

RESEARCH

REPORTS

RECOMMENDATIONS

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MIGRATION POLICIES IN GERMANY



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Migration policies in Germany

1. Introduction

European population flows were characterized by dynamism in the 20th century and, in the first half, were greatly influenced by the two World Wars and also by economic push and pull factors. In the case of migration flows between Germany and Poland, these have also been influenced by territorial disputes – as occur between neighboring countries – as well as being driven by the labor market. The latter phenomenon is rooted in the times of the German industrial revolution more than one hundred years ago, was obstructed by the World Wars and the Iron Curtain and was revitalized after its fall. Today, the relationship between Germany and Poland is stronger than ever before, cemented by full EU-Membership of both countries and the accompanying Single European Market with its four basic freedoms (free movement of goods, free movement of workers, freedom to provide services and free movement of capital and payments). It is thus hardly surprising that Poland is one of the largest countries of origin of immigrants in Germany. The change in integration policy linked to increased interdependency will be investigated in this article, first of all looking at German migration policy in general and then with a particular focus on the relationship with Poland. Of course, current policy changes are heavily influenced by EU law and accordingly covered in this article. Although migration between Germany and Poland can be seen as a success story, social problems have arisen as a result of policy failures. The problems with the integration of migrants are more general in the case of Germany and therefore need to be dealt with in depth.

2. German Migration Policy

After the end of World War II, the resulting new order in Europe created the background for migration flows involving millions of people, mostly enforced migrants. At the end of 1949, about 7.7 million German refugees or expellees had been admitted to Germany.¹ Ethnic Germans in the areas of the former Soviet

¹ cf. p. 14 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

Union and Eastern Bloc countries faced persecution and serious discrimination. Solidarity with this group of people is anchored in Article 116 (1) of Germany's constitution, the Basic Law. According to this Article, someone who has been allowed to enter Germany as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such a person is defined as German. Their circumstances were precisely defined by the Federal Expellees Act of 1953. However, the main objective of this piece of legislation was not to manage immigration, but rather to act as a tool to deal with the consequences of the war.²

In 1950, about 500,000 foreigners lived in Germany, making up only 1 % of the total population. From the mid-nineteen-fifties on, other types of immigration occurred, mostly as a result of the recruitment of foreign labor, since the domestic supply of labor was insufficient to meet the growing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor in German industries. Therefore, laws were passed allowing the recruitment of (temporary) workers from southern Europe and Turkey to fill vacancies mainly in manufacturing, e.g. in the steel and metal working sectors. The initial effect was quite small. From 1955 until 1961, the number of foreigners rose by about 200,000. However, the (West) German economy continued to grow and therefore when the decision was taken in East Germany (GDR) to close its borders and build the Berlin Wall - thereby cutting off the flow of workers from East Germany - labor shortages increased. Negotiated shorter working weeks and a shrinking labor force aggravated the situation.³ By the time foreign recruitment was stopped in 1973, 2.6 million migrant workers had entered West Germany. In 1960, foreigners accounted for only 1.3 % of those in employment; by 1973 this figure had risen to 11.9 %. Later on, mostly migration of family members of recent immigrants took place.

A time-limited stay for employment purposes in Germany was the original intention of the government regarding the recruitment of foreign workers: when the recruitment period was close to expiration, workers should return to their home countries and be replaced by new ones. However, in the late 1960s, a growing number of foreign workers stayed permanently, in particular to benefit from better economic and living conditions in Germany – and at the same time, employers wanted to keep their experienced workers. “For many foreign workers, the 1973 ban on recruiting foreign labor may have acted as an incentive to stay

² cf. p. 137 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

³ cf. p.14 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

in Germany permanently, as it made it impossible to return to one's home country temporarily and then come back to Germany to work."⁴ Today, these immigrants makes up the largest group (Figure 1). Additionally, there was an inflow of asylum seekers due to the constitutionally based right of political asylum. However, until the mid-eighties their number was relatively small (Figure 2).

The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) also signed worker recruitment treaties with partner socialist countries (e.g. Vietnam, Poland and Mozambique) to cover the labor market demand due to the high emigration rates of citizens to West Germany (2.7 million Germans emigrated until 1961 when the Berlin Wall was built). Immigrants had to work under strict and hard working conditions and lived in isolation from the domestic population. Until the mid-seventies, the GDR also admitted a few thousand asylum seekers, mainly from Chile, Spain and Greece.⁵

Between 1950 and 1981, 1.1 million ethnic German resettlers from Eastern Europe and about 700,000 expellees who had temporarily settled elsewhere migrated to Germany. Between 1982 and 2010, Germany took in another 3.5 million ethnic German resettlers and their families from Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union.⁶ This was mainly based on the rapidly increased inflow in the early 1990s. "These numbers jumped due to increasing democratization, which made it easier for Eastern Europeans to emigrate. The Resettler Admission Act of 28 June 1990 therefore introduced a formal procedure for admitting these immigrants."⁷ Germany had problems with drawing up an integration policy that was able to control and regulate the different types of migration flows. At that time, many German policy makers and the wider public tended to see more or less uncontrolled immigration as a problem, both with respect to asylum seekers and the integration issue of second-generation migrants. After heated discussions, the German government decided to restrict the basic right of political asylum quite sharply by changing the German constitution. As a consequence, the number of asylum seekers decreased in the following years (Figure 2). The paradigm was: "Germany is not a country of immigration". After 2000, a paradigm shift occurred slowly and somewhat reluctantly. From an economic point of view, actors recognized the need for immigrants within society and sub-

⁴ p.15 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

⁵ cf. (Butterwegge, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005)

⁶ cf. p.13 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

⁷ p.138 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

sequently started to create rather pro-migrant immigration policies. In 2000, by enacting a new law on citizenship, the holding of more than one nationality was facilitated. As a first means of enhancing highly skilled immigration, Green Cards for the recruitment of IT specialists were issued between 2000 and 2004.⁸ In 2005, a new immigration law emphasized the need for successful integration of migrants and the promotion of highly skilled migration.⁹ Since 2000 an increased inflow of seasonal workers, mainly from Eastern Europe, has been observed. Anyhow, immigration policies need to be reformed further, for example in the field of easing access to the labor markets.¹⁰

2. Germany and Poland – Facts and Figures

The size of the Polish diaspora is about 15-18 million people worldwide, which is equal to 40% of the current population of Poland. To get a better understanding of its origins, it is worth taking a brief look at Polish history. In the 18th century, Poland was occupied and partitioned by Russia, Austria and Prussia. Poles organized rebellions but without long-term success and therefore even in those times of much more limited mobility, many Poles left their country. In the twentieth century, the two World Wars and the corresponding flows of refugees had a big influence.

Since 1950, about 2.5 million Poles have moved to Germany. Poland is the third most numerous country of origin of immigrants after Turkey and Italy (Figure 1).¹¹ Poles make up 6.4% (468,481 people) of all foreigners in Germany.¹² Their median age is 37.3 years and they stay an average of 9.7 years. Nowadays, the number of Poles with a migration background is about 1.3 million people and they mostly work in construction, manufacturing, health care, restaurants and trade.¹³

2.1 Germany and Poland - Major Migration Movements

There is a long migration history between Germany and Poland, beginning with German industrialization in the late 19th century. Increasing rural poverty in Poland and the prospect of better living conditions in Germany motivated about

⁸ cf. (Butterwegge, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005)

⁹ cf. (Butterwegge, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2007)

¹⁰ cf. (Butterwegge, Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2005)

¹¹ cf. (Botschaft der Republik Polen in Berlin)

¹² cf. (Bundesamt, Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit Fachserie 1 Reihe 2, 2011)

¹³ cf. (Krystyna Iglicka, 2010)

750,000 Poles to migrate. This process was stopped by World War I and then carried on at a very low level between World War I and World War II and subsequently did not change very much until the 1980s.¹⁴ However, beginning in the 1950s, about 1.5 million ethnic German migrants emigrated from Poland, mostly to West Germany.

The 1980s began with a notable increase in emigration during the Solidarity period. Poles emigrated as asylum seekers or de facto political refugees, but this came to an abrupt end with the imposition of martial law in December 1981. After the end of martial law and the reforms of passport policies, the number of migrants rose steadily. During this time, tourist visas became the most popular gateway for (illegal) mass emigration. This phenomenon reached its peak in 1988. Soon afterwards, changing asylum policies and fixed quotas for late re-settlers in Germany led to a sharp decrease in permanent migration and numbers returned to a more moderate level in the early 1990s.

At this time bilateral labor treaties with CEE countries regarding contract work within the framework of a company acting as a subcontractor in Germany were signed. Although these contracts included Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia–Herzegovina, Macedonia, Romania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Bulgaria, as well as Latvia and Turkey, in 1992 about 51,000 out of 94,000 CEE workers covered by these treaties were Polish.

There existed numerous reasons to have such treaties for both sides. Obviously, Poles could expect a transfer of know-how to their workers and the transfer of a stable currency. Both countries were suffering imbalances on their labor markets. On the Polish side, after the fall of the iron curtain, the unemployment rate rose, a phenomenon which is quite normal during the liberalization of a socialist labor market. In line with this, pressure on the Polish labor market increased and thus temporary migration via contract work was seen as a tool to mitigate pressure on permanent emigration. Moreover, on the German side, the German construction industry was experiencing a boom, not least because of reunification. Therefore, additional skilled workers were needed. The policy emphasis on skilled workers in addition to the clear time limit of five-year residence/work permits (Article 5) showed a striking similarity to the recruitment efforts of the sixties.

¹⁴cf. p. 557f (Kalter, 2011)

Unfortunately, some violations of legal requirements were observed concerning wages, working conditions, area of deployment, accommodation and national quotas.¹⁵ Besides this, Marek Okólski and Dariusz Stola pointed out that “the number of Poles who take illegal jobs abroad is bigger than that of migrants employed there legally.”¹⁶

Since 1990, the inflow of seasonal workers has increased mostly in agriculture and construction. About 250,000 Polish workers enter Germany every year and therefore constitute the largest group of origin.

In 2005 they made up 80% of all seasonal workers, but this number decreased to 60% in 2010. This downward trend can be attributed to improved working conditions in Poland and other EU countries (Figure 3). About 12% of Polish immigrants in 2010 worked in the care sector. There were also some forms of ‘irregular’ migration, such as working while being a tourist, seasonal work without permission and cross-border commuting.¹⁷

2.2 Germany and Poland - Policies 2004 – 2011

During the 1990s, Poland was expected to change from an emigration to a transit migration country. But since the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004, Poland has experienced the biggest worker emigration wave since World War II. About 1 million (2004) to 2.27 million (2007) Poles emigrated to work for longer than three months, 70% of whom emigrated for longer than one year. Most Poles went to the UK and Ireland due to good working conditions and because other countries (e.g. Germany) had imposed restrictions on entering for work purposes. As a result of the recent crisis, this type of migration has decreased to about 1.87 million Poles per year. There is evidence that a number of returning migrants face difficulties in integration into the Polish labor market. These problems concern labor market flexibility, high labor costs, low wages and administrative barriers. Therefore there are few incentives for young citizens with working experience staying abroad to return. Even during the recent crisis, just a few Poles who emigrated to, e.g. the United Kingdom or Ireland (which both suffered strong decreases in GDP), returned and this trend already reversed as early as 2010.

The transformation process in Poland contributed to an increasing demand for skilled labor. In accordance with this, the number of students rose from 374,000

¹⁵ cf. p.255ff (Menz, 2001)

¹⁶ p.16 (Marek Okólski, 1999)

¹⁷ cf. (Robert Wyszzyński, 2011)

in 1991 to 1,941 million in 2006. But there is a mismatch between the supply of the universities and the demand of the labor market. This is also a reason why there are a large number of emigrating graduates.

Germany maintained restrictions on the opening of the labor market to Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries for the maximum duration of the transition period (7 years), until May 2011, because trade unions and government feared massive inflows of mostly cheap labor from eastern neighboring countries. In this context, minimum wages were discussed in Germany, especially in the field of temporary agency work, and then established in 2011.

In the short run, Polish emigration can be seen as a win-win situation both for Poland and its European partner countries, in particular as it has tended to even out labor supply and demand. At the beginning of 2004, the Polish unemployment rate was about 20%, but had decreased to 11.5 % by 2010. Therefore, emigration helped ease social tensions. However, in the long-run Poland faces several problems such as brain drain and population aging.¹⁸

3. Recent Developments

“In 2010, 60 % of foreigners immigrating to Germany came from EU Member States, of which one-quarter were from Poland; 11 % came from Romania, 4 % from Turkey and 24 % from non-European countries. For those leaving Germany in 2010, 58 % moved to other EU countries; of these, 18 % went to Poland. Nine per cent moved to Romania, 6 % to Turkey and 23 % to non-European countries.”¹⁹

Germany is only slowly adapting to its current – and future – role as an actual immigration country, and still has difficulties in recognizing the benefits of migration. The wider public still tends to see migration and (failed) integration as a major societal problem, with potential negative side effects on (low skilled) workers. Germany is trying (again reluctantly) to adopt a more systematic labor market orientation vis-a-vis third country migration. The main drivers for this policy change are the highly discussed problems of demographic ageing, the related burden for the social system and the skills shortages, which jeopardize the competitiveness of the German economy.

¹⁸ cf. (Igllicka, 2010)

¹⁹ cf. p. 44 (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

3.1. Recent Policy Changes for Non-EU migrants

Since August 1, 2012, the “EU Blue Card “ has been in force. This is a key decision in the process of focusing on a selective migration policy. Its introduction should ease labor market access by highly skilled non-EU nationals. This will be achieved by an initially limited admission without a “priority check” (a check to see if any Germans or EU nationals are available for the job) in the case of an offer of employment and a gross annual salary above 44,800 €. If employment is in a profession that is in high demand (e.g. scientists, engineers), the earning threshold is at only 34,944 €. According to the calculations of the Cologne Institute of Economic Research, the average salary of full-time working graduates is about 36,750 €. ²⁰ The establishment of a threshold is interesting in that it highly influences the possibility of a foreigner getting a job in the destination country. In this context, a threshold separates applicants in needed sectors from applicants in less needed ones, because revenues are indicators of shortages. Hence, a positive selection is being carried out. Another point is that applicants from a low-wage country may be prepared to work for less than a resident. This could lead to a situation in which residents reduce their investment in education and therefore the competitiveness of the migration country might suffer. On the other hand, lower wages strengthen competitiveness on global markets if the international wage level is lower than the national level. As a result, the threshold (level) has a great influence on labor market migration and therefore could affect the labor market of the migration country in a positive or negative way.

The “EU Blue Card” agreement includes a work permit for two to four years in an EU Country. The owner of such a card must be treated as a resident in terms of social legislation and employment law. Additionally, relatives receive a work permit in parallel. After three years, applicants can get a settlement permit. If an applicant is able to show German language skills at B1 level, s/he is able to get a settlement permit after 2 years. This is the case if the applicant does not lose his or her job during this period. This in turn implies that if the applicant does lose his or her job during this initial period, s/he has to leave the EU. The provision is mostly relevant for enterprises with a demand for a highly qualified work force like technology orientated or knowledge based SMEs. Nevertheless, if a company does not employ academics, they have to submit a priority check. Thus, for an

²⁰cf. p.40 (Maaß & Icks, 2012)

important part of the economy, this provision does not facilitate the recruiting of skilled workers.²¹

As of April 1st, 2012, the recognition of foreign education certificates has been simplified. Such a procedure was introduced to assess foreign education certificates against German ones. A formal assessment is carried out as to whether training is equivalent to training in Germany and whether the qualifications can be recognized. In regulated professions, recognition is mandatory for access to the profession, as well as for using a formal job title. This is so in the case of working, for example, as a medical doctor, nurse, lawyer or teacher. However, people are free to work in non-regulated professions without recognition.²² This possibly facilitates the recruitment of skilled migrants even if a priority check is necessary.

3.2. Recent Policy Changes for EU-25 Migrants

In the case of migration within the EU, the most important recent policy change has been the lifting of restrictions on freedom of movement of workers for migrants from the EU-10 countries. Effective as of May 2011, any EU-25 national has the right to look for a job in any other EU member state and to work under the same conditions as citizens of the respective host country and receive the same assistance from the national employment offices as them. They are allowed to stay in the host country for a period long enough to search for work, apply for a job and be recruited without having to apply for a work permit. However, as in the case of Germany, language skills may be required before recruiting.

3.3. Recent Developments – Facts and Figures

In 2011, about 6.93 million foreigners lived in Germany, which corresponds to a 2.6% (+177,300 people) increase compared to 2010. This has been the largest increase in 15 years, mostly due to higher EU citizen mobility. The share of Eastern European immigrants has been highest, followed by migrants from southern Europe.²³ Germany's attraction as a migration destination seems to depend on the economic and employment prospects in countries of origin. There are three major reasons for this development. First of all, as of May 1, 2011, there are no more legal conditions restricting worker mobility from the 2004-EU countries. As a

²¹ cf. (Maaß & Icks, 2012)

²² cf. (Recognition in Germany)

²³ (Bundesamt, destatis, 2012)

consequence, the number of employees from the EU-8 is constantly rising and in April 2011, 227,000 workers out of these countries were employed in Germany. One year later, this number had risen to 331,000 (Figure 4). Taking into account the same changes as one year before, inflows of 81,000 workers are based on free worker mobility. The major fields of work are temporary agency work (16,300), building sector (13,000) and manufacturing (11,500). In May 2011, persons originating from the EU-8 countries corresponded to 1% of all persons employed in Germany in April 2012. Poland has been the most important country of origin of migrants coming to Germany in recent years, but still migration from Poland is lower than was expected or feared before.²⁴ Another factor is the increased migration from the 2007-EU accession countries, Romania and Bulgaria, whose citizens are able to immigrate with fewer restrictions (Figure 5). Since accession, a work permit has been required for both countries, therefore full free movement of workers is not yet guaranteed. However, some progress has been achieved, and since 2012, following a decision by the German cabinet, access for qualified employees has been facilitated. A work permit is not required in the case of vocational training and if a graduate starts to work in an appropriate job. In addition, seasonal workers are able to migrate without permission.²⁵

Of course, in the context of the Europe-wide economic turmoil, crisis-shaken citizens are migrating to Germany because of high unemployment in their home countries and strong labor and skill demand in Germany. In the second half of 2010 more people from Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain migrated to Germany than in the first half, and this trend accelerated in 2011. In the first eight months of 2011, the increase in migrations from such countries in comparison to the same period in 2010 varied from a rather modest 20% for Portugal and Italy to about 50% for Spain and more than 80% in the case of Greece (Figure 6). However, the overall inflow from these countries constitutes just a quarter of the inflows that were recorded in Germany from Poland alone.²⁶ The overall view suggests that the net migration inflow of foreigners in Germany is positive. Between 2006 and 2009 the number of migrants was relatively constant. In the following two years, the number of migrants rose significantly. In 2010, the increase was about 20% in comparison with 2009 and in 2011 the increase was even higher as compared to 2010, with about 30.8%. The change in emigration rates was not nearly as dynamic. As a result, the net migration of for-

²⁴ (Arbeit, 2012)

²⁵ (Die Bundesregierung, 2011)

²⁶ Cf. p.44 (OECD, International Migration Outlook 2012, 2012)

eigners (not taking into account the migration of German citizens) in 2011 was about +320,000 people (Figure 7).²⁷ With reference to the ongoing demographic change - and taking into account that German citizens emigrate - the overall net migration flow is lower than the net migration inflow of foreigners (Figure 8). This development is politically intended and it is to be welcomed because in the case of Germany, many studies confirm that migration is able to mitigate the demographic changes and is an element that can ease the pressures on the social security system and prevent worker shortages. However, migration by itself is not able to prevent this development.²⁸

4. Integration issues

The integration of migrants has become a major concern for German policy makers. There are some indicators which underline that integration has not been that successful in the past. When comparing the labor market outcomes of immigrants' children with native-born youths in Germany in 2006, those of immigrants are, on average, not as good as those of children from non-migrant families. "[...] the gaps in the raw scores for the native children of immigrants amount to the equivalent of about two or more years of schooling."²⁹ In 2007, for 20-29 year old second generation immigrants, the unemployment rate was 1.6 times higher compared to children of native Germans. The OECD points out that this difference is a result of migrants' lower education levels.³⁰ Recently policy changes have been introduced to prevent failures which were encountered in the past. Since January 2005, integration courses have been offered under the aegis of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. They contain a language course and, since 2009, an orientation course enabling migrants to acquire at least a basic knowledge of German law and social and cultural specifics. The offer is especially intended for non-EU immigrants and ethnic German migrants. Furthermore, it is also in great demand by immigrants who have already lived in Germany for some time. In some cases, the language course in combination with the orientation course is mandatory, e.g. for non-EU Citizens. Between 2005 and 2010 about 918,000 persons were eligible. Ethnic German immigrants have already received a wide variety of training in the past, such as language courses or

²⁷ Cf. P.70 (bamf, 2012)

²⁸ Cf. p.99 (Migration, 2010)

²⁹ Cf. p.24 (OECD, Equal Opportunities? THE LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS, 2010)

³⁰ Cf. P 17 (OECD, Equal Opportunities? THE LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS, 2010)

job specific training. Education and a better cultural understanding are necessary to achieve better labor market integration. In 2009, the Allensbach Institute conducted a survey in Germany and investigated the perceived integration. Overall, 35% of the migrants stated that they are well integrated, 32% are medium integrated and 33% pointed out that they are weakly integrated. In the group of Spanish migrants, the section of well integrated was the highest with 52%. A high share of well integrated migrants, with over 40%, is also found in the group of former Yugoslavs, Poles and Italians. The opposite is true for Turks and Russians (Figure 9). In this context, it is useful to have a look at language fluency. There is a high correlation between language skills and perceived integration. Those who feel well integrated have the highest rate of very good German language skills. On the other hand, this rate is only 15% in the group of weakly integrated migrants (Figure 10).³¹

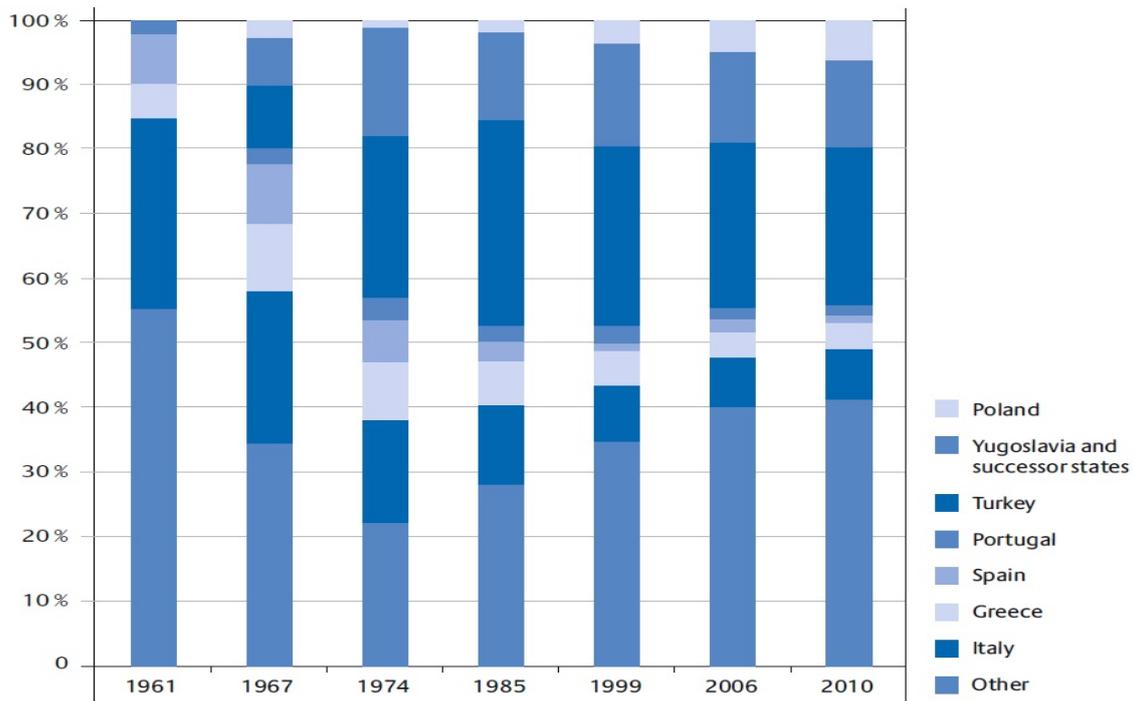
5. Conclusion

Major parts of the Polish diaspora have lived (and continue to live) in Germany as a direct result of Poland's eventful history. They have migrated in waves, beginning in the 18th century and, with interruptions, this migration has been going on until today. Of course, migration between these two countries has partly been driven by war and its repercussions. However, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, migration was driven by economic differences between the two countries. But this was not new at all: even during the German industrial revolution over a hundred years ago, many Poles migrated to Germany to avoid economic problems occurring in their country of origin and, as in the past, today the Polish labor force is needed to compensate for labor shortages in Germany. The Polish labor force is, regarding its quantity, the most important migration group on the German labor market today. The fear of uncontrolled migration flows due to the expiration of restrictions on worker mobility from the 2004-EU countries is baseless. Migration is increasing, especially in the case of Poland, but regarding the interconnectedness of both countries it is quite moderate. Additionally, this fear is erroneous, because the German demographic changes are leading to a situation where the increase in the migration flow is able not only to ease labor shortages but also to take pressure off the German social system. The ad-

³¹Cf. P.47f (ALLENSBACH, 2009)

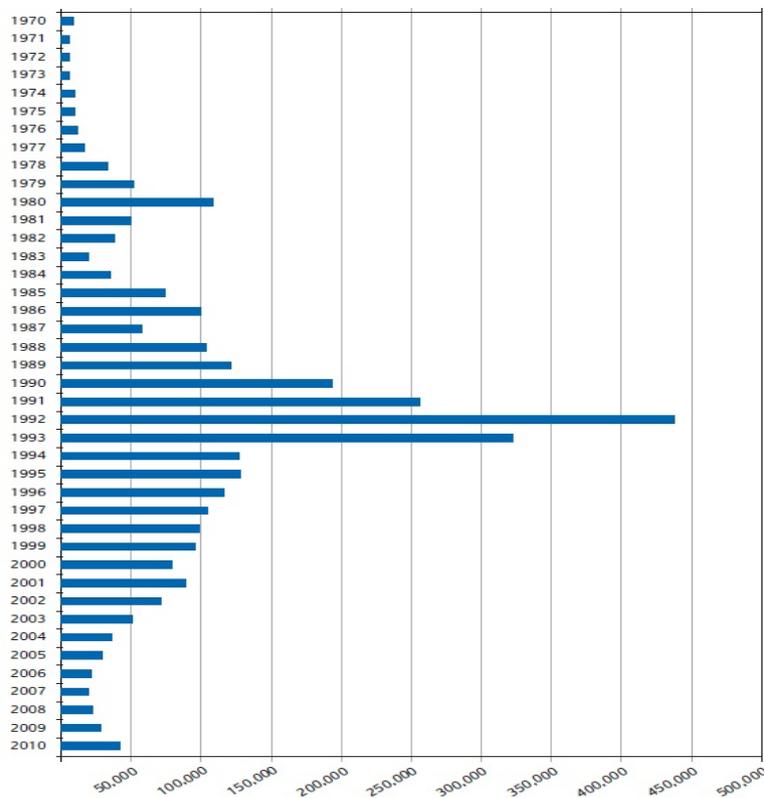
vantages of migration find their expression in the efforts of the European Union. This year, the “EU Blue-Card” has been introduced to motivate highly qualified non-EU citizens to take a job offer within the European Union. In addition, German policy makers have tried to simplify the recognition of foreign education certificates to promote labor market migration at a lower qualification level. To prevent mistakes which were made in the past regarding German migration policy and mitigate related frictions within society, some instruments such as integration courses have been introduced. These contain language and orientation courses to get a basic knowledge of German law and social and cultural “particularities”. A recent survey underlines the necessity of such instruments, because better cultural and better language skills promote integration. It is worth noting that the perceived degree of integration of Poles is significantly above the average of other migrants. This is remarkable, but not really surprising when looking at Poland’s long history of migration and the cultural relatedness of both countries. All things considered, it is possible to say that the migration between Germany and Poland is a success story and – on the basis of recent policy – this assessment will certainly hold true in the future.

Figure 1: Selected nationalities as a percentage of all foreigners



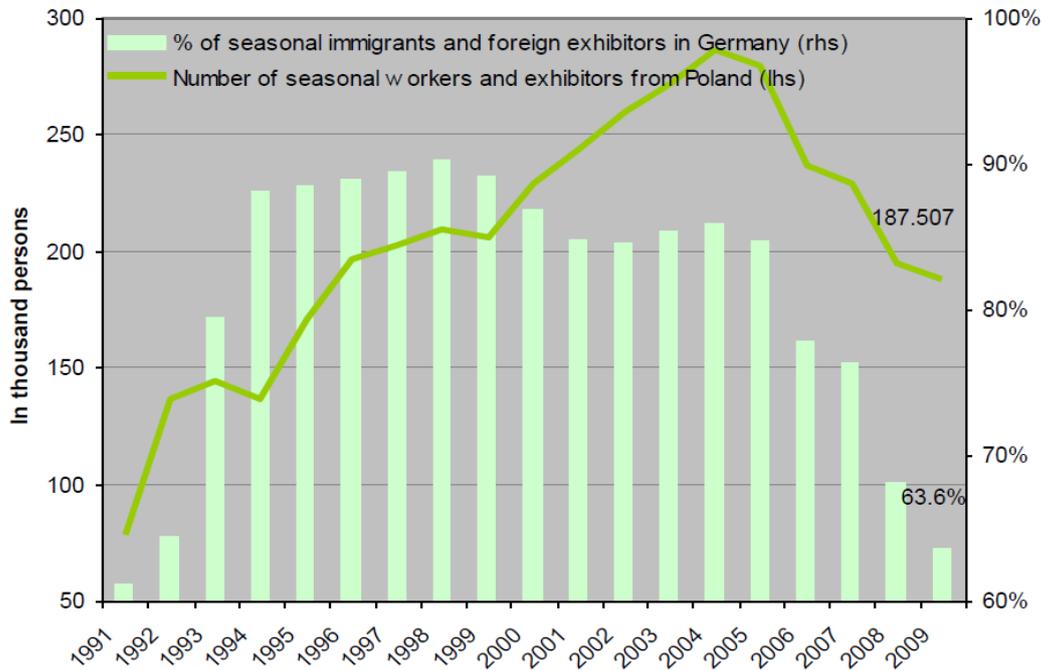
Source: (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

Figure 2: Number of asylum applicants in Germany since 1970



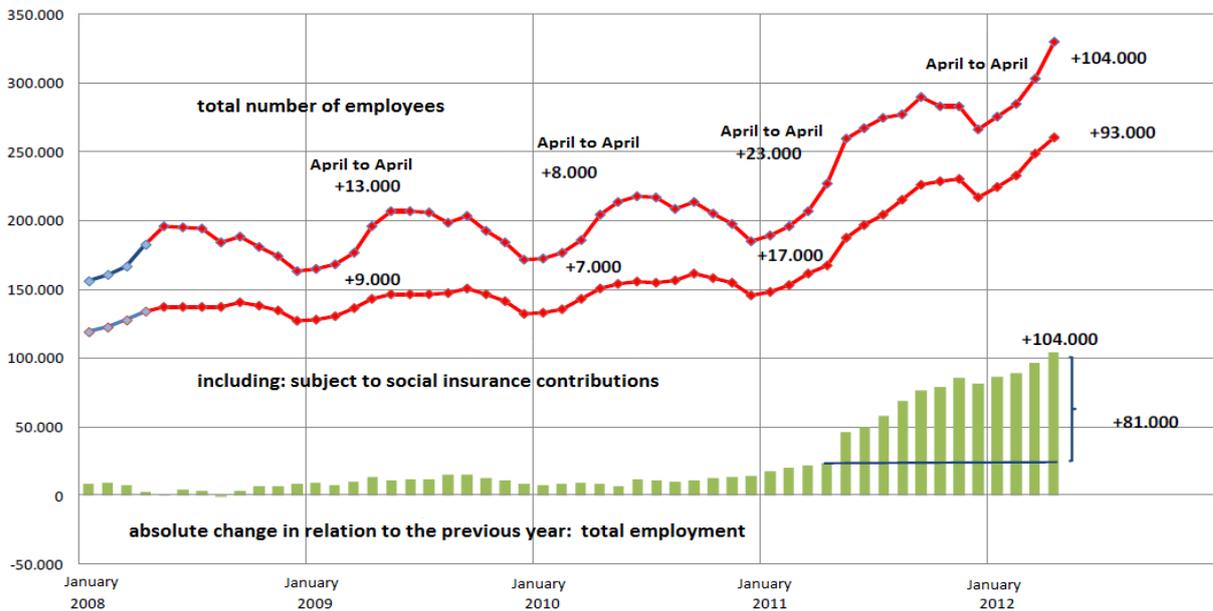
Source: (Migration and Integration; Residence law and policy on migration and integration, 2011)

Figure 3: Seasonal workers from Poland and exhibitors in Germany



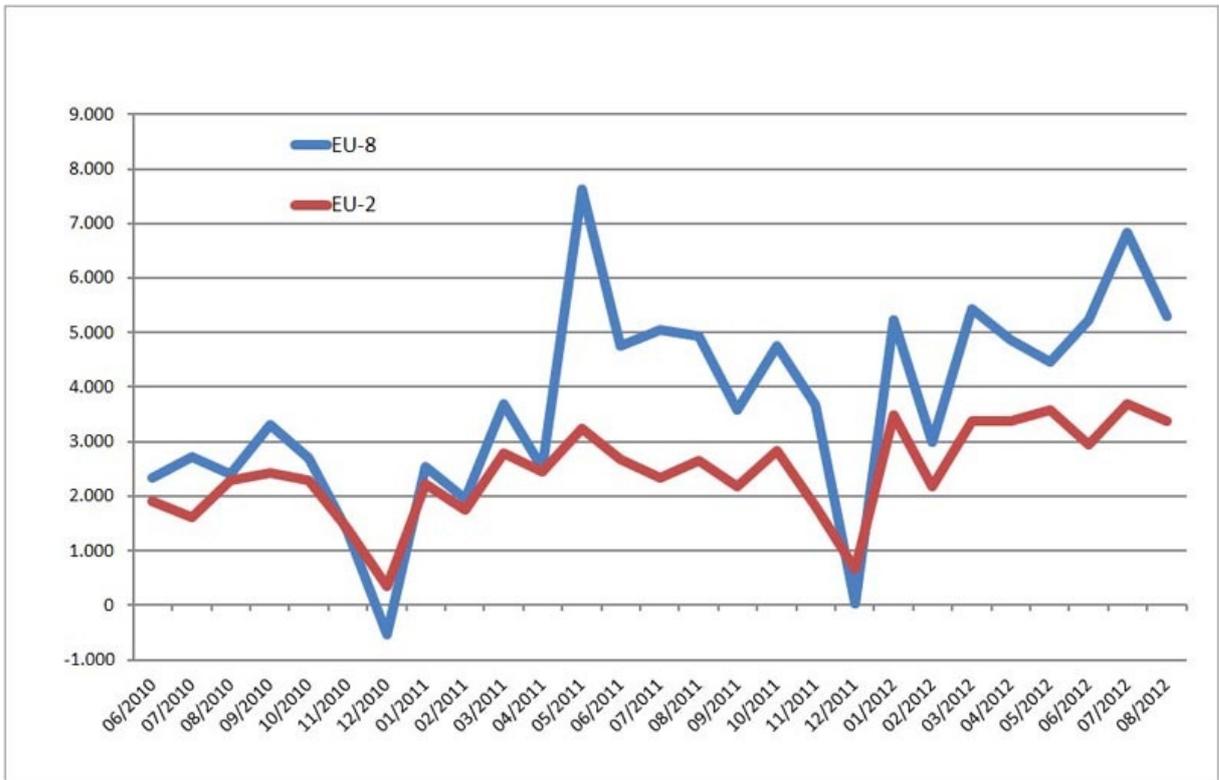
Source: (Robert Wyszyński, 2011),

Figure 4: Employees from the EU-8 countries in Germany



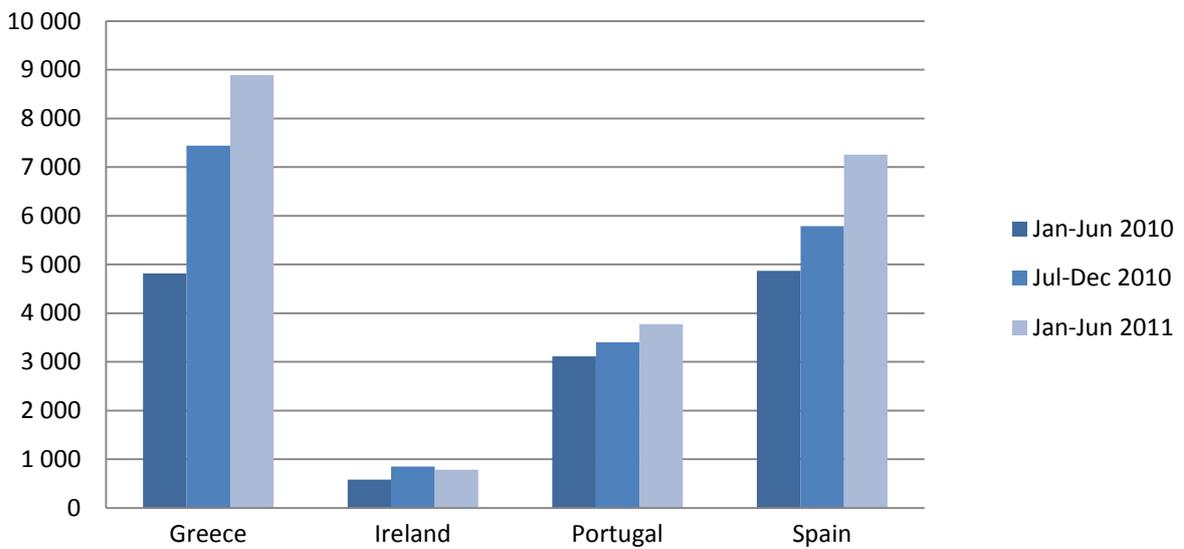
Source: The Federal Employment Agency

Figure 5: Net migration EU-8 and EU-2



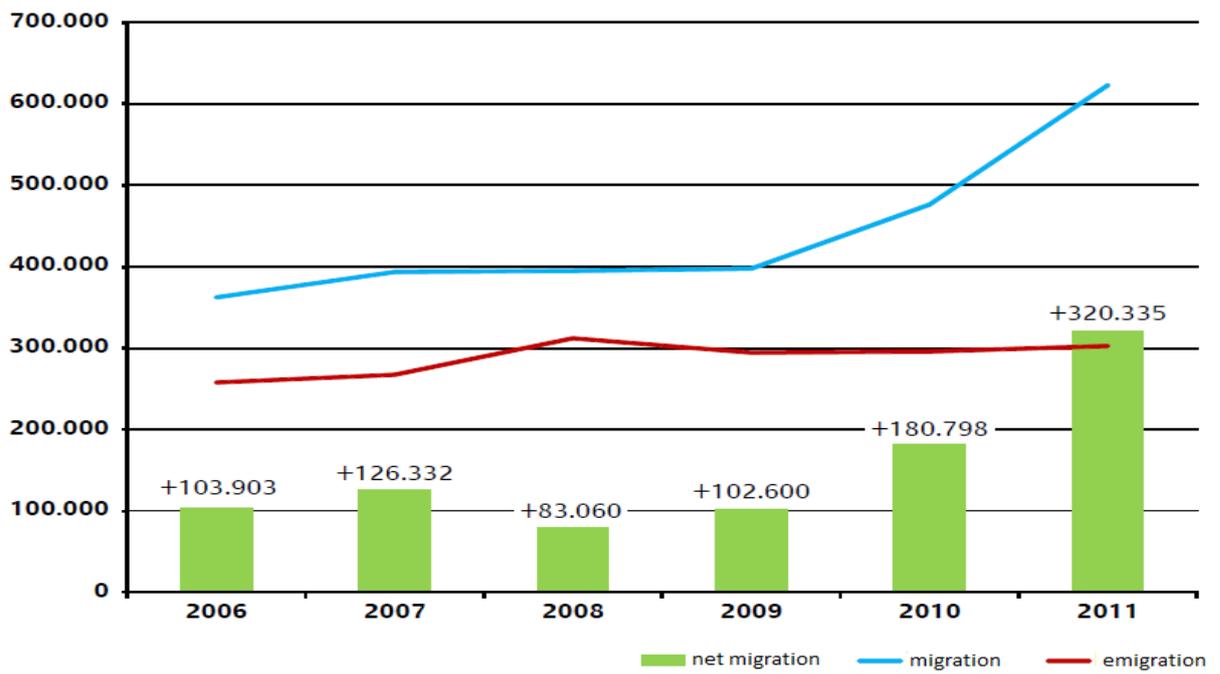
Source: bamf

Figure 6: Recent trends in migration from Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain into Germany



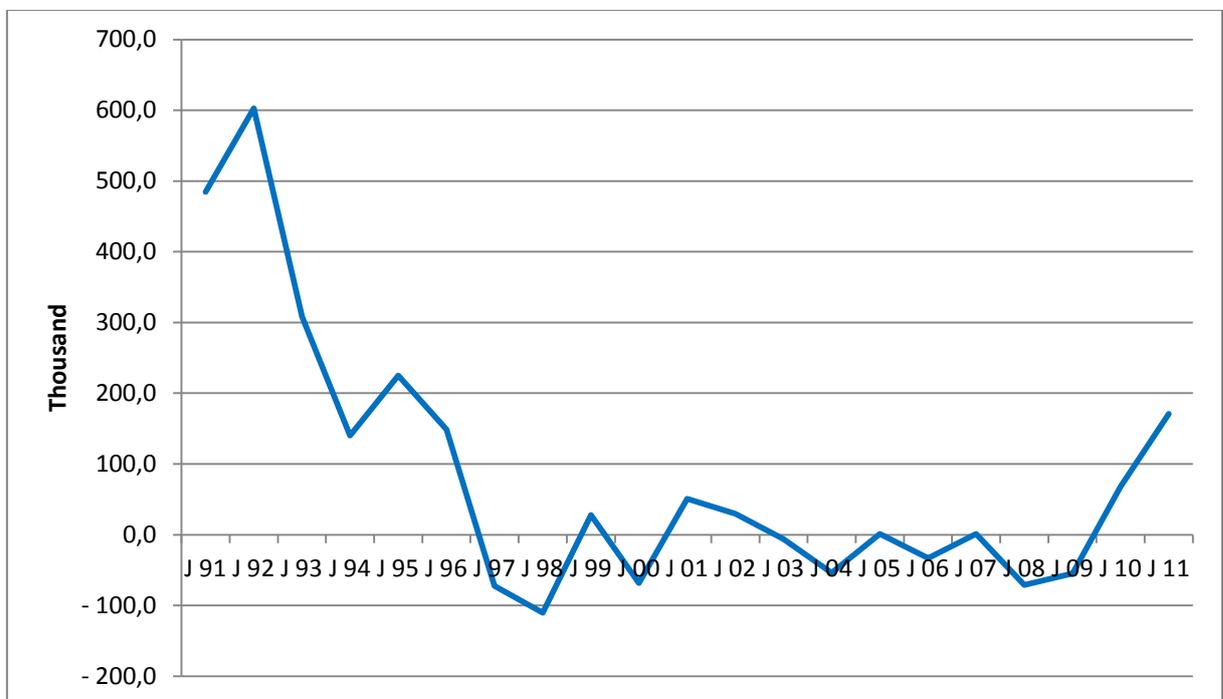
Source: (OECD, International Migration Outlook 2012, 2012)

Figure 7: Migration and emigration of foreigners in Germany



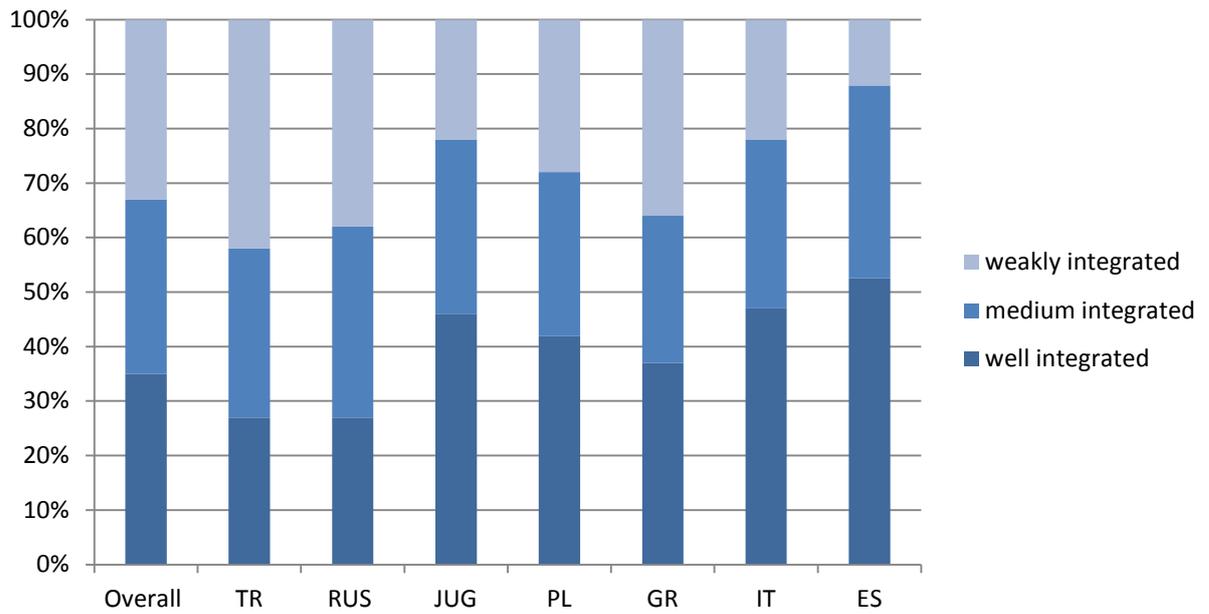
Source: (bamf, 2012)

Figure 8: Net migration flows to Germany 1990-2011



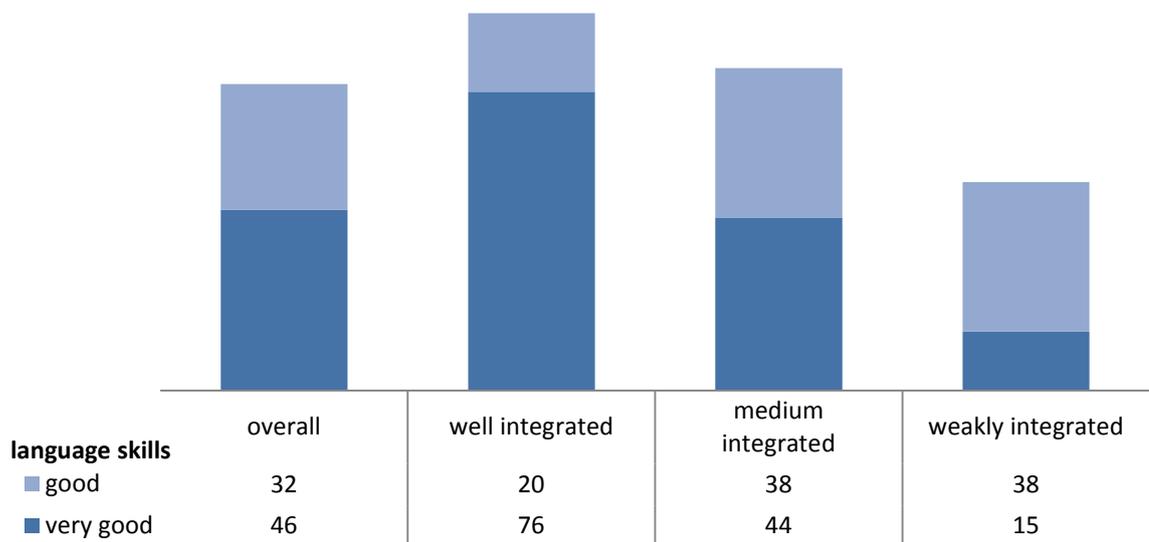
Source: Federal Statistical Office

Figure 9: Perceived integration in Germany in 2009



Source: Allensbach

Figure 10: language skills of migrants and perceived integration in Germany in 2009



Source: Allensbach

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Project Polish Integration Forum II is co-funded by European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals and state budget.



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