



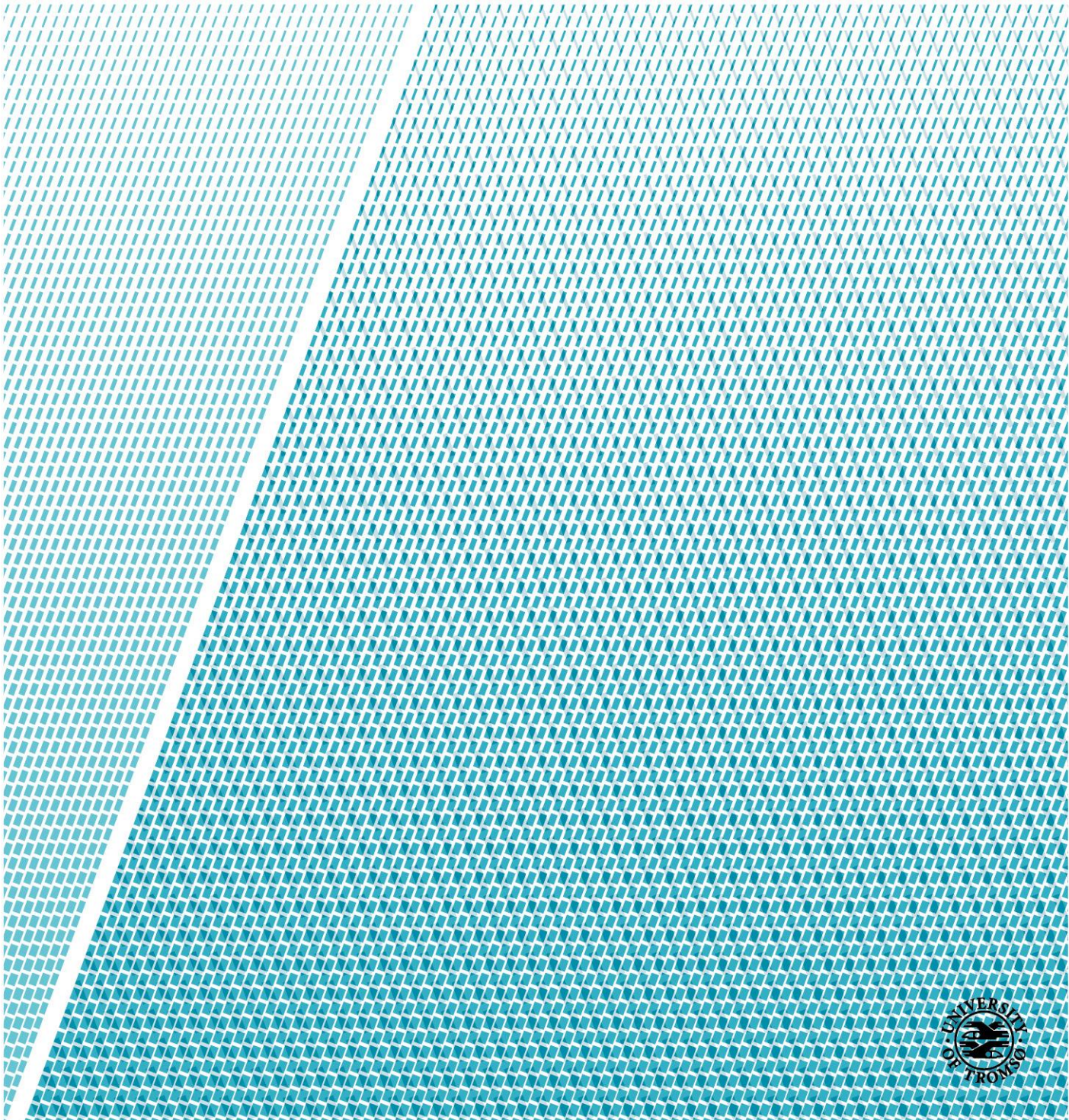
Centre for Peace Studies  
Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

# Role of the host society in the integration process

*Willkommenskultur in Germany*

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## **Abstract**

Year 2015 was denoted with a huge influx of migrants and refugees in Europe, the event is known as a “refugee crisis”. This has made asylum policies one of the top issues on the political agenda and in public sphere. The countries have taken diverse approaches towards the crisis. Germany’s positive reaction towards refugees has been labelled a “Willkommenskultur”. The political level has eventually turned away from the Willkommenskultur, but the societal level has continued to exist and therefore the study’s focus is the societal level of Willkommenskultur which denotes the Willkommenskultur volunteering projects that provide support to refugees. Drawing from personal accounts and understandings of eight volunteers in Frankfurt, Germany, this thesis aims to understand the connection between the understanding of integration process, the role of the host society and the Willkommenskultur. Starting point is the definition of integration as a two-way process, which is further developed with Esser’s theory on social integration. Besides, this thesis seeks to scrutinize Willkommenskultur as a movement by using the New social movement theory.



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## Abbreviations

<b>AfD</b>	Political Party Alternative for Germany (German: <i>Alternative für Deutschland</i> )
<b>AWO</b>	Workers` Welfare Organisation (German: <i>Arbeiterwohlfahrt</i> )
<b>BAMF</b>	Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (German: <i>Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge</i> )
<b>BDA</b>	Federation of German Employers (German: <i>Bund Deutscher Arbeitgeber</i> )
<b>CDU</b>	Political Party Christian democratic Union of Germany (German: <i>Christlich-Demokratische Union</i> )
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FDP</b>	Political Party Free democratic party (German: <i>Freie Demokratische Partei</i> )
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organisation
<b>NSMs</b>	New social movements
<b>PEGIDA</b>	Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident (German: <i>Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes</i> )
<b>SPD</b>	The Social Democratic Party of Germany (German: <i>Die Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> )
<b>UNHCR</b>	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>VDI</b>	Association of German engineers (German: <i>Verein deutscher Ingenieure</i> )



# 1. Introduction

2015 and 2016 were characterized by a high inflow of migrants into Europe. The high influx of refugees has made asylum policies one of the top issues on the political agenda and in the public sphere overall, both in Germany and in other European countries.<sup>1</sup> The countries have taken diverse approaches towards the crisis. The most internationally-well known positive approach, at least in the beginning of the “refugee crisis”, was taken by Germany. In autumn 2015, the European newspapers were filled with pictures of Germans with the signs stating, “Refugees Welcome” at a train station in Munich which was the enter point to Germany. This positive reaction towards the refugees has been labelled a Willkommenskultur.<sup>2</sup> The direct translation of the term is “welcome culture” and it denotes positive attitudes towards foreigners. The other important component of this phenomenon is diverse Willkommenskultur projects all around the country which are providing support to refugees and asylum seekers to help them to integrate quicker. At the beginning of the “refugee crisis” the support for Willkommenskultur was strong on both, political and societal level. But at one point the politics have turned away from the Willkommenskultur, while the German society continues to support the Willkommenskultur. This division is the starting point of this study.

This thesis seeks to explore the role of Willkommenskultur in Germany in relation to the integration process of refugees with focus on the role of the host society. Within the context of the “refugee crisis” the labels and status like “economic migrant”, “refugee”, and “asylum-seeker” have been heavily used to determine who is coming to the country. The asylum-seekers are those who have formally applied for protection and the refugees are those who have been granted an asylum.<sup>3</sup> The Willkommenskultur refers to both groups. I will use mainly the term “refugee” which will have a wider meaning from a commonly accepted, and denotes all persons seeking asylum, including both the ones with refugee status and the ones who are in process of application, unless a clear distinction is given.

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<sup>1</sup> Barbara Laubenthal, "Political Institutions and Asylum Policies--the Case of Germany.(Case Study)," *Psychosociological Issues in Human Resource Management* 4, no. 2 (2016): 122.

<sup>2</sup> Karakayali Serhat, "Feeling the Scope of Solidarity: The Role of Emotions for Volunteers Supporting Refugees in Germany," *Social Inclusion* 5, no. 3 (2017): 7.

<sup>3</sup> OECD, *Making Intergation Work: Refugees and Others in Need of Protection* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2016), 7.

### 1.1. Overview over Thesis

The first chapter is a short introduction and a presentation of all chapters. The second chapter presents the background related to the emergence of the Willkommenskultur in Germany. First, I will present the »refugee crisis« and critique the term. Then I will introduce the change from a non-immigration country to an immigration country and the emergence of the term Willkommenskultur, which appeared years before the »refugee crisis«. Although this thesis focuses on the Willkommenskultur, it is important to consider other approach to the crisis too, which is the anti-refugee movement. The anti-refugee movement has been growing and therefore it needs to be addressed. Next, I will present how the German immigration policy become stricter and less welcoming towards refugees. This is the starting point for this study; the politics have turned away from the Willkommenskultur, but the German society continues to show the support for Willkommenskultur with their continuous active role in the Willkommenskultur projects. I call this level of Willkommenskultur “a societal level”.

The third chapter is the theoretical framework that will deal with two concepts, beginning with the concept of integration, which is very much inter-related with the Willkommenskultur. Then I will introduce the New Social Movements Theory which I will use to explain the structure and goal of Willkommenskultur.

The fourth chapter presents the methodology, where I will present the reasons for conducting semi-structural interviews and the challenges that I confronted as a researcher. I will examine the secondary data that I use in this study.

The fifth chapter will present my case study. I will explain why the thesis focuses on the societal level and the volunteers. Then I will present the organizations and Willkommenskultur projects in Frankfurt am Main. I will present also my target group who are the volunteers. Next, I will locate my study – the city of Frankfurt am Main and discuss the research objectives and present the research questions.

The sixth chapter presents the findings, analysis and discussion of the data. Additionally, the findings from the fieldwork will be compared with the secondary data. Followed by the discussion of the analysis, referring also to the theoretical framework from the third chapter. Last, seventh chapter is a concluding remark with suggestions for further research.

## 2. Background

### 2.1. "Refugee crisis"

The majority of refugees had crossed the Mediterranean by boat, to Italy and Greece. Under the European Regulation No. 604/2013 (mostly referred to as Dublin Regulation), asylum-seekers must apply for asylum in the first EU member state that they enter. In 2015 Greece suddenly had to care for 850,000 people that arrived on its shores. Greece was unable to cope with so many asylum-seekers and so it persuaded the neighbouring country Macedonia to open its borders and to allow people to move on further north.<sup>4</sup> For these events and the related political challenges arising in Europe the term "refugee crisis" has been the dominant approach to framing the problem. The term "refugee crisis" is problematic and not uncontested. The "refugee crisis" identifies the problem as lying with the refugees. I agree that it was a "crisis" but it was not a "refugee" crisis. It was a "political crisis"<sup>5</sup> or as some call it "crisis of the European border regime" (failure of the Common European Asylum System and of the Dublin Agreement)<sup>6</sup>. We knew that so many refugees are on their way to Central Europe and still there was not enough infrastructure for their reception and integration. Germany was dealing with lack of expertise on all levels and this has resulted to long lasting asylum proceedings. Therefore, another term that is more suitable is an "administrative crisis".

In 2015, most of the refugees that came to Germany were from Syria (35,9% from all first-time applications) and many were from Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>7</sup> The Western world was heavily involved with its military actions in these regions and therefore the public raised a critique that the »refugee crisis« is in many ways a result of the acts of the Western world. In general, it is understood that the Syrian families have been forced to flee by the long-lasting civil war and the involvement of especially the United States with its support to Syrian rebels through CIA trainings and launching airstrikes and Russia with providing arms to the regime. Meanwhile, the EU has been imposing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria which has increased the

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<sup>4</sup> Heaven Crawley, "Named and Shamed: Eu Countries Are Failing to Share Responsibility for Refugees," <https://theconversation.com/named-and-shamed-eu-countries-are-failing-to-share-responsibility-for-refugees-80918>.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Geddes, "How to Reassure the "Anxious Middle"? Reflections on the Drivers of Migration and of Migration Politics. ," *Beyond the migration and asylum crisis, Rome, Aspen Institute* (2017).

<sup>6</sup> Helge Schwiertz and Philipp Ratfisch, *Antimigrantische Politik Und Der "Sommer Der Migration"* (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> BAMF, "Das Bundesamt in Zahlen 2015," (BAMC, 2015), 20.

vulnerability of Syrian population even more.<sup>8</sup> This is another reason why the term »refugee crisis« is so inappropriate.

The diagram below shows the origin of the refugees in the city Frankfurt am Main, which is the location of my study. The data is from March 2018.<sup>9</sup>

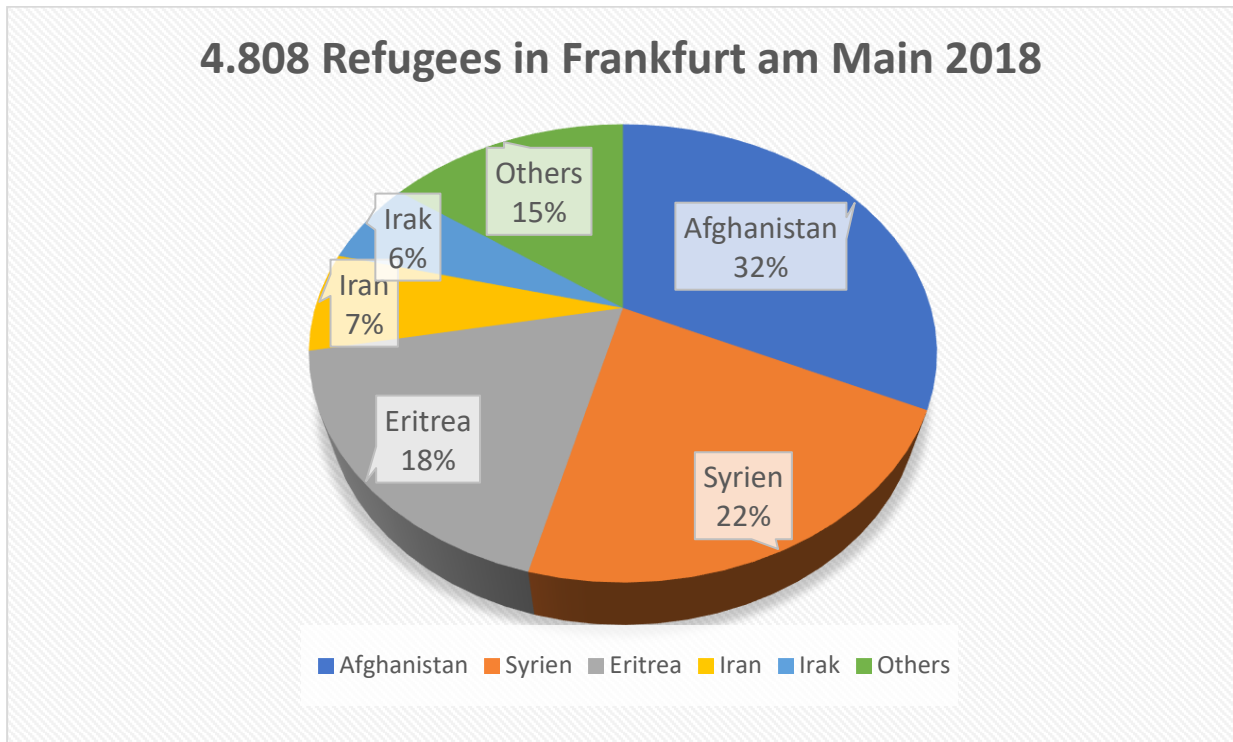


Figure 1: Origin of the refugees in Frankfurt am Main 2018

However, when comparing the percentage of refugees being hosted in Europe to other regions, it becomes clear that the term “crisis” is very relative. According to UNHCR data, there are 22,5 million refugees around the world. Turkey is way ahead from other host countries with 2,9 million refugees. Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran and Uganda are next and there is no European country on the top hosting list.<sup>10</sup>

On 25<sup>th</sup> August 2015, Germany opened its borders with the decision to suspend the European Regulation No. 604/2013 (Dublin Regulation) for Syrians. That meant that the refugees from Syria could stay in Germany and would not be sent back to the first EU country that they entered. On the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared “Wir schaffen das”

<sup>8</sup> Seth M. Holmes and Heide Castañeda, "Representing the “European Refugee Crisis” in Germany and Beyond: Deservingness and Difference, Life and Death," *American Ethnologist* 43, no. 1 (2016): 16.

<sup>9</sup> Stadt Frankfurt am Main Stabsstelle Flüchtlingsmanagement, "Aktuelle Zahlen," <http://fluechtlinge-frankfurt.de/aktuelle-zahlen/>.

<sup>10</sup> UNHCR, "Figures at a Glance."

which means “We can do this” as a respond to the so-called refugee crisis. “Wir schaffen das” was probably one of the most cited and criticized statements of the year 2015. The politicians from opposition but also from her party criticised Merkel that she left the path of political regulation as this sentence triggered refugee movements towards Germany and Europe.<sup>11</sup> The statement “Wir schaffen das” was a clear call for a civil society to join dealing with the “refugee crisis” and it resulted in a high responsibility for civil society to be part of the integration processes in Germany.<sup>12</sup>

Afterwards, thousands of asylum-seekers entered Austria and Germany, coming from Hungary and later when Hungary built the fence on the border with Croatia from Slovenia. During that time many local and international newspapers were filled with pictures of Germans with welcoming signs and candies at the Munich’s train station which was the entering point to Germany. This became the symbol of “Willkommenskultur”<sup>13</sup> in the German and international media, and Germany became the most desirable destination for asylum seekers in Europe.<sup>14</sup> In autumn 2015, the term Willkommenskultur entered mainstream public discourse.<sup>15</sup> By the end of 2015, Germany registered 441,800 first-time asylum applications which is 34,2% of all asylum-applications in Europe. In 2016 Germany registered 722.370 first-time asylum applications. However, looking at the relative numbers – per 1,000 inhabitants is Germany on the 6th place in Europe (Hungary and Sweden on top 2 places).<sup>16</sup>

The “refugee crisis” has been presented not only as a threat but also as a humanitarian crisis that needs to be dealt with by both German state actors and civil society and this has encouraged the wave of positive reactions towards the new coming refugees.<sup>17</sup> I call these reactions positive because they denote the positive attitudes towards migration and refugees. Negative approach, on the other hand, denotes negative and hateful attitudes towards refugees, some examples of it will be presented later. The positive reaction was expressed with the welcoming crowds in train stations all over the country and with the organisation of diverse support to the refugees.

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<sup>11</sup> Birgit Glorius, ““Wir Schaffen Das”: A German Perspective Onrefugees and Bottom-up Integration,” in *Beyond the Migration and and Asylum Crisis: Options and Lessons for Europe*, ed. Ferruccio Pastore (Aspen Italia, 2017), 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>13</sup> In English welcome culture or welcoming culture.

<sup>14</sup> Wesley Dockery, “Two Years since Germany Opened Its Borders to Refugees: A Chronology,” <http://p.dw.com/p/2jD3i>.

<sup>15</sup> Florian Trauner and Jocelyn Turton, “Welcome Culture; the Emergence and Transformation of a Public Debate on Migration,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, no. 1 (2017): 33.

<sup>16</sup> Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), “Aktuelle Zahlen Zu Asyl,” (BAMF, 02/2018); BAMF.

<sup>17</sup> Sophie Hinger, “Asylum in Germany: The Making of the Crisis and the Role of Civil Society,” *Human Geography* 9(2) (2016): 78.

The Willkommenskultur was in the very beginning forged by both, civil-society initiative and by policymakers, with the aim of fostering social cohesion and integration.<sup>18</sup> The welcoming campaign was supported by almost every major party, trade union, company, diverse associations and media.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2. Immigration policy in Germany

For quite some time, Germany denied that it is a country of immigration.<sup>20</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s Germany negotiated Agreements on the Recruitment and Placement of Workers with Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. It was assumed that these guest workers (in German *die Gastarbeiter*) would not stay for long and therefore socio-political infrastructure for immigration was not developed at all. German authorities tried to limit the settlement of immigrants but due to the intervention from the constitutional court their attempts were mostly unsuccessful.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the guest workers were followed by their families and eventually, many of them stayed in Germany.<sup>22</sup>

The second wave of immigration came in the 1990s after the end of the Cold war. After Germany's first "refugee crisis" in the 1990s, when around 400,000 Yugoslavians refugees came, the German parliaments added a limiting paragraph to the constitution.<sup>23</sup> It defines that asylum seekers could apply for asylum only if they had not crossed a safe country on their way to Germany.<sup>24</sup> The Dublin Regulation can be considered as a form of Europeanization of this measure.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, the first big development in the immigration policy happened only in 2000 when dual citizenship finally became possible. Dual citizenship enabled children born in Germany to foreign-born permanent residents to also hold a German passport. This was a fundamental change of the definition of the German citizenship. Previously the rule was *jus sanguinis* which

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>19</sup> Ulrike Hamann and Serhat Karakayali, "Practicing Willkommenskultur: Migration and Solidarity in Germany," *Intersections. East European Journal of Society and Politics* 2, no. 4 (2016): 75.

<sup>20</sup> Glorius, 67.

<sup>21</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 72.

<sup>22</sup> Triadafilopoulos Triadafilos and Schönwälder Karen, "How the Federal Republic Became an Immigration Country: Norms, Politics and the Failure of West Germany's Guest Worker System," 24, no. 3 (2006): 8.

<sup>23</sup> Second paragraph of Article 16 a of the German constitution (in German: Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland).

<sup>24</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 72-73.

<sup>25</sup> Serhat, 7.

meant that the citizenship was determined by blood, whereas after 2000 the definition of the citizenship includes also *jus soli* rule which gives rights also to individuals born in Germany.<sup>26</sup>

In 2005 the new immigration law<sup>27</sup> entered into force. It was a milestone for the German approach on migration.<sup>28</sup> This is when Germany finally officially declared itself as a country of immigration. Moreover, integration was defined as a legal duty. Knowing this context is essential for understanding the concept of Willkommenskultur and its emergence. The following section will explain how and when the term Willkommenskultur has emerged.

### 2.3. Emergence of the term Willkommenskultur

The term Willkommenskultur was first used in the politics 10 years before the “refugee crisis” has started. The concept has developed since 2005 to improve perceptions of immigration.<sup>29</sup> It was introduced by economists and employers’ associations such as the VDI (*Verein deutscher Ingenieure*, Association of German engineers), the BDA (*Bund Deutscher Arbeitgeber*, Federation of German Employers) and some political parties (such as CDU; Christian democratic Union of Germany; and FDP, Free democratic party). The term Willkommenskultur was introduced to attract foreign labour, since Germany desperately needed qualified labour due to concerns about shrinking German population.<sup>30</sup> The term denoted welcoming practices towards the specific group of immigrants; the qualified labour.

In the context of the new immigration law from 2005 the term Willkommenskultur became instrumental to promote the acceptance of being a country of immigration.<sup>31</sup> The term was at that time used only in connection with the recruitment of specialists and did not encompass the refugees or the population with a migration background.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, this narrow understanding of the Willkommenskultur is still present today. Some of the economic elite consider migration beneficial for the German economy.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The German Nationality Act of 2000.

<sup>27</sup> German name of the law: Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern.

<sup>28</sup> Trauner and Turton, 35.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>30</sup> Serhat, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Trauner and Turton, 35.

<sup>32</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 73.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



### 2.3.1. Transformation of the meaning of Willkommenskultur

However, in summer of 2015, the meaning of Willkommenskultur has changed, and its notion received a less utilitarian sense.<sup>34</sup> Since 2015, Willkommenskultur denotes a positive attitude towards a much wider group of people, not just the qualified labour. Images of applause welcoming the refugees in the Munich train station became a symbol of the Willkommenskultur in a wider sense. Applause and welcoming signs became a widespread phenomenon across all Germany and it was coupled with the founding of many independent local relief organisations, which mostly consist of volunteers, which mean that they freely work without being paid. These organisations offer diverse support to refugees; German courses, other courses (like Math), buddy program (in German Patenschaften), help with the German administration, sports events, international cuisine events, open doors of the refugee's accommodation, etc. At this stage, the concept of the Willkommenskultur also became a popular concept used by civil society actors and media.<sup>35</sup> Some German newspapers published articles in Arabic to welcome the refugees.<sup>36</sup>

However, volunteer relief organisations existed already prior to 2015. For example, after the second World War, relief organisations and volunteers provided a wide range of support to displaced persons and refugees. In the late 1970s, when Vietnamese refugees arrived in West Germany, many Germans gave practical and financial support to the so-called “boat people”. Later, in the 1990s, many voluntary aid organizations emerged to support refugees from the Balkans.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, many scholars argue that the current refugee solidarity movement is in many ways an outcome of the previous experience and the knowledge of mentioned grassroots organisations.<sup>38</sup> The German context of prosperity and its history has had huge impact on the emergence of the “Willkommenskultur”. Because of its Nazi past, many Germans believe that the state has a moral obligation to help the international world when they are in need, as is the case in this political crisis of migration.<sup>39</sup> In 2015, German president Joachim Gauck argued that Germany had a “moral duty” to protect refugees because Germans were refugees themselves after the Second World War.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Trauner and Turton, 36.

<sup>36</sup> Holmes and Castañeda, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Hamann and Karakayali.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Triadafilos and Karen.

<sup>40</sup> Holmes and Castañeda, 15.

For many political and academic observers the Willkommenskultur on a societal level came as a surprise.<sup>41</sup> However, the number of volunteers has been growing already before 2015 so the Willkommenskultur did not come “out of nowhere” as some perceived it.<sup>42</sup> A survey from 2014 shows that the number of volunteers had already increased from 2011 by around 70 per cent.<sup>43</sup> This shows that interest for volunteering has already evidently grown before the start of the Willkommenskultur.

Heckmann identifies four levels of a Willkommenskultur: the individual level, the level on interpersonal relations, the organizations / institutions level, and the level on a society as a whole. Willkommenskultur on the personal level means to have unprejudiced attitude towards people from another group.<sup>44</sup> The level of institutions and organizations is about the existence of the anti-discrimination regulations. Willkommenskultur on the level of a society (societal level) includes the existence of opening and welcoming practices towards new members of a society. Heckmann argues that the society must acknowledge itself as a society of immigration, as a prerequisite to become a welcoming culture.<sup>45</sup> This prerequisite was fulfilled in Germany in 2000 with the new immigration law.

#### 2.4. Anti-refugee movement

Parallel to the emergence of the Willkommenskultur there could be observed an increase of anti-refugee attitudes. These are often coming from prejudices towards refugees. Prejudice is an attitude directed towards people because they are members of a specific social group.<sup>46</sup> People can hold negative and positive attitudes towards a social group. There are diverse reasons for the emotional reactions to social groups; fear or anxiety due to perception of threat by another social group, perception of a direct competition for same goals, or perception of having different goals.<sup>47</sup> An arson attack on the shelters of asylum seekers and the rise of the protest movement PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) and the right-wing party Alternative for Germany (AfD) present the growing anti-migration

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<sup>41</sup> Hamann and Karakayali.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> S. and O. J. Kleist Karakayali, "Strukturen Und Motive Der Ehrenamtlichen Flüchtlingsarbeit (Efa) in Deutschland," (Berlin: Berliner Institut für empirische Integrations- und Migrationsforschung (BIM), Humboldt-Universität,, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> Friedrich Heckmann, "Willkommenskultur Was Ist Das, Und Wie Kann Sie Entstehen Und Wie Kann Sie Entstehen Und Entwickelt Werden.," in *Europäisches forum für Migrationsstudien* (Bamberg2012), 12.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 13-15.

<sup>46</sup> Brewer & Brown, 1998 cited in Bernard E. Whitley and Mary E. Kite, "Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination," *Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination* (Routledge, 2016). 15.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 16.

attitudes.<sup>48</sup> Since autumn 2014 PEGIDA has been holding regular protests against the perceived Islamisation of Germany.<sup>49</sup> The AfD started as a market-liberal single issue anti-euro party, and then turned into a nationalist and populist right-wing party.<sup>50</sup> On the federal election in autumn 2017 has AfD as a third largest party (with 12,6% of votes) entered Parliament. AfD has strong anti-refugee attitude with its "zero immigration" policy. Many AfD members view migrants from Muslim-majority countries and Africa as a potential threat to the security or stability of Germany.<sup>51</sup>

Unfortunately, anti-refugee sentiments often result in racial and religiously motivated violence towards refugees or refugees' accommodation. In February 2017, the German Interior Ministry announced that nearly 10-acts of anti-refugee violence occurred each day across the country in 2016 which is a big increase compared with previous years. Below is the diagram that shows the data from 2015 to 2017. Assault upon refugees and refugee housing have multiplied; in 2015 there were documented 188 incidents of physical violence towards refugees, 125 fire attack and 936 other offences towards refugee accommodation. In 2016 were the numbers even higher, 595 physical attacks, 116 fire attacks and 3067 other offences.<sup>52</sup> In comparison to year 2012 when there were only 24 registered cases and 43 in 2013.<sup>53</sup> We can observe a high peak of attacks in 2016, followed by a decrease in 2017. However, the number of attacks in 2017 was still higher from 2015.

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<sup>48</sup> Trauner and Turton, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Stefanie C. Boulila and Christiane Carri, "On Cologne: Gender, Migration and Unacknowledged Racisms in Germany," *The European Journal of Women* 24, no. 3 (2017): 287.

<sup>50</sup> Sebastian Jäckle and Pascal D. König, "The Dark Side of the German "Welcome Culture": Investigating the Causes Behind Attacks on Refugees in 2015," *West European Politics* 40, no. 2 (2017): 223.

<sup>51</sup> Mara Bierbach, "German General Elections: Afd, Cdu, Spd: Where Do German Parties Stand on Refugees, Asylum and Immigration?," DW, <http://p.dw.com/p/2kOlw>.

<sup>52</sup> PRO ASYL, "Gewalt Gegen Flüchtlinge 2017: Von Entwarnung Kann Keine Rede Sein," <https://www.proasyl.de/news/gewalt-gegen-fluechtlinge-2017-von-entwarnung-kann-keine-rede-sein/>.

<sup>53</sup> Hinger, 80.

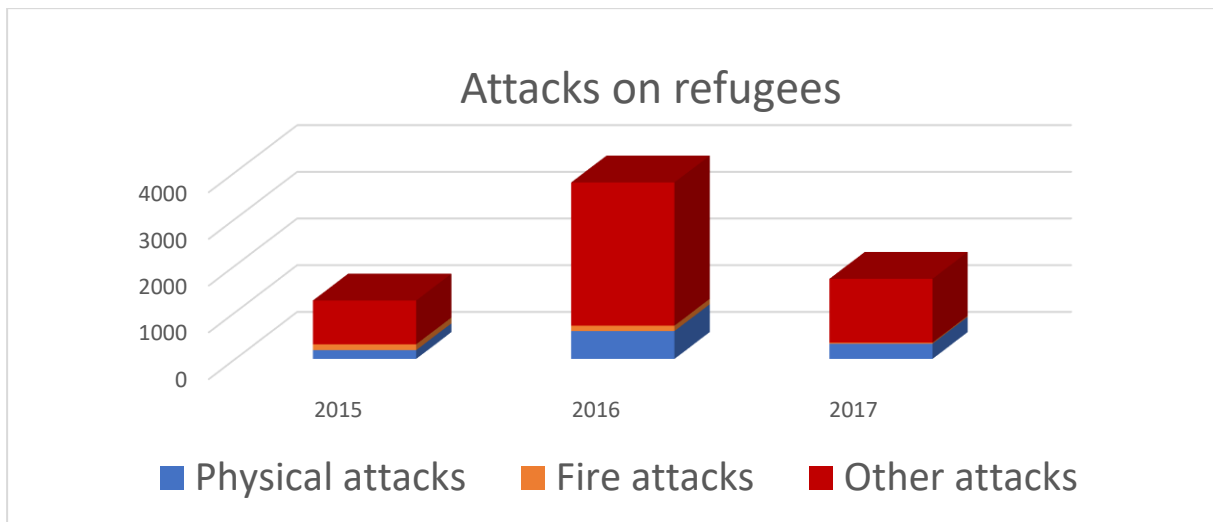


Figure 2: Numbers of attacks on refugees and refugees` accommodation from 2015 to 2017

These numbers show a huge increase of the anti-refugee violence since the beginning of the “refugee crisis”. Parallel to that, German government adopted more restricted immigration policies.

#### 2.5. Change of the attitude on a political level

In October 2015 Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro were added to a list of “Safe Third Countries”.<sup>54</sup> Asylum seekers from these states are placed in special reception facilities and their applications are processed much faster than others, and they are also excluded from German language classes and other integration measures since their chances to receive an asylum status are very close to zero.<sup>55</sup> Besides, Germany took measures that make family reunification considerably more difficult for refugees, especially for those that have a status of subsidiary protection which is supposedly more temporary.<sup>56</sup> Nils Muižnieks, the Commissioner for Human Rights of Council of Europe, argues that a long-term separation from their families has an immensely negative impact on refugees, indirectly also on the success of their integration. The stress, sleeping disorders and depression related to the separation from families might slow down language learning.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> "Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz (Law for an Acceleration of Asylum Procedures), Bgbl. , in 1722 (23 October 2015, ).

<sup>55</sup> 82.

<sup>56</sup> Joachim C. Haberlen, "Making Friends: Refugees and Volunteers in Germany.(Essay)," *German Politics and Society* 34, no. 3 (2016): 55.

<sup>57</sup> Nils Muižnieks, "Ending Restrictions on Family Reunification: Good for Refugees, Good for Host Societies," <https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/ending-restrictions-on-family-reunification-good-for-refugees-good-for-host-societies?desktop=true>.

Furthermore, Germany has had a lead in negotiating the EU-Turkey deal of March 2016 that allows to return to Turkey all migrants if they enter Greece illegally by sea.<sup>58</sup> This was an attempt to curb migration closer to the source and therefore to shift the burden of responsibility for the migrants outside of Europe. This was not a solution, it was just a mean of avoiding the responsibility. The European governments have been severely criticised for shirking their international commitments to refugee protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, this deal is still “questionable in legal and ethical terms”.<sup>60</sup> The deal has been also criticized due to the presumption that Turkey is a safe third country.<sup>61</sup>

The discourse about migration has also shifted in the mainstream parties such as CDU. CDU with its leader the Chancellor Angela Merkel was the dominant party promoting the Willkommenskultur in 2015. CDU has a refugees-friendly program with no upper limit for how many refugees can enter Germany each year. However, the party’s prominent member Thomas de Maiziere, the German minister of interior has popularised the term “arrival culture” (in German *Ankommenskultur*). He highlighted that migrants must respect German values and norms thereby shifting the responsibility for a successful integration again to the refugees.<sup>62</sup> In order to aim for a successful integration, both sides must play part in the process. This will be further discussed in the theory chapter.

Attacks in 2015, such as the terrorist attack in Paris in November and sexual assaults on New Year’s in Cologne, have strongly influenced the attitudes towards migration and refugees in whole Europe. Some scholars argue that the events of Cologne were the turning point in the debate about migration in Germany.<sup>63</sup> According to police reports and witnesses, hundreds of women were sexually molested and mugged by “North African or Arabian” men.<sup>64</sup> Media reports changed from praising the Willkommenskultur to accusations and dividing the involved into perpetrators and victims.<sup>65</sup> The debate turned to the dangers of “political correctness”, “too liberal” immigration policies and “Muslim patriarchy”.<sup>66</sup> The events in Cologne became the

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<sup>58</sup> Trauner and Turton, 39.

<sup>59</sup> Kim Rygiel, Feyzi Baban, and Suzan Ilcan, "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: The Eu-Turkey 'Deal' and Temporary Protection," *Global Social Policy* 16, no. 3 (2016): 315-16.

<sup>60</sup> James Angelos, "Becoming European.," *The New York Times Magazine* (2016): 2.

<sup>61</sup> M. Gkliati, "The Eu-Turkey Deal and the Safe Third Country Concept before the Greek Asylum Appeals Committees," *Movements* (2017): 213.

<sup>62</sup> Trauner and Turton, 40.

<sup>63</sup> Boulila and Carri, 286.

<sup>64</sup> Haberlen, 55.

<sup>65</sup> Anna Maria Stadler, "The Challenged Nation State: How to Successfully Integrate Refugees into German Society" (Uppsala University, 2016), 20.

<sup>66</sup> Boulila and Carri, 286.

realisation of the “terrorist threat” and proof that the asylum seekers that had arrived to Germany were impossible to integrate.<sup>67</sup> This is problematic, especially when fears are being used for political purposes – to gain votes on the elections. An example for that is one of the slogans of AfD in the last federal elections in 2017. Next to a picture with refugees on a boat in the Mediterranean Sea was written: In distress? Rather the next crime wave! (52% more immigrant crime in 2017). This is a clear indication to threats that the refugees present.<sup>68</sup>

Stricter immigration policies, the Turkey deal and statements like the mentioned from Thomas de Maiziere are some of the indicators for the shift in a political level. This applies that a political level of Willkommenskultur has become weaker, comparing to the beginning of the “refugee crisis” when the government suspended the “Dublin regulation” and Angela Merkel declared that “We can do it”. This goes hand in hand with some voices saying that Willkommenskultur would be short-lived.<sup>69</sup> However, as I will show in the fifth chapter (Case study), the Willkommenskultur on a societal level seems to be still very strong. In the next two chapters, I will elaborate on theoretical framework and discuss the methodological considerations that are related to my study case.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 288.

<sup>68</sup> Ingo Rentz, "Mit Diesen Plakaten Gehen Die Großen Parteien Ins Rennen," <http://www.horizont.net/marketing/nachrichten/Bundestagswahl-2017-Mit-diesen-Plakaten-gehen-die-grossen-Parteien-ins-Rennen-160225>.

<sup>69</sup> Chris Hann, "The Fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur," *Anthropology Today* 31, no. 6 (2015).

### 3. Theoretical framework

This chapter will elaborate the theoretical framework required to assess the role of the host society in the integration process. The thesis seeks to explore the role of the Willkommenskultur in relation to the integration process. There is no one theory that would address the Willkommenskultur as a whole. Instead, we can use a range of concepts.

Firstly, I will present the concept of integration which is used with widely differing meanings.<sup>70</sup> I will focus on understanding of integration as a two-way process since this was the most common definition mentioned by interviewees (the volunteers). Besides, their understanding of integration is often inter-connected with their motivation for volunteering in their neighbourhood. I am using the integration as a concept because it addresses the role of the host society in the integration process which is the focus of this study.

Then I will present the theory of social movements which will be used to explain the structure of Willkommenskultur as a movement. I will research the elements of the new social movements and focus especially on the goals of such movements.

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<sup>70</sup> Alastair Ager and Alison Strang, "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21, no. 2 (2008): 166.

### 3.1. Integration

There is no universal established definition, theory or model of integration.<sup>71</sup> Robinson has defined integration as a “chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most.”<sup>72</sup> The concept is “individualized, contested and contextual”.<sup>73</sup> It can be defined as the “changing relationship between relative newcomers to a country and the society in which they live”<sup>74</sup>. The research on integration is mainly focused on the optimal relationship between migrants and the host society.<sup>75</sup> This will be partly focus of this study too.

Nowadays, we can divide researchers of integration into two groups: researchers focused on migrants’ one-way integration (assimilation, adaptation) and the authors who are focusing on a two-way process in which the host society also changes.<sup>76</sup> One of the approaches within the second group of researchers is multiculturalism. In multiculturalism, “cultural difference between ethnic groups is acknowledged as a continuing feature”.<sup>77</sup> Multiculturalism promotes participation of all different society groups in economic, political, and social spheres. One of the main goals of the integration research is to strive for defining the conditions for a “successful” integration. Considering this, I will present theories that acknowledge the importance of the host society in the integration process.

#### 3.1.1. Two-way process

Understanding integration as a two-way process is crucial for understanding the role of the host society and the existence of Willkommenskultur on a societal level. One of the volunteers described the connection between the two as:

*“Willkommenskultur means to make a step forward to people arriving to our country, because integration is two-sided process. We cannot demand from them to learn our culture or language by themselves. We need to show them that they are welcome and that we want them to stay and give them opportunity to stay.”*

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>72</sup> Robinson V., "Defining and Measuring Successful Refugee Integration, Proceedings of Ecre," in *International Conference on Integration of Refugees in Europe* (Antwerp,: Brussels ECRE, November 1998 ), 118.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> S. Spencer and B. Cooper, "Social Integration of Migrants in Europe: A Review of the European Literature 2000 – 2006," ([http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/ER-2006-Integration\\_Europe\\_Literature\\_Review\\_OECD.pdf](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/ER-2006-Integration_Europe_Literature_Review_OECD.pdf)2006), 13.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>76</sup> Viktorija Gnatenko, "Integration of Unaccompanied Asylum Seeking and Refugee Minors in Sweden" (Linneuniversitetet, 2016), 12.

<sup>77</sup> Spencer and Cooper.



It is important to understand integration as “a process of a mutual accommodation, and thus the need to consider means of social connection between refugees and other members of the community...”<sup>78</sup> As a two-way process, it requires the host society to be open for integration and welcoming towards the immigrants. As a consequence, the social norms and values of both groups (immigrants and host society) slowly modify during the interaction among them.<sup>79</sup> Sauer emphasizes the reciprocity of integration processes, since they trigger changes among migrants and the host society.<sup>80</sup> The term »Ankommenskultur« is negating the reciprocity of the integration process since it demands only the change of the refugees.

Heckmann perceives integration as both a process and an outcome. He provides us with a definition of integration as a gradual process of becoming a member and as a give and take that requires commitment from migrants and openness and support from the host society. As an outcome, Heckmann understands integrations as equal participation within political, economic, educational and cultural institutions. He argues that with integration the differences between natives and migrants increasingly disappear and the former migrants become new natives.<sup>81</sup>

### 3.1.2. Social integration

In this section Esser’s integration theory is presented. Esser describes integration as cohesion of individual parts in a whole, where each part affects the entire system and other parts of the system. According to him, the interdependence between actors is the foundation of integration.<sup>82</sup> Esser distinguishes between the concepts of system and social integration. Concepts of system integration refers to the relationship between the parts and subsystems of a social system. I will present his theory of social integration, which focuses on individuals and the manner in which they are integrated into an existing system.<sup>83</sup>

There are four levels of social integration; cultururation (or cultural integration), positioning, interaction and identification.<sup>84</sup> Cultururation refers to knowledge and particular skills, for example language skills, for being able to interact in an appropriate and successful manner. It

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<sup>78</sup> Ager and Strang, 177.

<sup>79</sup> Popoola, 2002, cited in Anita Cvetkovic, "The Integration of Immigrants in Northern Sweden: A Case Study of the Municipality of Strömsund," *International Migration* 47, no. 1 (2009): 121.

<sup>80</sup> Karin Elinor Sauer, *Integrationsprozesse Von Kindern in Multikulturellen Gesellschaften* (VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2007).

<sup>81</sup> Friedrich Heckmann, *Integration Von Migranten* (VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2015), 82, 288.

<sup>82</sup> Hartmut Esser, "Integration Und Ethnische Schichtung " *Arbeitspapiere „Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung“* (2001): 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

covers also cultural norms and rules of behaviour.<sup>85</sup> Successful cultururation depends on opportunities and thus Willkommenskultur projects in a form of language courses or other activities provide favourable circumstances for refugees. Learning the local language constitutes the key to a successful fulfilling of other levels of social integration. Cultururation mainly refers to migrant population but it comprises also cultural adaptations of the host society, if necessary. Therefore, it is a mutual process between host society and the refugees.<sup>86</sup>

The most important level of social integration is positioning, according to Esser. Positioning denotes »individual's acquirement of a particular social position«<sup>87</sup>. Cultururation and positioning are interlinked. The better you know the language, the bigger are your chances to get a job, for example. Acceptance by the host society is an important part of positioning. Discrimination towards refugees may present a huge obstacle for positioning.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, the violence towards refugees and their accommodation or unequal treatment in a job application process hinder the positioning.

The third level of social integration is interaction. It refers to “the establishment of social contacts within an everyday environment”.<sup>89</sup> Also in this level the opportunities for interaction are very important element for success. Establishment of a network with the host society from the very beginning is a significant determinant of a successful integration.<sup>90</sup> The one to one interaction in Willkommenskultur projects is in large measure contributing to networking between the host society and the refugees. An example for a contradictory measure withing integration policy is accommodating the refugees together in a particular part of a city, separate or even remote from the host society.<sup>91</sup>

The last level is identification which is described as emotional relationship between individuals and the social system as a whole. It denotes a process of becoming a member of collective structures, as for example collective spirit or national pride.<sup>92</sup> Once again, this level of social integration is largely dependent on the openness of the host society. The attitude and behaviour

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<sup>85</sup> Stadler, 13.

<sup>86</sup> Heckmann, 72,73.

<sup>87</sup> Stadler, 14.

<sup>88</sup> Heckmann, 205-08.

<sup>89</sup> Stadler, 15.

<sup>90</sup> Esser, 74.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 12.

of the host society is a crucial element on all four levels of integration.<sup>93</sup> Both Esser and Heckmann emphasize the importance of equal chances and participation.<sup>94</sup>

Esser argues that a social integration relies upon the level of cultural difference between the host society and the refugees' country of origin. When the difference between the languages, religion and eating or clothing habits is bigger, the integration process is harder.<sup>95</sup> Other circumstances that may influence the integration process is refugee's age and education.<sup>96</sup>

It is important to acknowledge that integration is not instant but a process that evolves over time.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, an awareness of being an immigration society and development of integration policy are as well very important requirements for a successful integration.<sup>98</sup> All four levels of social integration (culturation, positioning, interaction and identification) emphasize the importance of openness of the host society. The host society is a subject of change too and this understanding is a prerequisite for emergence of Willkommenskultur.

Esser emphasises four possible outcomes of social integration: multiple integration, marginality, assimilation and segmentation. Multiple integration denotes integration into the country of origin and the host society which does not have many chances to occur. To marginality comes when there is no social integration at all. Esser defines assimilation as a social integration into the host society, where ethnic groups adjust to each other. Segmentation refers to social integration into the country of origin or into ethnic communities in the host society.<sup>99</sup> Esser's definition of assimilation is what is commonly understood as a successful integration. Therefore, his understanding of assimilation does not refer to complete adaptation of the refugees to the host society.

Willkommenskultur projects are based on inter-relations between refugees and volunteers and this has a potential for reducing prejudices and contributing to positive inter-group relations. An interesting perspective is to investigate how the contact between refugees and locals

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 21 and 22. Heckmann, 288.

<sup>95</sup> Esser, 25 and 74.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 26-28.

<sup>97</sup> Stadler, 16.

<sup>98</sup> Heckmann, 279-82.

<sup>99</sup> Esser, 21 and 73.

contributes to positive group relations.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, a lack of social integration between both groups brings risks to the social unity.<sup>101</sup>

#### 3.1.4. Critique of a term integration

Term “integration” caters to the perceived or imposed superiority of the local society and this contrasts with the definition of integration in this thesis. I defined integration as a two-way process, where both parties are subject to change. Therefore, it might be worthwhile to abolish this term since it does not directly acknowledge the role of the host society. Instead of the term integration, another term such as “social inclusion” should be used instead. This is crucial especially for the political sphere since it would prevent to abuse such terms for the political purposes (for instance to talk about “Ankommenskultur”). As a result, integration as such is something that the refugees must go through by adapting to German rules and values and that the integration into the host society depends just on them. Therefore, to prevent using the term integration with a narrower definition as a one-way process in the politics, the best thing to do would be to start using another term.

Like term “integration”, also term “host society” applies the superiority of the “host society” towards the refugees that are integrating. Besides, it may be also applying to the temporality of refugees’ stay in the host country. The term “host” applies that the refugees are “guests” in the host society. Being a guest means that you are visiting for a period and then you “go back home”, which is in this case their origin country. These applications are in contradiction to the understanding integration as a mutual two-way process. This term emphasizes the exclusion from the “host society”. Therefore, a term such as “local society” would be more appropriate.

This subchapter scrutinized understanding of integration as a two-way process and the role of the host society. The following subchapter will deal with the new social movement theory which will be in the analysis chapter used to study the Willkommenskultur as a movement.

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<sup>100</sup> A contact group theory deals with this question.

<sup>101</sup> Satoshi Adachi, "Social Integration in Post-Multiculturalism: An Analysis of Social Integration Policy in Post-War Britain," *International Journal of Japanese Sociology* 20, no. 1 (2011): 108.

### 3.2. New social movements

Willkommenskultur has become a nation-wide movement. Building upon the new social movement theory this subchapter explores the dynamic of the movement, its objectives, social base and organizational structure. This framework will be used in the analysis chapter to define Willkommenskultur as a new social movement.

#### 3.2.1. Social movement theories

Social movement theory is an interdisciplinary study that studies social mobilization. At first, sociologists explained movements as random occurrences of individuals who were emotionally reacting to situations outside their control. These psychologically-based theories (collective behaviour) were developed in the early and middle-1900s. Other examples of theories that deal with social movements are relative deprivation theory and rational choice theory. Since 1960s it has been developing a new approach, which is called the new social movements (NSMs). It is based on the fact that the movements today are categorically different and that therefore there was a need for a new group of theories. This view emerged in Europe as an alternative to the limited Marxism.<sup>102</sup> Marxism focuses on economic or class-based movements, while new social movements opened for other topics, and focus on quality of life and non-material dimensions.<sup>103</sup> The central claims of NSMs are that NSMs are a result of the shift to a post-industrial economy and that they are different from the social movements of the industrial age. NSMs are a product of the post material age. Post material age is called also a mature capitalism or post industrialism.<sup>104</sup> I will first present the qualitative differences between NSMs and earlier examples of mainly class-based social movements.

#### 3.2.2. What is »new« in new social movements?

The first claim is that the NSMs are fundamentally different from the »old« movements. These differences appear in the ideology and goals of the movements, members, strategies and structures and members.<sup>105</sup> One of the crucial differences between NSMs and “conventional” movements refer to the demands and objectives.<sup>106</sup> The conventional movements, like the revolutionary wave of 1848 and the Paris Commune, have prioritized material dimensions and class interests. NSMs focus on “cultural and symbolic issues that are linked with issues of

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<sup>102</sup> Della Porta Donatella and Diani Mario, *Social Movements: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 1999), 11.

<sup>103</sup> Marcia Lise, "Does the State Turn 'New' Social Movements into 'Old' Social Movements?" (London Metropolitan University), 13.

<sup>104</sup> Nelson A. Pichardo, "New Social Movements: A Critical Review," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997): 412.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

<sup>106</sup> Burcu Togral Koca, "New Social Movements: "Refugees Welcome Uk".(Report)," 12, no. 2 (2016): 100.

identity”.<sup>107</sup> Also old movements can express identity claims but the focus on identity in the NSMs is unique because: “Identity politics also express the belief that identity itself – its elaboration, expression, or affirmation – is and should be a fundamental focus of political work. In this way, the politics of identity have led to an unprecedented politicization of previously non-political terrains [...]”.<sup>108</sup> Another ideological feature of NSMs is its self-reflective character which means that the members of the movement are constantly questioning the meaning of what is being done. The constant questioning leads to the conscious choices of structure and organisation of the movements.<sup>109</sup>

Further, NSMs are based on “less ‘objective’ elements such as [...] status, humanism, and spirituality.”<sup>110</sup> NSMs promotes the rights of marginalized groups (such as women, gay) and protects environment from destructive capitalistic economy.<sup>111</sup> Similarly, the demands and objectives of the Willkommenskultur in Germany are based on humanism and human rights discourses, since they are promoting the rights of refugees.

Next crucial difference between the »new« and »old« social movements is the base of the support and the membership profile. The structure of the conventional movements was mostly class-based, such as labour unions. There are two views on who are the members of NSMs and why they join. The first view places the support within the “new” middle class that represents the workers in the non-productive sectors of the economy. The second view on membership is that the members are not defined by class boundaries but by common values.<sup>112</sup> The NSMs structure is multi-class and heterogenous.<sup>113</sup> The members of NSMs have different backgrounds with diverse social status, mixed age, gender, sexual orientation and professions.<sup>114</sup> The members of NSMs do not need to be disadvantaged, on contrary, they tend to be highly educated. The reason that the educated people join the NSMs could be in that that they are more competent to form their own understanding and are less trustful to judgments of others.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield, "Identities, Grievances, and New Social Movements," in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, ed. Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 7.

<sup>108</sup> L. A. Kauffman, "The Anti-Politics of Identity," *Socialist Review* 20 (1990): 67.

<sup>109</sup> Pichardo, 415.

<sup>110</sup> Larana, Johnston, and Gusfield, 21.

<sup>111</sup> Koca, 100.

<sup>112</sup> Pichardo, 416 and 17.

<sup>113</sup> Koca, 101.

<sup>114</sup> Larana, Johnston, and Gusfield, 6.

<sup>115</sup> Claus Offe and Claus Offe, "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics," *Social Research* 52, no. 4 (1985): 851.

Furthermore, NSMs use new mobilization strategies which are characterized by nonviolence and often challenge dominant norms of conduct.<sup>116</sup> Especially, social media is playing “a substantial role in creating and spreading the language of resistance”.<sup>117</sup> New media tools offers alternative to the conventional strikes and demonstrations. Besides, the NSMs have an anti-institutional tactical orientation which means that they usually prefer to stay outside of normal political channels.<sup>118</sup>

Another difference between NSMs and conventional movements is their organizational structure. The conventional movements were centralized, hierarchical and formal. On the other hand, the NSMs are decentralized, segmented, diffuse and informal, based on volunteers.<sup>119</sup> NSMs have a “leaderless horizontal structure”.<sup>120</sup> Willkommenskultur movement has as well as decentralized, diffused and informal structure. NGOs and self-organization volunteer groups work parallel next to each other and there is no common representative or organizational leadership.

However, the connection between the “old” and “new” social movements should not be underestimated. Like conventional labour movements, the NSMs also try “to challenge oppression and inequality arising from the capitalist economy”.<sup>121</sup> Also the »refugee crisis« is in many ways a result of the capitalistic structure of the West world and its military actions in the areas from where the refugees are coming from.

### 3.2.3. Is it enough new for a new theory?

The new social movement theory is criticised for categorizing itself as a new theory and not as a part of the old theories. Some say that it is still difficult to talk about a “theory” of a new social movement<sup>122</sup> and that it is just a certain instance of the social movement theory and not a new theory by itself. Pichardo is strongly opposing the NSMs as a new theory. He argues that except the issue of identity, the “new” characteristics of contemporary movements are not unique at all. The main contributions of the NSM perspective are therefore its emphases on

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<sup>116</sup> Larana, Johnston, and Gusfield, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Perrin Öğün Emre, Barış Çoban, and Gülüm Şener, "Humorous Form of Protest: Disproportionate Use of Intelligence in Gezi Park's Resistance," in *Paper presented at Politsci' 13 Political Science Conference* (Istanbul, Turkey, 2014), 7.

<sup>118</sup> Pichardo, 415-16.

<sup>119</sup> Koca, 103.

<sup>120</sup> Laknath Gunathilake, "New Social Movements and Effective Mobilization of People," (2012): 4.

<sup>121</sup> Koca, 104.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

identity, culture and the role of the civil society.<sup>123</sup> However, in his opinion, these contributions are not enough for a new theory.

Pichardo criticizes NSMs also for excluding the right-wing movements from its research, which is with the current growth of right-wing movements especially relevant. NSMs is focused only on the left-wing movements. He argues that also the movements on the right (like militia movements, right-to-life) are linked to changes in social structure and that therefore contemporary conservative movements should be included.<sup>124</sup> An example for such a movement would be the anti-refugee movement in Germany.

Nevertheless, for this study, which is scrutinizing the role of the host society in the integration process, the question whether NSMs is an alone-standing theory or just a certain instant of the social movement theory is not so relevant. The theory of NSMs serves as a framework to study the structure of the Willkommenskultur as a movement. Both theoretical concepts, the concept of the integration and the new social movement theory, will be the framework for the analysis of the data from the semi-structured interviews and from the secondary data.

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<sup>123</sup> Pichardo, 425.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 413 and 26.



## 4. Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodological considerations relevant to my study. It will elaborate the research design and fieldwork process. My study is about the relationship between the process of integration and the phenomenon Willkommenskultur in Germany, more precisely about the role of the host society in the integration. I have decided to use qualitative methods for my study, more precisely the semi-structured interviews. The aim of the interviews was to get personal views on these questions from the volunteers. Conducting a qualitative study enabled me to get to know and understand their motivation for volunteering and their vision on the integration process in Germany. The fifth chapter will scrutinize my study case and explain why is the focus of thesis the Willkommenskultur on a societal level. There I will also present the volunteers and Willkommenskultur projects that are subject of my study.

The first section is about the case selection where I will present why is the study located in the city Frankfurt am Main and the reasons for conducting semi-structural interviews. Then I will talk about the sampling and the downsides of a small sample.

In the next section I will present the fieldwork process, which includes planning and conducting the interviews. The study was held in Germany, while I am coming from another European country. This might bring some challenges for me as a researcher. The biggest challenge for me was the language. I conducted interviews mostly in German language and one in English, and none of these languages is my mother tongue. I will scrutinize all challenges related to use of a foreign language in the study.

The last two sections deal with the secondary data which I have also used and with the analysis plan where I explain how the analysis in the following chapter will be conducted.

#### 4.1. Case selection

Although Willkommenskultur is spread all over the country, my study is focused on Frankfurt am Main where I conducted the interviews with the volunteers. The first reason to conduct a study in Frankfurt is its multi-culturally. The scale of the multi-culturally of the city is presented in the third chapter. The second reason is the fact that I know the city and the area quite well. In 2013 I have spent one trimester of bachelor study (Erasmus exchange) in the neighbouring city Wiesbaden. In the study case chapter, I will present the city because it is an important context of my data.

I have decided to collect qualitative data by interviewing volunteers to gain their personal insights and perceptions. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner because they enable in-depth responses and more room for spontaneous answers. Semi-structured interviews are a combination of a pre-determined questions which are open-ended and additional questions that arise when doing the interview. The questions were based on an interview guideline. A semi-structured form of interview gives the interviewee more freedom to elaborate on aspects that are more important to him/her.<sup>125</sup>

My target group were volunteers at any Willkommenskultur project in the city of Frankfurt. I conducted eight interviews with volunteers at different Willkommenskultur projects in Frankfurt am Main. I got in touch with one of them via a German student at University of Tromsø who knew a volunteer in Frankfurt. The other seven contacts I got from the first interviewee. I contacted them via email. Therefore, sampling was based on a snowball sample. The downside of this is that I could not control the representability of the sample.

The sampling was not representative since I got most of the contacts (7 out of 8) from already interviewed volunteers who gave me contacts of the other volunteers that would most likely be willing to meet with me. This means that the sampling was biased. They all first agreed to be contacted and with that they showed an interest to be part of study. Moreover, a sample of eight interviews is not representative due to its small size. The study is therefore not representative because of its small size and biased sampling. Taking this into account, the data from my study cannot reflect the general understandings of volunteers. Instead, the data reflects only the perceptions of these eight volunteers. This is a downside of my sample. However, their personal views may serve as a directive that points to the issues that need to be explored.

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<sup>125</sup> Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford university press, 2012), 473.

## 4.2. Planning and Conducting interviews

I contacted the interviewees via email. After their agreement on meeting I asked them to suggest a place to meet. With four interviewees I met at their home or home of their friend (also an interviewee), with one at a calm café and with other four at the building of their volunteering activities (before or after the German course).

Seven interviews were conducted in German and one in English. The experience of interviewing in two languages made me even more aware of the language barriers when interviewing. This problematic will be further discussed in the following subchapter.

Before starting I informed the interviewees about my status as a student researcher from Norway and my thesis topic. The consent of the interviewees was given orally before the start of the interview. I asked for their allowance to tape record the conversations which they all gave me. The data was transcribed in an anonymous manner and the files were saved on a password protected computer. The tape recordings were deleted right after I transcribed the conversations. The process of data collection and working with the data has been approved by Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

## 4.3. The challenges in conducting qualitative research

When preparing for the study, conducting the interviews and analysing the data I as a research have confronted some limitations that influence the study. First circumstance that needs to be taken in consideration is my role as a researcher. Coming from another country, Slovenia and not having previous knowledge of the integration projects in Frankfurt am Main made me more distant to the interviewees and might provide me with more objectivity. However, I have been volunteering with refugees myself in other countries and so volunteers felt closer to me and this made the power relations between me as a researcher and the volunteers as interviewees less hierarchical. This could reflect on more open and honest conversation. I am aware of my position as a research and therefore I cannot fully be an insider or outsider.<sup>126</sup>

My biggest challenge in the study was a language. I have decided to use the mother tongue of the interviewees which was German, the reasons for that will be presented later. Klaus, the only younger interviewee, proposed to conduct the interview in English to avoid the translation. Translation dilemmas is a huge challenge when doing a study in one language and writing the analysis in another language. Some words cannot be properly translated to English because of

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<sup>126</sup> Sonya Corbin Dwyer and Jennifer L. Buckle, "The Space Between: On Being an Insider- Outsider in Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (2009): 61.

cultural differences or because there are no equivalent words in English.<sup>127</sup> For example, I have decided to keep the original German word *Willkommenskultur* and not a translated term. I believe that there is no appropriate English word that would encompass the whole cultural meaning behind the term. Also, in my analysis I have dealt with some challenges how to translate German expressions into English so that they would have the same sense.

There are many reasons for my decision to conduct the interviews in German. Using the mother tongue of the interviewee helps to establish a rapport and as a consequence it influences on the quality of the obtained data. The data is more accurate and authentic. This view corresponds with the localist approach according to Alvesson.<sup>128</sup> The localist approach conceives interview as a form of a social interaction and it acknowledges also the importance of the social context in which it takes place.<sup>129</sup> The data is “inter-relational”<sup>130</sup> and “contextually grounded”<sup>131</sup> and it is produced by both, the researcher and the interviewee. Language is viewed as a form of construction and not as a mirror on reality.<sup>132</sup>

Besides, using the interviewee’s mother tongue allows the interviewee to fully express themselves in their own words. Moreover, using the interviewee’s mother tongue enables the interviewer to interpret the interview with the cultural understanding.<sup>133</sup> The reasons to use mother tongue in interview are therefore very important for assuring the quality of data. However, as I have experienced in my study, when using a foreign language (for the researcher) it may become more challenging to obtain qualitative data.

Even though I assess my German skills as pretty good, which allows me to express me about everything, it is still not on the same level as of the native speaker and this has affected the dynamics within the interview. I was more rigidly stuck to the prepared questions and I did not pose as many follow-up questions as in the interview in English. Furthermore, the questions were more simplified, and this makes them also easier to answer. As a consequence, my interviews were not as long and in-depth as I wanted them to be.

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<sup>127</sup> Inez Kapborg and Carina Berterö, "Using an Interpreter in Qualitative Interviews: Does It Threaten Validity?," *Nursing Inquiry* 9, no. 1 (2002): 52.

<sup>128</sup> Mats Alvesson, "Beyond Neopositivists, Romantics, and Localists: A Reflexive Approach to Interviews in Organizational Research," *Academy Of Management Review* 28, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>129</sup> Elliot Mishler, 1986, cited in Catherine Welch and Rebecca Piekkari, "Crossing Language Boundaries: Qualitative Interviewing in International Business," *Management International Review* 46, no. 4 (2006): 420.

<sup>130</sup> Steinar Kvale 1996, cited in *ibid*.

<sup>131</sup> Elliot Mishler, 1986, cited in *ibid*.

<sup>132</sup> Alvesson, 17.

<sup>133</sup> Eric W. K. Tsang, "Inside Story: Mind Your Identity When Conducting Cross National Research," *Organization Studies* 19, no. 3 (1998): 511.

As already mentioned, I have conducted seven interviews in German and one in English and the dynamics of the English interview was much better. Although English is as well not my mother tongue, I am more comfortable speaking it due to the years of practice. Therefore, the choice of the language may strongly affect the dynamics within the interview.<sup>134</sup>

My interviewees allowed me to record our conversations and this enabled me to listen them again and transcript them. Although using German language have represented some linguistic challenges for me, I believe that choosing to conduct the interviews in German language has made the study more authentic. Nevertheless, the research can never overcome linguistic challenges, not unlike other problems such as potential bias or power relations.

#### 4.4. Secondary data

In addition to the interviews, I used also secondary data, such as reports and migrations statistics by federal institutions in addition to a review of relevant academic works. Most of the statistics I obtained from the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). BAMF is a federal authority within the Federal Ministry of the Interior. It is the main authority in the integration process, with the authority to decide about the asylum applications. The articles are from 2015 onwards since that year the “refugee crisis” started.

Another source included journal articles on Willkommenskultur, such as Karakayali and Kleist (2015)<sup>135</sup>, Karakayali (2017)<sup>136</sup> and Hamann and Karakayali (2016)<sup>137</sup>. The data in these articles was obtained from two online surveys, conducted in 2014 (466 volunteers and 79 representatives from organizations), and in 2015 (2291 volunteers) and from semi-structured interviews with individuals who coordinate volunteer activities in 30 communities across Germany and with volunteers. The journal article from 2017 is focused on a sociological analysis of the role of emotions for volunteers. The journal article from 2016 focuses on the political dimensions of the volunteering movements. These studies were conducted in diverse cities and regions, whereas mine focuses only on the city of Frankfurt. Besides, they are not representative due to their methods and therefore I use the data from them just to support my results, and not as main source. Some data is stemming from the online surveys which are limited in information since the questions are fixed and there is not much room for explanation and deeper understandings.

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<sup>134</sup> Welch and Piekkari, 422.

<sup>135</sup> Karakayali.

<sup>136</sup> Serhat.

<sup>137</sup> Hamann and Karakayali.

In addition, I have analysed also the documents about the projects and organizations at which my interviewees are volunteering, such as webpages and social media sources. These data will be analysed when applying the New Social Movement theory to Willkommenskultur.

#### 4.5. Analysis plan

When analysing the data, the bigger context must be kept in mind.<sup>138</sup> This bigger context is the “refugee crisis” and the reactions to it presented in the second chapter. Although the interviewees mentioned “the refugee crisis” and the anti-refugee movement very rarely on their own, these two constitute an essential part of the context. I will discuss the data in relation to this context. In my analysis I am looking for personal perceptions on Willkommenskultur, integration process and role of the host society. I will analyse the data, which means that I interpret what volunteers interpreted about these topics. This is called “double interpretations”.<sup>139</sup> The interpretation is dependent on my position as a researcher and on the chosen theoretical framework. Besides, the context of Frankfurt will be taken in consideration too. The data from the eight interviews will be considered as a starting point which directs my discussion to the scrutinizing the inter-connection of the emergence of the Willkommenskultur in Germany, the notion of integration process, the role of the host society and the anti-refugee movement.

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<sup>138</sup> Bryman, 401.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

## 5. Case study

In this chapter I will present my case study, starting with explanation on why the focus of the thesis is the societal level of Willkommenskultur. Here, I will also talk about the relationship between the »refugee crisis«, the anti-refugee movement and the Willkommenskultur. Then I will present the Willkommenskultur projects in Frankfurt that are part of my study. These are the self-organized projects and the projects organized by already established organizations. In the following section, I will present my target group who are the volunteers working at the Willkommenskultur projects. Next, I will present the location of my study which is the city Frankfurt am Main. I will present its multiculturalism and political situation. In the end, I will discuss the research objectives and present the research questions.

### 5.1. Willkommenskultur on a societal level

According to Heckmann the Willkommenskultur on the level of a society (societal level) includes the existence of opening and welcoming practices towards new members of a society. Examples of the opening and welcoming practices are the applause and welcoming signs in the train stations and diverse projects that support refugees' integration. Some of these projects are organised by already established NGOs or other organisations, many of them were organized by members of society (self-organization by volunteers). In the separate section below, I will present some of these organisations and projects.

First, I will explain why the thesis focuses on the societal level. The main reason behind is the stronger existence of Willkommenskultur on this level, comparing to the political level. In the background chapter I presented the indicators for a reduced support for Willkommenskultur in a political level. These were the stricter immigration policies, the Turkey deal and the "Ankommenskultur". Besides, I have outlined the growth of the anti-refugee movement in Germany. The latter is reflected also in the relative high percentage of the votes for AfD in the last federal elections (12,6%). This could be understood also as a decrease of an overall opening and welcoming attitudes on the level of a society. However, for this thesis, I will introduce a narrower definition of the Willkommenskultur on a societal level which refers only to the existence and work of the Willkommenskultur projects. The base of Willkommenskultur projects are the volunteers who are freely working with and for refugees. Without the volunteers there would be no Willkommenskultur projects and so no Willkommenskultur in the societal level.

In the background chapter I talked about the New Year's Attacks in Cologne as a turning point of the migration debate in Germany. In contrast to the media coverage that changed into "a stream of negative images"<sup>140</sup>, the Willkommenskultur on a societal level was still growing. Although the notion of Willkommenskultur had almost disappeared from the public sphere, the majority of the organizations still had enough volunteers and did not need to recruit new.<sup>141</sup> Even more, the study of Hamann and Karakayali from 2016 showed that one of the most common motives for volunteering was based on their desire to decrease the negative propaganda against refugees and migration in their neighbourhood. This indicates that the growth of the anti-refugee movement did not have a negative effect on the support for Willkommenskultur on a societal level, quite the contrary. It encouraged new volunteers to join the Willkommenskultur projects.

Another indicator for the continuing existence of Willkommenskultur on a societal level is my study sample of 8 volunteers who have all become volunteers in 2016 or 2017, so after the beginning of the "refuge crisis" and the emergence of Willkommenskultur in 2015. Though, the small size of the sample must be considered which I discussed in the methodology chapter. These volunteers will be presented in a separated section below.

Because of the importance of the volunteers' role for the existence of the Willkommenskultur on a societal level as defined above, the study focuses on the volunteers' motivation to volunteer in Willkommenskultur projects. Understanding their motivation helps us to better understand the reasons for continuing existence of Willkommenskultur on a societal level. All eight volunteers that I interviewed have expressed the same understanding of the integration and so this data cannot be completely disregarded due to the small sample of the study. The data from eight interviews serve as a directive that points to the necessity of scrutinizing integration as a two-way process and the role of host society. My study shows that the volunteers' perception of the notion "integration" is a basis for their motivation to volunteer. Therefore, this study revolves around the perception of integration. My study is limited to the period between the beginning of the »refugee crisis« in autumn 2015 and summer 2017, since all the data comes from that period. I conducted interviews in summer 2017.

As mentioned, the focus of the thesis is the Willkommenskultur on a societal level which refers to the Willkommenskultur projects that are based on volunteer work. Next section will present

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<sup>140</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 71.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 71 and 82.



the Willkommenskultur projects that are either self-organised or organised by already established organizations.

## 5.2. Organizations and projects

Since Willkommenskultur on a societal level encompasses a very wide diversity of activities with and for refugees, the study includes different projects. Integration is not just about learning a language or getting a job, it includes other aspects too, such as social interaction. Therefore, obtaining the data from volunteers from different projects corresponds with the wider perception of the term integration.

Germany witnessed the unprecedented willingness to help the refugees and huge interest for volunteering at organizations and self-organised projects which offer diverse support to asylum-seekers.<sup>142</sup> More than a third of volunteers are active in self-organised groups and initiatives and not in already established NGOs.<sup>143</sup>

My study includes projects by already established NGOs and by self-organised groups of volunteers. I will present four organizations and their projects that are based in Frankfurt am Main. This thesis does not refer to the integration courses and German courses that are provided by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) because they are part of the official immigration policy and not part of the Willkommenskultur on a societal level.

The social department of the city of Frankfurt and ten organizations from Frankfurt created a website *Frankfurt-hilft.de* which serves as a coordination base for all Willkommenskultur projects in Frankfurt am Main. On the website you can find all information about volunteer work with refugees in Frankfurt, open spots for volunteers and other information related to volunteer work with refugees. All except one of the interviewed volunteers looked on this website to find a project where they want to volunteer and this is how they found information about the project where they are volunteering. In the following, I will shortly present organisations and their projects at which my interviewees are volunteering.

Volunteer group *Begegnung* (eng. a meeting or encounter) is based in a quartier Rödelheim in Frankfurt. Rödelheim is known to be very multi-cultural and integration friendly. As one of the volunteers described it: “*There is a special Willkommenskultur.*” For example, every 6 months there is held a *Willkommensfest* (eng. welcoming festival). Project *Begegnung* is a typical example of a self-organized project. It was grounded by an individual pensioner in the

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>143</sup> From a survey of over 460 volunteers and more than 70 organisations. Karakayali.

beginning of 2016 and it is based on volunteers only. The founder had no experience with creating an organisation and the performing of related activities, and therefore she is still “learning by doing”.<sup>144</sup> Volunteers provide German and math classes for refugees in this area. They offer also assistance with math because the refugees need math knowledge in the preparation program for getting a job, which was explained by one of the volunteers. In addition, they help refugees with the administration procedures. The participation to courses is voluntary and so the participation differs from week to week. Courses are offered every weekday in the afternoon. This project has between 10 and 15 volunteers, there are constantly new people coming and some are dropping out.

*AWO* (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) is a decentralized German welfare organisation that is working in different fields, also with refugees. *AWO* in Frankfurt has developed a project “HerzlichAnkommen!” which means “warmly arrival” and is part of Willkommenskultur. In this project volunteers are helping the unaccompanied refugees (8-17 years old). For these activities there are different terms in use, I will use the English term »buddy« which is often used in a German speaking environment too. Term buddy refers to functions focusing on one-to-one interaction between a volunteer and a refugee, encompassing, for example, assisting refugees with language training, school tasks or building a social network. One of the volunteers that I interviewed is helping one young boy with his homework. *AWO* is an example of an already-established organisation that developed a Willkommenskultur project.

*Teachers on the Road* is a volunteer-based group that is offering German courses in different locations in Frankfurt since 2013. This is a self-organized project with a focus on their main target group who are the refugees that are excluded from German courses offered by state/city (like previously mentioned courses mentioned by *BAMF*).

*Red Cross* (Rotes Kreuz in German language) is a well-known organisation that has like *AWO* organised support to young refugees. This project is based on “buddies” who are helping young refugees in their neighbourhood. Volunteer Nina is helping a young boy with homework and learning language. Nina believes that this kind of approach – individual is better, it develops more than a language. She takes him to places that are interesting for him and this is how he learns the language. Other volunteers do not take the refugees out, instead they stay with them

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<sup>144</sup> Sonja Thelen, „Begegnung“ Hilft Flüchtlingen, " Frankfurter Rundschau, <http://www.fr.de/frankfurt/stadtteile/frankfurt-west/frankfurt-roedelheim-begegnung-hilft-fluechtlingen-a-1245012>.

in the Red cross classroom and help with homework there. Nina thinks that taking him out is better because: *“You learn where life happens.”*

### 5.3. The volunteers

As previously mentioned, the volunteers are the core of the Willkommenskultur on a societal level since without them there would be no Willkommenskultur on a societal level. My target group were volunteers at any Willkommenskultur project in the city of Frankfurt am Main. Most of the volunteers that I interviewed are teaching German language and three volunteers are »buddies«.

The information given in the table is to give an overview of the sample. The names of the interviewees were changed for this study. The reason for having this sample is explained in the methodology chapter where I talk about the method of sampling.

Table 1 – Overview over Interviewees

<b>Name</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Activity</b>	<b>Organisation</b>
Karin	Retired	Buddy and German course	AWO and Begegnung in Rödelheim
Nina	Retired	Buddy	Red Cross
Franz	Retired	Buddy	Unknown
Klaus	Student	German and math course	Begegnung in Rödelheim
Petra	Retired	German course	Begegnung in Rödelheim and Teachers on the road
Carol	Retired	German course	Begegnung in Rödelheim
Christina	Retired	German course	Begegnung in Rödelheim
Lisa	Retired	German course	Begegnung in Rödelheim

Most of the interviewees were retired, except for one who was a student. It seems that the share of older volunteers is growing each year. The article from 2016 shows that the relative share of younger volunteers had declined from 30 per cent to 16 per cent, while the relative share of people older than 40 had increased (the comparison is made from year 2014 to 2015).<sup>145</sup> I will discuss the relevance of age in the sixth chapter.

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<sup>145</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 76.

#### 5.4. Frankfurt am Main

Asylum seekers are distributed within Germany based on a distribution key that considers the population size and tax income of federal states (in German Länder) which provides a model of burden sharing within all federal states.<sup>146</sup> The policies by the central state (Germany as a whole) cannot entirely explain the situation in a particular state or city. States differently shape the migration and integration policies and therefore asylum policies and the administration of asylum are not homogenous in all states.<sup>147</sup> The central state has a higher influence on determining policies, but the states have significant influences on the implementation of policies including on the living conditions and integration measures.<sup>148</sup> My study is focusing on a particular city in the western Germany; Frankfurt am Main. Frankfurt is the biggest city of the state Hessen.

Frankfurt is known to be very international and multicultural, already before the last wave of refugees in 2015. To fully understand the level of internationality and multiculturalism of Frankfurt, I will compare the numbers with Germany as a whole and state Hessen. Germany has in the most recent years experienced an increase of the share of the population with a migrant background. The last data is from 2016 when the number raised to 18,6 million out of 82,4 million which is 22,5%.<sup>149</sup> State Hessen is on the 4<sup>th</sup> place in Germany with 30% of population with a migrant background (after Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg).<sup>150</sup> Frankfurt is the fifth largest city in Germany with 736 thousand inhabitants and more than a half of them has a migrant background and so these numbers justify its promotion as a “metropolis city in a small format”. Almost every third city inhabitant has no German passport and there are more than 180 nationalities all together.<sup>151</sup> Two interviewees said that Frankfurt has always been a “*multi-kulti*”<sup>152</sup> city, already since the after 2<sup>nd</sup> World War time and later with arrival of “*Gastarbeiter*”. The figure below shows the origin continent of the foreigners in Frankfurt, more than three quarters come from Europe.

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<sup>146</sup> Glorius, 66.

<sup>147</sup> Laubenthal, 123.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>149</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, "Bevölkerung Mit Migrationshintergrund Um 8,5 % Gestiegen," [https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2017/08/PD17\\_261\\_12511.html](https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2017/08/PD17_261_12511.html).

<sup>150</sup> "Ausländische Bevölkerung," (2018), 20.

<sup>151</sup> "Leben in Frankfurt," URL:

[http://www.frankfurt.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=stadtfrankfurt\\_eval01.c.125042.de](http://www.frankfurt.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=stadtfrankfurt_eval01.c.125042.de)

<sup>152</sup> Eng. Multi-cultural.

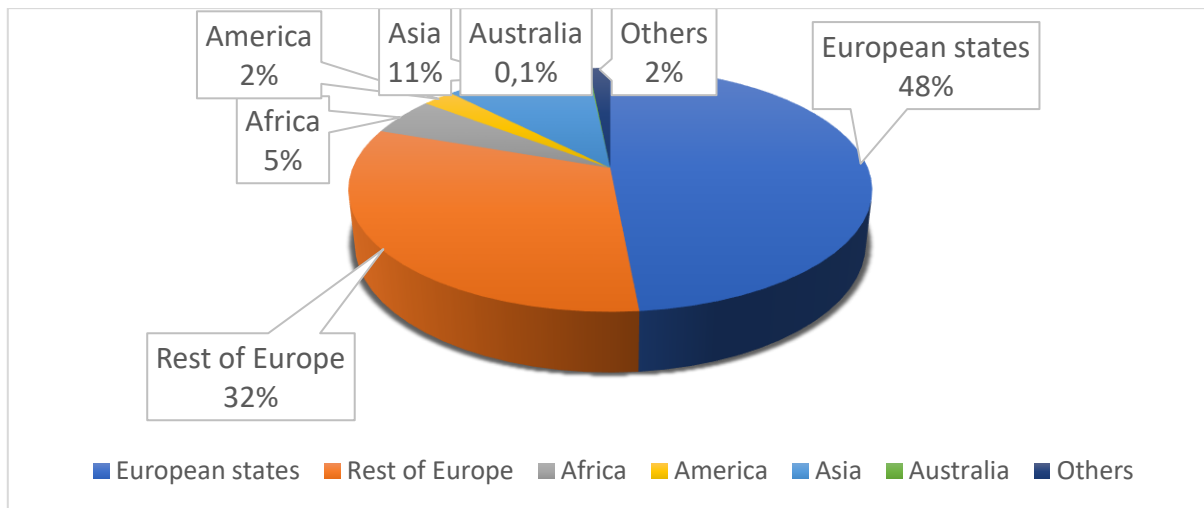


Figure 3: Origin of the foreigners in Frankfurt am Main 2016

In the last local government elections in 2016 the strongest parties were CDU, SPD and the Green party. All three parties are known as pro-migration parties or were such at least in the beginning of the “refugee crisis”. AfD was the fourth strongest party in elections in 2016 with 8,9%. In the last Hesse state elections in 2014 the top three parties were the same as in the elections in 2016 in the city of Frankfurt, with a bigger share of CDU. However, in 2014 there were no AfD yet so the elections in 2018 will show how big the support is for the anti-migration party in the state Hesse as a whole.

### 5.5. Research objectives

Since the New Year's attacks in Cologne the public discourse on integration tends to be focused on the threats that the refugees represent, and therefore also this study originally aimed at studying the relationship between the Willkommenskultur and the anti-refugee movement. My assumption at the beginning of forming the study was that due to the growth of the anti-refugee movement the Willkommenskultur became weaker. However, as it has been shown above, the Willkommenskultur on a societal level continued to be strong. After the sexual attacks in Cologne the migration debate turned to revealing the threats that the refugees present. Nevertheless, the Willkommenskultur projects still had enough volunteers. Therefore, understanding the reasons for continuing existence of Willkommenskultur became my main interest. In this study, eight volunteers of different age, gender and background who are volunteering at diverse Willkommenskultur projects are introduced with their views on what integration is and what is their role in this process.

In this regard, my central research question is next:

*What is the role of the host society in the integration process?*

This central research question is supported by following sub-question:

*What is volunteers' motivation for volunteering in the Willkommenskultur projects?*

## 6. Findings, Analysis and Discussion

This chapter will focus on the analysis and discussion of the findings from the fieldwork and the secondary data. The analysis will be elaborated through the research questions. In the first part I will analyse the data from my interviews. Some statements of the interviewed volunteers will be highlighted to demonstrate their individual perceptions. It is important to stress again, that the data from the interviews reflects only the perceptions of these eight volunteers. However, their personal views served me as a directive pointing to the issues that need to be explored. It will be shown that all eight volunteers that I interviewed share very inter-connected understandings of integration, Willkommenskultur and the role of host society and that therefore it is important to scrutinize the relationship between all three. In the second part I will analysis the research in the secondary analysis and discuss the data from my fieldwork in relation to the data from the secondary analysis. The analysis must consider the context of the city Frankfurt. Then I will reflect upon the theoretical framework from the fourth chapter. I will place the analysed data within the framework of a concept of integration and I will apply the new social movement theory to the Willkommenskultur.

### 6.1. Findings from the study

In the first research question, the goal was to understand the role of the host society in the integration process. To place the role of the host society in the integration process, I will analyse the understandings of the integration, the Willkommenskultur and the role of the host society. I will also analyse their motives for volunteering which relates to the sub-research question. In the interviews I asked first about their understanding of the term Willkommenskultur and after about the integration. However, for the analysis I think that the integration needs to be analysed first and therefore the analysis of Willkommenskultur comes second.

#### 6.1.1. Integration

Most of interviewed volunteers perceive integration as a two-way process, which is also the underlying theme of the thesis. Defining the integration as a two-way process acknowledges the importance of the role of the host society. This understanding of the integration was often expressed also when defining Willkommenskultur and the role of the host society.

Volunteers often emphasised that integration refers to situations when there are people with different values. However, some of the volunteers added:

*” That does not mean that they take over german customs but that they recognize them and appreciate our german customs [...].”*

Therefore, in order to be integrated, you have to know and recognize the local rules. One volunteer perceived her role as a local to explain the refugees and help them to understand which things are different in Germany or are differently resolved than in the origin countries of refugees. When talking about integration, the employment and speaking the language were often mentioned too. One volunteer prioritized the language:

*” If you speak the language, you have better chance to integrate. This is where the integration starts”.*

Learning a language is so the first step towards a successful integration. This was also often their explanation why they are active in exactly that project – many of them are teaching refugees German language.

At last, the *feeling like at home* or *feeling good* was also one of the descriptions of integration, in combination to other mentioned elements. One volunteers described integration as:

*“Smooth transition from unclear, fearful situation, to a clear setting that is friendly and with clear expectations about the behaviour and that everyone has the same **opportunities**.”*

In the section 6.3.1. I will discuss these findings with the theoretical framework of integration.

#### 6.1.2. Willkommenskultur

The example that I used in the theoretical chapter where a volunteer explained Willkommenskultur with a reference to integration as a two-way process is the best to show how the understanding of integration is deeply connected to the perception of Willkommenskultur. His words “to make a step **forward** to people arriving” refers to an active role of the host society. Similar understanding was given by another volunteer:

*“It means that we welcome new people openly and friendly and **help** them to **get a place** in this society so that they can continue to develop their skills [...]. To support them to make them feel that they like to be here and can integrate – to create **network** and contact with Germans.”*



The word “*help*” was mentioned also by two other volunteers when describing Willkommenskultur. Later in the section about the role of host society the word help will be mentioned again. In the discussion I will touch upon the frequency of this term and critically scrutinize its meaning.

#### 6.1.3. Role of the host society

*“We are the only ones who know how everything works here. This is our task and also it is in our interest to **help** these people.”*

This answer summarizes the volunteers understanding of their role as a host society. Two volunteers spontaneously added an argumentation that Germans have nice life so “we” need to give back.

All volunteers directly or indirectly argued that the Germans need to take part of the integration. This participation is understood as follows:

*“To open the doors, to be friendly, to show interest, to **help** with the language and with the difficulties with the authorities.”*

When asked about what are their thought on the state behaviour, if Germany or city Frankfurt am Main are doing enough or should there be more engagement also from their side, the answers were mostly going in the direction that the city is already doing a lot and again emphasizing the role of the local society – them. They were defending the state/city with saying that this could not all be done by the formal institutions alone, referring especially to the social inclusion.

#### 6.1.4. Motivation for volunteering

Seven out of eight interviewers are pensioners and this means that they have time, as many of them indicated themselves. Often, they started explaining their motivation with a statement that they have time. One volunteer continued with:

*“I wanted to take care of the new neighbours, it gives me pleasure to do this.”*

She emphasised the notion of neighbourhood where everyone should take care of (new) neighbours. Again, the answers included answers such as “*it is nice to **help** them*” or “*we can **help***”.

Only one interviewee’s motivation has raised from a personal experience. His parents were immigrants and they were not welcomed when they came to a new country. He wanted to do this differently and to make the new-coming people in Germany feel welcomed. Besides, he

also stated that Germany as a country has a moral and legal obligation to take care for the ones who are in a worse situation.

The only younger interviewee did not mention “time” as one of the reasons for his motivation, he named a very different motivation, comparing to others. His motivation was stimulated by the growing anti-refugee movement. Klaus was doing a research in migration for the last two years at university and he saw how much false information is in the media, especially negative information about migration. In his opinion non-well-educated people have more negative attitudes and therefore education is so important. He was studying about the economic benefits of the immigration and he wanted to make something good of it to respond to the negative press coverage and growing negative attitudes towards migration.

6.1.5. Why is the Willkommenskultur in Germany so strong?

When I asked this question, all interviewees needed some time to think and this made me realize that they never asked themselves this question before. However, after a short reflection, they offered some very interesting answers. A few mentioned the possible role of the German history by what they meant the Nazi history. One of the volunteers gave a straight answer pointing to the source of the “refugee crisis”:

*“[...] because people started to realize that these people are coming because of the problems that we created.”*

On the other hand, another volunteer claimed that the Willkommenskultur “*belongs to us*” since Germany has always been very open.

6.2. Discussion with the secondary analysis

In this section I will analyse the data from the journal articles on Willkommenskultur, namely Karakayali and Kleist (2015)<sup>153</sup>, Karakayali (2017)<sup>154</sup> and Hamann and Karakayali (2016)<sup>155</sup>. The data from the interviews conducted by Hamann and Karakayali in 2016 showed that many volunteers consider integration as a reciprocal process that includes also the host society. They see “their volunteering as a contribution to creating the conditions” for refugees for becoming a part of the society.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Karakayali.

<sup>154</sup> Serhat.

<sup>155</sup> Hamann and Karakayali.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

Regarding the motivation for volunteering, my data contradicts to the data from the article from 2016. In my study most of the older interviewees named as a motivation for their volunteering having enough time and wanting to help, while the only younger participant of my study talked about the negative media coverage. The article from 2016 says that “older people tend to say that they want to do something against right-wing populism, while younger people see their activity as a form of support for asylum rights”.<sup>157</sup> These data were obtained on an online survey and therefore do not provide with more explanation. Besides, I have conducted only one interview with a younger person so I can no take any conclusions about relationship between the age and motivation. This would be an interesting topic to study in the future.

Relevant to the motivation for volunteering is also the conclusion regarding the respond to the New Year’s attack in Cologne. As I have already mentioned when explaining why the study focus on a Willkommenskultur on a societal level, the data from the article from 2016<sup>158</sup> shows that the changed discourse on migration after the New Year’s attack in Cologne did not affect the Willkommenskultur on a societal level. Most of organizations was still recruiting new volunteers. Many of the coordinators argued that the negative press cover on this event had motivated many people to start volunteering.<sup>159</sup>

The focus of my study in the very beginning was the relationship between the Willkommenskultur and the anti-refugee movement but because this this relationship did not appear to be so relevant for most of my interviewees I have changed the focus of the study. The data from the Hamann and Karakayali from 2016 acknowledged the importance of the relationship between the Willkommenskultur and the anti-refugee movement to a much greater extent. However, the context of my study may have had a very a huge influence on my data. I conducted the interviews in a very multicultural environment that is so international for a long time and so a diversity may be perceived as something normal. It would be interesting to compare the share of the anti-refugee movement to other parts in Germany but unfortunately, I did not find any information about that. The only indicator that I can use is the share of votes for the anti-refugee party AfD in the last elections in Frankfurt in 2016. The AfD was the fourth strongest party, with the similar share of votes as in the elections on the federal level in 2017 (3% less). However, on a federal level the AfD entered the Parliament as a third biggest party.

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

Comparing these results, I can conclude that the support for the anti-refugee movement in Frankfurt am Main is relatively lower than on the level of whole Germany.

Considering the role of the host society, the journal articles focused on the distribution of the responsibility for integration between the host society and the state. Article from 2016 concluded that the volunteers often engage in activities that are typically thought to be in a sphere of the state. However, it does not conclude whether this is problematic or not. Some argue that this stimulates the neoliberal policies of privatization, while other worry that the services provided by volunteers and not by professional staff might be even harmful to refugees.<sup>160</sup> A critique that was raised too is that the distribution can be seen even as a withdrawal of state responsibility.<sup>161</sup> My study emphasizes the notion of integration as a two-way process where the host society must be involved. Therefore, I do not agree with this critique of distribution of a responsibility. Also, my interviewees did not express much of criticism of the state (in)activity.

In the analysis section of the interviews I highlighted word “help” which was mentioned on many occasions. I argue that perception of volunteers as “helping” the refugees, has a dangerous connotation that the volunteers see themselves as superior towards the refugees. The refugees are the ones who are in need and the volunteers are the ones in power who can provide that help to them. I will discuss this a bit further in the section 6.3.2. when I will scrutinize the (a)political self-perception of volunteers. Next subchapter will place the analysed data within the theoretical framework. First, I will discuss the data within the concept of integration and then within the theory of new social movements.

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

### 6.3. Stationing the findings in the theoretical framework

#### 6.3.1. Discussion within the framework of integration

The analysis shows that the volunteers' understanding of integration and their perception of Willkommenskultur are inter-connected. Their understanding of integration as a two-way process reflects on their emphasis of the role of the host society. The Esser's theory on social integration attributes the same importance to the role of the host society for a successful social integration.

The theoretical framework that I presented in the third chapter addresses the notion of integration by looking at who is considered responsible for the integration. The same approach towards the notion of integration was taken by the volunteers. They understand integration as a process in which both, refugees and host society, have a responsibility to be active and open to changes. Without this understanding, they would not have a motivation for volunteering. Next, I will scrutinize the relevance of the Esser's theory on social integration for the Willkommenskultur. The first level of social integration, according to Esser, is the cultururation. The success of it depends on the opportunities that are given to refugees. I argue that the Willkommenskultur projects provide these opportunities, with all activities that they offer. The project Begegnung for example offers German and math courses where refugees can gain skills and knowledge that they need.

Second level of social integration is positioning. One of the volunteers referred to positioning when he described the Willkommenskultur. He said that the Willkommenskultur means that we need "to help them to get a place in this society". Esser emphasised the inter-connection between the cultururation and positioning. Also, the volunteers emphasised the importance of learning the language and that this is the first step of integration.

Next level is interaction which refers to networking. The same volunteer who talked about getting a place in this society, mentioned also networking. The Willkommenskultur projects are indeed providing a network of refugees and local society. The fourth and last level of social integration is identification. I am sceptical whether the Willkommenskultur provides identification for the refugees.

The Willkommenskultur is an example of a welcoming and active host society. Throughout the Willkommenskultur projects the volunteers have become a force of integration.<sup>162</sup> My conclusion from this is that the existence of the Willkommenskultur on a societal level depends on the understanding of the notion of the integration within the local people.

Heckmann argues that the awareness of being an immigration society is an important requirement for a successful integration. When volunteers talked about the “Special Willkommenskultur” in Rödelheim or that Frankfurt is very international already for a long time, they showed that are aware of being an immigration society.

### 6.3.2. Relevance of the New Social Movement Theory

Here I will scrutinise the Willkommenskultur within the framework of the New social movements theory. I have already partly compared the elements of NSMs to Willkommenskultur in the theoretical chapter. However, in this section I will summarize all together and discuss it with my data.

The Willkommenskultur movement has no structure and over-all organisation. As I have shown, there are many projects that are self-organized by volunteers, like also the Begegnung and Teachers on the Road from my study. Everyone can create a project on its own. There is also no hierarchy between the volunteers, or even the organizers of projects and volunteers since the organizers are volunteers themselves.

Members of Willkommenskultur are mainly »ordinary citizens« from the socio-political centre of the society.<sup>163</sup> Most of the interviewees were retired, except for one who was a student. One volunteer pointed to the problem of the age gap between volunteers (mostly older) and the refugees (mostly younger). Young refugees are striving for contact with young German people. I was told that most of the volunteers in these projects are retired. It seems that the share of older volunteers is growing each year. The article from 2016 shows that the relative share of younger volunteers had declined from 30 per cent to 16 per cent, while the relative share of people older than 40 had increased (the comparison is made from year 2014 to 2015).<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Serhat Karakayali and J. Kleist, "Volunteers and Asylum Seekers," *Forced Migration Review*, no. 51 (2016): 65.

<sup>163</sup> Larissa Fleischmann and Elias Steinhilper, "The Myth of Apolitical Volunteering for Refugees: German Welcome Culture and a New Dispositif of Helping," *Social Inclusion* 5, no. 3 (2017): 19.

<sup>164</sup> Hamann and Karakayali, 76.

#### 6.3.2.5. Political or apolitical

The journal article from Karakayali & Kleist from 2016 showed that many volunteers explicitly distanced themselves from “being political”. Instead, they claimed that they “just want to help”.<sup>165</sup> Many understand their help as a humane duty to people in need. Fleischmann and Steinhilper argue that also this form of volunteering which is stemming from humanitarian motives is highly political.<sup>166</sup> Because they understand themselves as apolitical, they do not embed their activities in a wider political context.<sup>167</sup> This may limit the potential for constituting a space where a fight for rights can emerge.<sup>168</sup>

Although their dispositive of helping is built on humanitarian parameters, according to Foucault, a dispositive is always inscribed into “a play of power”.<sup>169</sup> Fassin argues further, that humanitarian assistance always “presupposes a relation of inequality” and an “attitude of superiority” by the volunteers.<sup>170</sup> It can happen, that the volunteers think that they know better what is the best for the refugees and do not listen to them and empower them to speak for themselves.

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<sup>165</sup> Karakayali and Kleist.

<sup>166</sup> Fleischmann and Steinhilper, 18.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>168</sup> Nikolas Rose, "The Death of the Social? Re-Figuring the Territory of Government " *Economy and Society* 25, no. 3 (1996): 336.

<sup>169</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Confessions of the Flesh, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 196.

<sup>170</sup> Didier Fassin and Rachel Gomme, *Humanitarian Reason : A Moral History of the Present Times*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). 4.

## 7. Concluding remarks

The aim of this study was to provide a more theoretically informed account of the movement Willkommenskultur in Germany. The focus was to scrutinize the relationships between the concept of integration and the role of the host society. I perceived the volunteers in the Willkommenskultur projects as a part of the host society. My aim was to understand why the volunteers are helping the refugees and how is this related to their understandings of the notions “integration” and “Willkommenskultur”. I believe that the results of the study stress the importance of the understanding of integration by the local society. When the local society perceive integration as a two-way process, they take a more positive approach towards the refugees and they might take part in the integration process. Esser`s theory of social integration shows that the host society must be active in all four levels of the social integration and that without the opportunities that are provided by host society, the refugees cannot reach any of the four levels. These levels are cultururation, positioning, interaction and identification. The host society must participate in the integration process because refugees cannot integrate themselves on their own, no matter how much they try.

Besides, the study has also indicated that volunteers` understanding of integration as a two-way process, influences on their perception of Willkommenskultur. I argue that without their understanding of Willkommenskultur as a part of integration process, they would not become volunteers themselves.

In the end of previous chapter, I exposed few weaknesses of the Willkommenskultur. However, I believe that the active host society within the Willkommenskultur movement is a crucial element for successful integration.



## 7.1. Suggestions for further research

Throughout the thesis it was emphasised many times that my study consists only eight volunteers which is not representative sample. Therefore, there should be done research in a much larger scale. Besides, this study has touched upon many interesting issues that need to be further researched. One of them is definitely the relationship between the Willkommenskultur and the anti-refugee movement, especially the potential effects of the first one on the minimizing the latter. For a study about that would be probably more appropriate to conduct a study in the areas with stronger anti-refugee movement.

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