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**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in
Germany**

POLITIS – a European research project

Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe

Funding Acknowledgement

This research project is funded by the European Commission in the sixth framework, priority 7, Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society.

www.cordis.lu/citizens

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Reports are prepared on behalf of the European research project POLITIS. Authors are fully responsible for the contents of their report.

Abstract

The current German government declares participation and non-discrimination of immigrants to be an important policy target. The available research literature shows however that this target is still not yet fully realized. Germany is a country of constant and large movements of immigration. For the purpose of this research the term “immigrant” refers to all foreign born persons regardless of citizenship. Accordingly, the report deals with third-country nationals, citizens of EU-Member states and ethnic Germans that immigrate into Germany as ‘late repatriates’. Besides the accepted and institutional embedded influx of ethnic Germans, foreign nationals enter mainly as family members or refugees. But German society and policy only reluctantly accept immigration of foreign nationals. Foreign immigrants are socially more excluded than German immigrants. In the public discourse, mainly foreign immigrants are blamed for these shortcomings: their cultural otherness (religion) and their reluctance to acquire the necessary language and professional skills are declared to be the main reason for failed integration.

However, the juridical framework guarantees equal right to foreign nationals that possess secure residence status – apart from active and passive voting rights and some further special regulations. Public authorities launched programmes on federal, state and local level in order to promote integration and participation of immigrants with a focus on ethnic Germans. Only recently foreign immigrants became included in special programmes that aim at enhancing immigrant participation.

Civic participation of immigrants is meanwhile a relevant issue in the general debate on immigration and integration in Germany. Several studies – some of them commissioned by public authorities – examine aspects of civic participation. The main focus is on the impact of immigrant associations on integration. The research field is however not participation of *immigrants* – that would include ethnic Germans – but of foreign nationals. By this focus naturalized immigrants are omitted while foreign nationals born in Germany are included. Accordingly, in order to get information on active civic participation of immigrants the research findings require a closer re-evaluation.

First generation immigrants seem to participate in immigrant associations as well as in German institutions. But the level of formal membership in German institutions is lower compared to the native population and does hardly go beyond passive membership. Immigrants hardly hold honorary offices or paid or unpaid posts in German associations. Until now, immigrants are absent or sharply underrepresented in leading positions in institutions of the host country. A notable exception is the participation in foreigners’ advisory boards. Here, representatives of immigrants associations actively participate and serve as link between immigrant associations and German institutions.

The main field of active civic participation are immigrant associations. The main fields of activities are cultural and leisure time clubs, sport clubs and religious associations. Due to the neglect of informal associations the level of active participation is probably underestimated. The focus of activities differ between national groups: In the group of immigrants from Turkey the share of religious associations is higher. Among immigrants from former Yugoslavia the share of humanitarian associations is higher, and among refugees from Africa more political campaign groups or unregistered exile parties can be found.

Research is mainly concerned with the effects immigrant associations have for integration of the individual and the group. Less attention is devoted to the examination of the circumstances and trajectories of active civic participation of immigrants. The available studies indicate that an interplay of individual characteristics (educational level, language abilities, individual personality, length of stay that relates to orientation on home or host

country) and the participation opportunity structure (legal framework, institutional opportunities, supportive programmes) influence scope and targets of active civic participation.

The engagement in immigrant associations is met with suspicion (in the case of religious or ethnic associations), or lip service about the importance of such activities is paid without an adequate material assistance. But currently the issue of immigrants' participation and the question how to promote active civic engagement of immigrants gains relevance. A recent survey indicates that immigrants' motivations for active engagement are similar to those of German activists.

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1 Part I: Understanding the conditions for immigrant civic participation¹

The issue of immigrants' participation is an important and intensively discussed matter in Germany. The Federal Ministry of the Interior declared: "It is an objective of the Federal government that those foreigners that permanently and legally live in our country, in particular the recruited foreign workers and their families, may participate fully and with equal rights in the societal life."² This statement indicates on the one hand that German authorities are on the way to change a traditional attitude that was characterized by a strict rejection of immigration and a distrust of immigrants (Dohse 1985; Herbert 1986; Bade 2000). Cultural diversity and integration is no longer perceived to be in contradiction (Halm and Sauer 2004: 416). Christian churches, welfare associations, confederations of sport clubs and even public authorities declare today that immigrant associations play a crucial role in the integration process, seek co-operation and offer assistance. With respect to this development an observer states: "The societal framework for immigrant associations improved in the last years. In my opinion it is nearly possible to speak of a change of paradigm that opened new options with respect to the material equipment. Moreover, it brings a recognition of the work that immigrant associations accomplish for decades" (Jungk 2002: 2).

From statements like this is noticeable that the notion 'voluntary engagement' is predominantly framed in positive terms. "But as a matter of fact, voluntary engagement may also take disintegrative patterns that can be relevant empirically. In particular the engagement of immigrants is exposed to this reproach, at least when the engagement takes place in within the structures of immigrant associations" (Halm and Sauer 2004: 417). In particular Islamic communities and immigrant associations of ethnic homogeneous composition or with a focus of orientation on the homeland met serious suspicion. The increased sensitivity towards the issue of immigrants' participation is also obvious in the vast amount of publications dealing with aspects of immigrants' participation. Against this background the following report aims to offer an outline of the current scientific state of the art.

With respect to the intricate subject and the fragmented research the report aims to present a concise outline of the main trends and results relevant in this field. For the purpose of this research the term "immigrant" refers to all foreign born persons regardless of citizenship. Accordingly, third-country nationals, citizens of EU-Member states and ethnic Germans ('late repatriates') that immigrate to Germany are covered.

The first part opens with section (1.1) on demographic developments and key events that shaped composition and social situation the present immigrant population. The following section (1.2) depicts the immigration and integration policy that provides the framework for immigrants' participation. Section 1.3 introduces the legal and institutional framework. The second part starts with section (2.1) that summarises the scholarly literature and discourse on immigrants' participation. After a general introduction of the more comprehensive studies (2.2) the information concerning the level of participation in German and immigrant associations is provided (2.3). The next section (2.4) offers general review of immigrants' participation in institutions of the host country as well as in immigrant associations (2.5). Findings concerning the individual and subjective features of immigrants' participation are summarized (2.6). And finally, the dispute on the negative or positive impact of participation in immigrant associations on integration is recapitulated (2.7). The last section introduces some active immigrants perceived by the author to be of particular prominence in Germany

¹ I like to express my gratitude to Dita Vogel and Anna Triandafyllidou for their support and patience.

² www.bmi.bund.de/cln_011/nn_164756/Internet/Navigation/DE/Themen/Auslaender__Fluechtlinge__Asyl/PolitischeZiele/politische__Ziele__node.html__nnn=true). All quotations are translated by the author.

(2.8). The third part concludes the report with a summarizing commentary to the political and scientific debate on immigrant participation in Germany and offers an assessment of the current situation.

1.1 Demographic developments and key events in the migration history of Germany

Experts estimate that about 30 percent of the population residing in Germany is born abroad or has ancestors which immigrated to Germany after 1945 (Bade and Münz 2002: 11). German state authorities and society began only recently to accept the fact that Germany is a country of immigration. The population with immigration backgrounds can be traced back to a variety of immigration patterns. Most important were the following:

- Between 1945 and 1961 millions of German nationals fled to the Federal Republic of Germany, mainly from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.
- Between 1955 and 1973 estimate 14 million workers from countries of the Mediterranean basin entered Germany on the basis of bilateral recruitment agreements in order to take up a temporary employment. The majority of these recruited workers returned until 1973 when the recruitment stop was declared. In this year about 2.7 million workers were in Germany: Many of them decided to stay (Bade 2000; Meier-Braun 2002).
- The subsequent immigration of relatives of foreign nationals living in Germany became an important channel for permanent settlement. In 2003 the German visa-authorities issued 76 077 visa for the purpose of family-related permanent immigration (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 64).
- More than 4 million ethnic Germans moved to Germany since the 1950s, initially from Poland and later from the former Soviet Union. The immigration of ethnic Germans gained relevance after 1989: Between 1990 and 2003, 2.4 million ethnic Germans arrived (Migrationsbericht 2004: 34).
- Between 1990 and 2003 the German authorities admitted altogether 179 934 persons as Jewish quota refugees that came exclusively from the area of the Former Soviet Union. Currently, about 15 000 persons immigrate annually (Dietz 2003; Migrationsbericht 2004: 36f).
- The (often reluctant) reception of asylum seekers and civil-war-refugees contributed to a further increase of the immigrant population. Between 1990 and 2003 Asylum authorities decided more than 2.69 million asylum applications and rejected them in most cases. Although being obliged to leave the country, many rejected applicants managed to remain in Germany (Migrationsbericht 2004: 46). During the civil war in former Yugoslavia about 200 000 refugees were accepted as civil-war refugees on a temporary basis and overwhelmingly returned except for about 20 000 traumatized victims of civil war atrocities (Migrationsbericht 2004: 50).
- Another immigration pattern that contributes to the officially registered foreign population concerns temporarily admitted migrant workers and students. Altogether 271 000 seasonal workers and on average 43 000 foreign contract for services workers were employed in 2003. About 180 000 foreign students (with a foreign school certificate, not foreign nationals who study after leaving a German school) were registered in 2003 (Migrationsbericht 2004).

Every person who does not possess the German citizenship is defined as foreign national. At the moment 7.3 million persons, i.e. 8.9 % of the total population do not possess the German citizenship. Statistics differentiate by country of citizenship.

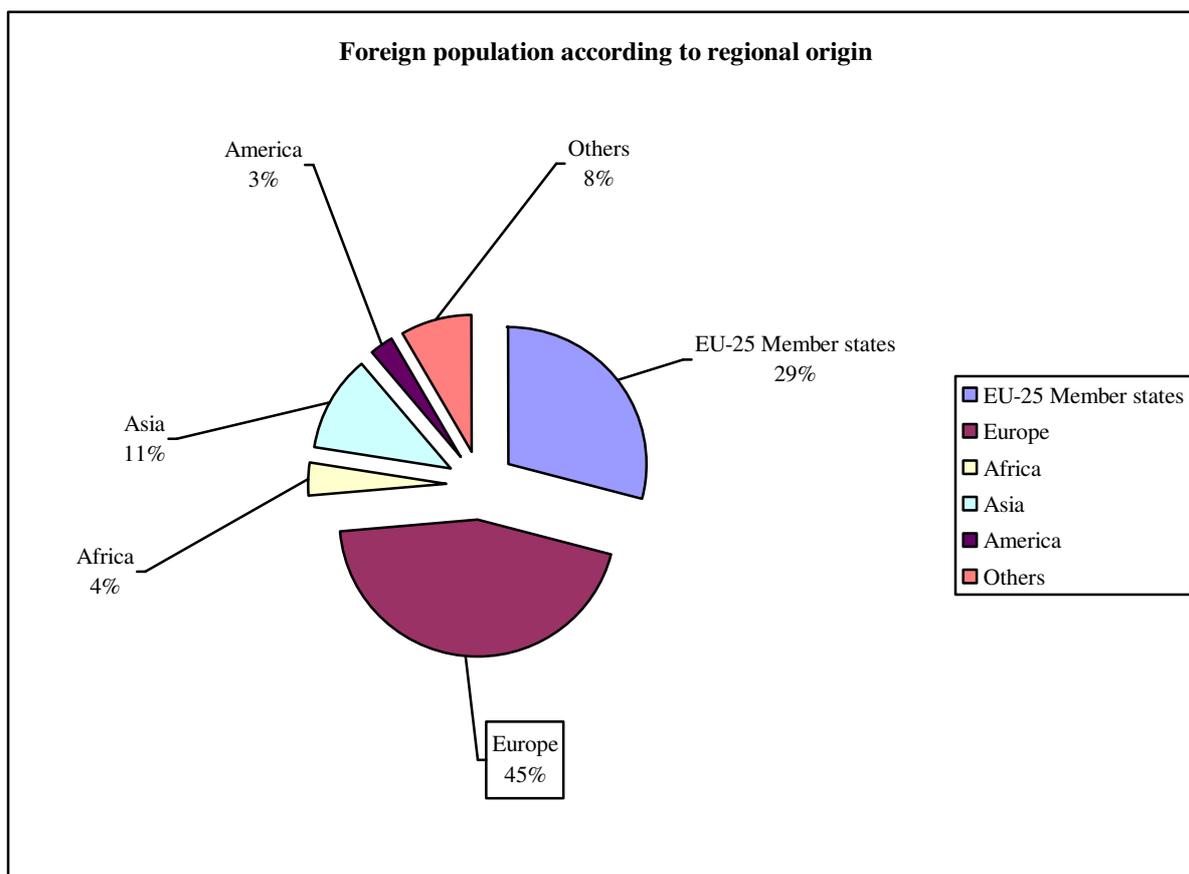
German migration statistics are based on residence registers which count all regular German and foreign residents, including short term residents like seasonal workers. Since the late 90s, these population registers counted on average about 800 000 yearly arrivals from abroad, including German and foreign nationals. About one quarter of these entrances concern ethnic Germans that possess or receive German citizenship on arrival and enter with the perspective to stay. Between 1998 and 2002 the main countries of origin of foreign arrivals were Poland (11 %), CIS (8 %), Kazakhstan (6 %), Turkey (6 %), FR Yugoslavia (6 %) and Italy (4 %). The remaining 59 % of registered arrivals came from a large number of states. But in spite of the high level of 800 000 annual arrivals the *net immigration balance* remained nevertheless neutral due to a comparably high number of departures. The main destination countries for departures were Poland (11 %), FR Yugoslavia (8 %), Turkey (6 %), Italy (6 %), USA (5 %) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (5 %). The remaining 59 % of departures is distributed among a large number of countries (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 58).

With respect to *foreign nationals* it is noteworthy that circular migrations of temporarily admitted migrant workers contribute to a high turn-over of arrivals and departures. The average *net immigration balance* consisted of about 130 000 foreign nationals between 1999 and 2003. But in spite of this positive net immigration balance the registered population remained on a stable level of about 7.3 million persons. Official statistics do not differentiate between foreign born and natives, and there is no secure information on the number of foreign born in Germany. According to the most recent information by the Federal Office for Statistics at the end of 2004 exactly 6 717 115 foreign nationals – including EU-citizens – lived in Germany, of those 5.3 million foreign born and 1.4 born in Germany (see www.destatis.de). There is no data available concerning foreign born with German citizenship.

The indicated constant and recently slightly shrinking level of the number of immigrants in spite of the average annual net immigration of 130 000 foreign nationals can be attributed to naturalisation: In the five years 1999 - 2003 altogether 803 331 foreign nationals received a German passport and thus are no longer registered as foreign national by German authorities. Besides immigration and naturalisation the development of the number of foreign population was influenced by the birth of children of parents that were registered as foreign nationals according to the German law. Today, about 1.5 million persons (i.e. 20.5 % of the foreign population) are born in Germany. Among foreign nationals not older than 17 even 69 % is born in Germany. This situation will definitely change since the new nationality law that came into force 2000 stipulates that children of foreign nationals born in Germany will receive the German nationality provided the parents possess a secure residence status (Migrationsbericht 2004). And by definition every person that possesses the German citizenship is no longer counted as foreign national regardless of the possession of a second citizenship.

Figure 1 informs on the main regions of origin of immigrants in Germany as for the year 2004.

Figure 1: Foreign population by main regions of origin at the end of 2004



Source: Federal Statistical Office 2005 (www.destatis.de)

As of 31 December 2004, altogether 6 717 115 foreign nationals were registered, of those 2 108 010 EU-citizens (29 %) and 3 132 334 from other European countries (45 %). Altogether 826 504 immigrants came from Asian countries (11 %), but only 276 332 came from Africa (4 %) and 202 925 from America (3 %). The remaining immigrants came from Australia or were registered as stateless persons (www.destatis.de).

The figures underline that 3.1 million immigrants are from European Non-EU countries and only 1.3 million from Non-European countries. Of particular relevance among the European Non-EU countries of origin are Turkey, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Russian Federation, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Croatia. Table 1 presents the most important Non-EU nationalities for the years 1995, 1999, 2002 and 2004.

Table 1: Major immigrant groups from third countries by citizenship 1995, 1999, 2002 and 2004

	1995	1999	2002	2003	2004
Total	7 173,9	7 343,6	7 335,6	7 334,8	6 717,115
Turkey	2 014,3	2 953,6	1 912,2	1 877,7	1 764,3
FR Yugoslavia	797,8	737,2	591,2	568,2	381,6
Croatia	185,1	214,0	231,1	236,9	229,2
Russian Federation	40,0	98,4	155,6	173,5	178,6
Bosnia-Herzegovina	316,0	167,7	163,8	167,1	156,0
Ukraine	29,9	76,8	116,0	126,0	128,1
Romania	109,3	87,5	88,7	89,1	73,4
Vietnam	96,9	85,4	87,2	88,2	83,5
Iraq	16,7	na	na	83,8	na
Iran	107,0	116,4	88,7	81,5	65,2
Morocco	81,0	81,5	79,8	79,8	73,0
China	33,2	42,9	72,1	76,7	71,6
Afghanistan	58,5	72,0	69,0	65,8	57,9

Source: (Statistisches Bundesamt 2004: 54); and (www.destatis.de)

The figures underline that every fourth foreign resident possesses the Turkish citizenship – although over 700 000 of these Turkish citizens - i.e. about 40 % - are already born in Germany. The statistics indicate that the resident population from Asia, Russian Federation and Ukraine increased but is still on a relatively modest level. All in all, the general feature of the foreign population in Germany is characterised by the dominance of a few European nationalities and an increasing diversity of other countries of origin. The term foreign population encompass a vast number of nationalities with sometimes only a few members. The foreign population is heterogeneous.

The foreign population is moreover divided with respect to the length of stay and the residential rights. More than half of the foreign population lived in 2003 more than ten year, and about a quarter even more than 25 years in Germany. Besides the 1.8 million EU-citizens nearly 4.3 million foreign nationals possess a secure residence status (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 66). It is noteworthy to mention that a considerable share of the foreign residents with a secure residence status, in particular those belonging to the population from the former recruitment countries, use to circulate between Germany and the country of origin. The analysis of a representative survey (GSOEP) indicates that about 60 % of the surveyed immigrants from the first generation circulate which means in this context that they have lived in the country of origin several times for more than one year and returned to Germany. About 41 % of these mobile foreign population originate from one of the EU-15 countries (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 67). The analysis of the special group of circular migrants revealed that the acquisition of the German citizenship

did not lead to the alienation from the country of origin but provided the basis for the circulation and living in both countries. Also full-time employed workers were among the circular migrants (Constant and Zimmermann 2003). About 2 million foreign nationals stay in Germany only with a temporary or an insecure residence status, among the 226 000 foreign nationals with an only tolerated status (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 60). In general, about 1.1 million foreign refugees lived in Germany in 2003, of those 115 000 acknowledged asylum seekers, 75 000 Quota refugees, 188 000 Jewish quota refugees from CIS-countries, 416 000 de-facto refugees and 166 500 persons belonging to another category (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 60).

Table 2: Distribution of residence status of main third-country nationalities in Germany 2003

With the residence status...

Nationality	Total	Right to stay	Residence permit		Residence permit for exceptional purposes ³	Residence for special purposes ⁴	Tolerati on
			unlimited	limited			
Turkey	1 877 661	442 894	663 993	606 336	31 983	11 078	15 192
FR	568 240	85 590	151 879	111 758	46 841	4 256	87 126
Yugoslavia							
Croatia	236 570	80 703	98 445	39 063	1 517	6 916	1 758
CIS	173 480	593	71 752	60 535	2 969	12 604	3 752
Bosnia-Herzegovina	167 081	28 021	47 664	37 720	23 218	3 460	14 820
Ukraine	125 998	133	80 739	24 871	915	9 212	788
Rumania	89 104	755	19 939	22 917	23 218	3 460	14 820
Vietnam	88 208	6 610	23 495	28 057	8 985	2 461	8 365
Iraq	83 821	79	10 141	5 291	45 755	175	4 902
Iran	81 495	5 595	26 378	16 122	9 247	2 800	4 232
Morocco	79 794	8 660	24 642	38 795	330	8 466	498
China	76 743	1 143	6 208	18 347	1 472	37 014	4 064
Afghanistan	65 830	271	13 823	10 321	19 576	319	9 245

Source: (Migrationsbericht 2004: 85).

³ The permit for exceptional purposes (Aufenthaltsbefugnis) can be granted on humanitarian grounds and is in practice mostly granted to civil war refugees. It can be renewed if the humanitarian grounds still obtain, though holders may apply for an unlimited residence after eight years.

⁴ The residence title for specific purposes (Aufenthaltsbewilligung) makes a person's stay conditional upon the reason for which it is issued. The holder must always leave Germany as soon as the reason for his or her stay expires.

Table 2 shows that the majority of registered foreign population possesses a secure residence status. Among Turkish nationals even over 90 % possess a secure residence title and enjoy a denizen status. However, in particular among the “new” immigrant groups the share of only temporarily admitted persons is significant.

The social security and welfare systems entail some discrimination against third country nationals (for a discussion of the exclusion of third country nationals from social systems see Davy (2001: 320ff). Although social security stipulations are neutral with regard to citizenship, third country nationals face some discrimination (Davy 2001: 324). Pension claims of third country nationals accumulated abroad are not considered, except where bilateral agreements exist. Sick pay is only paid for persons still in the Federal territory. Only payments of accident insurance can be received while living abroad. Health insurance does not cover family members of third country nationals living abroad. Unemployment benefits demand that the recipient is available in Germany; otherwise the benefits may be shortened or withdrawn. The condition of availability is, however, difficult to meet for third country nationals who are still subject to the labour market test. In some areas and branches the number of privileged unemployed is so high that the third country national cannot pass the labour market test. This constellation implies that third country nationals may be not entitled to unemployment benefits because they are not available on the labour market in the strict sense Davy (2001: 327). The entitlement of third country nationals to welfare benefits is limited and restricted to basic dimensions. The reliance on welfare benefits may even lead to the loss of a residence title. Entitlement to child allowance and child-raising allowance depends on the possession of a residence permit or right to unlimited residence and is not paid for children living abroad. Only the housing subsidy is granted for all tenants, house owners or people looking for a flat regardless of the residence status. However, the housing subsidy is not accepted as independent means of support, which causes trouble in the situation of applying for subsequent family reunion. Special regulations apply in the case of Turkish workers on account of the association agreement between Turkey and the European Union: Most importantly, the waiting period for acquiring eligibility for an unlimited work permit has been reduced from five to four years for Turkish workers. And after having been employed with the same firm for one year, they are entitled to a work permit so that they can continue such employment. The waiting period for family members of Turkish workers has been reduced to three years (Ministry of the Interior 2000: 46; see also ECOTEC 2000: 108).

The economic integration balance is problematic. At the moment 4.3 million persons are unemployed, of those 0.53 million foreign nationals. 37 % of foreign unemployed are women. The unemployment rate among foreign nationals in summer 2004 was with 20 % considerably above the overall unemployment rate of 12 %. Additionally, about 617 000 foreign nationals received social assistance at the end of 2003. With 8.4 % the rate of social assistance receivers is among foreign nationals higher than among German nationals with a rate of 2.9 %. Among the foreign social assistance receivers 10 % are EU-citizens, 9 % recognised asylum seekers, 1 % civil war refugees and 80 % are other categories of foreign residents including Turkish nationals (Franz 2004).

However, the economic integration problems are somewhat overemphasized by statistical distortion since those foreign nationals that are better off and more successful ‘disappear’ with naturalisation from the statistics of foreign nationals and leave the less successful behind.

As a rule, the official statistics on the registered population with foreign nationality provides only an incomplete picture of the *immigrated* population in Germany. Immigrated ethnic Germans, their descendants and the spouses married at least three years at the time of

departure received automatically the German citizenship and are not covered by immigration statistics. Also naturalized immigrants are not covered any more. Between 1994 and 2003 more than 1.2 million foreign nationals received the German citizenship (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 68), among more than 0.5 million Turkish citizens. And finally, immigration statistics use to omit illegal immigrants. Estimations reach as far as one million persons that live in Germany without proper documents in a juridical twilight zone (Alt 2003; Anderson 2003; Cyrus 2004). This means that the figures of foreign nationals on the one hand lead to an underestimation of the real amount of *immigration* due to the ignorance towards the omitted categories and on the other hand to a over-estimation due to the inclusion of the foreign nationals born in Germany (Migrationsbericht 2004: 129). In consequence, no exact statistics on *immigrants* are available. With respect to immigrants the expert council estimates that the share of foreign born people is 10 % on average and 11 % among people younger than seventeen (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 69).

Concluding summary: The overview shows that the level of immigration into Germany has stabilized in the last decade. The amount of population of foreign nationality currently shrinks due to a strictly followed return policy and the introduction of a more liberal nationality law. Immigration is characterized by a high share of circular migration of migrant workers. The permanent immigration is characterised by an increasing national diversity.

1.2 Migration and migrant policy

In spite of the long-lasting immigration history and established immigrant population immigration remains still a contested issue. Only for a rather short time around the turn of the millenium the debate showed a tendency in favour of a more liberal immigration management. All relevant political actors seemed to agree in the insight that at least properly managed immigration is necessary and beneficial for Germany. The main arguments in favour of a more liberal immigration regime were the economic demand for highly qualified workers and the efforts to reduce the demographic gap (Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001).

However, the attack against the Pentagon in Washington and the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001 and the economic decline of the IT-industry around the same time changed the situation. The proposed reform of the immigration law that would have finally opened gates of entry for permanent immigration was rejected by the second chamber of the parliament and failed to come into force (Angenendt 2002). The finally reached compromise of the immigration law that came into force 1 January 2005 only slightly broadens the opportunities for labour market related immigration. All in all, the new Residence Act rather proceeds with the traditional restrictive immigration policy and concentrates on efforts to prevent immigration and to promote integration and assimilation of the foreign population.

Recent recommendations for a more liberal immigration management in favour of a modest labour market quota cautiously formulated by an official expert council met with strong refusal (Sachverständigenrat Zuwanderung und Integration 2004). Such a reflex-like rejection of proposals in favour of a more pro-active immigration management shows that the political culture of the self-declared non-immigration country is still salient. Immigration is still predominantly framed as detrimental for state and society. At the moment, there is a debate on the threat caused by Islamic organisations in Germany. Opinion polls among immigrants produced the image that most of all youth of Turkish migration background adhere to Islamic fundamentalism (Heitmeyer, Müller et al. 1997; Heitmeyer, Müller et al. 1997; Heitmeyer, Dollase et al. 1998). Incidents like the terrorist attack of 9 September 2001 or the

recent killing of a Dutch film director fuelled the debate. Also internal affairs contributed to the perception of an Islamic danger. Particularly two incidents were repeatedly dealt with in the media: The legal struggle of a Muslim teacher who wanted to wear her headscarf in front of class; and the legal struggle over the extradition of the Islamistic preacher Kaplan to Turkey. There is trend to explain integration problems of immigrants with their reluctance to accept Western values and their propensity to retreat to 'parallel societies' (Heitmeyer, Müller et al. 1997; Tibi 2000). The politically framed term 'parallel society' suggests that immigrants actively and deliberately segregate, refuse to acquire basic cultural techniques (language, education) and thus provoke high rates of unemployment and social assistance receivers.

The recent bad results of the comparative international PISA-ranking - a comparison of the educational level of pupils in OECD countries - underline the structural deficiencies of the current school system. The failure of second or even third generation pupils from immigrant families is however often attributed to the foreign cultural background and the distance of immigrant parents towards education in general. Against this background of a dominant perception of failed integration the current aspiration of Turkey to access the European Union is controversially discussed. But it is fair to mention that also some immigrants with Turkish background do not support Turkish EU-accession for fear of an increase of competition on the labour market.

Behind the predominant sharp anti-immigration rhetoric a more pragmatic course was established. Immigrant and integration policy in Germany is characterised by the existence of a number of corporatist networks related to particular aspects of immigration. Much of the more pragmatic implementation of immigration was negotiated and designed through these corporatist arrangements without much publicity and without participation of immigrant representatives (Bade and Bommers 2000: 166f). As a rule it can be said that the networks concerned with economics and labour market issues have more weight than those concerned with the "soft" aspects of the humanitarian dimension (Cyrus and Vogel 2003). On the local level, initiatives to protect well-integrated (e.g. Bosnian) refugees from deportation received some attention and were sometimes successful. Due to this more pragmatic and malleable approach Germany was able to manage ongoing immigration. But this management is characterized by only defensive "muddling through" approaches and did not form a comprehensive immigration policy.

To summarise: The current situation is characterised by the political target of zero-immigration. The anti-immigration resentments are still dominant. Moreover, the immigrant population is under the general suspicion to cause social problems. The role of immigrant organisations is in the wider public mainly discussed in terms of a threat for democracy. The contemporary perception of immigration is framed by a negative image.

1.3 Legal framework and institutional setting for immigrant participation

During the last decades the far reaching national sovereignty concerning the granting of entry and residence rights was reduced by philosophical (ideas of multi-culturalism, principles of equality and non-discrimination), political (European integration), social (establishment of immigrant populations claiming rights and founding organisations) and legal (case law in favour of immigrants' rights) developments.

1.3.1 Legal framework

The current legal framework for immigrants civic participation in Germany is laid down by the basic law (Marx 1987) and a number of specific laws and regulations. As a rule, newly arriving ethnic German immigrants enjoy full political citizens' rights from the beginning.

But according to the basic law foreign nationals cannot possess full civic rights. The missing German citizenship excludes foreign residents from many political rights, namely active and passive voting rights. But apart from the political decision making, non-citizens enjoy far reaching entitlements. With reference to the *human rights norms* codified in the international human rights conventions, the *basic rights* codified for everybody including the principles of non-discrimination and the rule of law codified in the basic law immigrants are entitled to a number of legal and social institutions, although in some domains with particular restrictions (Davy 2001; Cyrus and Vogel 2003: 203). We will concentrate on entitlements in the area of civic participation.

(1) *Basic and Citizens' rights*: Foreign non-citizen residents enjoy the freedom of speech, of press and information (article 5 GG). The Foreigners' Act / Residence Act as a rule grants the right to political activities within the margins of the law (section 37,1,1 Foreigners' Act). The political participation is however subject to restrictions, in particular with respect to voting rights and the eligibility for public office (Robbers 1994: 417; Menke 1992: 252).

(2) *Voting rights*: Only EU-citizens enjoy voting rights in elections of the local and European parliament. According to the Federal Supreme Court's ruling from 1994 non-citizens do not belong to the German state sovereign. This principle encompasses elections on the Federal, state and local level. In consequence non-citizen-residents are excluded from elections as an important kind of political participation. "The restrictions become the tighter, the more the core of the public decision making process is concerned" (Schulte 2000: 20).

(3) *Participation in political parties*: Although non-citizens do not possess the *right* of membership in political parties they are not excluded by law to become – according to the prevailing opinion – member (Robbers 1994) But they are definitely excluded from internal party procedures to appoint candidates for political offices as they do not possess the voting right.

(4) *Representation in local decision making*: Nonetheless, local urban communities saw a need to have some sort of representation of foreign nationals, namely when they formed a substantial part of the cities population. Since the early 70s, several types of 'foreigners advisory councils' were instituted, and by and by framed by legal regulations of the federal states (Länder).⁵ Accordingly different are foreigners' advisory councils. In some states they consist only of non-citizens while in other states also representatives from local councils and administration are involved. The non-citizen members are sometimes appointed by local authorities, and in some federal states elected in ballots by the locally registered non-citizen population. As a rule, the main and common characteristic of all foreigners' advisory council is their political insignificance. In some municipalities they have the right to put a resolution on the record of the local council but as a rule they are only allowed to make non-committal statements (LAGA 2002; LAGA 2004).

(5) *Membership in German associations*: German law does not offer special restrictions regarding the membership of foreign nationals in German associations. Law does not intervene in this area and does not prevent non-citizens to become a member of German associations or clubs. As with political parties the decision to accept non-citizens is with the associations and clubs.

(6) *Representation in workers councils*: With a reform of the industrial constitutional law in 1972 every non-citizen regardless of the residence status enjoys the active and passive voting rights for the workers councils, the central institution for the industrial co-determination (Öztürk 2002).

⁵ For information concerning the Federal state Hesse, see for instance the website www.agah.de

(7) *Right to assemble and establish associations*: The constitutional law warrants the freedom to assemble (art. 8 GG) and the right to establish associations (Article 9 GG) only to German citizens. However, the legislation provides largely similar regulations. Non-citizens are free to set up an association and enjoy the opportunities to launch political activities and to establish self-organisations (Schulte 2000). But these foreigners' associations are subject to special clauses of the German association law. Political activities are strictly prohibited when the security of the German Federal Republic is threatened and when the kind of political activity supports or causes the use of violence as a mean to realise for instance political or religious targets (section 37,2 Foreigners' Act). Political activities will be also restricted when it harms the peaceful cohabitation of German and foreign residents or of distinct groups of foreign residents, foreign policy interests of Germany or the public order or any other interests of the Federal Republic (§ 37 Abs. 1 S. 2 AuslG; see (Menke 1992: 252). On demand of the German authorities the immigrant associations have to inform on activities and – in case that the association follows political targets – the names of the members and the amount and source of the financial resources. The legislator tightened the special regulations in 2002 in response to the terrorist attacks of 9 September, 2001, and lowered the threshold which allows the government to forbid foreigners' associations.

It is noteworthy here that no anti-discrimination law exists. Until today the German legislator was not able to implement the European norms (Treichler 2004). Only in January 2004 a first draft of an anti-discrimination legislation was debated in Parliament.

The *characterisation* of the current legal and institutional framework for participation opportunities differs considerably and is rather controversial. Some scholars emphasize that immigrants enjoy a high level of participation opportunities. According to this opinion immigrants enjoy – apart from active and passive voting rights - far reaching political and social rights: “Although the legal status has not always the same quality as for German citizens one has to keep in mind that below the line foreigners are put in the realm of private law largely on equal foot with German citizens and thus they can be perceived to be citizens in the civil dimension” (Thränhardt and Hunger 2000). On the other hand observers stress that immigrants have to accept restrictions of their political and social rights and that the German legal and institutional framework excludes or prevents immigrants from participating too much (Schulte 2000). This dispute partly mirrors distinct frames of reference: Those scholars that focus on the level of classical *political rights* emphasize the exclusion while those who rather concentrate on *social rights* underline the far reaching equal status. An evaluation of participation needs to distinguish between the separate domains.

1.3.2 *Institutional setting and implementation*

The previous overview revealed that third country immigrants enjoy except from voting rights all basic political and civic rights. The existence of such entitlements may be perceived to be a framework that encourages civic participation. However, it is the questions whether immigrants are able to make use of the opportunities individually or collectively. Authorities principally have the choice to ignore the practical implementation of civic rights or to promote their utilization.

In the German tradition rooting back to the early 20th century, immigrants were required to subordinate to the authoritarian state and the religious social welfare organisations. Associations established by immigrants were perceived to be a latent threat to public order (Dohse 1985; Herbert 1986; Bade 2000). After 1945 the authoritarian control of immigrants proceeded until the 1960s in the form of paternalistic caring and counselling monopolies of the social welfare associations that constrained immigrants to form independent associations (Puskepeleit and Thränhardt 1990). Immigrant associations were exposed to distrust and

discrimination. The associations founded by recruited-workers in the 1960s and 1970 were suspected of communism and later of nationalist-fascist efforts. Since the mid-1990s in particular the fear of Islamistic immigrant association gained relevance (Caglar 2004).

On the other hand, several political and societal developments induced that public authorities began to launch institutional measures for the promotion of immigrant participation: More and more recruited workers lost the 'illusion of return' and began to direct the focus of interests and concerns to the life in Germany. According to their social and cultural background immigrants began to set up associations that serve their special religious, social or cultural needs and in the course of time started to demand recognition and support by German authorities. Confronted with this development and claims of immigrant associations, local state institutions slowly discovered the civic potentials of civic engagement of immigrants and began to accept the existence and to support the activities of immigrant associations. Already since the mid-1980s the federal state Berlin launched particular programmes for the promotion and assistance of immigrant associations (Blaschke 1996).

However, there is no comprehensive approach to the promotion of immigrants' participation. The expert commission that prepared the sixth Federal report on families underlined that the perception and assistance of independent immigrant organisations was insufficient and the potential of self-help and ethnic minorities were underestimated. The commission recommended assisting ethnic projects and events. However, the assistance should be provided by the established welfare associations (Sachverständigenkommission für den Sechsten Familienbericht 2000: 169).

The changed perception of immigrant associations was furthermore promoted in the aftermath of the recent debate on the significance of the civic society. Pushed by the crisis of the national welfare systems the debate revolves around a re-definition of the relation between public services and the individual citizen that is expected to take up responsibility for him- or herself while the state retreats from social services (Böhnisch and Schröer 2002; Böhnisch and Schröer 2004; Schröer and Sting 2004). In this debate immigrants are neglected: The report of the Enquete-commission on the future of civic participation devoted only 6 out of 800 pages to immigrants (Enquete-Kommission "Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements" des deutschen Bundestags 2002; Jungk 2002). But with the general debate on civic participation the significance of immigrant associations and participation received more attention. The federal government commissioned a study on voluntary engagement of immigrants (Huth 2002).

Today, immigrant associations receive assistance from several different programmes that aim to promote integration of immigrants. On Federal level public authorities spent 574 million € in 2003 and 496 million € in 2004 for the infrastructure of integration measures for immigrants (including ethnic Germans) and for language training. Additionally, foreign nationals benefit from funds that are devoted to the social integration of economically marginalised parts of the population (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 248). A few immigrant associations indirectly benefited from the funds when they acted as supplier of projects like language or professional training courses. However, the German welfare associations were the main receivers. With respect to political participation the Federal government argues that the reform of the nationality act and the naturalisation procedure intends to promote the political participation of immigrants (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002: 169).

The implementation of immigrant policy lies in the responsibility of the Federal states. The Federal states issued independent integration programmes with distinct approaches and foci (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 248). Some Federal states launched particular programmes for the promotion of immigrant associations. North-Rhine

Westphalia, the state with the biggest population, introduced such a program in 1997 and assisted 19 immigrant associations with a total of about 500 000 € (Jungk 1999). In some other states comparable programmes exist. In Berlin a wide range of immigrant associations receive permanent assistance in order to finance locales and staff.

Also on local level programmes for the promotion of integration and participation are launched. Many municipalities established special programmes (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 248). Local authorities introduced particular programmes for the promotion of immigrant associations in cities like Darmstadt (Latorre 2004), Munich (Graffe and Doll 2000; Reiß-Schmidt and Tress 2000), Stuttgart, Arnsberg, Stendal (Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 248), Espelskamp (Oberpenning 1999) or Nümbrecht (Klein 2002). The accounts on efforts of municipal experiences emphasize that cohabitation and integration takes place in concrete localities and that therefore the local level is decisive for success or failure of integration measures (Krummacher and Waltz 1996).

To summarise: The legal and institutional framework for the participation of immigrants is characterized by several segmentations. The Federal participation regime distinguishes between different categories of immigrants with respect to nationality (ethnic Germans, EU-citizens, third-country nationals) and residence status (residence and settlement permit; refugees and asylum seekers). In Germany, only naturalisation opens access to full political participation. Social participation is generally acknowledged for legally and permanently residing immigrants.

2 Part II: Active Civic Participation of Third Country immigrants

2.1 General remarks on literature on active civic participation of immigrants

Until the early 1980s immigrant participation was no issue in Germany. But with the realization that the recruited workers will not return to their countries of origin, the issue of integration and participation of the immigrant population entered the public and scientific agenda. The beginning of scientific considerations of immigrants' civic participation in Germany can be traced back to the late 1970s (Schmitter 1980). Several scholars conducted mostly smaller research projects on integration and participation of settled workers. Today, a large number of scientific studies that examine aspects of the civic participation of immigrants are available. But these studies rather deal with more general forms of participation, membership patterns and immigrant associations as such. Only marginal attention is paid to the manifestations and processes of *active civic participation* in the sense that immigrants give voice to societal concerns or organise self-help and solidarity.

Recently, the Federal Ministry for Family commissioned a literature review with particular reference to voluntary engagement of foreign nationals. The account indicated 32 research projects and 49 publications on immigrant integration and participation (Huth 2002; INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003). Our own enquiry with a broader interest yielded much more scientific publications dealing with different national groups and aspects of civic participation of immigrants. The research encompasses a number of nationalities, but the focus lies on citizens of those countries that Germany once had recruitment agreements with (Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey). Turkish nationals received most attention (Narman 1978; Schiffauer 1991; Özcan 1992; Behrend 1997; Cetinkaya 2000; Ergi 2000; Diehl 2002; Argun 2003). Besides from nationalities of the former recruitment countries, in particular the integration and participation of the immigrated ethnic Germans (Graudenz and Römhild 1996; Römhild

1997; Bade and Oltmer 1999) and the Jewish quota refugees (Schoeps, Jasper et al. 1996; Spülbeck 1997; Schoeps, Jasper et al. 1999; Hess and Kranz 2000) received attention.

The literature consists on the one hand of a vast number of isolated papers, often with a theoretical and programmatic rather than empirical content. On the other hand, several accounts of empirical research that relied either on mainly quantitative methods (*survey-studies*) or a combination of qualitative and simple quantitative methods (*ethnographic approaches*) are published. Continuously conducted statistical surveys (GSOEP, ALLBUS) that cover immigrant populations and offer some little information on integration and participation issues became the subject of specialised *secondary analysis* only recently (Diehl and Urbahn 1998; Fertig 2004). However, the scientific research is often impaired by a poor data basis; remains often explorative; concentrates as a rule on a few or even only one national group; focuses only on a particular geographical unit or deals only with a particular aspect of civic participation. The research is thus inconsistent and does not deliver a comprehensive insight on civic participation of *the* immigrant population. But it offers at least rich accounts of aspects of civic participation of immigrants.

With respect to the vast amount of literature we decided to organise our account on the available literature in two steps. We begin with an introduction of the studies we selected due to the comprehensive character or the relevance for the debate. We concentrate on a short description of research design and main topics. In the second part of the review we deal in more detail with the findings of these studies and consult and integrate the findings of the additional literature of isolated or marginal publications. We deal with questions and aspects we derive from the selected review.

2.2 *Important studies on civic participation of immigrants*

(1) It is noteworthy to indicate that a few regularly conducted representative studies cover some particular aspects of immigrants' participation and thus offer insights on patterns and trends of participation. Commissioned by the Federal Ministry, a representative survey concerning the "situation of foreign workers and their families in the Federal Republic of Germany" was conducted in 1980, 1985, 1995 and 2001 (Mehrländer, Ascheberg et al. 1996; Marplan 2002). These surveys focussed on the nationalities of the former recruitment countries and examined mainly the socio-economic situation with a few direct questions concerning political and social participation. The other relevant survey is the German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP). This annually conducted survey covers a representative sample of all household in Germany including households of foreign nationals (Fertig 2004; Frick 2004). Also a few other special surveys offer some data on immigrant participation (Allbus, Wohlfahrtssurvey, Shell Studie 2000, dji Ausländersurvey). The surveys differ considerably with respect to reliability and validity and require additional efforts, if used for secondary analysis (Diehl and Urbahn 1998; Diehl 2002).

(2) The earliest examination that receives attention until today is a research project on the integration and participation of Italian, Spanish and Turkish immigrants in Frankfurt/Main (Hoffmann-Nowotny and Hondrich 1982). The publications by Schöneberg (Schöneberg 1981; Schöneberg 1985; Schöneberg 1993) and Breitenbach (Breitenbach 1986) belong to this research project. The research was part of a greater investigation that aimed to compare immigration policy and immigrants situation in Germany and Switzerland. The empirical research in Germany took place in 1981-1982 in Frankfurt/Main and Hanau and concerned at least three subjects: The mapping of the networks of organisations established by Greek, Italian and Turkish nationals and the categorisation with respect to a leftist, conservative and religious orientation. On the basis of a representative survey among 1 155 immigrants of Greek, Italian and Turkish nationality the meaning of ethnic organisations for the immigrant

population was explored. Finally, interviews with 284 members of immigrant organisation were additionally used to assess the integration effects that associations with different basic orientations have on their members (Schöneberg 1985: 419f). The paper delivered by Breitenbach (Breitenbach 1986) summarised the functions immigrant associations fulfil on individual and collective level, analyses the organisational landscape along the functional aspects and underlines that immigrant associations fulfil several functions simultaneously.

(2) Puskeppeleit and Thränhardt (1990) critically investigated the institutional setting for the counselling of immigrants provided by welfare associations until 1990. The study was commissioned by the Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband, the welfare associations that did not receive funds for social work with foreign immigrants at that time. Based mainly on expert interviews and literature review, the study emphasized the paternalistic, unprofessional and undemocratic character of the services supplied by the welfare associations. Funds for counselling went only to the established welfare associations that perceived immigrants as dependent and needy customers and intended to contain the communist threat while resources of immigrants were neglected. The authors stressed the potentials of immigrants' self-help and self-associations, but warned that a transfer of counselling services to immigrant associations without making adequate funds available would be merely a hidden attempt to reduce financial funds.

(3) An encompassing systematic enquiry of Turkish associations in Germany provided Özcan (Özcan 1992; Özcan 1999). He divided the organisational landscape with reference to their attached political orientation in left wing and right wing groups. Religious Islamic associations are generally categorized as right wing groups. Özcan ascertained that two separate associational landscapes developed among the Turkish immigrant population and observed that in the course of time the focus of interest changed from an exclusive orientation on the homeland to an orientation on the (immigrant) affairs in the host country in the course of which the right wing groups kept a rather segregating stance towards the native society (Özcan 1992: 343f).⁶

(4) In 1996 Yoo (Yoo 1996) offered a comprehensive and full account of Korean associations in Germany. This work is until now one of the few studies that gives a full account of the organisational landscape of an immigrant group on federal level. The enquiry shows that already a small immigrant population like the Korean with only about 25 000 persons (including naturalized persons) established at least 28 ethnic and 2 Korean-German associations that differ considerably. The study offers rich details of the organisational life of Koreans in Germany on a mainly descriptive level (Yoo 1996).

(5) One of the most frequently quoted studies was published by Fijalkowski and Gillmeister (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Fijalkowski 2001). The authors investigated the self-organisations of seven immigrant-nationalities (including ethnic Germans) in Berlin during the mid-nineties and posed the question whether these organisations promote or disturb integration. The empirical investigation included a mapping of the organisations of seven immigrant groups; a questionnaire based survey of 467 persons belonging to these immigrant organisations; and forty expert interviews including representatives of immigrant associations of other nationality and representatives of German institutions complemented the data basis. The main result was that immigrant organisations rather promote integration.

(6) Another publication that informed on the volume and composition of immigrant organisations on Federal state level was commissioned and published by the state government of North-Rhine Westphalia (Ministerium für Arbeit 1999). In two separate research projects

6 Another recent depiction of the Turkish organisational landscape Argun (2003).

the volume and composition of immigrant associations from mainly Islamic (Sen 1994; Sen and Aydin 1999; Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2000; Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2001) and other important countries of origin (Thränhardt 1999; Thränhardt and Dieregsweiler 1999; Thränhardt 2000; Thränhardt and Hunger 2000) were explored. The complete mapping of immigrant associations on state level served as empirical basis for the consideration of integration and participation related questions. Among other aspects the analysis of the associations register revealed a trend from homeland orientation towards host country orientation (Hunger 2002).

(7) Between 1997 and 2002 an examination of Turkish immigrant associations and the participation patterns of Turkish inhabitants were conducted in the German city Mannheim. An additional secondary analysis of data from the German Socio-economic panel (GSOEP) complemented the study (Diehl and Urbahn 1998; Diehl 2001; Diehl 2002; Diehl and Blohm 2003). This research project showed particular sensitivity towards methodological problems. In order to get a basis for a proper interpretation of data the landscape of German associations was evaluated in addition to the mapping of Turkish immigrant associations. A representative survey among Turkish inhabitants of Mannheim explored the amount and patterns of membership in German and ethnic associations. The research project mentioned at least the problem that the sample included second or third generation from immigrant families and omitted naturalised immigrants. Although the research focus aimed to expose segregating tendencies of participation in ethnic associations the findings indicate that at least active immigrants have more contacts with Germans compared to immigrants who do not participate in ethnic organisations.

(8) A project that directly struggled to overcome the problem of most survey-based research in Germany, namely that samples consist – in the strict sense of the word – not of immigrants but of foreign nationals, was conducted on political participation of immigrants in Berlin between 1998 and 2002 (Koopmans and Statham 1998; Koopmans 1999; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Koopmans and Duyvene de Wit 2001; Berger, Galonska et al. 2002; Berger, Galonska et al. 2002; Berger, Galonska et al. 2004; Berger and Koopmans 2004). In order to get a more comprehensive immigrant sample the researchers applied a sampling strategy based on the random selection of names with characteristics typical for the targeted immigrant groups of Italian, Turkish and Russian immigrants (i.e. Jewish quota refugees, ethnic Germans and Russian nationals). The telephone survey included respondents only when they or at least one parent were born abroad (Galonska, Berger et al. 2004). Among other aspects the research project revealed that immigrants who participate in ethnic associations are more likely to participate in German institutions compared to Turkish non-participants.

(9) The ‘Centre for Turkey Studies’ published the most up-to-date report on participation of immigrants (Halm and Sauer 2004). It is based on a representative telephone survey among Turkish immigrants. The study covered 1 500 respondents (16 years or older) in order to investigate amount, areas, quality, structure, expectations and problems of voluntary engagement and to explore the instruments for the promotion of voluntary engagement. The study distinguished between formal membership, participation and active participation and reveals, that about two thirds of Turkish immigrants participate (as formal members or informally) in one or more associations. But only 10 percent of the respondents declared to be actively engaged. The according projection of this figure indicates that probably 200 000 Turkish immigrants are actively engaged (Halm and Sauer 2004: 421). Additionally, semi-structured interviews with 38 experts were conducted in order to identify the instruments for the promotion of voluntary engagement and network building. The authors of the study criticise the assumption that immigrant associations in the first range aim to preserve a Turkish culture as old-fashioned.

Beside these research projects mainly relying on quantitative methods several studies on immigrant participation operated with an ethnographic approach and combined qualitative methods of participant observation and in-depth interviews with active immigrants, complemented partly with simple statistical tabulations. The available qualitative explorations on immigrant associations do not only confirm and deepen the results of survey studies but often generate new insights.

(10) One study examines the collective and individual level of two organisations of Spanish nationals in Frankfurt/Main (Seitter 1999). This study aims to reconstruct the amalgamation of individual biography and associational development on the basis of the analysis of in-depth interviews with three activists. This study underlines that engagement in the immigrant associations may be related to a job that is not demanding and leaves a lot of leisure time. The professional stagnation and the professional modesty of the job is a biographical precondition for a time-consuming part-taking in the association. The activities in the immigrant association may become a kind of a substitute-job, an alternative career with different opportunities for engagement and affiliations.

(11) Another ethnographic account compares the networks of Turkish immigrants in Bamberg and Colmar (France) (Kreiser, Straßburger et al. 1997; Unbehaun 1997). The authors stressed that the rather stable settlement pattern of Turkish immigrants in combination with the rather small number fostered the constant exchange between the Turkish immigrants. But in the course of time the Turkish immigrants split into segmented organisations with competing ideological orientations. Particular attention is directed towards “ethnic leaders” who initiated and completed the segmentation. While the first generation lives predominantly in rather ethnically homogenous social worlds, the younger generation has established more social contacts with members of the host society and of other ethnic minorities.

(12) Schiffauer concentrates also on Turkish self-organisations and reconstructed the formation and development of a fundamentalist mosque association founded by the charismatic leader Kaplan, known as the Caliphate state (Schiffauer 1999). In recent research Schiffauer examined the Islamic association “Milli Görüş” that is perceived by German authorities as fundamentalist, too, and observed by the ‘Office responsible for the defending of the constitution’ (internal intelligence service) (Schiffauer 2004). Schiffauer emphasizes in his publications that these organisations are not simply institutions transplanted from Turkey to Germany but institutions that developed in interaction to the German environment. Ethnic associations including those with fundamentalist orientation are a “response” to the environment of the host country.

(13) A recently published study depicts and analyses the historical genesis and present state of the immigrant associational landscape in a particular southern German city the author does not explicitly name (Lehmann 2001). The author distinguishes immigrant associations with respect to four ideal typical categories: Initially, the *meeting centre* that provided a place for social encounters was the prevailing form of immigrant associations. At the moment, associations for the *caring of ethnic culture* and as *supplier of services* are the most important form. But the author identifies a trend towards *ethnic institutions*, i.e. associations that aim to exert influence on the host country (Lehmann 2001: 168ff).

(14) Another ethnographic case study has a particular focus on refugees in the city of Dortmund (Kühne and Rübler 2000) and includes a section on self-organisation and participation of refugees (285-306). This study is the only account on immigrant organisations that systematically includes associations that are not registered with the German authorities. Besides formal organisations like the Jewish community the informal associations are examined. Dealing with recently arrived and not yet settled refugees, Kühne and Rübler highlight that (non-regular) exile parties form an important platform for refugee immigrant

engagement, besides the organisation in socio-cultural centres; religious associations and parent associations.

(15) Haded presents the most recent qualitative exploration of immigrant associations (Hadeed 2004). On the basis of 21 interviews with representatives of immigrant associations, seven additional interviews with experts from German institutions and welfare associations and additional analysis of data of 15 immigrant associations in the Federal state Lower-Saxony the author evaluates the participation potential of immigrant associations. The author underlines that the particular group or social network that established and run immigrant associations did not exist before immigration but developed closer links only in the immigration country. This is also true for associations with segregating tendencies. The establishing of immigrant associations is a response to the experience of collective social exclusion. The processes of re-ethnicisation thus are not impact of an imported culture but a response to the general framework of the immigration situation. The author observed that the children of active immigrants hardly participate in the associations of their parents. Vacancies in immigrant associations are rather filled by newly arrived immigrants. However, due to the small empirical basis these findings cannot be generalised.

To summarise: The above presented selection of the most comprehensive literature on immigrants' participation in Germany is complemented by a vast number of smaller studies dealing with various aspects of immigrant or foreign nationals participation, often developing rather political arguments and statements. The overview indicates that participation research concentrates on those nationalities that were recruited once as 'guest workers'. Accordingly, the focus is on EU-nationalities with the notable exception of the Turkish one. The immigration trend towards a diversification of immigrant population due to increasing immigration from Eastern European, Asian and African countries is not yet adequately reflected in research. Only few studies include the new immigration from Poland (Pallaske 2000; Sopart 2000; Wolff-Poweska and Schulz 2000) that became in the meanwhile an EU-member state, of ethnic Germans or Jewish quota refugee from the area of the former Soviet Union or from African countries. Moreover, research mainly deals with *foreign nationals* including so-called second or third generation born in Germany. Therefore, the findings from participation studies need to be re-assessed with respect to foreign born immigrants.

The review furthermore indicates that comprehensive studies do not follow the conventional distinction between political, social and cultural participation but examine immigrant participation as a complex whole of political, social and cultural aspects and include the subjective level of individual actors and the structural aspects. However, the term participation is quite differently used. In some studies, the term seems to be framed merely as participation in institutions of the host society (Müller 2000) and thus implicitly equated with *integration*. In other studies participation refers to the formal or informal *membership* in immigrant organisations (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Diehl 2002). But participation may also refer to voting behaviour or simply an interest in policy (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002). Undoubtedly, the term is not coherently used and needs to be constantly determined with respect to the contextual use and semantic implications.

All in all, the literature is highly fragmented. With respect to the vast amount of studies with a restricted focus on special nationalities or regions the main findings of research on immigrants' civic participation will be presented in the following sections in a rather condensed form. Taking into account that the main research interest of the POLITIS project is the active civic participation of *first generation* immigrants we review the available literature with respect to the following five dimensions: General participation rates (2.3); participation in institutions and organisations of the host society (2.4); participation in immigrant organisations (2.5); aspects of individual civic participation like motivations, interests,

trajectories (2.6); and the segregating or integrative impact of immigrant organisation (2.7). In each section, we try to concentrate on forms of participation that involve individual engagement and activity, although this is not easy as most studies do not make this differentiation.

2.3 *Levels of activity in German and immigrant association*

Several surveys explored the level of immigrants' participation. However, the surveys are hardly comparable because of an inconsistent use of the term participation. In some surveys the term participation refers to formal membership while in other surveys the term refers to informal or formal part-taking in associational activities or to voluntary active engagement. We review the available findings with respect to formal membership, part-taking in activities and active engagement.

2.3.1 *Formal membership*

In this sub-section we refer to *formal membership*. According to Diehl (2002: 136f) some general surveys show that the membership rate of foreign nationals is below the rate of German respondents: About 50.2 % of German respondents are members of a voluntary association (including trade union, party, sport association or citizen committee) but only 31.6 % of foreign residents.

General population surveys that cover also foreign nationals and include questions concerning membership in associations indicate a rate between 32 %⁷ and 48 %⁸ for young foreign nationals. Another survey indicates a participation rate of 17 to 29% in immigrant organisations and 14 to 22 % in German associations.⁹ But due to methodological shortcomings these continuously conducted representative surveys do not provide secure data on the immigrant population: The sample of immigrants is too small, the survey often conducted in German language only and thus educated immigrants are rather overrepresented and the questioned items often too specific (voluntary activities) or too unspecific (membership in any organisation) (Diehl 2002: 138). Moreover, the results are highly influenced by low level of forms of participation like simple membership in trade unions or sports club that do not demand active civic participation of the individual (see also (Diehl 2001: 33; Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001: 234).

A telephone survey among 998 respondents of Turkish origin in the Federal state North Rhine-Westphalia from 2001 showed that 47 % of the respondents are not member in any association (Halm 2002: 4). About one third of the respondents is member of a Turkish association and one third of a German association; with 15 % of double membership in Turkish and German associations. The evaluated patterns of membership show a dominance of trade unions and sports clubs for German associations, whereas Turkish associations were important for religious and cultural purposes (Table 3).

7 Shell-Studie 2000, zit nach Diehl 2002: 137 f

8 Dji-Ausländersurvey, zit. nach Diehl 2002: 137 f

9 Mehrländer u.a. 1996, zit. nach Diehl 2002: 137f.

Table 3: Membership of Turkish immigrants in North-Rhine Westphalia in German and Turkish associations and confederations (in percent)

German Association	Percent	Turkish Association	Percent
Trade Union	16.7	Religious association	18.3
Sports Club	12.9	Cultural Association	9.1
Business or trade association	4.1	Sports club	6.8
Cultural association	2.7	Educational association	2.4
Political association or group	2.7	Ethnic or national association	2.1
Educational association	2.1	Political association or group	1.5
Leisure time club	1.8	Other	1.3
Other	1.8	Business or professional association	0.9
Religious association	0.4	Leisure time club	0.4
National or ethnic	- / -	Trade union	- / -

Source: (Halm 2002: 4)

The Mannheim-survey too offers information on the distribution of membership in German and immigrant associations. This study on random basis covered members and non-members and claims to be representative at least for the Turkish immigrants in Mannheim. The survey examined the following four patterns of membership: Membership exclusively in Turkish organisations; exclusively in German organisations; simultaneously in German and Turkish organisations; and without any membership. Table 4 shows the distribution of membership patterns with regard to gender and generation.

Table 4: Membership of Turkish inhabitants of Mannheim in Turkish and German organisations (in percent)

Membership in	Total	First Generation	Second Generation	Men	Women
No membership	64.2	64.8	61.9	47.9	80.1
German organisations	9.5	7.3	16.5	19	4.1
Turkish and German Organisations	5.6	5.7	5.7	10.6	0.8
Turkish organisations	10.9	22.3	15.9	26.5	19

Source: Diehl 2001: 32

The majority of immigrants is not organised. The low membership rate among Turkish women is striking. In this survey only a few immigrants are members in both German and Turkish associations. The membership in German associations consists mainly in the passive membership in trade unions (first generation) and sport clubs (second generation). The figures are mainly interesting with respect to the distribution of membership within each age cohort.

The figures show that elder Turkish immigrants do not participate in German organisations (besides the non-mentioned trade unions).¹⁰ Leaving aside the trade union members the number of immigrants that are member in German and Turkish organisations shrinks considerably with age: Older respondents are hardly member of German associations (but only due to the omission of trade unions) (Diehl 2001: 32).

A different picture is delivered by the Berlin-survey. This recent account on membership patterns indicates that foreign nationals participate more in German than in immigrant associations. In general, “levels of membership in ethnic organisations are substantially lower than levels of membership in German organisations” (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002: 22).¹¹ In particular the younger foreign nationals are more frequently members of German than of immigrant associations. The difference may be traced back to different reference groups since the Berlin survey covers not only immigrants of Turkish but also of Russian (including Jewish quota refugees) and Ethnic German origin. Special research indicates that immigrants are underrepresented in traditional fields of engagement or modern forms of self-help (INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003: 12; Halm and Sauer 2004: 420).

2.3.2 *Level of participation*

This sub-section deals with the level of part-taking in associational activities that do not necessarily involve formal membership. A particular relevant information source is the recently published telephone survey among persons of Turkish origin (Halm and Sauer 2004). This survey showed that two thirds of the respondents participate in one or more associations, confederations, groups or initiatives. About one third of the respondents do not participate in any association. The projection of the participation rate indicates that 1.3 million persons of Turkish origin participate in the societal life. Participants are active on average in 2.45 areas (see table 5). 39 % of respondents participate in only one area, while 25 % participate in two areas, 17 % participate in three areas and 18 % participate in more than three areas.

¹⁰ However, this finding may be related to the decision to leave aside the membership in trade unions. This decision may have distorted the findings since elder generation appears to be exclusively member in religious Islamic Turkish associations – a picture that would perhaps change when taking into account trade union membership. This would probably undermine the perception that members of religious associations do not relate to institutions of the host country but rather signal that the participation in host country institutions depends on the usefulness of membership and directs attention to the fact that host countries failed to provide institutions or organisations “useful” for immigrants.

¹¹ This finding confirms early observations by Schöneberg (1981; 1985, 1993).

Table 5: Participation of persons of Turkish origin with reference to the areas of concern (repeated indications)

Area of concern	Examples	Number	Share (in %)
Religion	Mosque associations, religious group	446	29.0
Sport and physical exercise	Sports clubs, physical exercises groups	350	22.8
Leisure time and social gathering	Youth- or women groups, friendship circles,	301	19.6
Cultural activities and Music	Dancing, Music, Theatre, cultural associations	254	16.5
School, Kindergarten	Representation of parents or pupils, caring or promotion	219	14.3
Representation of professional interests	Trade union, professional association	165	10.7
Social concerns	Welfare associations, self-help groups, aid	157	10.5
Work with youth beyond school and educational training for adults	Children or youth group; language training; caring	107	7.0
Political and other interest representation	Party, Foreigners' Advisory Board; political group; solidarity group	86	5.6
Health	Caring of sick or elderly persons; Counselling; self-help	76	4.9
Accident and rescue service; fire brigade	Red Cross, fire brigade	67	4.4
Other voluntary activities in the neighbourhood	Associations, social projects, community pressure group, self-help group	49	3.2
Environment or animal protection	Associations, pressure groups	49	3.2
Economic self-help	Income tax associations	33	3.2
Justice and criminality prevention	Lay judge, caring for delinquents or victims	33	3.2

Source: (Halm and Sauer 2004: 419)

The most important participation area of persons of Turkish origin is religion (29 %). The following most important areas have to do with the organisation of leisure time (sports 28 %; social gathering 20 %; cultural activities 17 %) or with the immediate social life world (School and Kindergarten 14 %; representation of professional interests 11 %). The areas referring to the more civic concerns (social concerns, education or youth groups) follow with

a share between 11 and 6 percent. Only few immigrants participate in the areas of health, accident and rescue service or communal pressure groups, environment or animal protection, economic self-help or justice. This order of preference corresponds with the order of preference of German citizens – with the notable exception of the area of religion. While religion takes the first place among respondents of Turkish immigrants with 29 percent, among German citizens it takes only the sixth place with 10 % (Halm and Sauer 2004: 419).

The Mannheim-survey offers information on the patterns of participation in Turkish and German associations (see table 6).

Table 6: Participation patterns and age among Turkish residents in Mannheim (without German trade unions)

Age	Participation in Turkish associations	Participation in German and Turkish associations	Participation in German associations
16-22	20.3	2.9	10.1
23-29	12.9	2.8	5.1
30-36	22.2	3.1	3.7
37-43	21.5	3.1	1.5
44-50	14.3	0.0	3.2
51-57	32.2	0.0	1.1
58 -	15.4	0.0	1.9

Source: Diehl 2001: 32, N = 679

The survey emphasize that the age is an important factor concerning the pattern of participation in German, Turkish or in both associations. The information shows that the participation rate of younger persons is as a rule higher among younger persons. The participation in German associations seem to depend on the age. The older the respondents the lower the participation. However, the omission of trade unions may have led to a distortion.

2.3.3 Level of active participation

Active civic participation of citizens is a new research topic in Germany. Until late 1990s the issue did not gain much attention. Only in 1998 the Federal Ministry commissioned an examination of voluntary engagement of citizens. This volunteering survey distinguished between three patterns of engagement: honorary engagement, civic engagement and voluntary engagement. The representative volunteering survey indicates that 34 % of the German population, i.e. 21 million persons, are voluntarily engaged. The main areas are sport clubs and leisure time clubs. The data indicate that the areas of voluntary engagement as a rule are characterized by a mix of paid and unpaid engaged persons. Following the interests of public authorities the research interest focus on *unpaid* voluntary engagement (Rosenbladt 2000: 45; INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003: 10) For the purpose of this study it is noteworthy to keep in mind that also paid activities belong to the area of civic engagement. Own observations indicate that foreign nationals were employed in particular the German welfare associations and trade unions. But the voluntary and professional engagement of immigrants in German welfare associations is not yet examined (INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003: 14). Since foreign

nationals are underrepresented in the volunteering survey (with only 3 % of respondents) no safe conclusions on voluntary engagement of foreign nationals are available.

According to Diehl (2002: 136f) some general surveys show that the participation rate of foreign nationals is below the rate of German respondents: About 29 % of all German respondents are voluntarily active but only 12-19% of foreign residents.

Only recently, the 2004 Survey of Centre for Turkey Studies examined the level of active civic participation. The survey revealed that 149 out of 1 500 interviewed Turkish immigrants were activists (10 %). A projection of this share indicate that 200 000 persons of Turkish origin are civically engaged. Taking into account that the survey on voluntary engagement of German citizens revealed a share 34 percent civically engaged German citizens, this figure seems to be pretty low (Halm and Sauer 2004: 419). With reference to the observation that the participation rate of immigrants is similar to that of German citizens (see 2.3.2) the authors conclude that the main problem among persons of Turkish origin is not a lower participation rate but the reluctance to take on responsibilities. According to the authors the area of participation has no relevance for the propensity to active engagement. The survey shows that the active civic engagement concentrates with 90 % on only five areas. The main areas of active civic engagement are religion (24 %) and sports (22 %). These areas are also the main areas of participation. The other important areas for active engagement are School/ Kindergarten (21 %) – although this area takes with 14.3 % only the fifth place in the area of concern of participation. Further areas with relevance for active engagement are cultural activities and music (13 %) and social concerns (11 %). The consideration of active engagement reveals a particular pattern: “The comparison of the areas of concern of participants and activists reveal a different order of preferences with very different shares of involvement that may be explained by the particular demands of the areas of concern: The area with the highest share of activists in relation to participants is the area of school and Kindergarten. In this area 14 percent of activist are located – not at least because passive patterns of participation are not possible” (Halm and Sauer 2004: 421).

2.4 *Participation in institutions and organisations of the majority society*

In this section we will deal with the membership in German associations. About 35 % of German citizens are voluntarily active in a club or association or practice any kind of voluntary civic and/or social engagement outside the classical organisational structures. As a rule, membership in civic associations is related to higher political and civic engagement. Volunteers are more likely to vote and also to engage in unconventional political activities (like demonstration, signature collection etc.) (Roth and Bernhard 2004: 5). It makes therefore sense to take membership in associations not only as an indicator for successful integration but as an indicator for more time consuming civic engagement.

2.4.1 *Voting behaviour and preferences*

The rate and patterns of participation of immigrants in the political and social institutions of the host-country is an important research field. The voting issue is of particular interest because of the frequently uttered argument that the exclusion of immigrants from voting weakens their interest in political participation and political position in the host-country. As a rule, immigrants show a lower propensity to participate in elections. The representative Berlin-survey revealed that native Germans expressed most often the intention to vote (87 %), followed by Turks (83 %), while the ‘Russians’ show the least intention to cast their vote (63 %). All polls and surveys show that the national immigrant groups follow distinct political preferences. According to the Berlin survey the several groups of ‘Russian’ immigrants prefer to vote conservative for the Christian-Democratic Party (55 %) with clear differences among

the sub-groups (ethnic Germans 70 %, Jewish quota refugees 38 %; other Russian immigrants 41 %). Among the Turkish respondents the majority (would) vote for the Social-Democratic Party (64 %) (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002: 14). The data of the GSOEP confirms that the Social-Democratic Party enjoys - with between 86 % (Italians) and 68 % (Turks and former Yugoslavia) - most support among foreign citizens (Diehl and Urbahn 1998: 38). An examination of voting preferences among naturalised immigrants came to similar results: about 69 % of voters from former SU opted for the CDU, while 57 % of naturalised Germans with Turkish origin preferred the SPD (Wüst 2002: 7).

2.4.2 *Membership in German Political Parties*

In most German parties – with the notable exception of the Bavarian CSU that denies access - immigrants without German citizenship can be members, but only few foreign nationals use the opportunity. There are no figures available on party membership of immigrants with German or foreign nationality, but both tend to be low (Diehl and Urbahn 1998: 7).¹² The ignorance towards the national background of party members is mirrored in a recently conducted study on the motivations of party members that did not even take into account that respondents may not possess the German citizenship (Heinrich, Lübker et al. 2002). A representative Marplan-survey commissioned by the LZZ NRW revealed that only 0.4 % of all Turkish, Spanish, Italian, former Yugoslavian and Greek nationals interviewed in Western Germany were members of a party. Only 3.5 % would consider the question of party membership.¹³ Another representative Marplan-survey expose the low rate of party participation among foreign nationals: Among Turkish respondents only 3.4 % were members of a political party or association (4.8 % of men and 1.8 % of women). However, in only 28 % the membership concerns a German party or association while 75 % concerns foreign parties (Marplan 2001: 134-135).

In the last years the political parties began to realize that naturalised immigrants became a relevant part of the electorate and increased efforts to integrate immigrants in the party ranks (Assimenos and Shajanian 2001). Taking into account that the last Federal elections were decided with a very fine difference – the 1998 election showed a difference of 0.3 % (Wüst 2002) - to win immigrants as voters can be decisive.

All parties – except open xenophobic right wing organisations – have in the meanwhile established particular committees for the integration of the immigrant population, in particular the Turkish immigrants (“Federation of Turkish Social-Democrats”, the FDP-connected “Liberal Turkish-German Union”, the immigrant forum “Immigrün” of the Green Party and the “German-Turkish Union”). In the last years politicians with immigrant background took up higher positions in the party hierarchy and gained some public attention in most established parties. Naturalized immigrants represent the German parties as members of the local, state, federal and European parliaments, although they are still highly underrepresented. Currently, only five members of the Federal Parliament are immigrants of foreign descent and at least one of ethnic German descent (LAGA 2002). In the 15 parliaments altogether 8 further naturalized immigrants are members (Aid 2/2004).

The foreign national population remains excluded from all levels of political decision making processes. This leads to the situation that most of all in greater cities a considerable part of

12 As a rule, law does not prevent immigrants from becoming member of German political parties. But the participation of foreign nationals is by law restricted: Non-citizens are not allowed to take part in party-procedures to appoint candidates for elections or members of voting lists.

13 http://www.lzz-nrw.de/index2.html?/fors/fors_inf.html (16.12.04)

inhabitants cannot participate in political voting. In cities like Frankfurt am Main, Stuttgart or Munich over twenty percent of the inhabitants are excluded from political decision making.

2.4.3 Foreigners advisory councils

In order to somehow outbalance the exclusion of foreign inhabitants on local level so-called foreigners advisory councils were introduced. By this particular institution the foreign population should articulate its special interests. Due to the federal structure the foreigners' advisory councils are very differently organised and have different impact on local politics. More than half of Turkish respondents in a survey did not even know of their existence (Marplan 2001: 236). The main reproach against the introduction of foreigners advisory boards is that these institutions have no real influence and are nothing else than a front to hide the factual political exclusion of foreign nationals (Bommes 1992; Bukow, Grilec et al. 1999; Brake 2002). Most studies only describe the development and functioning of the institutions (Even and Hoffman 1987; Bukow, Grilec et al. 1999). The best examined federal state is North-Rhine Westphalia where the councils are obligatory for communities with more than 5000 foreign inhabitants since 1994 (LAGA 2002).

The voting participation for the councils is generally low: The participation in the elections 2004 in NRW was between 2.1 % (City Löhne) and 31.9 % (City Lünen) with an average of 12.28 %. In 85 municipalities altogether 1 048 council members of 47 different nationalities were elected. Candidates from the former recruitment countries received 90 % of all ballots. Turkish candidates received 56 % while candidates from other Non-European countries only 9 %. The share of women is now 23.9 %. But in nine municipalities only men were elected while in three councils the women have the majority.

Among the elected members of the advisory boards 30.7 % are white-collar workers, 29.9 % are blue-collar workers, 5.2 % are pensioners, 4.1 % are housewives, 1.6 are unemployed, 1.2 % civil servants and 16.1 % are representatives of other professions. 7.9 % of the elected members is between 16 and 25 years old; 51.1 % are between 26 and 40 years old; 35.9 % are between 41 and 60 years old; and 5.1 % are older than 60 years.

Relevant actors in the city of Lünen interpreted the extraordinarily high voter turnout in this city as recognition of the effective work of the previous advisory board that closely cooperated with immigrant associations and city council. It was moreover announced that the city council will be obliged to hear the advisory board in all immigration-related issues; and that the advisory board will be entitled to put issues on the agenda of the city council. Thus, the increased voting participation is explained with increased competencies given to the advisory board. In order to emphasize the relevance of the advisory board in some cities the city mayor or other popular local politicians represent the local administration in the advisory board (LAGA 2004: 4ff).

Besides from democratic representation the boards have some more hidden functions: The representatives from several nationalities and from competing strands of the same nationality are urged to cooperate. Moreover, the German political parties recruit activists among the members of the boards. The confederation of foreigners advisory boards in the state of Hesse argue that in spite of shortcomings the institution is at least meaningful (Aksit 2004).

2.4.4 Membership in interest groups and welfare associations

The most important German interest group of immigrants are the German "associations of exile". These conservative associations were established after 1945 by Germans expelled from former German territories that became part of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia. The associations follow a 'revanchist' course and demand the return of the lost properties. Exile

organisations have long exercised considerable political influence, mainly via the Christian conservative parties (Brake 2002). These organisations tried to organise the ethnic Germans and lobbied that ethnic Germans gain access to Germany and receive generous assistance. The exile associations received public funds for the establishment of advice centres. In the last years a wide range of projects, networks and voluntary agencies was established for and with ethnic Germans (Kreisverwaltung des Rhein-Lahn-Kreises 2002; Sachverständigenrat für Zuwanderung und Integration 2004: 327). Nonetheless, policies are dominated by measures for newly arriving ethnic Germans. They are supplied with accommodation, social aid and language training courses but are frequently not able to find a job. This creates problems, namely in municipalities with a high inflow of ethnic Germans like Nümbrecht where 13% of the 16 500 inhabitants are recently arrived ethnic Germans. As a consequence, the participation balance among ethnic Germans is pretty poor. Only recently, the resources of the ethnic Germans are discovered (Klein 2002).

Welfare associations are another important part of the institutional infrastructure. In the 1970s the Federal government commissioned the established welfare associations to care for the recruited workers and their families and later for asylum seekers and refugees. Particular services for the social work with foreigners were established with a distribution of nationalities among the welfare associations: The (catholic) Caritas was responsible for immigrants from the Catholic states Italy, Spain and Portugal; the (protestant) Diakonie for immigrants from Greece and the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* for immigrants from Turkey and the remaining countries (Puskeppeleit and Thränhardt 1990: 47-50). The Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband, another important welfare association with many immigrant associations as members gained only recognition after a commissioned expertise revealed significant deficits in the social infrastructure for counselling foreign nationals (Puskeppeleit and Thränhardt 1990). The system was reformed only in 1998 when immigrant associations that are members or associated of welfare association became eligible for funds for counselling services. Counselling services of welfare organisations were and still are an important employer for socially qualified immigrants. Initially, immigrants were only employed as auxiliaries. Today, many immigrants work in advice centres in responsible positions. A systematic enquiry of the professional engagement of immigrants in German welfare associations is not available. Personal observations by the author indicate that many of them did and do not confine their activities to working hours but became engaged in help and lobby activities far beyond their occupational duties.

Since the mid-nineties, the German government propagated the idea of the intercultural opening of public services. Special welfare services should be abolished and the staff in public authorities should be interculturally trained instead and the share of employees with immigrant background should be increased. However, there are still specialised services, and it has not been evaluated how much the share of employees with immigrant background in general services increased (INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003: 32).

2.4.5 *Participation in trade unions*

Among the interest groups the trade unions are the most important. *Trade unions* were open for immigrants from the beginning of the recruitment of foreign workers and represent their interests not only in the economic realm. The trade union confederation actively lobbies for the rights of immigrants, the protection of refugees and fair treatment of foreigners. Currently, about 10 % of the 7 million union members are immigrants. In younger age groups, foreign nationals are – compared to the German peer group - overrepresented, due to their overrepresentation in heavily unionized industrial jobs (Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001: 234). The regular representative surveys among the immigrant population from former recruitment countries include questions on the membership in trade

unions. Membership rates are decreasing. Among Turkish respondents the membership rate decreased from 51.4 % in 1985 to 26.8 % in 2001 and among immigrants from former Yugoslavia from 41.4 % (1985) to 22.0 % (2001). In spite of the decrease the share of trade union membership is still considerably above the general level among German citizens. The surveys indicate that the contentedness of foreign nationals with trade union increased from 35.7 % in 1989 to 70.1 % in 2001 (Marplan 2002: 45).

Only few specialised examinations on the amount and significance of immigrants' membership in trade unions are available (Kühne, Öztürk et al. 1994; Treichler 1999; Nickel 2004). There is more information on general trade union activities *for* immigrants (Treichler 1999; Cyrus 2003) while information of immigrant activities *in* trade unions are rather scarce (Borgmeier and Büddicker 1994; Karahasan and Öztürk 1994; Treichler 1994). The best documented case is the IG Metall. In 2001, about 10 % of the 2.77 million IG Metall members were foreign nationals. In the industries in the domain of the IG Metall 54 % of the foreign employees are unionised. A trade union secretary explains this high share of unionization with the particular need for protection of foreign nationals and refers, moreover, to the exclusion from political participation rights so that many immigrants see trade unions as their "political homeland" and a human rights organisation. It has to be noted that union membership also provides for income security in case of strikes. The surveys indicate that the membership in trade unions is in the majority of cases only formal. Trade union membership does not seem lead to more intensive contacts of foreign nationals with persons of German or other nationality. Consequently Diehl argues that trade union membership is a special pattern of participation that is closely related to the working world and follows a particular "participation logic" (Diehl 2001: 32).

Nonetheless, immigrants in union positions can surely be qualified as civically active immigrants. Since 1972 foreign nationals enjoy active and passive voting right for the workers' council. As a rule, foreign workers are underrepresented in trade union offices, although not as highly as in political offices. Only 2 % of the elected trade union functionaries are immigrants. Also in the workers councils foreign workers are underrepresented: In 1998 only 3 488 (i.e. 5 %) out of 70 419 elected members of the workers councils were foreign nationals (Öztürk 2002). The IG Metall recently re-launched a particular program for the promotion of active participation in offices (Ausländerförderprogramm). Until now German trade unions were able to absorb active immigrants. There are no ethnically or nationally bounded interest groups for labour market related interests representation. But trade unions in some particular industries face considerable problems to organise foreign migrant workers. Trade unions generally admit difficulties to organise the "new" migrant workers for CEE and ethnic German immigrants. In order to bridge the distance, the German construction trade union initiated the establishment of a "migrant workers association". This step indicates that at least some trade unions have difficulties to reach and integrate the newly arriving migrant workers in their organisation (Nickel 2004, Cyrus 2003).

2.4.6 *Membership in churches and religious associations*

In contrast to Muslim immigrants who did not and do not find native institutions to practice the own religion, immigrants of Christian and Jewish confession can join already established congregations. The official Christian churches offer pastoral and often social and practical services for immigrated co-believers. Studies concentrate on the conflicts that arise in this process. The Catholic Church established the tradition of Catholic Missions in a foreign language, in particular Italian, Spanish, English and Polish (Puskeppeleit and Thränhardt 1990: 54). Immigrants often have the feeling that they are not really accepted and their particular problems are not acknowledged by the native community. If the group of immigrants with a particular cultural background and language is big enough a separate

community is founded. A study of the integration of ethnic Germans in a Catholic parish indicates considerable conflicts that were partly linked with the need of Polish speaking newcomers to perform the church service in the Polish language (Krampen 2001). Also the religious integration of ethnic Germans from CIS seems to be difficult since their particular evangelical denominations were not established in Germany and thus the believers had difficulties to join existing protestant parishes. The members of the Pentecostal community seems to establish own parishes (Ruttman 1996; Kourilo 1998; Neebe n.d.). The Korean immigrants used to found parishes in the context of the protestant church in Germany (Yoo 1996).

Conflicts also arise in the integration of Jewish Quota Refugees from CIS. Since the late 1980s the influx of immigrants with Jewish confession from mainly Russia led to a massive growth of the Jewish parishes in Germany. Since the immigration of Jewish quota refugees is related to their confession it is expected that these immigrants turn to the Jewish parishes and become members. On the other hand the Jewish immigrants expect support from the Jewish parish infrastructure that is financed by the state. Within a decade the number of parish members tripled or even quadrupled. As a consequence the established parish members get into a minority situation within their parishes. The engagement of recently arrived Jewish immigrants is thus sometimes met with serious reservations of the established members of the Jewish parishes (Schoeps, Jasper et al. 1996; Schoeps, Jasper et al. 1999; Hess and Kranz 2000; Kukatzki 2002; Dietz 2003).

2.4.7 Membership in German sport clubs

Sport clubs are the most important voluntary associations in quantitative terms. About 37 % of the German population older than thirteen, i.e. about 23 million persons, actively participate (Rosenblatt and Blanke 2000: 167) Also for the foreign population sport clubs are the most important area of voluntary membership. A systematic examination of immigrants' participation in German sport clubs is not available (Marschuk and Kordik 1994; Klein and Kothy 1998). For now more than ten years the Federal government promotes the special program "sport with ethnic Germans" for the integration of ethnic Germans in sport clubs. The program covers inter alia the costs for 36 full-time paid coordinators, 450 'teamer' (group leaders) and financial compensations for auxiliaries. In response to racist attacks the program was extended to foreign nationals with a supplement program "sport against violence" (www.bafl.bund.de). The umbrella organisation of German sport clubs states that the individual membership of immigrants in German sport clubs is the most effective integration path. The DGB initially rejected the foundation of ethnic sport clubs with the argument that this would lead to segregation and harm integration. However, in the early 1980s some German sport clubs, in particular Asian Martial Arts clubs, were confronted with increasing entries of foreign nationals. Since the German Sport Confederation supposed that Germans would become a minority in such clubs and consequently stay away the establishing of ethnic clubs was tolerated, but ethnic clubs should not establish separated leagues but take part in the regular competitions organised by the German Sport Confederation (Schwarz 1998: 172ff). About 7 % of the foreign population is estimated to participate in German sport clubs (Thränhardt and Dieregswiler 1999: 50). Available information indicates that in particular young immigrants are members of German sport clubs. A survey among Turkish youth indicated that 30 % of the male and 10 % of the female respondents were members of a German sports club, while Turkish sports clubs organised 18 % of male and 4 % of the female youth (Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung 2001: 234). After racist outrages in the 1990s observers noticed a trend that immigrants retreated into ethnically homogeneous associations and an increase of foundation of ethnic soccer clubs (Thränhardt and Dieregswiler 1999: 50). A recent account of voluntary engagement of Turkish nationals emphasized the particular

relevance of sport for integration. German sport clubs are encouraged to launch special programmes with Turkish speaking 'teamers' and to allow independent ethnic groups within the club in order to enhance the participation of Turkish immigrants. According to the authors the existence of homogeneous Turkish groups within German sport clubs is often perceived as indicator of failed integration. But the experiences of sport clubs that allowed the establishment of Turkish sport groups are positive. The distinct groups established contacts and discovered joint interests with German and mixed groups (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2004).

While we know that sports clubs are important fields for social and leisure activities of immigrants, there is no scientific information to what degree these organisations are important for active civic participation of immigrants. For example, engagement for youth teams, volunteering in the organisation of sports activities and political lobbying for sports organisation could for example qualify as such activity.

2.4.8 Conclusions

On the whole, *active* participation in German associations does neither raise particular attention nor research interest. Equal participation rates in the sense of formal membership seem to be the norms to strive for.

There is a lot of information on orientations towards and membership patterns of foreign nationals in German organisations, but less on their activities within these organisations. The comparative survey on Turkish and German associations in Mannheim found only three Turkish immigrants among the 650 paid and unpaid staff of 45 German associations, of those 17 sport clubs. Thus, Turkish immigrants made only 0.5 % of the staff in German associations albeit they make 2-3 % of the resident population (Diehl 2002: 175). Immigrants seem to be underrepresented as far as active membership – honorary as well as paid activities - is concerned, more so in politics and less in trade unions. There are fields in which there is only punctual insights concerning the inclusion of immigrants (as for example a study on foreigners in Hannover garden allotment associations) or in business associations.

The patterns of membership in German associations differ considerably with respect to gender and generation. As a rule, elder immigrants of the first generation of recruited workers participate rather in the German trade unions while in the case of younger, second and third generation immigrants the German associations are more often sport clubs and other associations located in the area of spare time activities.

2.5 Participation in immigrant associations

Participation in immigrant organisations and its consequences for integration is undoubtedly the main research area in Germany (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Ministerium für Arbeit 1999; Diehl 2002). The main reason is that participation in immigrant associations is suspected to end up in segregation and the making of so called parallel societies. In particular Turkish immigrant associations are exposed to the suspicion to hamper integration.

A precise figure on immigrant associations is not available. A mapping study of immigrant associations in North-Rhine Westphalia found about 2 500 such formal and informal associations. Only the most important and active national groups were covered. Taking into account that about 11 % of the foreign population resides in this Federal state we may roughly guess that about 20-30 000 immigrant associations exist in Germany.

2.5.1 *Formal and informal participation*

As already indicated, immigrants are more frequently only *formal members* in German organisations than in immigrant organisations, but this does not necessarily lead to lower participation rates and certainly not to lower rates of *active* civic participation. While immigrants may be merely passive members of German associations, there *have to be* some active immigrants in immigrants associations, otherwise they would not exist.

While German organisations often require *formal* membership as precondition for participation, immigrant organisations – and in particular religious associations – require active participation as precondition for the granting of formal membership (Schöneberg 1981; Schöneberg 1985; Schöneberg 1993). The partly *informal* characteristic complicates research in a field some scholars label “ethnic civic society” (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002: 32).

The available studies concentrate on *formal* organisations. As a consequence informal associations are not covered. The Mannheim-study indicated that out of 51 Turkish associations 42 were officially registered (about 80 %). In particular political groups evaded registration (Diehl 2002: 145). The share of unregistered Kurdish associations is higher due to the political sensitivity and the suppression of some militant Kurdish parties (Falk 1998). Personal observations by the authors suggest that in particular these groups cooperate with German grass-root associations or welfare advice centres. Some self-organisations of illegal immigrants meet in the rooms of churches, welfare organisations or other immigrant organisations. Asylum seekers and refugees establish rather informal networks. In particular immigrants from countries with civil wars establish exile parties that cannot be registered in Germany as associations. Moreover, the members often do not act in the public for fear of persecution by homeland agencies (Kühne and Rübler 2000). In eight out of the ten examined national refugee groups, Kühne and Rübler found different types of immigrant associations. Only immigrants from Algeria and Lebanon did not have own associations. In the case of the Algerians the number of immigrants is supposed to be too small while in the case of Lebanese the immigrants retreat to private family-oriented social networks due to the political fragmentation among Lebanese refugees (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2000: 64f). Afghan immigrants met only informally in private flats in order to organise humanitarian aid for the home country. Among refugees from the Iran, four associations are mainly concerned with the political situation in the home country. Also refugees from sub-Saharan African countries from Togo, Zaire, Angola and Congo try to organise home-country oriented resistance in mainly informal exile-parties. The majority of Jewish quota refugees in Dortmund are affiliated to the Jewish community, but some Jewish emigrants established a self-organisation that aimed to serve the needs of the non-religious Russian immigrants. The Bosnian inhabitants of Dortmund established an organisation for the humanitarian aid in Bosnia, a Mosque, a Bosnian school where children receive education in their mother tongue, a soccer-team and a Bosnian cultural centre that is a place for folkloristic presentations, social gatherings and the exchange of information concerning the situation in the homeland as well as in the host country. And finally, the Turkish Kurds established four self-organised centres (Kühne and Rübler 2000). The focus on refugee organisations directs attention to informal associations. In particular newly arrived immigrants may establish informal organisations that avoid a scientific gaze that concentrates on formal patterns of organisations.

Few ethnographic accounts show that informal support on the basis of mutual kinship or ethnicity is a strong factor among nationalities with a rather low number (Holzapfel 1997; Lauser 1997; Zulfacar 1998; Bui 2002). The ignorance towards informal associations seems to create a research gap since the new arrivals are not covered by research.

2.5.2 *Categorisations of associations*

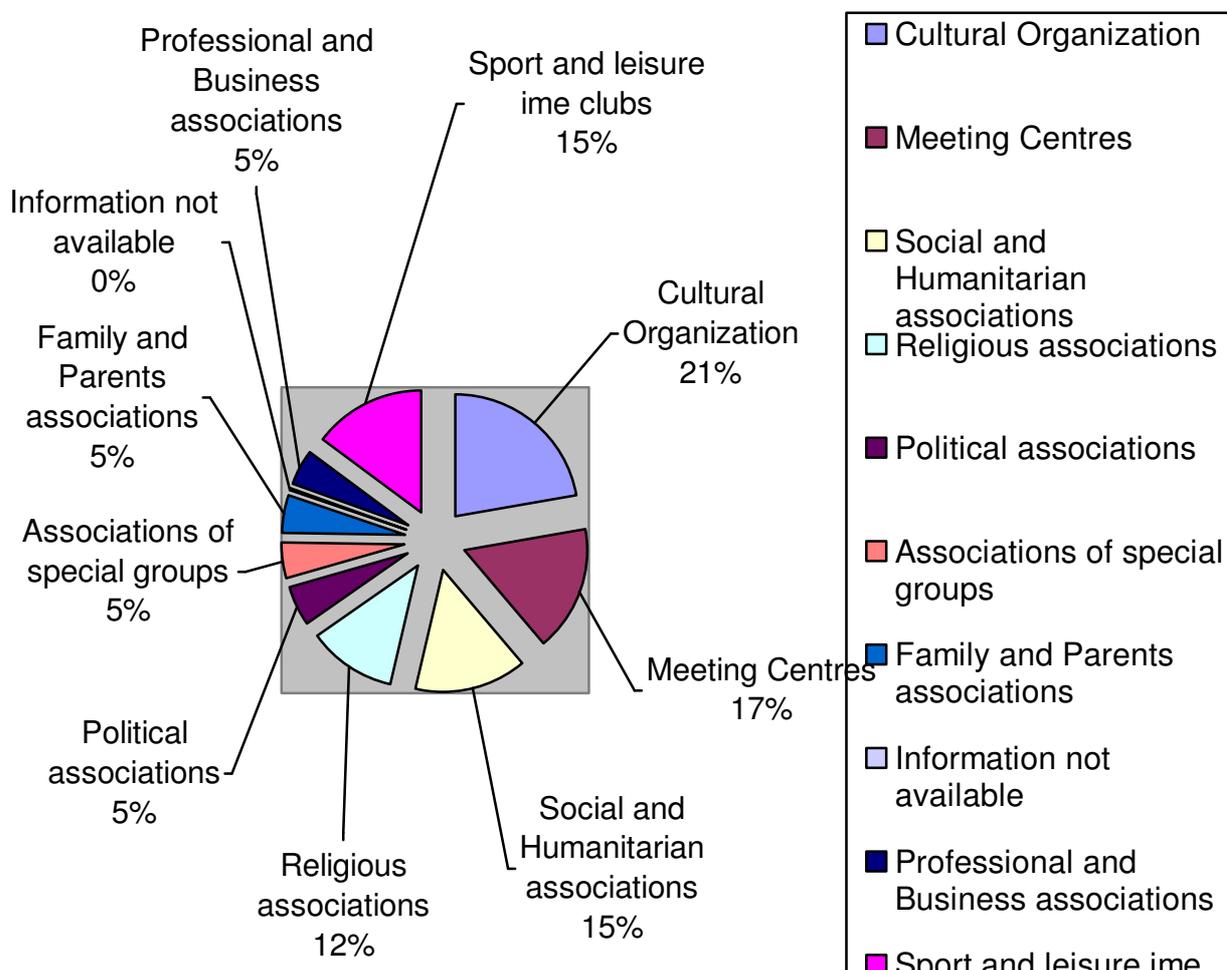
A first category concerns the national composition of organisations and distinguishes between ethnically (respectively nationally) homogeneous (*herkunftshomogen*), heterogeneous (*herkunftsheterogen*) and mixed (German-foreign) organisations. The reference is mainly national (for instance Turkish), but sometimes ethnic (Kurdish) and sometimes even locally fixed (members of one region or village) (Thränhardt 1999). An recently conducted evaluation of the federal register of associations shows that the relation of homogeneous, heterogeneous and mixed associations is about 8 : 1 : 1 (Hunger 2002: 4).

The reference to the focus of orientation is another important dimension for the debate. Is the activity of organisations directed towards the country of origin or towards the country of reception? (Diehl and Urbahn 1998: 14). The Berlin-survey underlines: “For all ethnic groups and all forms of activity it is true that there is more participation regarding Germany and Berlin than towards the respective countries of origin. The only exception here is that Turks more often donate money for a Turkey related topic, which is perhaps explained by the earthquake that took place in Turkey two years ago” (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002: 15). Observers comply that associations were initially founded with a homeland orientation shifted the focus of interest with a longer duration of stay towards issues concerning the immigrants in the host country (Lehmann 2001; Hadeed 2004)

Another category concerns the functions ethnic associations display: Is the organisation mainly active for political representation, serves social and emotional needs of their members or cultural (religious) issues? According to a recent analysis of the data from the Federal Register of associations (Hunger 2002), immigrant associations can be divided with respect to the registered main function in 9 categories. Figure 2 shows the categories of functions and offers information concerning the share of the different organisational types.

The distribution does not inform on the scope the associations have. Although the cultural associations are the main type of registration the religious associations may be much more relevant in term of member quantities since a single Mosque may have several hundred participants (Diehl 2002). The same is true for sport clubs. Moreover, to classify an immigrant association as one and only one type blurs that immigrants associations as a rule perform several functions at the same time (Schöneberg 1993: 122; Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Diehl 2002).

Figure 2: Immigrant associations according to functional type



Source: Organisationsstudie Ausländische Vereine in Deutschland, IfPol, WWU Münster, quoted according to (Hunger 2002).

We will give short explanation of the categories and add further information if available.

(1) The so-called workers' club were mainly established in the 1960s and 1970s by so-called workers and served merely – contrary to the expression worker – as a meeting place with a rather apolitical characteristic.

(2) In particular with the immigration of Muslims the need for religious meeting places increased. Since the 1950s and 1960s the formation of mosque associations took place in cities with Islamic population (Behrend 1997; Unbehaun 1997). Today Islam is the third largest religious community in Germany and the majority of Mosque associations is member of one of the two Islamic confederations (Lemmen 2002). Most religious associations were founded in the 1970s and 1980s by first generation immigrants. Religiosity among Turkish immigrants seemed to fill a 'symbolic hole' (Schiffauer 1991; Kreiser, Straßburger et al. 1997). The immigrants initially gathered informally, but later established formal associations and began to rent rooms for the Mosque services.

Today, a vast numbers of Mosque associations exists that are partly organised in confederations on state or federal or even European level (Lemmen 2002). The activities of

organised Islam are observed with particular suspicion for the fear of Islamic infiltration of the German society. Islam is often equated with intolerance, suppression of women and totalitarian and fundamentalist endeavours. The German 'Office responsible for defending the constitution' estimates that out of the over 3 million Muslims in Germany about 30 000 (i.e. 1 %) are members of an association perceived to be Islamic. With 26 000 members the Islamic Community Milli Görüs (IMGM) is the most relevant association (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2004). However, the assessment of the Milli Görüs as Islamic and terrorist associations is challenged by experts (Schiffauer 2004). Ethnographic research on the explicitly Islamic association Caliphate state - founded by the charismatic leader M. Kaplan in the 1980s - emphasize that fundamentalist Islamic communities are not merely institutions transplanted from the home country but established only in the country of origin in interaction with the host country (Schiffauer 1999).

Against this background the activities of Islamic associations are met with suspicion and refusal. The intention to build and pursue Mosques is a contested issue on the local level (Jonker and Kapphan 1999; Jonker 2002: 19f) (Minister für Städtebau und Wohnen - Kultur und Sport des Landes Nordrhein Westfalen and Integrationsbeauftragte der Landesregierung von Nordrhein-Westfalen 2003). From the perspective of this study, lobbying for Islamic religious concerns is certainly a field of active civic participation of immigrants. For example, Islamic confederations lobby for recognition as a religious body according to the public law. This claim raised much resentments because this would imply that the recognized associations would be (in juridical terms) on equal foot with the Christian Churches and be entitled to teach religious instruction in the schools of some federal states. Several Islamic associations applied to give religious instructions in school but failed.

The debate on the propagated duty of Islamic women to wear headscarves is a highly contested issue. When a young teacher went to court after access to public schools was denied, this incised fierce debates. In many cities, churches, women organisations or political parties organised public discussions on the issue, drawing immigrants with both positions into public debates.

(3) In the course of time beyond the meeting centres and religious associations further associations mushroomed that organise particular leisure time activities. In the meantime these organisations, in particular sport clubs, make the biggest share of registered immigrant associations. From sheer size, we can tell that there must be a lot of immigrants engaged in organising sports events and keep the associations running, but we know little about these people. In addition, ethnic sports associations do not organise merely sportive activities but also social events and sometimes information on relevant issues like naturalisation (Thränhardt and Dieregsweiler 1999: 50).

(4) The contemporarily most important type of ethnic associations is cultural associations that organise folkloristic dance and music events or literature readings. The cultural club that organises cultural events seems to have replaced the workers' associations (Hunger 2002). The NRW-Survey indicated additionally that 90 % of the immigrant organisations organise cultural events.

(5) Political associations established mainly in the early seventies in response to the political situation in the countries of origin and focused on the homelands, like exile-parties of Turkish (Puskeppleit and Thränhardt 1990), Kurdish (Puskeppleit and Thränhardt 1990; Falk 1998) or African (Kühne and Rübler 2000) immigrants. In many immigrant groups - including in particular the Turkish, Italian and (Post-) Yugoslavian nationalities - the party conflicts in the homeland were reproduced by immigrant associations depending on the homeland parties. But with the political pacification in these countries the focus of orientation used to turn from the homelands to the host country. Interest associations with a mainly limited regional

outreach were first formed in the 70s. Umbrella organisations with an orientation to German national politics were founded in the 90s. Examples for this development are the foundation of the ‘Turkish Community in Germany’ in the year 1995 or the (failed) efforts of several Polish associations to establish Federal Council of Polish associations in Germany’. Also the religious Islamic associations formed federal confederations in order to be recognised (like Christian churches) as ‘bodies of the public law’ with the entitlement to teach religious instructions in German schools.

(6) Parent and family associations were founded in response to the subsequent immigration of family members, mainly on a local basis. When the general duty for children with foreign citizenship to visit a school was introduced in 1964, the schooling of immigrant children turned out to be problematic. Parent associations were founded, organised coaching, counselled parents and tried to influence the way foreign children were treated in school. Greek parent associations successfully lobbied for separate classes for Greek children while Spanish parent associations reached that their children are integrated in the normal classes (Breitenbach 1986; Thränhardt 2000). Thränhardt emphasizes the significance of parent associations for the collective integration. He noticed that the integration balance of Italian, Greek, Turkish and Spanish immigrants expose considerable differences and states that the integration balance is positively linked to the density and activity of immigrant associations (Thränhardt 2000).

(7) With the settlement process at least some immigrants managed to climb the professional ladder and began to establish professional and business associations. Since the 1990s, the formation of particular ethnic or national professional associations takes place, for instance among foreign self-employed, retail-traders or physicians. These associations like the “Confederation of Turkish employers and industrialists in Europe” (ATIAD) cooperate with German authorities and aim to support the economic activities of immigrants (see www.atiad.org). However, systematic scholarly knowledge is scarce.

(8) For some nationalities, social and humanitarian organisations are of particular importance. They were founded by immigrants in Germany in order to organise humanitarian aid for the people in the homeland or for other immigrants in Germany in need of assistance. The NRW survey showed that this type of organisation was of particular relevance for the immigrants from former Yugoslavia. Among Bosnian immigrants about one out of three associations followed humanitarian targets (38 %) (Thränhardt and Dieregswailer 1999).

(9) Associations for particular target groups like associations for youth, student, women or elderly people are grouped as another organisational type. Organisations of this kind often are established by second or third generation immigrants and show a rather international and transcultural characteristic (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Diehl 2002).

The analysis by nationalities shows considerable differences. For instance family and parents’ associations account for one quarter of all Spanish immigrant associations while among Turkish nationals the religious associations reach one quarter (Hunger 2002). According to another survey the share of religiously orientated associations is even 36.2 % among the Turkish nationality (Sen and Aydin 1999: 93) An ethnographic account revealed that immigrant associations develop and change the focus of services without notifying to the register (Lehmann 2001).

2.5.3 Conclusions

Analysts try to evaluate trends in the formation of immigrant organisations and observe particular characteristics. As a rule, it is remarkable that immigrant associations are hardly present in the areas of work and labour market integration. This feature is attributed to the fact

that trade unions successfully integrated immigrant worker (Thränhardt 1999: 2). This observation leads to the assessment that immigrant self-organisations are established in response to a deficit of caring services offered by the German institutions, in particular welfare-organisations and religious bodies, and in the course of time became independent and effective associations for interest representation (Hunger 2002: 1). The hypothesis that immigrant associations come into existence in response to the lack of adequate institutional infrastructure of the host country is partly substantiated and further differentiated with reference to Turkish immigrants: “It is possible to assume that the participation in ethnically homogeneous immigrant associations takes place most frequently when no German alternatives for participation exists or the purpose of the participation serves migration specific issues (Religion, Culture). But the high rate of participation in the areas of leisure time and social gathering indicate also a conscious choice for participation in ethnically homogenous groups. It seems to be the case that the joint participation in multi-ethnic and host country associations of German and Turkish nationals is promoted by common interests” (Halm and Sauer 2004: 420).

Initially immigrant organisations did exist most of all as institutions for caring and counselling and as political clubs concerned with homeland issues. Today a turn to acute problems of the everyday life of immigrants living in Germany and a stronger practical approach can be observed. An example for this development is the scene of Turkish self-organisations that is no longer dominated exclusively by workers and mosque associations with homeland orientation. Since the 1980s parents associations that aim to improve the school education of Turkish children and youth in German schools or professional associations on local, state and federal level were founded (Hunger 2002: 22). The trend goes from self-help and homeland-orientation to host country orientation and professional services (Lehmann 2001). But immigrant associations face serious problems to raise the necessary funds to perform services and interest representation on a professional level. The established welfare associations take care that public funding is not cut in favour of services run by immigrant associations. And additional funding is scarce. In particular EU-sponsored programmes for the promotion of immigrant integration opened opportunities to apply for financial resources. But the application procedures are complicated and demand a high level of professional performance. But most immigrant associations lack professional and trained staff. This hampers effective representation of interests (Gaitanides 2004: 6).

2.6 *Individual civic participation*

Until here we represented the available literature on immigrant participation with a focus on the German and immigrant associations. We will now change the perspective and summarise the research findings with respect to the individual and subjective level of participation. Several studies deal with the individual level or subjective aspects of immigrant participation. With reference to the individual level a particular stress lays on voluntary activities (Huth 2002; INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003; Maecenata Institut 2005).

On the one hand, the patterns of participation are explored: Which organisations attract which kind of immigrants? On the other hand the preconditions for civic activities of any kind are scrutinised: Which kind of social, cultural or economic capital fosters and which prevents from civic participation (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Unbehaun 1997; Diehl 2002). Some studies explore this dimension mainly by survey-methods (Schöneberg 1985; Schöneberg 1993; Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997; Diehl 2001; Diehl 2002), while a few other studies deploy qualitative methods (Unbehaun 1997; Schiffauer 1999; Seitter 1999).

However, there is no encompassing survey available and the quality of the surveys on local or regional level differs considerably. All examinations have a local focus and limitations to

particular nationalities and thus cannot claim to be representative for the immigrant population in Germany. Moreover, the Turkish nationality is the only one that is covered in all local and regional surveys. At least the Mannheim-survey, the Berlin survey and the Marplan-survey claim to be representative for the groups examined.

Research findings indicate that significant differences in participation patterns exist not only *between* distinct immigrant nationalities (Thränhardt and Dieregsweiler 1999; Hau 2001) but even *within* one nationality due to distinct regional framework on state and local level (Thränhardt 2000). Thus, the representative survey findings on Turkish immigrants on local or state level cannot be generalized. This statement is also valid for the qualitative investigations which concentrate in a particular locality on a single nationality (Schiffauer 1999; Seitter 1999) or the local landscape of immigrant associations (Lehmann 2001).

The 2004 study by the Centre for Turkey Studies allows an analysis of actively engaged immigrants. As a rule, persons with a higher educational, professional and income level take on more frequently voluntary activities. As a rule, the active engagement of men and women living in a nuclear family is higher. The longer the person lives in Germany, the more frequent is active engagement. The acquisition of the German citizenship is slightly positively linked with the rate of active engagement: German citizens of Turkish origin show an engagement rate of 11 %, while Turkish nationals show a rate of 9 %. Religion is of little relevance: Persons with a low attachment to religion are slightly more engaged compared to persons with a high attachment to religion while persons with an average attachment to religion show the lowest rate of engagement. “42 % of the actively engaged persons explained to be a member of an executive board or to fill out a leading position in an association. This activity took place in 71 % of the cases in a Turkish association; in 19 % of the cases in a German association although 29 % of the activists participate also in a German context. This finding indicates that taking responsibility seems to be more difficult in a German association than in a Turkish association” (Halm and Sauer 2004: 423).

Immigrants have several reasons for active engagement. The representative telephone survey explored the significance of reasons (see Table 7). On first place stands the (altruistic) expectation to help other people. The following reason is the (hedonistic) motivation to have fun. Also instrumental expectations ‘to represent own interests’ or ‘to enlarge own competencies and experiences’ are important

Table 7: The importance of reasons or expectations for active engagement

	Average	Rather important or very important	Rather less important or not important
To support other persons	4.36	90.7	9.3
The activity brings fun	4.31	91.3	8.7
Representation of legitimate own interests	4.15	88.0	12.0
To enlarge own competencies and experiences	4.13	87.7	12.3
That Turks support other Turks to integrate in Germany	4.09	85.3	14.7
To have own responsibilities and decision opportunities	4.09	87.2	12.8
To do something for the common good in Germany	4.09	88.0	12.0
To meet nice people	4.09	88.0	12.0
To help that the Turkish culture in Germany survives	4.04	85.3	14.7
To help to improve the situation of immigrants in Germany	3.94	82.0	18.0
To take own problems in the own hands	3.89	82.7	17.3
To keep the links of Turkish immigrants with Turkey	3.68	77.8	22.2
To get appreciation for the activities	3.68	77.8	22.2
To have advantages for the profession	3.58	73.3	26.7
Average on a scale with five points: 1 = not important, 5 = very important. The higher the average score, the higher the significance			

Source: (Halm and Sauer 2004: 423)

The ranking of expectations related with active engagement shows that migration specific reasons have some relevance but do not figure on the top. Moreover, the reasons linked with an orientation on Germany and on Turkey alternate in the ranking. “This pattern allows the conclusion that the active engagement of immigrants of Turkish origin in Germany is predominantly not oriented towards the country of origin although it is influenced by migration specific motivations” (Halm und Sauer 2004: 423). The authors indicate a main difference between German and Turkish activists: The motivation to represent own legitimate interests scores higher among immigrants than among German citizens. This may indicate that immigrants are in a minority situation and more dependent on representation of own interests in the majority society. But also within the sample of immigrants of Turkish origin

considerable differences appeared. The aspect of “support of integration of Turkish immigrants in Germany” turned out to be more important for women than for men. Expectations differ also with respect to the age of the respondents (Halm and Sauer 2004: 423).

2.6.1 *Patterns of participation*

The earliest survey on participation patterns of immigrants concerned Spanish, Italian and Turkish immigrants in Frankfurt and Hanau (Schöneberg 1981; Schöneberg 1985; Schöneberg 1993). We concentrate on the Turkish sample. The survey was conducted between 1981 and 1982. Schöneberg underlined that formal membership is only a weak indicator for participation in immigrant organisations since 48 % of the respondents attended group functions at least once a week, but only 31 % were official members of an organisation. 20 % of the respondents took part in arranging group functions, 17 % always attended business meetings and 10 % hold or held office in the organisation (Schöneberg 1985: 422). Schöneberg emphasized, that interethnic contacts with Germans in the case of Greece and Italian respondents corresponded with education. The higher the educational level and the professional level the more contacts with Germans. However, in the case of the Turkish respondents the contacts on the work-site and in the neighbourhood turned out to be more significant while educational level and professional status was of minor relevance. This finding may indicate, that in particular in the case of those immigrant groups who enjoy little prestige the opportunities to knot positive contacts with members of the majority society is restricted to situations “where not status and belonging to a social class is relevant but the intensity and quality of face-to-face communication” (Schöneberg 1993: 120). Following surveys do roughly comply with this picture examined in the early 1980s.

In order to overcome the lack of data some research projects initiated surveys that provided more comprehensive and detailed picture on a mainly non-representative basis. An exceptionally sophisticated evaluation of the individual and subjective dimension of civic participation of Turkish citizens in Mannheim provided Diehl (2001; 2002: 150 f).

In 1999 altogether 759 Turkish residents of Mannheim older than 16 years were interviewed in order to explore the rate, patterns and motivations of individual participation. The gross participation rate among the Turkish residents of Mannheim was 52.9 %. Diehl underlined that the term ‘participation’ is ambiguous and developed a more sophisticated definition consisting of four sub-categories. With respect to these proposed patterns of participation 19.7 % of all respondents were active members (formal membership with active participation); 24.4 % passive members (formal membership without active participation); 14.7 % active participants (active participation without membership); and 10.8 % passive participants (casual participation in organisation activities without membership).

The participation rate is unevenly distributed by gender and age. The participation rate is 60.9 % for men but only 30.8 % for women. The differences between generations are less significant. The survey indicates that 45.5 % of the first generation and 47.4 % of the second generation do participate in organisations. But while first generation immigrants mainly participate in ethnic organisations, the second generation more frequently participates in associations of the majority society, namely sport clubs.

Another question examined concerned the influence of education on individual participation. Diehl differentiated four groups and found an influence of the place and level of education.

Table 8: Educational level and participation patterns (in percent)

	Only German education	Only Turkish education	German and Turkish education	No formal education
No Participation	60.1	63.1	57.4	77.9
Participation in German and Turkish organisations	5.1	5.0	11.3	-
Participation in German associations	17.2	7.5	9.6	3.5
Participation in Turkish associations	14.7	24.4	21.7	16.3

Source: Diehl 2001: 33; N = 718

Turkish nationals with German school certificates are mainly members of German associations while immigrants with Turkish educational background mainly participate in Turkish associations. Those immigrants that possess German as well as Turkish educational background have the highest share of dual participation in German as well as Turkish associations in all age groups. Immigrants without any educational certificates have the lowest participation rate. The uneducated participate – if at all – nearly exclusively in Turkish associations. This relates to the high share of women (75 %) in the group of uneducated persons. These findings indicate “that participation in ethnic associations is indeed for immigrants that possess Turkish educational background the most attractive participation opportunity. For them participation in ethnic organisations is obviously an opportunity that offers in return social recognition and possibly social status like the position of the chairman” (Diehl 2001: 33).

The Mannheim survey indicates that participation and education is closely connected.¹⁴ Better educated persons use to be more engaged and take a position as a mediator. The main argument fostered by Diehl was that immigrants can compensate lack of recognition by their membership in ethnic associations. The ethnic associations are thus characterised by a rather ethnic and backwards directed orientation.¹⁵ Similar to German citizens, civic engagement is a matter of persons who are better off.

2.6.2 Trajectories of participation

Most accounts deliver a rather static impression that suggests that people do not develop and change participation patterns. What is missing is information on *participation trajectories*. It is interesting to have information how people change their mind and what caused such a change. Only few studies cover the question of individual trajectory.

¹⁴ Taking into account this fact the lower general participation rate among immigrants compared to the host population may become less significant. On the one hand it seems to be arguable that due to the belonging of immigrants to a lower strata of social class this group – in analogy to the debate on the criminality rate among young foreign nationals - should be compared to this particular segment of the host society and not to the host society in general. Secondly, the lower amount of well educated persons among immigrants may have effects on the mobilisation and organisation.

¹⁵ An example for this type provides Seitter (1999).

The biographical accounts of active immigrants indicate that the individual relation to and the affiliation with immigrant associations underlie transformations in the course of life. Instructive is the example of Mrs. Garcia, member of the executive board of the Spanish Cultural association: “Besides her engagement in the parents’ association and in the parents’ advisory board in the Kindergarten her engagement in the Spanish cultural association is emphasized. Initially she has a rather distanced-rejective stance towards the associational life due to her family related scarce time-budget, but also due to the kind of social relations in the Spanish cultural association. In this phase the association is for her only a platform for a various activities she may select. Only by part-taking in the theatre group of the association she increasingly integrates in the Spanish cultural association. (...) Mrs. Garcia developed slowly and in a number of steps a more and more intensive affiliation to the association. She turns from selective distance to the engaged active participation” (Seitter 1999: 360).

Unbehaun encountered two distinct types of ethnic leaders he called ‘ethnic leader in the centre’ and ‘ethnic leader from the margin’ (Unbehaun 1997). The ‘ethnic leader in the centre’ is a respected person from first generation immigrants and represents and speaks for the whole ethnic or national group. This type of leadership is mainly connected with the workers immigrant associations founded in the 1960s and 1970s. The workers associations or cultural clubs often depend on the charisma of this person. The ‘ethnic leader from the margin’ belongs rather to the second generation and is active in order to realize particular organisational or political targets which are not identified with the whole group. The ‘ethnic leader from the margin’ can be perceived to be a modern type of activism.

The differences between the styles of leadership and the leader’s competences are relevant for the performance of associations. Jonker provided an interesting example of failed communication between ‘ethnic leader in the centre’ of an Islamic community in Berlin and local authorities. The Islamic communities intended to build a representative Mosque. The local authorities initially supported the project but due to communication problems and irritations the negotiations failed. In this case the chairman of the Islamic community did not speak German and therefore relied on the services of professional middlemen. According to the analysis the negotiation failed because the involved parties were not able to communicate directly due to language problems and the mediators were not experienced or tough enough to convey the mutual expectations and scepticism (Jonker 2002).

The findings of the telephone survey by the Centre for Turkey studies offer some information concerning the trajectories and expectations of active engagement. The authors observe a considerable fluctuation: “Relatively young persons take on active engagement, then probably give up and later – probably in another area of concern – take on responsibilities again. In contradiction to a widespread opinion, voluntary engagement is not started on own initiative but on request from outside. Only 19 % of engaged persons of Turkish origin became active by own experiences and on own accord. Nearly two thirds of were asked or recruited” (Halm and Sauer 2004: 423). Friends or acquaintances that were already active in the association or group gave a push to start active engagement were. Accordingly, the already actively engaged persons are the most important factor for the motivation to take up responsibilities.

2.7 *Integrative or segregating effects of self organisations*

We will end the state of art report with a short account on the debate concerning the segregating or integrative effects of immigrant-organisations that undoubtedly frame research in Germany. All relevant political actors in Germany declare civic participation of immigrants to be a principally desired matter. However; controversies revolve around the kind of participation and the instruments how to improve the desired participation of immigrants. With respect to political participation, the Federal Constitutional Court upheld the line that the

only channel towards full political participation of immigrants is naturalisation. Accordingly, the recent reform of the citizenship act that facilitated naturalisation is claimed to be a means to promote participation of immigrants (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Ausländerfragen 2002). Also the recent reforms concerning the constitutions of foreigners' advisory boards respectively integration councils aim to improve the political participation of immigrants. The foreigners' advisory boards and integration councils are perceived as a channel for political involvement of immigrant associations. However, the involvement of representatives from Islamic associations meet with strong reservations (LAGA 2004) since some observers are convinced that representatives of Islamic associations participate only in order to undermine the democratic constitution (Binswanger 1990; Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2000; Ulfkotte 2003).

The debate on immigrant associations is generally dominated by the controversy whether immigrant associations with an ethnically homogeneous composition of members and a focus of orientation on the countries of origin hamper individual integration and intent to overthrow the societal order or do not. This controversy appeared in the early 1980s when Georg Elwert argued that even such immigrant associations stabilize the individual and promote the integration in the long run (Elwert 1982) while Esser stated that the participation in such associations will hamper and prevent the individual integration and lead in the long run to parallel societies (Esser 1986; Esser 1988). The subsequently conducted research on immigrant associations was and still is influenced by this debate (INBAS-Sozialforschung 2003; Halm and Sauer 2004: 419).

Although a kind of religious separation is also common among ethnic Germans, public and scientific attention concentrates on activities of Turkish immigrant associations with a focus on ethnically homogeneous associations (Diehl and Urbahn 1998; Diehl 2002). The perception that homeland oriented Turkish associations hamper integration was discussed by Diehl (Diehl and Urbahn 1998). The authors emphasize that the discussion on the effects of participation in immigrant associations has to distinguish between different kinds of associations and different dimensions of integration. With reference to Turkish immigrant associations, distinct patterns are recorded for religious, conservative and left wing Turkish associations. Among these three associational types the participants of religious association have the lowest number of contacts with Germans. However, compared to non-participants the visitors of religious associations speak better German and felt more like Germans (Diehl and Urbahn 1998: 55). In a subsequent study Diehl interprets participation of Turkish immigrant in self-organisations primarily as a retreat into an ethnic community (Diehl 2002: 220). Diehl argues carefully and does not explain this finding with reference to an allegedly Turkish culture. The particular pattern is on the contrary explained more differentiated on the one hand with reference to the existing institutional and societal framework that make the participation of overtly culturally distinct immigrants more difficult. On the other hand, the retreat into immigrant associations offers in particular those immigrants that possess particular (ethnic) social and cultural capital a kind of social recognition and of status achievement that would not be available otherwise. From this angle, the retreat is a response to an unfavourable structural framework.

However, this argumentation can explain the social logic of (unconscious) motivations of ethnic elites to participate in immigrant associations. But it does not answer the question whether immigrant associations are segregating. In order to substantiate the hypothesis that the Turkish immigrant associations have a negative impact on integration Diehl develops a hardly convincing argument (Jungk 2002): On the one hand she simply omits the membership of Turkish immigrants in German trade unions with the argument that the membership is only formal, does not include social relations and follows thus a particular instrumental participation logic. Moreover, ethnic homogeneity and homeland orientation of Turkish immigrants are generalised as an indicator of segregation. Leisure time activities like playing

soccer will be perceived to be homeland oriented when it is performed within the own ethnic groups even when – as the authors concede – this is not compelling with respect to the activities as such. Turkish sport clubs that take part in German leagues are taken as segregating associations. Similarly, Turkish religious or cultural associations that lobby for minority rights in Germany (in order to introduce Turkish as school language, to build a Mosque or to teach Islamic instructions in school) are interpreted as segregating notwithstanding that these activities are taking place in Germany and aim to influence the situation in Germany. The indicator for segregating inclinations appears to be rather a semantic construction that works with reference to the normative expectation of assimilation.

Other scholars argue exactly in the opposite direction that immigrant associations play an important and constructive role for integration on collective (group) and individual level even when homeland orientation dominates and the association is ethnically homogeneous. Thränhardt argues: “Also associations that have a programmatically rather reserved attitude towards integration may exert a positive effect on integration whenever they support the members and deliver a realistic orientation. What matters are is the function of social translation and transfer; the explanation of the situation to everybody; the establishment of realistic relations between the own needs and wishes and the opportunities; and the development of strategies for the realisation of individual goals” (Thränhardt 1999: 3)

The empirical data shows that activists in immigrants associations are more and better integrated in German society than non members. The Berlin-survey shows that organised and non-organised immigrants do not differ in their perception of immigration-related – Fijalkowski/Gillmeister use the term ethno-specific – problems. But in order to solve problems, organised immigrants can mobilise more social capital than non-organised immigrants: Organised immigrants expect more support from co-ethnics than non-organised immigrants do. However, the higher degree of social cohesion on ethnical basis does not mean social segregation: those immigrants that were aware and make use of services offered by immigrant associations have - compared to non-organised immigrants – more frequently informal German supporters (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997: 145). As a rule, organised immigrants know more channels for problem solving and turn more frequently to German authorities than non-organised persons. Membership in an association means a better social integration (informal German supporters) (Fijalkowski and Gillmeister 1997: 143). Even for mosque associations this seems to be true. As a rule, participants have better language abilities, have more contacts with natives, more contacts with German institutions and they are socially better integrated. Even a segregating civic engagement seems to lead *nolens volens* to more contacts with native institutions (Layton-Henry 1990; Jungk 2001; Jungk 2001; Jungk 2002).

With respect to political participation those who are politically interested in affairs concerning the country of origin are also more interested in affairs concerning the country of reception compared to immigrants who are not members of any organisation (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002). Another puzzling finding of participation studies is that membership in German associations or institutions does not automatically indicate more intensive social contacts with Germans. Obviously, membership in German association like trade unions remains mainly passive. In social capital terms, then, membership in ethnic organisations represents a “thicker” form of civic involvement that the “thinner” forms of involvement that seem to often characterise the involvement in German organisations” (Berger, Galonska et al. 2002: 22).

Diehl used the indicator of visiting or being visited by Germans. Among Turkish immigrants that were only members in German associations 86.7 % had such visits; among immigrants that were members of German and immigrant association the share was 82.8 %; among

immigrants that participate only in Turkish associations the share was 64.1 %; and among Turkish immigrants that did not participate in any association the share was 55.9 %. This finding shows that the participation in Turkish associations is less significant for contacts with Germans than non-participation. In order to explain the result Diehl assumes that participants as a rule are more socially active (Diehl 2002: 2002f).

The usual indicators for integration (to know, to meet, to speak with Germans) do not allow safe conclusions on the individual orientation. The establishing of ethnically homogeneous associations in order to serve needs of its members in the host country and immigrant associations lobbying for minority rights (including the right to establish Mosques and schools) is interpreted either as indicator for segregation or for integration. The main problem with all these researches remains thus the *interpretation* of empirical findings.

Active immigrants that hold an honourable or paid office in immigrant associations expose particular features with respect to the equipment with social, cultural and economic capital. A survey shows that the elites in Turkish associations have – compared to common members and non-participants – on average a higher educational level, they visited schools in Turkey but passed more frequently exams in Germany. The higher educational level and the experience of education in both countries seems to be a factor that enables a career as associational elite (Diehl 2002: 210f).

Research confirms that German society still tend to perceive participation in immigrant association as an obstacle to successful integration. But this taken for granted assumption seems to be an obstacle that prevents cooperation and the recognition of common interests (Halm and Sauer 2004: 423).

2.8 *Five of the most prominent immigrants in Germany*

Undoubtedly many immigrants are involved in German institutions on local level. But it is however difficult to identify immigrants active in the field of public social and political affairs which are familiar to a nation-wide audience. It is revealing that none of the six members of the expert council on immigration and integration that was appointed by the Federal Minister of Interior is an immigrant. Only the predecessor committee, the Independent Commission on Immigration, had one immigrant in its ranks, the Turkish immigrant Vural Öger, who entered Germany in the early 1970s and established a successful travel business. In the meanwhile, Mr. Öger became a social-democratic Member of the European Parliament.

However, in terms of publicity his colleague Cem Özdemir, meanwhile for the Green Party member of the European parliament too, is more prominent. Mr. Özdemir came to Germany as a child and became the most prominent politician with immigration background in German policy. Due to his charismatic appearance he gained wide publicity as German-Turk or Swabian-Turk. He published some books on his experiences as immigrant (politician) in Germany.

Emine Demirbüken became member of the federal executive board for the Christian Democratic Union; Lale Akgün is Member of the Federal Parliament for the Social Democrats. In politics, many activists with immigrant background are famous on a local level. In the trade union some immigrants like Nihat Öztürk, Manuel Campos as a Portuguese immigrant or Safter Cinar gained prominence. Many other immigrants participate in politics as representatives of NGOs. But most immigrants remain rather unknown to a wider public and do not have much influence.

Other persons that recently attracted general public attention due to their Islamic activities are Mettin Kaplan and Fereshda Ludin. Ms. Ludin became famous when she finished training for

public teacher, applied to be employed as a teacher in public school and began to insist to wear a headscarf and applied to courts. Due to her complaint the Federal Supreme Court had to deal with the question whether religious freedom implies that teachers have the right to wear a headscarf in front of the classroom. Some observers perceived her appeal to the German courts as an abuse of freedom and liberty.

Kaplan led a Islamic organisation. He served a prison sentence for inciting the murder of a competitor and was deported to Turkey in 2004 after extended court procedures.

In recent years, there is an increasing number of prominent persons of immigrant origin in literature, arts and the media. As they often address immigrant issues in their work, they are asked as spokespersons of immigrant issues in talk shows and the like. This concerns for example the writers Feridan Zaimoglu (Turkish) and Wladimir Kaminer (Russian) or Fatih Akin who won the Golden Bear for a film on the rebellion and return of a Turkish immigrant woman.

Considering Germany's large immigration population it is noteworthy that it was not easy to come up with a large number of prominent immigrants. In addition, most of them have a Turkish background. We cannot recall any nation-wide known immigrants with a background from former Yugoslavia, the second largest immigrant group, or any black immigrant. As far as the recent ethnic German immigration from Russia is concerned, only Wladimir Kaminer caught widespread attention. For comparative purposes, we would like to remind that Germany is very large with 82 million inhabitants, and that a number of activists of different origins gained importance in social or political associations on local level.

3 Part III: Conclusions

This part concludes the report on civic active participation of immigrants in Germany with responses to questions that were raised in the context of the POLITIS research project. The answers rely on personal estimations of the author.

3.1 What are the main fields of civic activities that immigrants engage in (e.g. religious associations, parent associations, political parties, etc.)?

Immigrants are actively engaged in German and in immigrant associations. However, the participation in German associations is mainly restricted to passive formal membership. Active immigrants are nearly absent from German sport clubs and underrepresented in trade unions, welfare and other associations. An important channel for *active* political participation of third country immigrants without voting rights are the foreigners' advisory boards on local level. The most important field of active civic engagement are immigrant associations. The most important fields for activities are cultural and social issues. Besides the immigrant associations that explicitly lobby for immigrant interests, also other immigrant associations give voice to societal concerns when they follow their objectives in the realm of cultural, religious or leisure time activities.

Initially, recruited foreign workers established either cultural clubs or founded religious associations. Political cleavages in some countries of origin (i.e. mainly Turkey and Yugoslavia) instigated a fragmentation of immigrant associations between ethnic groups from the same country. With the ongoing settlement process immigrants established sport clubs, parents associations and immigrants' interest groups with the general objective to improve the situation in the host country. The focus of orientation shifts increasingly from homeland related issues to matters related to the immigrant situation in the host country. Today, younger

foreign nationals from second and third generation are mainly member of German sport clubs and they are – due to the socio-economic position – overrepresented in trade unions compared to German nationals of the same age.

3.2 What ethnic and nationality groups are particularly active, and why?

Research underlines a quite different level of immigrant activities with respect to national or ethnic groups, but also with respect to gender and social class within a national group. The most important group of active civic participation are immigrants from Turkey. Immigrants from Turkey are overrepresented in the local foreigners' advisory boards. Furthermore, there are Kurdish immigrants engaged in the finally suppressed exile party PKK while more moderate Kurdish immigrants were active in German political institutions in order to lobby for minority rights in Turkey. Left-wing oriented Turkish immigrants, partly of Alevit descent, formed political groups that initially targeted to reform the Turkish society and state and later aimed to improve the situation of immigrants in Germany. And some other immigrants from Turkey developed religious associations, often in sharp distinction to competing Islamic strands.

It seemed that – in terms of formal organisation - immigrants from Spain were the best and most densely organised national group. The prevailing form of Spanish immigrants were parent associations that often served as meeting centres for cultural and social activities too. The cohesion among Spanish immigrants was attached to the political situation in the home country. The wide spread distance towards the military government of General Franco fostered a sense of solidarity. Moreover, organisational support by the catholic welfare association Caritas provided capacities for community building.

On the other hand, among the group of Italian immigrants the organisational level was particularly low. This is explained with the interference and activities of institutional agents from Italy. The competing Italian political parties, the Catholic church and state agencies assisted immigrants in Germany. As a consequence, the Italian immigrants split in numerous competing associations that were influenced by and concerned with matters of politics in Germany.

In the case of Greek immigrants the community building was instigated and influenced by Greek public agencies. The Greek state supported the formation of a central Greek association in Germany in order to maintain the relationship with its emigrants.

Obviously, the level and patterns of collective activities is shaped by structural opportunities provided by institutions of the host country; by the scale and kind of interference of agencies of the homeland; and by the scope and intensity of political, cultural, religious and social stratification among the particular group; and by the level of (individual) equipment with social, cultural and economic capital.

3.3 Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants high or low compared to the majority population?

Commentators conclude from participation studies that immigrants in Germany do not engage less but different. The overall level of formal membership in registered associations is lower compared to the German population. One exception concerns the membership of young immigrants in German trade unions. In the age group 18-23 more foreign nationals than German nationals are members. This particular feature has to be related however to the fact that German nationals in this age group are more often proceeding with school and university education and thus they are under-represented in professions the trade unions are traditionally strong. But the participation level in informal immigrant associations or of participation

without formal membership seems to be more frequently comparable with the German population.

The survey on volunteering did not allow a comparison since the foreign population is underrepresented (only 3 % of the respondents). A recently conducted representative survey among Turkish immigrants in NRW indicated however, that over 30 % of the German respondents but only 10 % of respondents with Turkish background are actively engaged. But 50 % of the respondents with Turkish background declared an interest in active engagement (Zentrum für Türkeistudien 2004).

Considering the conflicting information it is impossible to give a clear answer on the level of immigrant participation in comparison to the native population. However, for a proper standard for fair assessment of the participation level of immigrant population it is necessary to take the social strata of the German population that shows the same socio-economic features into account.

3.4 What is the relation between active participation in ethnic or migrant organisations (e.g. any organisation having the name of the minority in the name) compared to mainstream society organisations? Are there transitions and overlaps?

There is not a single relation between individual active participation in ethnic associations compared to mainstream society organisations. Immigrant associations have developed distinct patterns of relationship with institutions of the mainstream society. Some immigrant associations are an institutional part of mainstream institutions. For example, the Greek community was professionally assisted and organised within a German welfare association. On the other hand, in particular Islamic immigrants found no opportunity to affiliate with a German institution and thus established separate and independent faith communities. However, among Islamic associations a variety of orientations exist ranging from the readiness to participate in German institutions to the sharp rejection of cooperation by very few and small religious associations.

With respect to sport, the German Sport Confederation prefers the individual membership of immigrants in German clubs. A less recognized but also accepted pattern is that immigrant teams that go in for sport should be integrated as a group in German sport clubs. The least wanted constellation that could however not be prevented is the establishing of separate sport clubs with ethnic or national alignment. But by all means the German Sport Confederations is keen to integrate ethnic clubs in the regular sport league.

With respect to individual participation four patterns are relevant: Participation (1) only in immigrant associations, (2) only in German institutions, (3) in both German and immigrant associations and (4) non-participation. The majority of foreign nationals are non-participants (60-80 %). Among first generation immigrants the most important participation pattern is exclusive (formal and informal) membership in immigrant associations. Among the Turkish immigrants in Mannheim at least 10.6 % of men and 0.8 % of women from first as well as the second generation participate in German and immigrant associations (with trade union membership already omitted) (Diehl 2001: 32). Thus at least one out of ten male immigrants is at the same time member in a German and an immigrant association. Compared to non-participants the participants in immigrant associations have more contacts with German nationals. The contact is more intensive when the participant is member of the executive board. Even in associations characterised as segregating the participants have more contacts with German nationals compared to the group of non-participants.

The impression is that first generation immigrants use to start activities in immigrant associations. The further trajectory depends on the individual equipment with social and

cultural capital. Active immigrants that do not command the German language sufficiently remain bound to engagement in the immigrant communities. Most immigrant associations still function on a completely or mainly voluntary basis and do not have the capacities to professionalize. Those immigrants with better language abilities, professional proficiency and individual ambitions often become the representative of the association in institutions of the mainstream society. They are often recruited for honorary activities (for instance in foreigners' advisory boards, workers councils) and may become even professional staff of German institutions. In particular trade unions and welfare associations, but also political parties recruit active immigrants. The dual participation of active immigrants in immigrant and German associations, often on a professional basis in one of the two domains, strengthens and secures the individual prestige in both directions. Due to the reputation of such "ethnic leaders" the immigrant associations gain recognition and may even benefit in form of material and financial subsidies. Associations with professional staff or reputable members of executive board are in the meanwhile more recognized and became accepted partners for public authorities and German institutions. The few well-organised immigrant associations apply successfully for subsidies and funds in order to conduct projects sponsored by the European Union or Federal and state authorities.

However, influence hardly goes beyond the implementation of integration measure and the commentary on immigrant and integration policies. Immigrants are not yet adequately represented in those institutions and public bodies with the real decision making power. Immigrant associations and their representatives are still excluded from the core of political decision making.

3.5 Where do you see the major research gaps?

(1) Most research that claims to deal with the immigrant population is in reality concerned only with population of non-German citizenship: Naturalised immigrants are omitted and children born in Germany are included. Moreover, in most studies EU-citizens are included while immigrants with German nationality are not covered. Thus, in order to get information on active engagement of *immigrants* the available studies require a carefully and cautiously reading. This observation is relevant with respect to all mentioned comprehensive studies.

(2) The main problems with the available research is the highly fragmented character, the inconsistent use of the central term 'participation' and the interpretation of empirical data that is sometimes too much dominated by theoretical or even ideological premises. Participation may refer for instance to voting behaviour; or to activities in the context of political parties; or to the passive or active membership of immigrant self-organisations; or to the participation of immigrants in institutions and the social life of the host country; or to every form of civic or social voluntary activity. The inconsistent subject of participation studies makes a comprehensive synthesis of the available findings extremely difficult.

(3) The inconsistencies are partly caused by the uncoordinated state of research activities. Many studies are commissioned by public authorities and deal with issues of particular interest for the client, mainly public authorities. Instead of ad-hoc projects commissioned by interested public authorities a theory guided and continuous research on aspects of immigrant participation is necessary.

(4) The theoretical embedding of research on civic participation of immigrants in Germany refers mainly to the US-American debate with a strong adaptation of the research findings and questions of the Chicago School of Sociology and the current migration sociology with a strong obsession for integration issues. But due to the distinct historical, legal, social and cultural framework, the US-American findings cannot be transferred simply onto the German or European situation.

(5) Specialised participation research in Germany mostly ignored and still ignores the immigrant population. Due to this failure immigrant participation receives attention mainly in migration and integration studies. The framework of immigration and integration studies implies that immigrant participation is mainly theoretically embedded and considered in the framework of (failed) integration. Ethnicity, integration problems and cultural conflicts are on the top of a hidden agenda that ascribes to immigrants distinct cultural, social and political features. The notable exceptions are explorations conducted in the framework of research on political participation and on mobilisation of social movements. In the context of this research area the insight that the up to now used categories from public administration or public statistics are insufficient instigated the search for innovative research design, methods and definitions. Telephone-surveys with a name-based sampling strategy in order to identify respondents with immigrant background are particularly promising in a situation without proper official accounts of immigration background.

(6) The bulk of literature deals with immigrant organisations and tackles the question whether the membership in such an organisation promotes or mainly disturbs integration. Patterns of participation are hastily explained with reference to distinct social and cultural capital of immigrants. But research often does not cover a (German) reference group and thus the ability to make safe conclusions is restricted. To give one example: The establishing of Mosque associations is perceived as a transplantation of religion from the home country. However, the particular form of associations did not exist in Turkey before but established in interaction with the institutions of the host country. The fundamentalist Caliphate state did not exist in Turkey before. A research that omits the dynamic of this interaction and explains social situations mainly with the cultural features of immigrant groups gives a distorted picture. The conclusions from such a limited approach imply recommendations for political actions that will confirm the existing mutual misunderstandings and deepen the gap (Jonker 2002).

(7) Another important area of concern, the (individual) participation of foreigners in organisations and institutions of the majority society, is widely neglected and needs further research efforts. An issue that is raised in few studies concerns the individual motivation and interests of activists and the question which resources and skills are demanded to actively participate. The tentative findings indicate that the level of education, the place where the education was acquired, the language abilities and the participation opportunity structure play a crucial role.

(8) As a rule, the membership and participation in informal associations or the participation in formal associations without formal memberships is neglected and needs more attention. Informal associations refer mainly to exile parties that cannot be registered in Germany, to informal networks of mutual assistance that flourish among immigrants with insecure status like refugees or illegal immigrants. Also participation in associations without formal membership seems to be a pattern of active participation that requires further attention.

(9) The interpretation of surveys is often questionable since indicators are somehow arbitrary: To equate indicators like homogeneous ethnic composition or an alleged homeland orientation of immigrant associations with segregating attitudes and objectives is dubious. For an appropriate interpretation the standard of comparison needs to be carefully determined. Not the average German population, but the segment of the German population with similar socio-economic features is the proper standard of comparison. This would prevent distorted conclusions.

(10) Another critical aspect is the fact, that some research relied on information from what people declared towards public authorities. The analysis of associational statutes for instance deals with information declared towards competent authorities at the time of registration. The studies concurringly show that associations as a rule perform additional services not

mentioned in the associational statutes. It is even possible, that the association from the beginning on perform much more functions and may even intend from the beginning to perform a main function that is different from the declared function for fear of bureaucratic complications.

(11) The available studies mirror different research interests and cover a wide range of subjects. The fragmented characteristic of the literature body provides with information unevenly. Research shows an implicit trend to over-generalise characteristics of immigrant participation and to create images. The *locus classicus* or main reference group are Turkish immigrants. But particular differences exist not only between but also within nationalities. The population with a Turkish passport is several times divided. Instead of generalizing statements it is more appropriate to present a (simple) typology of immigrant participation in order to emphasize the context-bounded and path-dependent character.

(12) The studies deliver mainly a static picture. Surveys implicitly create a picture that participating and non-participating immigrants are distinct groups. Systematic information on individual “participation careers” is not available. In order to foster active civic participation it is necessary to get more insights in motivations for and trajectories of active civic participation. The few studies that touch this issue highlight the significance of the individual scope and kind of equipment with social, cultural and economic capital in interplay with opportunities opened by a societal structural framework.

3.6 What issues do you consider to be of particular interest and importance in the field?

Civic participation of immigrants concerns the basic questions of social sciences, namely how people as individuals, groups and institutions actively contribute and adapt to structural changes by re-arranging social relations and re-framing ideas and world-views on micro-, meso- and macro-level. Provided that the (post-)modern net-work society is not the integrated societal whole but consists of distinct social groups with different equipment of resources and power that act in functionally divided sub-systems, then research should cover processes and dynamics of interaction of these ‘groups’ or nets within the wider net-work societies. From this point of view, participation of immigrants is just a special case of the post-modern societies’ general challenge to combine the stratified networks. The isolated observation of civically active immigrants or immigrant associations is insufficient and runs the risk to produce a distorted picture. Thus, the main focus should be on interaction processes. Research should observe and analyse the complexity of participation processes more. An approach that does not presuppose the relevance of ethnicity but explores the relevance of ethnicity and immigrant status in a dynamic social situation seems to deliver a more comprehensive picture. It seems to be more reasonable to locate studies on active civic participation of immigrants in the context of participation research instead of immigration and integration studies.

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5 Mapping of Research Institutes Research insitutions in the field of migration studies

5.1 *IMIS – Institute for migration research and intercultural studies*

IMIS – Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien
 Neuer Graben 19/21
 D – 49069 Osnabrück
 tel. 0541 / 969-4384
 www.imis.uni-osnabrück.de
 imis@mail.rz.uni-osnabrück.de

Relevant researcher: Klaus J. Bade, Michael Bommers, Peter Graf, a.o.m.

The Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) is an interdisciplinary and interdepartmental research institute of the University of Osnabrück. IMIS includes scholars from various fields and disciplines: demography, geography, history, politics, law, economics, ethnology, sociology, intercultural education, intercultural management, gender studies, linguistics, literature, and psychology.

Within this interdisciplinary framework, IMIS is concerned with a variety of social aspects and problems arising from mobility and cross-cultural encounters, past and present. Complex social processes are at work, with a multitude of material and immaterial components and interactions. In the case of migration, this extends from the separation from the area of origin to the integration at the destination, and from the determining factors, conditions of development and consequences of migration for both regions, to the tensions between them, growing out of the unequal levels of development between countries and regions which form an important background factor in migratory movements worldwide. Cross-cultural problems and the promotion of intercultural competence, even when not directly related to the migration process, are included among the interests and tasks of the institute.

5.2 *efms - europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms)*

europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms)
 Institut an der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg
 Katharinenstr. 1
 D-96052 Bamberg
 Em-mail:
 Tel. 0951-932020-0
 www.uni-bamberg.de/efms
friedrich.heckmann@sowi.uni-bamberg.de

Relevant Researchers: Friedrich Heckmann; Tanja Wunderlich, Matthias Neske; Mario Peucker, a.o.m.

The efms is a research institute studying the causes, consequences and broader implications of migration processes with the aim of contributing to an informed discourse on migration and integration in Europe. The efms is an academic research center at the University of Bamberg. Its work in the areas of migration, integration and migration policies encompasses research, documentation, consultative services, training and providing information to the public. This requires interdisciplinary and international cooperation as well as the exchange of information between researchers, politicians, administrators, educators, the public and those working in the media. The efms seeks to assist in shaping a viable and humane migration policy.

On the efms web server you can find information about the institute and its activities. In addition, materials on migration and integration (statistics, papers, data bases) are accessible online. The menu bar assists you in navigating comfortably through our information palette.

5.3 *Migration Research Group at HWWA – Hamburger Weltwirtschaftsarchiv*

Migration Research Group
 HWWA
 Neuer Jungfernstieg 21
 D-20347 Hamburg
 Tel.: +49-(0)40-42834-0
www.hwwa.de/migration/
hwwa@hwwa.de

Relevant Researchers: Christina Boswell, Thomas Straubhaar, Tanja El-Cherkeh.

The Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWA) is a service centre of the scientific society Wissenschaftsgemeinschaft Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz e.V. (WGL). The HWWA's library and press cuttings archive are among the leading public access institutions of their kind in Europe. Based on its unique collections and on its own research, the HWWA provides information services for the scientific community, the business community and political decision-makers. Based at HWWA and HWWI, the Migration Research Group (MRG) is an interdisciplinary team of eleven researchers. It includes experts from Austria, Bosnia, Germany, Romania, Switzerland and the UK, specialising in areas of micro- and macro-economics, econometrics, demography, political economy, political science and international relations. Many of its members have a background in migration policy consultancy, as well as academic research. The Group works closely with HWWA's and HWWI's research programmes on the Mobility of Firms and Labour, Trade and Development, and European Integration. In addition to its inhouse expertise on the EU, Central and Eastern Europe and the Western Balkans, the MRG can draw on expertise on Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America provided by the German Overseas Institute, which is hosted in the same building, as well as its extensive networks with other European and international institutes. The MRG has particular expertise on the economic dimensions of migration, but seeks to integrate this with insights and methodologies from political science, sociology and social geography. This implies a focus on the political economy of migration, as well as how migrant networks and social capital influence mobility and integration.

5.4 *MZES - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung*

MZES - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES)
 Universität Mannheim - L7,1
 D-68161 Mannheim
 Phone: +49/(0)621-181-

www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Direktorat@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Relevant researcher: Hartmut Esser

The MZES is an interdisciplinary research institute of the University of Mannheim. In close association with the Department of Social Sciences it has dedicated itself since its founding in 1989 to the investigation of political and societal developments in Europe. Its foci are on comparative research on Europe and an exploration of the European integration process. The research in Department A concentrates on the cultural, social, economic and welfare state foundations for the living conditions of the populations in the European countries, as well as on changes in these foundations and the variations among the different societies. Foci are the investigation of social structures and inequalities, especially in the educational and employment systems; the analysis of the welfare state and its institutions; the development of relationships within the (extended) family; migration and interethnic relations, and the moral foundations for societal integration. The MZES host several projects in the Research Area (Fifth Research Programme 2002 - 2004), among Educational Decisions in Immigrant Families; Ethnic Cleavages and Social Contexts; Social Capital and the Dynamics of Transnational Migration (Polish Migration Project); Segregation and Labour Market Outcomes of Turkish Immigrants (in a Comparative Perspective); Structural Assimilation and Migration Biographies; Ethnic Minorities' Education and Occupational Attainment: Germany and Austria; Integration of Immigrants in the EU Countries and Educational Aspirations and Reference Groups. Responsible for this research area: Hartmut Esser.

6 Research Institutions in the field of participation of immigrants

6.1 Institut für Politikwissenschaften Münster

Institute for political sciences
 University of Münster
 Schlossplatz 7
 D-8149 Münster

<http://egora.uni-muenster.de/pol/personen/thraenhardt.shtml>

thranha@uni-muenster.de

Relevant Researcher: Dietrich Thränhardt, Uwe Hunger

The Institute for Political Sciences is the largest Institute of its kind of North Rhine Westphalia, the Federal state with the highest number of immigrant population. Studies of this institute pioneered the research on participation of immigrants in Germany.

6.2 *WZB Berlin*

ZCM, WZB,
Reichpietschufer 50,
D-10785 Berlin Deutschland.
Tel: +49-30-25491-
<http://www.wz-berlin.de/zkd/zcm/default.en.htm>
<http://www.wz-berlin.de/zkd/zcm/projekte/projekte.en.htm>

Relevant researchers: Ruud Koopmans, Maria Berger, Christian Galonska

The Science Centre Berlin host several research projects that deal with immigrants' political participation, among „Quality of multicultural democracy in Amsterdam and Berlin“ – a project in cooperation with the University of Amsterdam – and on „Mobilisation of Ethnic Relations, Citizenship and Immigration“.

6.3 *IBKM Oldenburg*

IBKM Oldenburg
Ammerländer Heerstr.121,
D-26129 Oldenburg
Tel.: 0441/798-4289, Fax: 0441/798-5854

Relevant Researchers: Dita Vogel, Norbert Cyrus, Anwar Hadeed.

The IBKM hosts researchers concerned with research on immigrants' participation, in particular the EU-sponsored research project „Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The project starts from the assumption that immigrant populations have a high potential for active civic participation, because migrants experienced themselves the positive effects of reciprocal networks and the support by civic activists from the mainstream society. In addition, third country nationals may develop a more distinctive conception of European values and democracy than EU natives do, comparing to their state of origin. But legal and political conditions for migrants may discourage participation in the mainstream society. This project seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that enables broad coverage while securing common aims and standards. It includes a summer school as a means to recruit and train foreign students as interviewers.

6.4 *Zentrum für Türkeistudien*

Foundation Centre for Studies on Turkey
 Altendorferstr. 3
 D-45127 Essen
 ++49-(0)201-31 98-0

www.zft-online.de
info@zft-online.de

Relevant researchers. Martina Sauer, Dirk Halm, Andreas Goldberg

The objectives of the Centre for Studies on Turkey are to promote German-Turkish relations and the level of knowledge and information about Turkey and Turkish immigrants in Europe, to advance the cooperation between Turkey, Germany and other European countries and also to support research and public relations. Among the thematical focal points is general immigrant research within the Federal Republic of Germany and other European nations (main focus: foreign pensioners, foreign companies, foreigners as customers, foreign media, Islam in the immigration etc.).

7 **Participation Research**

7.1 *Institut für Politikwissenschaften Münster*

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster
 Institut für Politikwissenschaft
 Schloßplatz 7
 48149 Münster
 Tel.: 0251 / 83 – 29357

<http://egora.uni-muenster.de/pol/personen/zimmer.shtml>
zimmean@uni-muenster.de
<http://www.be-management.org/start.htm>
 e-mail: zimmer@be-management.org

Relevant researcher: Annette Zimmer

The institute launch research on civic engagement and management, the third sector in European policy and host a junior research group on the exploration of the European civil society. The department currently develops MA studies on „Non-profit management and Governance“.

7.2 WZB

ZCM, WZB,
Reichpietschufer 50,
D-10785 Berlin Deutschland.
Tel: +49-30-25491- 0

<http://www.wz-berlin.de/>
wzb@wz-berlin.de
gosewinkel@wz-berlin.de
rucht@wz-berlin.de

Relevant researcher: Dieter Gosewinkel, Dieter Rucht

The Science Centre Berlin host since 1 January 2005 a research group on „Civil Society, Citizenship and Political Mobilization in Europe“ (CCM), resulting from the merging of the two groups “Civil Society: Historical and Comparative Perspectives” and “Political Communication and Mobilization”. It is an integral part of the Research Area “Civil Society, Conflict and Democracy” (ZKD).

The research programme examines, how civil society’s institutional framework, values, and actors develop and change? And how is this connected to various forms of inequality? The problem of inequality, as expressed in struggles for recognition, is posed against the background of ambivalent concepts of civil society. Empirically, the quality of civil society can be assessed through analyzing how ac-tively, and with respect to which values, citizens participate in matters that concern their com-munity. Accordingly, prerequisites and repercussions of public discourse and political mobili-zation regarding inequality are the basis of the research group’s investigation. Europe and the processes of Europeanization will serve as the regional and thematic reference point in our research; aspects of globalization will also be investigated.

7.3 *MZES - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung*

MZES - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES)
Universität Mannheim - L7,1
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Phone: +49/(0)621-181-
E-mail: Direktorat@mzes.uni-mannheim.de

Responsible researcher: Jan van Deth

Projects in Research Areas in Department B (Engagement, Participation, and Voters’ Behaviour) concentrate on democratic decision-making and the process of interest articulation with an emphasis on individual behaviour and orientations. They focus on the development of various modes of engagement and participation. Major themes are the relationships between social and political engagement and the development of ‘civil society’, the opportunities of new information and telecommunication technology for political participation, and the political socialisation of young children. Projects in the Research Area (Fifth Research Programme 2002 - 2004) includes research on Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID);

Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy: An International Comparison; Welfare through Organisations: A Comparative Analysis of British and German Associational Life; Parliaments, Representative Government and New Electronic Media Environments: An International Comparison; Learning to Live Democracy (LLD); Society and Democracy in Europe, and German Part of the Project "European Social Survey (ESS)".

7.4 Maecenata Institute in Berlin

Maecenata Institute
Albrechtstrasse 22
D - 10117 Berlin-Mitte
Tel.: +49 30 2838 7909

<http://www.maecenata.de/index.html>

E-mail: mi@maecenata.de

Research report: http://www.maecenata.de/dokumente/1200_aktuelles/3Sektor_Report.pdf

Relevant researchers: Rainer Sprengel; Rupert Graf Strachwitz, Susanne Rindt; Eva Maria Hinterhuber.

The Maecenata Institute is an privately funded institute that operates in close cooperation with the Humboldt University Berlin. The institute focus on research and teaching on relevant issues of civil society like civic participation and engagement, third sector, foundation research; and the exploration of the interdependence of state, economy and civil society.