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Victoria Harris, Barbara Könczöl, David Motadel

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Erstveröffentlichung in / First published in:

Journal of Contemporary History. 2014, 49(1), S. 3 - 8 [Zugriff am: 15.08.2019]. SAGE journals.
ISSN 1461-7250.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009413505807>

Diese Version ist verfügbar / This version is available on:

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Introduction

Victoria Harris

University of Birmingham, UK

Barbara Könczöl

Technische Universität Dresden, Germany

David Motadel

University of Cambridge, UK

Migration and the mobility of people have long shaped societies across the world. In the modern period, rapid developments in technology and transport, most notably the invention of railways and steamers, ushered in an age of mass mobility. Europe stood at the very centre of these developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, experiencing migration, mobility and movement of peoples at an unprecedented rate. Over the twentieth century migration and mobility have significantly changed the social, economic and cultural landscape of Europe's heartlands – Germany. The articles in this issue address these developments, telling the stories of people who crossed German borders.

Although scholars of modern German history had long paid little attention to the phenomenon of migration, over the last decades the field has begun to attract significant scholarly interest. Following the publication of the first major accounts by Knuth Dohse, Klaus Bade and Ulrich Herbert in the 1980s, scholars have engaged with a wide range of issues within migration history, exploring its various forms of mobility and movement, including labour migration, colonial migration, forced migration, 'displacement' and population exchanges, and political refugees. They have enquired into the relationship between minorities and the majority society as well as into the entanglements of diaspora communities within the wider world. More generally, this research can be seen as the result of a wider and growing interest in the global dimensions of German history.

This volume makes a contribution to this expanding historiographical field, bringing together and developing some of its major trends. It is by no means intended to give a comprehensive overview of migration to Germany, but rather to shed light on various aspects of the history of migrants in German society. In looking at the subject from the perspectives of both migrants and majority society, the articles explore the activities of migrants and migrant groups, as well as their

Corresponding author:

Victoria Harris, Department of History, University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT, UK.

Email: v.harris.1@bham.ac.uk

interactions with the majority society and state. The articles examine the general framework of migration policy and ideas of citizenship (part I), the phenomenon of refugees and asylum seekers (part II), political activism of migrants (part III) and, finally, economic activity and entrepreneurship among immigrants in Germany (part IV).

The first part, 'Migration Policy and Citizenship', of this special issue looks at the development of migration policy in West Germany since the end of the Second World War. The articles by Helen Williams, Johannes-Dieter Steinert and Olga Sparschuh link the development of migration policy to questions of citizenship and national identity in contemporary German history. Johannes-Dieter Steinert begins this section by analysing the genesis of West Germany's postwar labour migration agreements with Italy, Spain, Greece and Turkey, as well as the recruitment practices based on these agreements. Steinert argues that, although embedded in the traditions of both nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany, West Germany's postwar migration policy was shaped not only by the country's need to recruit foreign workers to saturate the German labour market during the economic miracle and by trade policy concerns, but also by interest in outward migration on the part of migrants' countries of origin. Despite migration's crucial role, the early history of a West German migration policy was characterized by an absence of debate within the political elite as well as the wider public. This absence, Steinert argues, has contributed considerably to the continuing irritation with the issue of migration in Germany to this day.

The second article shifts the focus from the policymakers to the impact these policies had on the day-to-day experience of labour migrants. Olga Sparschuh links the development of migration policy to questions of citizenship. Using two case studies – Italian labour migration to Munich and southern Italian internal labour migration to the north of the country, to Turin – she discusses the impact non-citizenship or citizenship and the connected social and political rights had on the everyday experience of the Italian labour migrants in both cities. Sparschuh shows that the clear link between citizenship and rights became increasingly loose in the second half of the twentieth century. Institutionalized Europeanization, as well as the extension of labour migrant rights within the German legal context, led to an extension of, if not political rights (especially in the case of Italian migrants in Germany), certainly social and civil rights for migrants. Yet, Sparschuh argues that even though labour migrants in both case studies held these extended rights, they had in practice very few possibilities to employ them. Sparschuh concludes that there was no definite advantage by virtue of citizenship. Rather, everyday experience of Italian labour migrants in both cities was shaped far more at the local level, in municipalities and factories and most of all by their social background as migrants that remained an obstacle to being on even terms with, and fully included in, the majority society.

Helen Williams' article continues the theme of citizenship, showing how German elite discourses on migration have affected German self-perceptions of nationhood.

According to Williams, policy changes on citizenship and integration policy between 2000 and 2010 give evidence of a paradigmatic shift in the German national narrative. Williams explores how elite discourse changed over the past decade from the earlier insistence of German politicians from all major parties that Germany was *not* a country of immigration to a liberalization of this discourse as well as that of public opinion on migration and questions of integration. Williams concludes that while debates such as the one on the ideological slogan of *Leitkultur* give evidence of the attempts of different political actors to gain control over interpretations of the nature of a German identity, the discourse of Germany's elites seems, on the whole, to have become more liberal. Overall, Williams argues, there is evidence of the establishment of a new discursive norm that exhibits more elements of reciprocal integration.

While the articles in the first part of the issue demonstrate the ways in which Germany's twentieth century was a struggle to harness and channel patterns of mobility, the articles in the second section, 'Refugees and Asylum Seekers', reveal that its inability to fully control migration has been nowhere more apparent than with so-called accidental migrants – refugees and displaced persons. This discomfort has been reflected in historiography, which tends to treat refugees as a separate category to migrants, thereby ignoring the rich complexity these actors bring to migration studies. The three articles here seek to help rectify this, and, in doing so, they demonstrate the degree to which the German government struggled to define policies towards these communities, manage their experiences of displacement and overcome the long shadow of Nazism. The Third Reich loomed large both in these migrants' and international observers' views of Germans and, more embarrassingly, in Germans' views on and treatments of refugees. While we tend to think of 1945 as 'year zero', neither the governmental apparatus nor the attitudes which stemmed from its racist ideologies could be changed overnight. These had a direct effect on the experiences of migrants and were one factor that contributed to the development of 'parallel societies' and a specific collective memory of migration on the part of refugees.

Indeed, what unites these three articles by Beata Halicka, Jan Antons and Patrice Pouturus above all else is the concept of animosity. In her analysis of memory formation and remembrance by Germans and Poles living on either side of the new German–Polish border – the so-called Oder-Neisse line – Halicka uses memoirs and other autobiographical documents to discuss the experiences of individuals and communities who were forcibly removed from their homes as a result of policies of population exchange. Here wartime hostility played a crucial role in the development of postwar memories. Whether, for example, Poles had been subjected to German or Soviet occupation during the war radically shifted their allegiances and hatreds, and contributed to the tenor of their new communities.

Antons continues this thread in his article on Ukrainian displaced persons living in Germany between 1945 and 1960. While most displaced persons sought to leave Germany for a host country as soon as possible, some were unwanted by other

nations and, as a result, remained stuck in Germany. Thus, in an ironic twist of fate, the less useful – or even asocial – individuals that Germans had discriminated against became their neighbours. Conversely Ukrainians viewed their German hosts as perpetrators of violence against them and sought to develop a cultural life outside mainstream German society. Thus a situation of mutual suspicion and even overt hostility persisted.

This animosity continued into policymaking, as Poutrus demonstrates in his article on refugee admission programs and their practical implementation in West Germany, while using East Germany as a point of contrast. Like the previous two articles, the contribution explores in depth the experiences of Eastern European refugees, and also focuses on political oppression as the central factor in their accidental, or even unwanted, migration. In doing so Poutrus shows the inherent tension within such policies and the reticence of German policymakers to uphold the Basic Law's very liberal policy towards potential refugees.

In all these circumstances economic necessity formed the basis of most interactions between refugees and their host society. Furthermore, all three articles demonstrate the degree to which Germany's relatively exclusive policy towards immigrants was rooted in the policies towards the victims of forced migration in the immediate postwar period. Segregation was consistently preferred to integration or assimilation.

The articles in the third part, 'Migrant Political Activism', address migrants' attempts to gain political agency in dealing with – or combating – their host society, through political activism. They show that throughout the twentieth century migrants became involved in political debates and organized themselves to pursue political aims in order to influence the political situation both in their country of origin and in Germany.

Nathanael Kuck's contribution explores colonial migration and metropolitan anti-colonialism in interwar Berlin. In the Weimar years, the German capital became a hub of anti-colonial activists from across the world. Nationalists from China, India, Egypt and West Africa staged public demonstrations and put out publications, promoting not only liberal and Wilsonian visions of national self-determination, but also socialist ideas of a future world order. Most of these activists were part of a male colonial elite, who came to Germany as students and formed a specific social milieu. Although some of their political movements were organized along national lines, Kuck shows that many groups sought to unite activists from different parts of the world in effort to confront imperial domination. In doing so, the article reveals the wide variety of anti-colonial movements and groups active in the German capital during these years. Kuck demonstrates that metropolitan anti-colonialism is not just a history of the major colonial powers, but also very much a German story. Indeed, Germany became so attractive especially because it was no longer a colonial power.

Postwar worker migration to Germany resulted in very different kinds of political activism. While political activism among non-European elites in the interwar

period was very much related to the political situation in their countries of origin, postwar worker migrants were often more concerned with the social and political conditions in Germany. In his article on the political engagement for and of migrants in western Germany in the 1960s and 1970s, Simon Goeke shows that migrants played an important part in postwar labour activism. Questioning the popular belief that ‘guest workers’ were only interested in earning a lot of money in a short period of time, and had little political interest in the domestic affairs of Germany, he points to the significant involvement of foreign workers in strikes and worker protests. The article also examines the ambivalent relationship between migrants and Germans in the major labour unions. Although they overtly promoted ideas of solidarity and internationalism, trade unions repeatedly showed – particularly during economic crises – a remarkable lack of sympathy for their foreign colleagues, supporting preferential employment and treatment of native German workers. Some migrants soon began to organize themselves into their own unions and associations. While some pursued political agendas relevant to their countries of origins – resistance to Spanish, Portuguese or Greek dictatorships, for example – most were concerned with the situation in Germany, involving themselves in debates about Bonn’s immigration policy and demanding equal rights for migrant workers and improvements in living and working conditions for migrants.

One specific aspect of this struggle for social conditions – the demand for better housing conditions – is discussed in Raika Espahangizi’s article on migration and urban transformation in Frankfurt in the 1960s and 1970s. Protesting against their structural discrimination in the housing market, bad living conditions, segregation, and exploitation by landlords and property owners, migrant workers staged a wave of rent strikes in numerous quarters across the city. At times they would closely cooperate with students, who were confronted with similar problems. Through demonstrations and vigils, residents of the so-called ‘foreigner buildings’ sought to draw attention to their misery, often connecting their demands for improved living conditions with more general requests for better social care and civil rights. Espahangizi shows that these protests greatly worried officials, who feared social unrest and radical political activism. In fact politicians and the media would regularly criminalize the protestors. And although the workers encountered some solidarity from society, the majority of Germans showed little interest in their problems and understanding for their protests.

The final section ‘Migrant Entrepreneurship’ takes the discussion of migrant agency to another level, exploring their roles as agents of change and ‘cosmopolitanism’. While migrants’ entrepreneurial activities were often limited to niche, or ‘ethnic’ businesses, continuing stereotypes and limiting integration possibilities, their work within these sectors had an often surprising effect on German society. Through such activities, products and services previously considered foreign became German, if not at least a hybrid. Moreover, migrant entrepreneurship also offered the possibility for migrants to demonstrate superior cultural

sophistication or taste, offering Germans who were willing to take a risk the chance to improve themselves, much as migrants were asked to improve themselves through integration. In exploring all of these issues Maren Möhring and Maria Lidola problematize the idea of the niche economy, demonstrating that migrant entrepreneurship was a two way process of cultural exchange, not a one way street towards becoming 'German'.

In her article on the restaurant migrant business, Möhring uses food as a way to reconceptualize the history of migration within West Germany. In arguing that food is a central marker of ethnic identity, Möhring reveals how migrants actively chose to cultivate and 'perform' their identities as immigrants, workers and Germans. She makes it clear that the positive, 'melting pot' image of cosmopolitan food cultures ignores serious issues of social justice, however, and that, Germans were quite capable of enjoying ethnic food without enjoying ethnic social participation. But, despite their hesitation in accepting migrants, the German state, too, lacked power, and migrants often succeeded in cultivating flourishing businesses despite state and social efforts – often revitalizing inner city districts in the process, and thus changing the face of West Germany's cities and towns. At this point culinary experimentation on the part of the native population could not only be viewed as a 'legitimate need', but also as a contributing factor within a process of urban regeneration.

The waxing studios, which form the core of Lidola's exploration into the negotiation of integration within Berlin, may have legitimized certain desires on the part of German women – and men. But they were situated not in inner city ghettos, but rather upper-middle class neighbourhoods, demonstrating that the process of ethnic integration through entrepreneurship was not just a process which occurred at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Instead, integrating through finding independent work, and seeking to define oneself as a worker rather than a foreigner, occurred at all economic levels, and was a feature of integration for both men and women. Indeed, waxing studios quickly demonstrated themselves to be ladders for social mobility, providing women who were employed within low-level service sectors, such as restaurants, with an opportunity to trade on their skill of being 'Brazilian', rather than their skill as *depiladoras*. In doing so, these women were not only able to demonstrate their successful integration to friends and family, they were also able to show cultural superiority, as Germans flocked to salons to be made as 'beautiful' as their Brazilian peers.

Together, the essays that follow this brief introduction not only provide distinct – and sometimes contradictory – stories of the history of migration in contemporary Germany, they also reveal the ways migration has come to affect ideas of Germanness and of Germany's place in the world. Through the themes of citizenship, refugees, migrant activism and entrepreneurship this collection reveals the ways in which German attempts to control patterns of migration and migrant strategies to build a new life in their adopted country were entangled with, and influenced by, Germany's self-perception of itself as a nation.