenler hakkındaki merakı çoğaldı, o zaman göç sosyolojisinin önemi arttı. Bu göç ve onun yarattığı sorunlar hakkındaki akademik yayınların patlamasıyla kendisini gösterdi. Bu makalenin gayesi alman göç sosyolojisi hakkında kısa ve eleştirel bir genel bakış sunmaktır. Almanya'daki göç sosyolojinin temel vasıfları tanıtılacak ve onun boğuştuğu metodolojik ve içeriksel sorunları gösterilecek. Göçmen kökenli olmayan araştırmacıların araştırma içeriğinin toplumsal tartışmalar ve talepler tarafından belirlendiği olgusunu göz önüne almayarak, kendi araştırma sonuçlarını eleştirmeyerek ve böylece sonuçların yanlış yorumlanması tehlikesi ile karşı karşıyalar, ki böylece topluma göç ve göçmenler hakkında yanlış bir resim sunuyorlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Almanya, Göç Sosyolojisi, Göç, Bilim Sosyolojisi

The societal perception of Migration in Germany, after it was neglected for decades by German governments and society, changed in the 1990s. The exodus of many asylum seekers (Asylanten) from Eastern Europe, the migration “back home” of many ethnic German repatriates (Aussiedler) from the former Soviet Republic and the fact that many working migrants (Ausländer) from Southern Europe, who lived in Germany since 30 – 20 years, will not move to their home countries caused the insight that migration is a reality and migrants are no more “invisible beings”. Therefore German politics and society needed a better picture about migrants and their problems. This increased the significance of migration sociology in Germany, by then a not very distinguished sub-discipline of German sociology. This academic upgrading was accompanied with an expanding of research publications about this issue.

The aim of this article is to give a critical overview of this quite new research discipline in Germany. The article consists of three parts. Part one describes the history of migration to Germany and the current situation of migration in Germany. Part two analyses the specific characteristics of German migration sociology, as an academic latecomer in international migration sociology with the focus on the problems of migration causes rather than the reasons of migration. There is also a decent attempt in this part of the article to introduce the founding fathers and important representatives of this discipline. But because of the scarcity of space it is not possible to give a comprehensive overview, so references must be understood as some starting point for the interested reader. Part three critically evaluates current migration sociology and its research problems.

The central statement of this article is that because of its specific nature as a new sub-discipline of sociology, driven by public demand on the finding solutions for the “problems of migration”, the majority of research publications in migration sociology have methodological and interpretative problems, which biased the results. Although there are some critical academics, which follow more self-critical approaches, the bulk of researchers are victims of their biased picture of migrants and their lack of self-reflexivity. Therefore academic research does not fulfil its primary task of giving a realistic picture of migrants in Germany but to confirm the biased picture of Germans about migrants.

Current Situation and History of Migration in Germany

According to the Federal Statistical Office in Germany 6.75 million migrants lived in Germany until the end of 2006. The largest group was with 1.739 million the Turks, followed by 535,000 Italians, 362,000 Poles, 317,000 Serbs and Montenegrin, 304,000 Greeks and 228,000 Croats. The number of immigrants is much higher, if we aggregate foreigners (Ausländer) and repatriates (Spätaussiedler): In 2006 there were about 15.1 million people with migration background in Germany.¹

Migration to Germany has a very old history, even if the official political discourse until the end of the 1990s neglected that Germany was de facto an immigration country. Recruitment of people for the purpose of gainful employment and economic development of the state was already used since the Thirty Years War in the 17th century. Prussia in particular ran a forced immigration policy, with the incentive to build new farms (and other companies) for the purpose of internal colonization in underdeveloped areas in Eastern Prussia and to raise economic development through the know-how of highly skilled people from abroad. Labour migration in the strict sense begun with industrialization, when in the end of the 19th century a strong influx of Poles from the eastern territories of the German Empire migrated to the more developed regions, like the Ruhr Region in the western regions. But that had more the character and form of internal migration.²

The great migration stage of labour migrants began during the 1950s, when Germany during the phase of the economic prosperity experienced a shortage of workers in some industrial sectors and began to recruit workers from abroad, the so called *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker). The high number of war dead, prisoners of war and murdered Jews and other people during the Nazi dictatorship, had limited the workforce. In particular, the mining industry suffered from the fact that many newly hired employees moved to the industries with less harsh working conditions. First, the mining companies were actively recruited in Austria and among the German speaking refugees from Transylvania in

¹ Statistisches Bundesamt, *Ausländische Bevölkerung - Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters*, Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2009.

² Kai-Uwe Beger, *Migration und Integration. Eine Einführung in das Wanderungsgeschehen und die Integration der Zugewanderten in Deutschland*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 2000; Herbert Ulrich, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtling*. München: C.H. Beck, 2001, s 74.

Rumania. However, the number of workers still was low. In autumn 1953 the Italian government campaigned in the Germany for Italian workers. First, the federal government reacted cautiously to the offer. But in 1955, the German government officially changed its stance, because it was foreseeable that the planned military service in 1955 would bind many workers and would lead to a new shortage in manpower. An initial projection for 1956 demanded the need of 800,000 workers. On 20 December 1955 a German-Italian labour recruitment agreement was signed. This recruitment agreement was followed by similar agreements with Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965 and Yugoslavia in 1968.³ The incentive for the South European nations to send labour migration was first to reduce their foreign trade deficit, by home remittances of the migrants and second to reduce their economic and social problems, like high youth unemployment. In the initial phase of labour recruiting a rotation principle was planned: A time-limited stay (usually two to three years) of the migrants, followed by a return to their homelands. The rotation principle proved for the industry as inefficient, because experienced workers were replaced by new inexperienced ones. The companies called for statutory provisions to extend the residence permits.

In July 1954, the proportion of foreign workers in the total number of employed workers was 0.4 percent. The big push began in 1960, when this guest worker ratio stood at 1.5 percent. 1960 was the first year of full employment. In September 1971, the guest worker quota already was 10.3 percent. Until the 1970s more than five million foreign workers and their families came to Germany, mainly from the Mediterranean countries Italy, Spain, the former Yugoslavia, Greece, Portugal and Turkey. In 1963 Portuguese *Armando Rodrigues de Sá* was the one millionth *Gastarbeiter* of Germany. 1973 there was already some four million migrant workers and members of the Federal Republic. In the same year, the German government freeze the recruiting due to the oil crisis.⁴ But with the freeze of the recruitment agreement, a second phase of migration had begun, which was characterized with the subsequent immigration of family members. Because migration permission was now only possible by marriage or family reunification, many migrants feared new severe

³ Ulrich, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtling*. München, s 202.

⁴ Ulrich, *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtling.*, s. 232.

measures for migration. Also child care benefits for children abroad were cut in 1975. On the other side Children born of *Gastarbeiter* received the right to reside (Aufenthaltberechtigung) in Germany but were not granted citizenship. Thus many of these guest workers brought step by step their families to Germany and stayed forever, which led to a significant increase of the migrant population in Germany. This second phase of migration ended in 1979, when many family members were taken to their working relatives in Germany.⁵ A new rise of migration figures began in the beginning 1990s when with the disintegration of the Soviet bloc many ethnic Germans from the former Soviet Union and Romania migrated as repatriates (Spätaussiedler) to Germany. On the other side there was a flux of asylum seekers from civil war regions of former Yugoslavia.

The eastern socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR) also recruited so called *Vertragsarbeitnehmer* (contract workers), who mostly came from Vietnam, North Korea, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba. They worked mostly in understaffed economic areas in the GDR, such as in light- or in the consumer goods industry. The conditions, duration, rights and number of contract workers were contractually negotiated individually with the respective governments. The length of residence varied between two and six years depending on origin. Contrary to the western Federal German Republic, a permanent stay was legally not provided and the immigration of family members was excluded. After the expiry of the contractual period, the contract workers had to leave the GDR. The workers lived in special settlements and there was any attempt to integrate these workers, who could often insufficiently speak German. Following the Fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification in 1990 the Federal Government tried to return the contract workers to their original countries. Only a few succeeded to secure a residence permit in Germany.⁶

Aspects of German Migration Sociology

Migration research is a quite multidisciplinary approach. Because of the complexity of migration, migration not only affects the migrating people but also the societies they move in. Therefore migration as a social fact is an issue

⁵ Karl-Heinz Meier-Braun, 40 Jahre "Gastarbeiter" und Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland, 1995, <http://www.swr.de/imperia/md/content/international/3.doc>

⁶ Marianne Krüger-Potratz, *Anderssein gab es nicht. Ausländer und Minderheiten in der DDR*, Münster: Waxmann, 1991.

of many different academic disciplines, like demographics, law, geographic, history, political science, psychology and (intercultural) educational science.⁷

Migration sociology deals with the particular aspects of migration as horizontal social mobility and is thus concerned with the causes and effects of migration and the integration of different cultural influences in the host society. But because of the methodical (quantitative vs. qualitative) and theoretical (explaining vs. understanding) heterogeneity of sociology as an academic discipline, migration sociology is also heterogenic. The substantial breadth of migration as a social fact leads also to an academic heterogeneity of research questions.⁸ Migration sociology is also an “event driven” discipline, because all research questions and approaches are embedded in current societal changes and debates about the migrant. Therefore it is obvious, that the beginning of migration sociology can be found in the USA, as the classical country of immigration, with the works of the Chicago School in the 1920s.⁹

In this aspect German sociology of migration can be characterized by three specific characteristics. First compared with international research, migration sociology in Germany is an academic latecomer. Second the big part of research focuses not on the migration process but on the societal consequences of migration. Third its “research objects” are the classic working migrants from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain and Former Yugoslavia.

The Late Beginnings of German Migration Sociology¹⁰

The first beginnings of migration sociology in Germany started in the 1970s and 1980s, with the works of Hans Joachim Hoffmann Nowotny¹¹, Hartmund

⁷ For an overview of different disciplines of migration research see, Anette Treibel, *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften - Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung, Gastarbeitern und Flucht*, Weinheim: Juventa Verlag, 2003, s: 17 – 24; Rosemarie Sackmann, *Zuwanderung und Integration – Theorien und empirische Befunde aus Frankreich, den Niederlanden und Deutschland*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2004.; Petrus Han, *Soziologie der Migration – Erklärungsmodelle, Fakten, Politische Konsequenzen, Perspektiven*, 2. Auflage, Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2005; Frank Düvell, *Europäische und internationale Migration. Einführung in historische, soziologische und politische Analysen*, Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2006; Ingrid Oswald, *Migrationssoziologie*, Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007.

⁸ Frank Kalter, „Migrationssoziologie“; Barbara Orth, Thomas Schwietring, Johannes Weiß (ed.): *Soziologische Forschung: Stand und Perspektiven*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2003, s: 324-327.

⁹ Kalter, „Migrationssoziologie“, s. 324.

¹⁰ For an overview and biography about the literature of this risen research topic, see: Bernhard Santel, Hermann Schock, *Einwanderung im Spiegel sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2000; Davoud Gharagozlou, *Quellen zur Migration: eine komparative Bibliographie in drei Sprachen*, Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004. For an critic on the early research in Germany see, Dorethea Bender-Szymanski, Hermann-Günter Hesse, *Migrantenforschung - Eine kritische Analyse deutschsprachiger empirischer Untersuchungen aus psychologischer Sicht*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1987.

Esser¹², Friedrich Heckmann¹³, as an attempt to connect to the international discussion.¹⁴ Hoffmann Nowotny – whose father was also a Swiss migrant in the German Ruhr region - was the first, who developed a theoretical model of migration by combining empirical information about migration – not from Germany but from Swiss, which was also a "non-immigration immigration country" – and founded the beginning of theoretical migration sociology in the German speaking countries in the 1970s. With his 200 publications Hoffmann-Nowotny was very important for the German speaking migration sociology and he used his knowledge to shape migration policy in Swiss. The central thesis of his work was, that there was a specific "cost-benefit calculation" for the migrant: If a migrant is only culturally "assimilated" without structurally integrated into the language, educational and professional system of the host country, he may save his family's own culture and tradition. But he will pay for it with social marginality and an underprivileged situation, which is mostly characterized with a long duration of unemployment - even for his offspring. Those, who tried to integrate into the structures by fulfilling the "requirements" of the host country and will have a considerable potential for a better economic situation for themselves and their families. However, this new environment and cultural background can also order the cohesion of the family - as shown by divorce, parent-child conflict and the struggle of immigrant women in their newly won rights and freedoms.¹⁵

Friedrich Heckmann was the first who tried to show in his seminal work "Deutschland – Ein Einwanderungsland" in the 1980s that Germany has changed to an immigration country, despite the official discourse at that time. Instead of the descriptive and moralizing work of the 1960s and 1970s, he tried to collect and systemize the findings about migration and to bind German migration sociology to the international discussion. His inquiry showed that

¹¹ Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny, *Soziologie des Fremdarbeiterproblems.- Eine Theoretische und empirische Analyse*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1973.

¹² Esser, Hartmut: *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie. Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse*. Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1980.

¹³ Friedrich Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik als Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwanderungsminorität*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981.

¹⁴ For an overview about early German migration sociology see, Annette Treibel, *Engagement und Distanzierung in der westdeutschen Ausländerforschung – Eine Untersuchung ihrer soziologischen Beiträge*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1988.

¹⁵ Hans-Georg Soeffner, *Das Fremde im Eigenen. Zum Tode von Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny*, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie (KZfSS)*, Vol. 56, 2004, s. 396-399.

migration in Germany wasn't only a temporary special case, a "Sonderfall", it had create a "migration minority", which had its own position in German social structure, where migrants were faced with a great marginality and a social and economic de-privileged position. Compared with their German counterparts, they were also faced by more unemployment and because they want return to there home countries, they save more money than Germans.¹⁶

The importance of migration sociology in Germany began in the 1990s, when migration was accepted as a social fact by the government and the population. Until the 1990s the official discourse about migrants was that they will not stay in Germany and will move back to their home countries. This was revised in the 1990s, when more and more migrants began to apply for German citizenship, bought houses in Germany and demonstrated so their will to stay in Germany. One can say that the importance of migration sociology raise when migration became normal and the consequences of migration became more and more "visible".¹⁷ Since then many aspects of migration and particularly the life of migrants have been analysed, which will be shown later. But the more important point was the integration of migration sociology into German mainstream sociology. The position of migrants in several aspects of German social structure, like labour market, education, welfare, etc, was now analyzed. This late "normalization" meant the integration in the specific research questions of German general sociology, like sociology of social structure and social mobility.¹⁸ Therefore the change of importance of migration sociology and its shift form a special sociology to general sociology showed, that migration and migrants as social facts was recognized by academic research. But the recognition of migration as social fact by academic research, does not always mean an in depth analyse with concrete results about migrants, which will be shown in the fallowing parts of this article

¹⁶ Heckmann, *Die Bundesrepublik als Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwanderungsminorität*, 1981.

¹⁷ Kalter, „Migrationssoziologie“ s. 324; Annette Treibel, „Migration“, Nina Bauer, Hermann Korte, Martina Löb, Markus Schwerer (ed.) *Handbuch Soziologie*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2005, s. 295 – 317.

¹⁸ Treibel, „Migration“ s. 300; Annette Treibel, „Von der exotischen Person zur gesellschaftlichen Normalität: Migrantinnen in der soziologischen Forschung und Lehre“, Gudrun Henges, Volker Hinnekamp, Almut Zwengel (ed.) *Migrations- und Integrationsforschung in der Diskussion. - Biographie, Sprache und Bildung als zentrale Bezugspunkte*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008, s.142 – 169.

Problem Focused Approach

The second aspect of German migration sociology is that the big part of research focuses not on the migration process but on the societal consequences of migration. Because Migration as a social fact was long time neglected by society and politics, it is understandable that migration sociology in Germany gives public policy some “tools” and “insights” about the societal problem of “migration” and is also funded and financed mostly by public bodies.¹⁹ Therefore it has mostly a “problem driven” approach, i.e. it focuses mostly on research questions, which society and also politics perceives as societal problems, even if they are in reality sometime marginal. The primary aim of research is thus giving some insight about the unknown beings called migrants and to advise society and public bodies, dealing with migration problems.²⁰ Hence it is understandable that the main focus of migration sociology is on problems migrants are faced with, like educational problems; unemployment, language deficits in German, or migrants “produce” like violence against women, “honour killing” and Islamic fundamentalism. So the majority of German migration sociology focuses mostly on three areas, which are linked with current public debates: adolescent men and there problems, the suppression of (muslim) female migrants and after the events of 9/11 the influence of Islamic fundamentalism on migrants.²¹

¹⁹ Public funding of migration research has become more and more important. The big part of research is mostly “remittance work” for the government. One important “employer” is the Ministry for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF) which was established in 2005 and has now an own budget for research on topics of migration. Also important is research that is mostly funded by the communities with large migrant communities. Besides there are of course a lot of private research institutions, founded around universities, like *Institute für Migrationsforschung und interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)* in Osnabrück, or *Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien* in Essen. For an overview of the different research institutions see: <http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/LINKS/deutschl.htm>. Also see the homepage of the section for “Migrants and ethnic minorities” of the German Society of Sociology (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie, DGS): <http://www.soziologie.de/index.php?id=559>

²⁰ For an example of this claim of public financed migration research see: Heike Diefenbach, Anja Weiss, Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund: Datenerfassung für die Migrationsberichterstattung. Gutachten im Auftrag der Stelle für Interkulturelle Arbeit, Sozialreferat, und des Statistischen Amtes der Landeshauptstadt München, 2005, www.muenchen.de/cms/prod2/mde/_de/rubriken/Rathaus/85_soz/04_wohnenmigration/31_interkulti/downloads/gutachtenmigration.pdf, (2010).

²¹ For a critic on this approach of German migration sociology see: Kalter, Migrationssoziologie, 2003, s. 324; Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim: *Wir und die Anderen. Vom Blick der Deutschen auf Migranten und Minderheiten*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2007, s.73.

a) *Adolescent Male Migrants*

Adolescent male migrants were always on the focus of academic research, more than female migrants. While their parents were mostly working and had no fear about their future, young men were faced with different problems in German society, which many could not deal with. They felt that their life between two cultures, with different expectations and requirements. Therefore they had mostly problems in school and in the labour market. One explaining factor for this problem of male young migrants was that their different cultural background. This “culture differentiation” perspective – which was mostly dominant in 1980s and early 1990s migration sociology – assumed that the migrants self perceived different cultural background causes problems of integration. Migration is therefore a problematic biographic initial condition. Coming from a migrant family is for the young migrant a burden, which leads to psychological problems and structural problems like unemployment or violence.²² The cultural difference between migrant and host society are therefore producing problems and is therefore the leading explaining factor for many public debates in Germany, like backward traditions as leading explanation for the situation of female migrants. Migrants are treated as “beings with deficits”, which must be integrated. Migration is seen as a crisis situation, which causes problems.²³

The most prominent representative of this approach is *Willhelm Heitmeyer* and his so-called “Theorem of Disintegration”, which he developed together with Reimund Anhut in the 1990s. Disintegration means promises of society and public institutions, which are not fulfilled. The basic thesis of the Heitmeyers theorem is that with the decreases of the degree of disintegration experiences and fears and the extent and intensity of these conflicts also rises. While someone - here the young migrant – realizes that he will not get the promised societal benefits (material goods, societal acceptance, etc.) because of his cultural background, he will start denying the whole integration process. The self perceived “otherness” leads to a feeling of depression linked with a pressure for the young migrant to integrate and to archive something. Important is that the young migrant can not count on the help of his family, because they are also

²² Gerd Stüwe, *Türkische Jugendliche - Eine Untersuchung in Berlin Kreuzberg*. Bensheim, 1982. Gerd Stüwe; R. Rosen, *Ausländische Mädchen in der Bundesrepublik*. Opladen: Buderich, 1985. Franz Hamburger; Merle Hummerich, „Familie und Migration“, Jutta Ecaris (ed.) *Handbuch Familie*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2007, s. 112 – 136. Merle Hummerich, *Bildungserfolg und Migration – Biografien junger Frauen in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008.

²³ Martina Grimmig, „Einwanderer, Einwanderung“, s. 38., Albert Scherr (ed.) *Soziologische Basics – Eine Einführung für Pädagogen und Pädagoginnen*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006, s. 35 – 41.

overstrained. The result of this disintegration experience is the rise of societal conflicts, which can have different forms. One possible form is that young Muslim migrants can build an emotional and real relationship with Islamic fundamentalism or can be a member of a criminal street gang.²⁴ Or they leave school because they do not believe that they will get a job on the labour market, because they are different.²⁵

Since the 1990s there is a critic on this differentiation perspective and a turn to a chance perspective. Migration is no more seen as a problem but more as a process of modernization. This new approach is more interested in opportunity structures which develop through migration. The migration influences the family structure of migrant families but the migration background of the migrant family is not a disadvantage for the young migrant because they can give emotional and economic support.²⁶ On the other side some new studies have shown that assumed integration deficits are not because of different cultural background but are a reaction of discriminating and disadvantage which the migrant faces and experienced in the host society.²⁷ The – problematic – situation of migrants reflects the societal structure and the political culture of the host society.²⁸

With this background of theoretical debate, migration sociology on adolescent migrants focused mostly on the topics of problems of young migrants on school²⁹, labour market³⁰ or youth violence.³¹ While there are some

²⁴ Heytmeyer, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus*, 1997.

²⁵ Heytmeyer, *Verlockender Fundamentalismus*, 1997. Reimund Anhut: „Die Konflikttheorie der Desintegrationstheorie“, Thorsten Bonacker (ed): *Sozialwissenschaftliche Konflikttheorien*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008, S. 381ff.

²⁶ Hummerich, „Bildungserfolg und Migration – Biografien junger Frauen in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft, 2008.

²⁷ Wolf Dieter Bukow, Robert Illyora, *Mitbürger aus der Ferne*, Opladen: Budrich, 1988; Axel Groenemeyer, Jürgen Mansel, *Die Ethisierung von Alltagskonflikten*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2002.

²⁸ Grimmig, *Einwanderer, Einwanderung*, s. 39.

²⁹ Mechthild Gomolla, Frank-Olaf Radtke, *Institutionelle Diskriminierung. Die Herstellung ethnischer Differenz in der Schule*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich 2002; Michael Fertig „Who's to Blame? The Determinants of German Students' Achievement in the PISA 2000 Study“ Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor, 2003, <http://ideas.repec.org/p/iza/izadps/dp739.html>, ; Hans-Joachim Schubert, „Integration, Ethnizität und Bildung – Die Definition ethnischer Identität Studierender türkischer Herkunft!“ *Berliner Journal für Soziologie*, Heft 3, 2006, s. 291 – 312; Petra Stanat, „Heranwachsende mit Migrationshintergrund im deutschen Bildungswesen“, Kai S. Cortina et al. (eds.) *Das Bildungswesen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Strukturen und Entwicklungen im Überblick*; Reinbeck: Rowolth, 2008. Heike Diefenbach, *Der Bildungserfolg von Schülern mit Migrationshintergrund im Vergleich zu Schülern ohne Migrationshintergrund*, Rolf Becker (ed.) *Lehrbuch der Bildungssoziologie*, Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften, 2009, s. 433-457; Georg Auernheimer, *Schieflagen im Bildungssystem: Die Benachteiligung der Migrantenkinder*, 4. Auflage, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2009; Birgit Becker, David Reimer, *Vom Kindergarten bis zur Hochschule: Die Generierung von ethnischen und sozialen Disparitäten in der Bildungsbiographie*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010.

expectations, like the situation of young repatriates or asylum seekers³² the majority of research focuses on the situation of Turkish migrants. There is also – still – a question about the problems of identity of young migrants³³, a question which is since the 1980s actual. While Heitmeyer pointed to the danger of fundamentalism in 1997, after the events of 9/11 there was expanding on research about Islamic fundamentalism and the importance on Islamic religion for young Muslims.³⁴

³⁰ Andreas Goldberg,, Dora Mourinho, Ursula Kulke, *Arbeitsmarkt-Diskriminierung gegenüber ausländischen Arbeitnehmern in Deutschland. (International Migration Papers 7)*. Genf: Internationale Arbeitsorganisation, 1995; Marc Szeydlik, „Ethnische Ungleichheit auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Jg. 48, H 4 1996, s. 658 – 676; Stefan Bender , Wolfgang Seifert, „Zur beruflichen und sozialen Integration der in Deutschland lebenden Ausländer“, Alba, Richard/Schmidt, Peter/Wasmer, Martina (eds.): *Deutsch und Ausländer: Freunde, Fremde oder Feinde?* Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2000, S. 55-92; Nadja Granato, Frank Kalter, „Die Persistenz ethnischer Ungleichheit auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt: Diskriminierung oder Unterinvestition in Humankapital?“ *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol 53, 2001 S. 497-520; Holger Seibert, Heike Solga, „Gleiche Chancen dank einer abgeschlossenen Ausbildung? Zum Signalwert von Ausbildungsabschlüssen bei ausländischen und deutschen jungen Erwachsenen“, *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* Vol. 34, N. 5 , 2005, s.: 364-382.

³¹ Susanne Rabold, Dirk Baier, Ethnische Unterschiede im Gewaltverhalten von Jugendlichen: die Struktur von Freundschaftsnetzwerken als Erklärungsfaktor, Felicitas Hillmann et al. (eds.) *Migration und städtischer Raum : Chancen und Risiken der Segregation und Integration*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2008, S. 313-331; İlhan Kizilhan, Islam, Migration und Integration: Konflikte jugendlicher Migranten mit islamischem Hintergrund, conflict & communication online, Vol. 7, 2008, No. 1, Konflikt, Kommunikation und Intergruppenbeziehungen I, 8; Kaja Swanhilt Haeger, „Repräsentationen von Männlichkeiten: Bekir, der "andere" Mann - eine Einzelfallanalyse, Lydia Potts, Jan Kühnemund (eds.) *Mann wird man: geschlechtliche Identitäten im Spannungsfeld von Migration und Islam*, Köln: transcript Verlag, 2008, S. 79-92; Thomas Schweer, *Das da draußen ist ein Zoo, und wir sind die Dompteure*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008; Anna Korteweg und Gökce Yurdakul , „Islam, Gender und Integration von Immigranten“, Gökce Yurdakul · Y. Michal Bodemann (eds). *Staatsbürgerschaft, Migranten und Minderheiten*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010, s. 71 – 92.

³² Janina Söhn, *Bildungschancen junger Aussiedler(innen) und anderer Migrant(innen) der ersten Generation: Ergebnisse des DJJ-Jugendsurveys zu den Einwandererkohorten seit Ende der 1980er-Jahre*. Berlin: WZB, 2008.

³³ Hartmut Esser, Jürgen Friedrichs, *Generation und Identität. Empirische und theoretische Beiträge zur Migrationssoziologie*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1991; Hartmut Esser, „Sprache und Integration“, Frankfurt/Main.: Campus 2006; Wolf-Dietrich Bukow et al., *Was heißt hier Parallelgesellschaft?*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag: 2007. Marion Aicher-Jakob, *Identitätskonstruktionen türkischer Jugendlicher: Ein Leben mit oder zwischen zwei Kulturen* Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010.

³⁴ Jan,Fuhse, „Religion in der Migration: ein Blick auf das Einwanderungsland Deutschland“, *Vorgänge : Zeitschrift für Bürgerrechte und Gesellschaftspolitik*, Jg. 45, 2006, H. 1 = H. 173, *Religion und moderne Gesellschaft*, S. 54-62; Silvia Kaweh, „Religion und Identität: junge Muslime in Deutschland und das ihnen vermittelte Europabild“, *Orient : deutsche Zeitschrift für Politik Wirtschaft und Kultur des Orients*;; 2007, H. 4, s. 52-63.

b) "Suppressed" Female Migrants

The focus on female migrants is a very new area of German migration sociology.³⁵ Until the 1970s female migrants were not recognized by research. Weische – Alexas master thesis about the leisure time of female migrants in 1977 was the first thesis about female migrants.³⁶ The further research focus on female migrants in the 1970s and 1980s was mostly on second generation female migrants who were mostly seen as victims of patriarchal violence.³⁷ With the events of 9/11 migration sociology changed the focus from women as victims of the patriarchal culture to the women as Muslims. Here the focus was primary on the Islamic life course of young female migrants and the headscarf issue.³⁸

But even if the publications about young female migrants have risen in the last decade, there is still an inadequacy on empirical facts about the life course and life situation of young female migrants.³⁹ The issue of migrant women is mostly an area of popular scientific "research", which has its place in the bestseller list of the literature market and which supplies the readers with a specific stereotype of the female migrant as a victim of violence. Especially since the 2000s, there is an interest on the situation of "suppressed" female migrants, whereby the publicly perceived suppressed women are now female Muslims, i.e. the public

³⁵ For an overview on current research, see: Ursula Boos-Nünning, Yasemin Karakasoglu, *Viele Welten leben - Zur Lebenssituation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund*, Münster: Waxmann, 2005.

³⁶ Pia Weische-Alexa, *Sozial-kulturelle Probleme junger Türkinnen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Köln: unpublished Master thesis in PA Köln, 1977.

³⁷ For examples of this inquiries see Andrea Baumgartner-Karabak, Gilseal Landsberger, *Die verkauften Bräute. Türkische Frauen zwischen Kreuzberg und Anatolien*, Reinbeck: Rowolth, 1978. For a critic on this research approach see: Christine Huth-Hildebrand, *Das Bild von der Migrantin. Auf den Spuren eines Konstrukts*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2000.

³⁸ Maria Elisabeth Baumann, : *Frauenwege zum Islam: Analyse religiöser Lebensgeschichten deutscher Muslimas*, Regensburg : Regensburg, Univ., Diss., 2003; Elise Pape, *Das Kopftuch von Frauen der zweiten Einwanderergeneration: ein Vergleich zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland*, : Aachen: Shaker, 2005; Peter Kühn, *Das Kopftuch im Diskurs der Kulturen*, Nordhausen: Bautz, 2008; Rita Beuer, *Familienleben im Islam: Traditionen, Konflikte, Vorurteile*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2008; Riem Spiehaus, "Die Integration religiöser Symbole die Kopftuch-Debatte hat gezeigt: ein gesellschaftlicher Konsens liegt noch in weiter Ferne", *Internationale Politik*, Jg. 62, 2007, H. 9, *Islam in Europa - Gewinn oder Gefahr?*, S. 56-60; Anette Treibel, *Islam und Integration - ein Gegensatz?: ein soziologisches Plädoyer für eine neue Aufmerksamkeit*, Karin Böllert, Peter Hansbauer, Brigitte Hasenjürgen, Sabrina Langenohl (eds) *Die Produktivität des Sozialen - den sozialen Staat aktivieren : sechster Bundeskongress Soziale Arbeit*, Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwissenschaften 2006, S. 99-106; Pascale Fournier und Gökce Yurdakul, „Hinter dem Schleier: Zur sozialen Stellung muslimischer Frauen mit Kopftuch in Frankreich und Deutschland“ Gökce Yurdakul Y. Michal Bodemann (eds). *Staatsbürgerschaft, Migranten und Minderheiten*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2010, s. 71 – 92.

³⁹ Boos-Nünning, Karakasoglu, *Viele Welten leben*, 2005, s. 15.

perception has changed from the ethnic (Turks) to the religious background (Muslim) background of the victims.

One representative of these “publications” meeting this public demand on suppressed women is social scientist *Necla Kelek*. In 2002 she wrote her doctoral thesis about the life course of Turkish students in Germany, where she came to the conclusion that the students are individually appropriated to Islam, they adapted it to their needs and used Islam for their identity. Their Islamic religion was not an obstacle to integration, but rather a lived example of cultural change.⁴⁰ Three years later she revised her opinion in her bestseller book “The Alien Bride” (*Die Fremde Braut*), where she mixed autobiography, life stories of Turkish women and literary forms of scientific studies, and presented them as empirical results. Now her result was that Turkish culture and Islamic religious tradition could be an obstacle to integration. Many native-born adolescents married somebody from Turkey, which was arranged by their parents, and then brought them to Germany. Thus the integration in Germany would deliberately difficult. This makes Kelek example of the “Gelin” and states that the fetched from Turkey, for an arranged marriage bride brought to Germany, which has acquired no opportunity or requirement for integration into German society.⁴¹ Despite of the external validity of her results, Kelek became one of the leading of female migrant, and was member of the Islam Conference of the Secretary of Interior.

c) *Islam in Germany*

The research about Islam in Germany is very new and became the focus of research after the events of 9/11, when German society realized the “invisible” Muslim population in Germany, who were not only totally unknown but could be a “threat” for German society.⁴² Therefore there was a public demand for insights about the Islamic population in Germany. Mostly the focus here was about their values and the question if these were compatible with western values in Germany. There was also the question about the potential of violence among young Muslims. Muslims had become a security risk and academic research

⁴⁰ Necla Kelek, *Islam im Alltag. Islamische Religiosität und ihre Bedeutung in der Lebenswelt von Schülerinnen und Schülern türkischer Herkunft*. Waxmann, Münster, 2002.

⁴¹ Necla Kelek *Die fremde Braut. Ein Bericht aus dem Inneren des türkischen Lebens in Deutschland*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2005.

⁴² For an overview of current research on Islam in Germany, see Sonja Haug et al. *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland*, , Nürnberg: BAMF, 2009, s 24 – 36.

should deliver society and public security agencies with in-depth information about the risk.

Before 2001 the only comprehensive contribution to the situation of Muslims and particularly Turks was and is still the work of the “Centre for Turkey Research” (Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien) in Essen. It has contributed the majority of works about the religiosity and religious practise of Turkish Muslims in Germany and about their organizational representation in Germany.⁴³ The Centre has also multi issue inquires about the economic situation, cultural, political and social attitudes of Turkish migrants in Germany.⁴⁴ But the surveys are only limited to the Turkish population and only in the county of Northern Rhine Westphalia.

Along the work of the Centre was the work of other authors, who were mostly funded and financed by public bodies. Katrin Brettfeld and Peter Wetzels work about “Muslims in Germany” (Muslime in Deutschland) was financed by the Ministry of Interior. It was a phone inquiry with 960 Muslim migrants in Augsburg, Berlin, Hamburg and Cologne and asked about political attitudes, religion and religiosity, experience of discrimination and religious motivated violence. The most important result of this work was that fundamentalist opinions are not equal with Islamism.⁴⁵ While Brettfeld and Wetzel tried to examine the potential of Islamic extremism and violence in Germany, the work of Haug et al wanted to understand if there were differences in integration within the Islamic community, i.e. if there were differences between Turks, Moroccans, Bosnians or Persians. It asked about different importance of religion for the daily life of the migrants and if there was an effect of religiosity on specific aspects in school, like the participation of young Islamic girls on swimming classes or class trips.⁴⁶ The report about “Islamic religiosity in Germany” of the Bertelsmann Foundation was a supplementary inquiry of its international comparative Religion Monitor survey. As an inquiry of sociology of religion it examines six core dimensions of religion (Interests on religious issues, faith, public and private religious practise and consequences of religious living) and compares Islamic religiosity in Germany with other religions. The result of the survey was that Islamic religiosity differs from Non-Islamic

⁴³ Faruk Sen, Martina Sauer, „Islam in Deutschland – Einstellung der türkischstämmigen Muslime“. *ZfT-aktuell* Nr. 115. Essen: Zentrum für Türkeistudien.

⁴⁴ Martina Sauer, *Perspektiven des Zusammenlebens – Die Integration türkischstämmiger Migrantinnen und Migranten in NRW*. Essen: Stiftung für Türkeistudien, 2008.

⁴⁵ Katrin Brettfeld, Peter Wetzler, *Muslime in Deutschland*, Berlin: Bundesministerium des Inneren, 2007.

⁴⁶ Haug et al. *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland*, Nürnberg 2009.

religiosity in Germany but not in the sense of fundamentalism or dogmatism. It was characterized by a more pragmatic and moderate acceptance of daily religiosity and religious opinions. Even if many Muslims have problems with integration, Islam or the Islamic practise was not the source of the integration problems.⁴⁷

The Focus on Turks and Moslems

The “research objects” of German migration sociology are the classic working migrants from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain and Former Yugoslavia, which is the third aspect of migration sociology in Germany.⁴⁸ While in the beginning of migration sociology in the 1970s, 1980s the focus was on the first generation working migrants and their problems and disadvantages in the German society, this has switched in the 1990s and 2000s to the problems of their children and grandchildren of the second and third generation. Because they are the largest part of the migrant population, the majority of migration research is about the problems of the Turks.⁴⁹ On the other side the Turks – next between other marginal Islamic groups like Moroccans - are the population, who culturally differ mostly from the German population and therefore are mostly perceived in public debates as a “problem group”.

It is also interesting that in the last decades the term for the “research objects” has changed. While until the 1970s the term *Fremdarbeiter* – a term which was used by the Nazis for the working force in Germany, who were kidnapped from the occupied countries – in the 1980s it was *Gastarbeiter* (guestworker), in the 1990s *Ausländer* (Foreigner) and in the 2000s *Personen mit Migrantenhintergrund* (people with migration background). While the formers meant people who have not German citizenship and are therefore excluded from

⁴⁷ Bertelsmann Stiftung, Religionsmonitor 2008; Bertelsmann Stiftung, *Muslimische Religiosität in Deutschland*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2008.

⁴⁸ Martina Grimmig, *Einwanderer, Einwanderung*, s. 38.

⁴⁹ One important source for the life of Turkish migrants in Germany is the “Centre for Turkey Research” (*Stiftung Zentrum für Türkeistudien*) in Essen. Founded in 1985 its task is to create economic and social scientific studies, expert opinions and reports, the organization of conferences and congresses as well as the preparation of reports on scientific and political developments as they affect the migration political interests of the Federal Republic of Germany. It focuses on the socio-economic and political developments in Turkey, Central Asia and the Balkans, foreign economic and political relations between Turkey and neighbouring countries and the European Union and general migration studies in Germany and other European countries. Since 2001 it has an advisory status at the *Economic and Social Council* (ECOSOC); See: <http://www.zft-online.de/>

the German population the last one means naturalized – i.e. German citizen - and non-naturalized Migrants.

On the other side the research objects have changed. Even if the Turks are still the focus on research interests, the public and academic perception of them has changed. While in the past the research focuses on Turks as representatives of a traditional culture form Anatolia, academic research – and also public and political interest – is interested on the life course of Turkish migrants as Muslims. The ethnic background was changed by the religious background. One can say that 9/11 also changed the perception of Germans about migrants. While they were in the past Turks, Greeks, Spaniards, now society and politics perceived Muslims as an problematic or as the only migrant population, who compared with the other migrant groups where not integrated. While Muslims become more and more “visible” other migrant groups disappear from the public perception.

Research Deficiency of German Migration Sociology

As it was shown, the focus on migration sociology in Germany is mostly on specific integration problems of second generation migrants. But this one-sidedness causes a lack in research in other areas. In a report of Secretary of Migration and Refugee (BAMF) about the impact of migration on German society, the Secretary disapproves the missing in migration research in the fields of economy, culture and politics.⁵⁰ For example due of statistical problems there is a lack of economic research question on the micro (like vocational qualification) or macro (human capital of migrants) level. There is also little information about the economic networks of migrant communities and about the enterprises of migrants, so called ethnic entrepreneurship in the areas of food, clothing, education and entertainment. There is also no information about social mobility of migrants, which is one important research aspect in German macro sociology. All these lacks can be restored by a more intensive research and intensive quantitative questioning.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), *Der Einfluss von Zuwanderung auf die Deutsche Gesellschaft – Deutscher Beitrag zur Pilotforschung „The Impact of Immigration on Europe’s Societies im Rahmen des Europäischen Migrationsnetzwerkes*. Nürnberg: BAMF, 2005.

⁵¹ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Der Einfluss von Zuwanderung auf die Deutsche Gesellschaft*, s. 13 – 14.

On the cultural level the current migration research in Germany gives no answers about the effect influence of the migrants' culture on German society. There are no information and academic reports about the perception of the music, literature, fashion and art of the migrants in Germany. This may be interesting, because there are not only national and international successful directors like *Fatih Akin* or writers like *Feridun Zaimoglu*, but also a rising number of music schools lead by migrants in Germany. Also the role of migrants in local culture production on communal level is not researched. Even if after 9/11 the interest on the Islamic religion of the Muslim migrants - as an aspect of culture - has raised, which can be seen in the rising number of publication about this issue, there are still little information about the whole picture of the Islamic community or communities.⁵²

On the political level there is an interest on the institutionalization of migrant interests. But the research on this issue is not very systemized and mostly locally limited, like the work of Claudia Diehl about the Turkish organizations in the city of Mannheim.⁵³ But the real lack here is on political behaviour of migrants, their voting preferences and the active role in political parties and movements. The fact that more and more migrants became naturalized and have the right to vote and that with *Cem Özdemir* a first migrant is Chairmen of the *Green Party* and with *Aygül Özkan* the first minister in *Lower Saxony*, makes this issue very interesting for academic and political research. The methodological problem here is to identify the Germans with migration background, because the national statistic archives give no clue about the former ethnic background of the citizens.⁵⁴

The Critics on German Migration Sociology

Methodological Problems

Qualitative and quantitative methods are the basic sources of migration research. But the researchers – who are mostly non migrants - using these methods are faced with serious problems, which threatens the external validity of

⁵² Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Der Einfluss von Zuwanderung auf die Deutsche Gesellschaft*, s. 15.

⁵³ Claudia Diehl, *Die Partizipation von Migrantinnen in Deutschland – Rückzug oder Mobilisierung?*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2002.

⁵⁴ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, *Der Einfluss von Zuwanderung auf die Deutsche Gesellschaft*, s. 16.

there results. Especially when the research instruments are standardized questionnaires or surveys, there is a risk, that the results will be contaminated by a set of “classical” measurement and sampling errors.

There are two sources of problems. First there are sampling problems during the sampling process, when the interviewed objects are selected. Here coverage and non response errors are the most important problems researchers must deal with. Coverage Errors occur when all members of the population do not have an equal (or known) probability of being included in the sample. This may occur when the sampling pool uses public sources like migrant statistics or residence statistics which show “real” migrants who are not naturalized but give no information about naturalized migrants or German citizen with migration background.⁵⁵ Particularly official national statistics are problematic because they were founded when there where no migrants ore migration was viewed as a temporally event and differ therefore the population in citizens and non citizens, like the typical statistical sources of quantitative social research in Germany like the *Socio Economic Panel* (SOEP) or the *Mikrozensus*. But this bipolar differentiation is mostly not able to show the complexity of life courses and the heterogeneity of the population.⁵⁶ Beck Gernsheim showed that public education statistics only show the deficits of migrants, but give no information about the self achievement of migrants or say nothing about the influence of teachers during the educational selection process after elementary school. Migrants are in public education statistics “invisible”.⁵⁷

Non-response biases occur in a statistical survey if those who respond to the survey differ in the outcome variable (for example, evaluation of the need for financial aid) from those who do not respond. Often, the differences, which may include race, gender or socioeconomic status, are reported and/or accounted for through statistical modelling in any publication of the results.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ H.F. Weisberg, *The total survey error aporach*, Chicago: University Press, 2005.

⁵⁶ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*,. Aschauer, „ Besonderheiten und Problemlage der quantitativen Befragung bei Migranten“ , 2009,s. 136. Haug et al. *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland*, s. 26.

⁵⁷ Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, „Migranten im Bildungsbereich: warum ihre Leistungen unsichtbar bleiben“ *Handlung, Kultur, Interpretation : Zeitschrift für Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften*, Jg. 14, 2005, H. 1, Mißachtung und Verachtung, S. 48-5

⁵⁸ M.P. Couper, E.D. De Leeuw, “Nonresponse in cross cultural and cross-national surveys”J. Harkness, F.JJ.R. van de Vijer, P.P. Mohler (Eds.): *Cross cultural survey methods*, Hoboken: Wiley, 2003, s. 157 – 178.

But the big part of measurement problems occurs not during the sampling process but during the questioning phase of the interview. First there can be problems with the measuring tool. Theoretical concepts which are tested in the interview can be differently interpreted by the interviewer and the migrant, because of their different cultural backgrounds. This problem of equivalency of construct is then problematic, if the survey wants to compare the behaviour or the opinions of different migrants, from different cultural backgrounds. This problem can also occur, when there are socio economic differences like education or occupation between the migrants.⁵⁹

A second problem is the fact that due of a lower educational background the migrants are overstrained with the questions. To accelerate and finish the interview, which is not comfortable situation for the migrant because of his self perceived lack of education during the interview, they begin not to deal with the content of the question and give ransom answers. On the other hand, written questionings can have a limited validity because there is no real control over the understanding of the question by the migrant, because of the lower education and the language problems of the migrant.⁶⁰

The third sources of methodological problems during the questioning phase are social desirability biases. There are two reasons for social desirability. First there can be personal reasons for the migrant because he is mostly categorized by society as social backward. So the migrant has the tendency to show himself in a more positive light. He tries to convince the interviewer that he is well integrated in his host society, has contact to Germans and accepts western values. Second social desirability can take place when there are tricky or unpleasant questions, like the questions about the legal status of the migrant, his psychological situation and of his sexual activities.⁶¹ Mostly migrants try to deceive the interview, lie to him, avoid unpleasant question trough non item

⁵⁹ Wolfgang Aschauer, „ Besonderheiten und Problemlage der quantitativen Befragung bei Migranten“, Martin Weichbold, Johann Bach, Christof Wolf, *Umfrageforschung – Herausforderung und Grenzen*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2009, s. 293 - 315.

⁶⁰ Because of the experience of some of his friends with migration background, who work as interviewers for an academic research institute, the author knows that sometimes questionnaires, which are translated in the language of the migrants are very bad translated, so that there is a discrepancy between the issue what the researcher wants to know and the translated text, which has a very different meaning.

⁶¹ Due of the experience of some of his friends, the author knows that sometimes interviewers with a emigrational background, who make the interview for a research institute, skip some questions with delicate contend and mark on the questionnaire the non opinion field.

response or by saying that they have any opinion to this question.⁶² Mostly migrants are well informed that some of their opinions can be rejected by members of the host society and that there can be an unpleasant situation during the interview, especially when the interviewer is also a member of the host society. Therefore another deceiving strategy of the migrants during the interview is to behave conformal. They approve specific questions not by thinking about the content of the question but to pleasure the interviewer.⁶³ These effects can mostly happen when the interview is too long and the migrant has no motivation to answer all questions.⁶⁴

One possible reason for this behaviour of the migrants during interviews can be the situation between interviewer and migrant. While the interviewer is mostly a member of the host society and his legal, economic and social status is secure, the migrant is mostly in more unsecured situation. Migrants are more faced with a daily perception of backwardness by the host society. Their residence in the host society is dependent of complicated regulations and restrictions, the economic and political situation and the capriciousness of bureaucracy. So migrants are in a specific hierarchy of power and therefore the situation between interviewer and migrant is asymmetric.⁶⁵ There is also mistrust against formularies and interviews. Even if the interviewer is from the same cultural background, this does not mean that he has the trust of the interviewed migrant. Sometimes the interview is a research project of specific public bodies which strengthen the mistrust, because the interview is seen as an instrument of the ruling power.⁶⁶ Because of his or her emotional and legal situation the migrant is forced to deceive the interviewer and to avoid unpleasant situations. The problem of the interviewer is, that he as a member of the host society is not always aware of his or hers position in the hierarchy of power and about the situation during the interview. Most researchers believe the official stories of the migrants. Sometimes they aren't aware that a question which is for them harmless can be for the migrant unpleasant.⁶⁷ They also neglect the fact that because of the behaviour of the migrants the results are not valid, that they are

⁶² Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 297.

⁶³ Manfred Braun, *Funktionale Äquivalenz in interkulturell vergleichenden Umfragen*, Mannheim: ZUMA, 2006; Aschauer, „Besonderheiten und Problemlage der quantitativen Befragung bei Migranten“, s. 299.

⁶⁴ Aschauer, „Besonderheiten und Problemlage der quantitativen Befragung bei Migranten“, s. 298.

⁶⁵ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 170.

⁶⁶ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 185.

⁶⁷ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 197.

biased, especially when they want to inquire “delicate” issues, but which are for the migrant societal taboos.⁶⁸

These examples of methodological problems show how easily the research results of migration sociology can be biased and therefore are not valid. The problem of many researchers is not that they are non migrants, but that they are not aware about these problems. Mostly they behave without sophistication, because the researchers or the interviewer are young and have no practical experience with migration field research. Sometimes it is easier for the young researcher to neglect the specific questions and problems and to avoid a critical examination of his or hers research methods. On the other side the fact that migration research in Germany is mostly a product of doctoral research with a very limited monetary and temporally budget linked with the pressure to present academic results. Hence on this level of research there is not time for a self-reflection of the research process and possible biases are put up.

The Social Construction of the “Migrant”

Migration research is not only faced with methodological problems during the sampling and interview process. There is also the fact that always “indigenous” researchers observe and describe the migrant, who is mostly a societal “other”, who differs from the majority of the host society. This fact is perhaps regarded by the members of the host society as normal, but there is always the possibility that the researcher can be influenced by societal constructs of his research object, the migrant. Society has a special picture of the migrant and the researcher is a member of this society⁶⁹

A possible explanation for this specific naivety of contemporary German migration research can be in its nature in Germany. First migration research in Germany is a field of sociology. But contrary to other disciplines like cultural ethnology or cultural studies there is mostly a lack about the issue between the relationship of minorities and the majority in a society. Western sociology in general and particularly German sociology has a lack of culture historical sensibility; they are determined by a specific positivism, which is blind for

⁶⁸ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 184.

⁶⁹ Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, „Interkulturelle Missverständnisse in der Migrationsforschung“, *Leviathan*, Vol. 31, Nr.1, 2003, s. 72 – 91.

culture.⁷⁰ Questionnaires are the main tools of the research philosophy, while the migrants are viewed as a homogenous sampling pool, whose only distinctive characteristic is the fact that they are not Germans. Mostly there is any self reflectivity about the problems which occur because of the asymmetrical relationship between migrant and researcher.

Second German migration sociology is problem or event driven. It has the approach to find a solution for the problems which are caused by migration. It is a research which wants to advice society and public bodies, who are the main clients and hence pay for the research. Therefore it focuses on current debates in society about migration. Migration research takes the societal view on migration as a source of problem over, when it defines its research issues. Hence they also accept the perception of society about the migrants, who are their research object.⁷¹ But this problem focused research approach draws on a one sided picture of the migrants. Because the research questions are asked from the perspective and expectations of the German host society, i.e. the integration of non integrated migrants, the focus is mostly on the “deficits” of the migrants but not on their achievements. One the other side this problem focused approach forces the researchers to find fast solution for societal problems, which the host society – but not always the migrant - perceives. And society wants fast results and faster solutions for the problems which does not allows in depth research. Where long-term and systematic research is necessary, most research bases on ad hoc inquiries, with very general research questions and descriptive character. But what happens if there is no real problem with the migrant, and there is no need for any solutions? A problem driven research approach forces the researchers to look for specific marginal groups in the migration community, who fits to the picture of society about the migrants, even if the majority of the migrants don't match to this picture. How Huth- Hildebrand shows, Migration research in Germany, especially if it is client ordered, tries to put on the existing previous picture about the migrant, to confirm their basic assumptions for their own research tasks.⁷² The migrant is seen by society as a societal “other”, the antithesis of the host society, an anomy because he is not like the members of

⁷⁰ Joachim Matthes, The Operation Called „Vergleichen“, Joachim Matthes (ed.) *Zwischen den Kulturen? Die Sozialwissenschaften vor dem Problem des Kulturvergleichs*. Sonderband 8, Soziale Welt, Göttingen: Schwartz, 1992, s. 93; Beck-Gernsheim, *Interkulturelle Missverständnisse in der Migrationsforschung*, s. 91.

⁷¹ Christine Huth- Hildebrandt, *Das Bild von der Migrantin - Auf den Spuren eines Konstruktes*. Frankfurt/Main: Brandes & Apsel. 2001.

⁷² Huth- Hildebrandt, *Das Bild von der Migrantin*, s. 194.

the host society. It is this “otherness”, as a specific way of public discourse, which is a constitutive construct of migration sociology in Germany. Neither are the research results compared with the German society as a reference society nor is there any connection to other studies.⁷³ Many research results and projects of German migration sociology are isolated.⁷⁴ Or the problems of some migrants will be generalized as the problems of all migrants. Regardless if migrants have the same education and are part of the labour market, they will always be described as the “other”.⁷⁵ With other words, the research on migration focuses on migrants and their “problems”, which are for the majority of the German society “visible”. This can be caused by the fact, that society does not see Migration as a normal case of a post modern society, but as a special case, which is temporary.⁷⁶ Driven by a public demand, the research becomes to a study about specific groups within the migration population and about specific aspects but not about the whole migrants in Germany.⁷⁷ Public demand and current societal discussion influence the topics of research and transform academic research to an assistant of societal anxieties and prejudices.

On the other side the researchers must use specific “pre knowledge” about their research objects, which can base on common sense and stereotypes. Sometimes they have any knowledge about the research topic. For example someone who wants to inquire the effect on Islam on Turkish adolescents, must know something about Islam and Turkish culture. But because many researchers are not members of the inquired migrant community and have no knowledge about them, they use for their interpretations societal constructed pre knowledge. The results of many researchers “orientalize” the migrants. Migrants became a construct of the “other” as a layer to distinct them from the members of the host society, they became a tool of identification for the majority. The migrant is

⁷³ One noble exception is the research of the German-Israeli “Migration and Societal Integration” research consortium, which compares migrants with the autochthon members of the host society. The German-Israeli “Migration and Societal Integration” research consortium studies the acculturation and its consequences of migrant children and youths in Israel and Germany. It is composed of researchers in the fields of psychology, sociology, criminology and linguistics from several universities in Germany (Berlin, Bielefeld, Bremen, Chemnitz, Jena, Leipzig, and Mannheim) and Israel (Bar-Ilan, Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv). See: <http://www.migration.uni-jena.de/index.php>

⁷⁴ Kalter, *Migrationssoziologie*, s. 325.

⁷⁵ Merle Hummerich, „Fremdheit als konstitutives Moment der Migrationsforschung,“ Turet Badawia, Helga Lukas, Heinz Müller (eds.) *Das Soziale gestalten – Über Mögliches und Unmögliches in der Sozialpolitik*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006, s. 295 – 310.

⁷⁶ Hummerich, *Fremdheit als konstitutives Moment der Migrationsforschung*, s. 305.

⁷⁷ Kalter, *Migrationssoziologie*, 2003, s.325.

seen as a victim of its own culture or other structural situations. Turks are tradition oriented, young Turkish man have problems in school, are violent and patriarchal authoritarian, young Muslim women are victims of violence and are suppressed.⁷⁸ For example, above mentioned Willhelm Heitmeyer asked in his inquiry about Turkish youth, if their parents have an influence on partnership selection. The majority (60%) said that their parents have no influence on their decision. Heitmeyer also asked, if their parents would punish them if they disobey religious rules, which the majority negated. But even though the empirical results give a different picture, Heitmeyer and his colleagues interpreted the results as an evidence for the traditionalism of Turkish families, and the patriarchal authoritarian way of instruction of Turkish parents.⁷⁹ Here academic research is seen as a tool to confirm “empirically” the perceptions or prejudices of the German society about migrants.⁸⁰ Migration research is therefore an expression of a specific discourse, where migrants are systematically transformed to “others”, who live in a contrast to the experience of the own culture of the researcher.⁸¹ Only in the last ten years there are new approaches considering the migrant not only as a victim but also as an acting subject, with the focus of their achievements, like the work of Bernhard Nauck, Marga Günther or Merle Hummerich about young women or young adolescents of the second generation of migrants.⁸²

Third there is also the fact, that migration sociology and research has only become a point of interest for public agencies in the last two decades, when it became a fact that migrants will stay in Germany. Compared with the USA the research in Germany is very new. Because it is a new research, there is also a lack of experience about the research topic. For many researchers it is the first time that they must deal with a population, which them they have before any

⁷⁸ Beck-Gernsheim, *Interkulturelle Missverständnisse in der Migrationsforschung*, s. 82.

⁷⁹ Beck-Gernsheim, *Wir und die Anderen*, s. 157.

⁸⁰ Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, Transnational, nicht traditional. – Ein andere Blick auf die Lebenswirklichkeit von Migranten. Günter Burkart, Jürgen Wolf (eds.) *Lebenszeiten, Erkundungen zur Soziologie der Generation*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2002, s. 335 – 351.

⁸¹ Bernd Waldenfels, *Topographie des Fremden – Studien zur Phänomologie des Fremden*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1997; Hummerich, Fremdheit als konstitutives Moment der Migrationsforschung, s. 306.

⁸² Bernhard Nauck et al. , Familiäre Netzwerk - Intergenerative Transmission und Assimilationsprozesse bei türkischen Migrantenfamilien, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. 49, Nr. 3, 1997, s. 477 – 499; Merle Hummerich, *Bildungserfolg und Migration. – Biographie junger Frauen in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2002; Bernhard Nauck, „Soziales Kapital intergenerativer Transmission und interethischer Kontakt in Migrantenfamilien“, Hans Merckens; Jürgen Zinnecker (ed.) *Jahrbuch Jugendforschung*, Nr. 4, , Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2004, s. 18 – 49; Marga Günther, *Adolozenz und Migration*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2007.

contact and which therefore leads to the aforementioned problems of interpretation. But on the other side, the newness of migration sociology in Germany causes another problem. Although the interest on migration has risen in the last 20 years, there is still a lack of empirical data. In many long-term surveys migrants are not specially analyzed, which leads to lack of an empirical base for further research. Even when the number of research projects and publications has risen in the last twenty years, most of the publications about migration research show a lack of self reflectivity. There are articles about the methodological problems of cross cultural research in Germany but they are few. The nature of German migration research as an international academic latecomer causes a lack of knowledge and self reflectivity.

Conclusion

The research interest on migrants has risen in the last two decades in Germany. Especially after the events of 9/11 the autochthon majority of German society has discover the Muslim migrant population, who where for 30 years “invisible”. But how this article has tried to show, German migration sociology has specific characteristics which causes some specific methodological and interpretative problems. As a quite new research topic in German sociology migration sociology can be characterized by its late coming nature in international migration research, second its research focuses on the societal consequences of migration, which are mostly problem driven by a public demand, third the focus on its migrants of the second generation from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain and Former Yugoslavia as “research objects”, where after 9/11 we sea a shift to the Muslim population and aspects of Islamic life course.

On the other side we saw that the newness and the problem driven character of migration sociology in Germany caused some serious methodological and interpretative problems. The fact that many researchers and interviewers are – with some exception - not members of the migrant community lead to specific methodological problems during the sampling and the interviewing phase of a questioning. The researchers were not aware about the deceiving ways and reasons of migrants during questioning, due of social desirability. On the other side we saw how researchers have serious problems during interpreting the empirical facts. Because they are mostly not member of the migrant community, researchers have a lack of knowledge about their research objects and used

therefore stereotypes to interpret their results. This will be enhanced by a public demand on the results of migration and the pressure for fast results and an unconscious confirmation of their societal stereotypes. So migration research – with the majority on the level of master and doctoral thesis inquiries – serves to confirm biased assumptions about migrants. Although one can find migration research in Germany, which is self reflexive and tries an other research approach than mainstream research, the majority of migration sociology is infected by its “children’s disease.”

What is the medicine to cure German migration sociology of its disease? First of all there is a need to improve the intercultural skills and awareness of researchers and interviewers. Someone who wants to research about the traditionalism of Turkish culture must know something about Turkish culture. Someone who wants to interview a migrant should be aware about what is for him a taboo and what not. There are many papers in cross cultural qualitative and cultural research, which should be applied. German migration sociology must be culture sensitive and therefore it is important that researchers are aware about their own subjectivity. They must disclose their ways of thinking and interpreting of their results.

Second migration research in Germany needs a better empirical base. There is a serious lack on systematic long term data on migrants on which further research can build. The existing data about migrants, like the “foreigners survey of German Youth Institute (*DJI Ausländersurvey*) from 1997, are not able to give a clear picture about migrants. Only then it is possible that researchers not only use their biased pre knowledge to interpret their results. Third there must be a turn from the problem driven interest of migration to a “contribution based” interest on migration. The research topics should not more focus on problems migrations causes to German society, but what are the contributions of migrant to German society and the achievements of migrants in Germany. The majority of migrants may differ culturally from German society but are not sources of societal problems. Therefore it is important to leave the biased societal picture of problematic migrants and give a more real picture of the daily live and opinions of migrants. But therefore academic research – but also public institutions as the major clients of research – must emancipate themselves from a public demand to confirm their own biases against migrants. Migration

sociology and research can not be the vicarious agent of societal prejudices and stereotypes.

But despite these problems of migration sociology in Germany, the topic and issue of migration is still important. The interest on migration is still there and if one can change the frame of research for migration sociology, this new research area in Germany will develop and can link to international research. There are new developments and insights in sociology and methods of empirical social research, which can used to improve German migration sociology. Only then it is possible for German society to get an adequate and realistic picture of the migrant population and community.