

## Pull Factors as a Blessing

### Migration as a valuable impetus for European societies in more than just economic and demographic terms

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When people ask about the reasons for migration, the answer sounds banal at first. Man is quite simply a *Homo migrans*. Commenting on this, Hansjörg Vogel once remarked very aptly: “Have you ever seen a person with roots? The people I know only have legs.”<sup>54</sup> Migration is a recurrent phenomenon in the history of humankind and without it the human family could not have developed into what it is today. Prehistoric finds reveal a history of intercontinental migration which began in Africa. Paleoanthropology, a specialist area of anthropology dealing with humanity’s tribal history, assumes that the earliest representatives of *Homo sapiens* emerged two hundred thousand years ago in Africa. Having learned how to handle fire, they developed tools that made them independent from their immediate environment and then began migrating and settling all over the world. Hence, people resident in non-African cultures, in particular, owe their present cultural home to migration in prehistoric times. These early migratory movements meant that *Homo sapiens*, who first emerged in East Africa two hundred thousand years ago, subsequently spread across the entire globe and succeeded in reaching Australia fifty thousand years later.<sup>55</sup> Neanderthal man, who occupied large parts of Europe for a while, came from a form of *Homo sapiens* resident in Africa. Migration was thus the prerequisite for people to be able to settle all over the world. According to the latest paleoanthropological research, the ancestors of today’s Europeans have their origins in Africa.

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<sup>54</sup> Vogel, Hansjörg, “Migration und Religion – zwei Schlüssel zur menschlichen Identität”, in: Migration: Challenge to Religious Identity II (Forum Mission, No. 5), Kriens 2009, 205–216, here: 205.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Krause, Johannes, “Ancient Human Migrations”, in: Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft (Eds.), Migration (No. 15), Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2013, 45–63.

But the influence migration has had on Germany and Europe is not just a prehistorical phenomenon. In ancient times migratory movements were an integral part of the lives of individuals, of peoples and of cultures.<sup>56</sup> The history of modern Europe, too, is a history of migration.<sup>57</sup> As far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> century the European regions – the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean region, the Atlantic coastal areas, Northern Europe, Western and Eastern Europe – merged to form an area of migration.

Life and culture in present-day Germany, too, are the product of migration processes. In the past, Germany was frequently described as a country of poets and philosophers, although by no means all of them were German-born, as two examples will illustrate. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), a philosopher of the Enlightenment, may have lived in Königsberg, but he had Scottish blood in his veins. Judged by today's standards, the Romantic poet Clemens Brentano (1778-1842) belonged to the second generation of immigrant workers. The time gap should not blind us to the fact that German history has always been a history of both immigration and emigration, innumerable Germans having sought their fortune in the past outside the country's borders. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century alone over 100,000 emigrants made their way across the ocean to America to start a new life there. At that time a third of the population of Chicago were Germans. Even the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, was an ethnic German immigrant. Born in Liblar near Cologne, he emigrated to the USA in 1850. German immigrants to the USA were treated no differently than the migrants who settle in Germany today. In his memoirs August Spieß, who was born in Friedewald near Bad Hersfeld in North Hesse and later lived in Chicago, wrote: "I confess that I should never have made the mistake of coming into the world as a foreigner."

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Oltmer, Jochen, "Kleine Globalgeschichte der Flucht im 20. Jahrhundert", in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, No. 26–27 (2016), 18–25, here: 19.

<sup>57</sup> This is not to imply that in the past migration has been a specifically or exclusively European phenomenon. At about the same time as the post-war period Germany 15 million people in India were displaced in the wake of the country's decolonisation. After the founding of the state of Israel in 1948 a total of 1.2 million Jews set out for Israel to find a new home there. In the Korean War five million people were displaced from their homeland.

### Migration at the outset of the third millennium

The 20<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, stands out as a century of migration in Europe. The number of (world) war refugees in the eight years between 1914 and 1922 is put at four to five million. At the end of the Second World War there were ten times as many people on the move, altogether around 40.5 million.<sup>58</sup>

This makes it all the more surprising that since 2015 there has been widespread use of the term "refugee crisis" with large sections of society in Germany regarding migration as an unexpected "wave" that is threatening to engulf the country. Back in 1990, the Club of Rome made the following forecast: "Our descendants will probably experience mass migration on an unprecedented scale. This process has already begun if we think of the boat people from the Far East, the Mexicans making their way illegally into the United States and the Asians and Africans heading for Europe. In an extreme scenario [it] is not difficult to imagine untold hungry and desperate immigrants landing in boats on the northern shores of the Mediterranean."<sup>59</sup>

At the beginning of the third millennium there are, indeed, more refugees and migrants living far away from their native countries than ever before in the history of humankind. It should not be forgotten in this context that developed countries have contributed in no small way to the increase in migration by providing only minimal or no development aid.

The social sciences distinguish between national and international migration, defining international migration as a permanent change of location which "can be associated with the crossing of a

<sup>58</sup> This figure does not include the (non-German) forced labourers or the 13 million Germans who were expelled from the territories previously annexed by Germany.

<sup>59</sup> King, Alexander et al., *Die globale Revolution*. Spiegel Spezial 2/1991: Bericht des Club of Rome 1991, 42f. Taking up this forecast, Paul Michael Zulehner wrote at the time: "Large migratory movements are predictable, and not just for reasons of political, racial or religious persecution, but also because of the need for economic survival. In the future, migratory movements of this kind in Europe will not only proceed from East to West but to an even greater extent from South to North. Demographic developments in the south of the planet are different from those in the north. By the middle of the coming century the inhabitants of today's industrialised countries will make up less than 20 per cent of the global population. That produces an enormous population pressure which, in combination with a lack of equal opportunities as well as of tyranny and oppression, will trigger massive northward migration which it will be impossible to contain." (Zulehner, Paul Michael, *Pastorale Futurologie*, Düsseldorf 1989).

border and a change in the social and cultural reference system.”<sup>60</sup> According to United Nations<sup>61</sup> estimates, the number of international migrants worldwide has risen from approximately 173 million at the turn of the millennium to a total of 244 million at present. The number of refugees in 2015 was 65.3 million, the highest figure since the end of the Second World War. Nevertheless, “only” 3.2 per cent of the global population are counted as migrants and therefore (by definition) among those whose main place of residence has been outside their country of origin for at least one year.<sup>62</sup>

At the beginning of the third millennium, Christians are numerically the largest religious group among migrants. The noted PEW Report says that 49 per cent, i.e. almost half, of all migrants in the world are Christians, followed in second place by Muslim migrants (27 per cent). Fifteen per cent of migrants worldwide are practising Jews, Hindus or Buddhists or members of some other religion. Nine per cent of all migrants say they have no religious belief.<sup>63</sup> The share of Christian migrants is even higher in Europe. Fifty-six per cent of migrants in the European Union are Christians, followed again by Muslims (27 per cent). Seven per cent of migrants in the European Union profess Judaism, Hinduism or Buddhism or are adherents of some other religion. Ten per cent of migrants in the European Union are not adherents of any religion.<sup>64</sup>

However, the majority of migrants do not find a new home in Europe but end up “stranded” in Asian or African countries. Regine Polak rightly points out that the talk of “refugee flows” swamping Europe is misleading and that it reveals an ignorance of global devel-

<sup>60</sup> Reinprecht, Christoph/Weiss, Hilde, “Migration und Integration: Soziologische Perspektiven und Erklärungsansätze”, in: Fassmann, Heinz/Dahlvik, Julia (Eds.), *Migrations – und Integrationsforschung – multidisziplinäre Perspektiven: Ein Reader*, Vienna 2012, 13–34, here: 15–16.

<sup>61</sup> [http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015\\_Highlights.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015_Highlights.pdf) (01.11.2017).

<sup>62</sup> Not included in these figures are internally displaced persons and non-documented migrants.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. PEW Research Center’s Forum on Religion and Public Life, *The Global Religious Landscape*, 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/12/18/global-religious-landscape-exec/> (01.11.2017).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. PEW-Research Center’s Forum on Religion and Public Life, *Faith on the Move. The Religious Affiliation of International Migrants*, 2012, <http://www.pewforum.org/2012/03/08/religious-migration-exec/> (01.11.2017).

opments.<sup>65</sup> In this context Walter Pohl points out that such a perception or depiction builds on narratives which have been associated with xenophobia and hatred of foreigners ever since the Migration Period.<sup>66</sup>

According to UN figures, there were some 16 million Africans on the move in 2015. Only a small number of them managed get to Europe. The African countries most affected are Sudan (3,078,014), South Sudan (2,540,013), the Democratic Republic of Congo (2,415,802), Somalia (2,307,686), Nigeria (1,668,973) and the Central African Republic (1,004,678).<sup>67</sup> In 2015 there were 76 million migrants living in Europe, but the list of countries with the largest proportional share of refugees in the overall population was headed by two Asian countries, Lebanon (18.3 per cent) and Jordan (8.7 per cent). There was also not a single European country among the top five countries with the most migrants in absolute figures. These were Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iran and Jordan.

Of the 10,039,080 migrants in Germany recorded by the Federal Statistical Office in the 2017 Statistical Yearbook 7,073,980 migrants, i.e. the overwhelming majority (70.5 per cent), were from Europe. Far fewer migrants (2,077,330 = 20.7 per cent) were from Asia, while 510,535 migrants (5.1 per cent) came from Africa. The yearbook lists a total of 259,840 migrants (2.6 per cent) from America and, finally, 16,805 migrants (0.2 per cent) from Australia and Oceania. One per cent of the migrants were stateless or could not be assigned to any nationality.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Polak, Regina, *Migration, Flucht und Religion: Praktisch-Theologische Beiträge* (vol. I: Grundlagen), Ostfildern 2017, 32. Cf. idem, “Flucht und Migration als Chance”, in: *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, No. 99 (2015) 3–4, 202–212.

<sup>66</sup> Pohl, Walter, “Die Entstehung des europäischen Weges: Migration als Wiege Europas”, in: *Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft* (Eds.), *Migration* (vol. 15), Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2013, 27–44.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Schonecke, Wolfgang, “Das koloniale Paradigma bleibt ungebrochen: Die komplexe Geschichte der Migrationsbewegung in Afrika”, in: *Herder Korrespondenz*, No. 70 (2016) 10, 37–40, here: 37.

<sup>68</sup> Statistisches Bundesamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch 2017*, Kap. 2.3.4 Migration – *Ausländische Bevölkerung in Deutschland 2016*, 47; [https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch2017.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch2017.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) (09.12.2017).

### Pull factor: flight and the hope of asylum

When people in Germany talk in a general way about migrants, they basically mean all the people belonging to a group which has moved its main place of residence permanently to Germany. A fundamental distinction must be made here between migrant workers and refugees. While there is no general right to immigration into Germany, the right of asylum is a human right resting on humanitarian grounds which is enshrined not only in the Geneva Convention on Refugees, but also in the Basic Law (Constitution) of the Federal Republic of Germany. Asylum seekers and those granted asylum are messengers from a world of inequality, poverty and violence. As Aleida Assmann has written: “Today’s migrants are bringing the reality of trouble spots and wars, which continue to smoulder outside of Europe and repeatedly flare up again, right to the heart of Europe. They constantly highlight what we would prefer to ignore: our integration into a globalised world with all the positive and negative consequences of mobility that [it] entails. What we hope and believed was far away and could be kept at a distance has now moved uncomfortably close to us.”<sup>69</sup>

One of the reasons why Germany is attractive for needy and persecuted migrants is that, along with the Scandinavian countries, it offers the best social protection in the whole of Europe. This ultimately has to do with the fact that Germany is one of the richest and most advanced countries in the world.<sup>70</sup> As a rule, the residence rights of refugees whose status is governed by the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees<sup>71</sup> rest on their eligibility for asylum in accordance with Article 16a of the Basic Law<sup>72</sup>. In addition, there are migrants who

<sup>69</sup> Assmann, Aleida, “Der europäische Traum: Was wir aus Flucht und Vertreibung lernen können”, in: Herder Korrespondenz, No. 70 (2016) 9, 13–16, here: 14.

<sup>70</sup> Mack, Elke, “Muss Barmherzigkeit grenzenlos sein? Humanität gegenüber Migranten als ethisches Dilemma”, in: Theologie der Gegenwart, No. 59 (2016) 3, 173–188, here: 174.

<sup>71</sup> Migrants who seek refuge in Germany because of their economic plight or to escape the effects of the climate or environment must be distinguished from those seeking refugee status in accordance with the Geneva Convention on Refugees. The group of refugees not covered by the Geneva Convention on Refugees is likely to increase dramatically in the future.

<sup>72</sup> Article 16a of the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany states that persons persecuted on political grounds shall have the right of asylum. This article was formulated in an awareness of the flows of refugees from the fascist and communist dictatorships before and during the Second World War. Whereas the right of asylum was enshrined as a legal entitlement in both the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany and in the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic in 1949, the right of asylum in the

are not recognised as being entitled to asylum but who are granted temporary subsidiary protection as refugees.

In Germany the right of asylum has had constitutional status since 1949 (Article 16a of the Basic Law). The Geneva Convention on Refugees (Articles 1 and 2) states that protection must be granted to any person who has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (such as certain religious groups, dissidents, homosexuals, etc.). However, German asylum law protects only victims of political persecution, provided they can verify that they have suffered violations of their human rights in their country of origin. No protection is provided under German asylum law for victims of other emergency situations such as poverty, catastrophic famines, territorially limited civil wars, natural disasters, for victims of social oppression (for example, forced prostitutes, women threatened by genital circumcision, climate refugees, social outcasts, unattended sick people, etc.) or for victims of failed states – perhaps the overriding cause of destitution, lawlessness and poverty.

When more and more people made their way via Turkey to Greece in 2015 – and thus into the European Union – and Germany opened its gates for the refugees, it turned out that the other member countries of the union were not prepared to implement the EU-wide solution initially planned by the European Commission, which envisaged a fair distribution of the refugees across all the countries. A number of Eastern European states were the first to spurn the European solidarity union, while some Western EU countries initially adopted a wait-and-see policy before pursuing a course of action which had nothing to do with solidarity at all but was explicitly anti-migration.<sup>73</sup> In 2015, Germany let hundreds of thousands of refugees into the country in a move that was widely considered as triggering a “refugee crisis”. Ultimately, however, this was a European crisis reflecting a lack of European solidarity or European identity capable of laying the foundations for a common policy.

GDR Constitution of 1968 was turned into a discretionary provision. Henceforth the right of asylum was no longer an individual right (and entitlement) but was regarded as an “act of clemency by the state”.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Küppers, Arnd/Schallenberg, Peter, “Flucht und Migration als Herausforderung christlicher Nächstenliebe”, in: Theologie der Gegenwart, No. 59 (2016) 3, 189–201, here: 193.

The hopes of a European identity, a common European policy or at least European solidarity ultimately proved an illusion. The decision taken by the German government in view of the migrants waiting “at the gates of Europe” was thoroughly humanitarian. However, it had unintended side-effects which the Nobel Prize winner in economics, James Buchanan, described as constituting a “Samaritan’s dilemma”<sup>74</sup>. The German government’s humanitarian stance triggered pull factors and fuelled expectations, which meant that more and more migrants began making their way to Europe, since it was apparently willing to take them in.<sup>75</sup> This did not result in unchecked flows of refugees, however. Had this been the case – which broad sections of the German population came to fear for a while – they would have dramatically exceeded the country’s capacity to absorb them.

In view of the migrants standing at the gates of Europe in 2015, representatives of the Church in Germany, too, called for implementation of the universal human right to freedom of movement, which rests on the Christian view of humanity, and of the right to a protective community association. “If we let people in need die at our borders, then I’m done with Christian identity”<sup>76</sup>, said the Chairman of the German Bishops’ Conference, Reinhard Marx, in response to the European identity and solidarity crisis.

The theologian, Ottmar Fuchs, who in view of the lack of support for solidarity in the discussion about migration said that those with a narrow nationalist mindset struck him as being more alien than many a migrant, found similar words: “Wherever the sole objective is to call for internal solidarity with one’s own people and this objective is pursued with hatred and aggressiveness, those who endorse it in Germany strike me as being far more alien than all the refugees taken together. Wherever people do everything in order not to become the neighbours of those who are on the move and seeking a new home, wherever attempts are made to keep these people at arm’s length, even if that means letting them drown in the Mediterranean, there is no longer any possibility of reaching a compromise. There is what you might call a split in our country between those who have become

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Buchanan, James, “The Samaritan’s Dilemma”, in: Phelps, Edmund (Eds.), *Altruism, Morality and Economic Theory*, New York 1975, 71–85.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Küppers, Arnd/Schallenberg, Peter, op. cit., 196.

<sup>76</sup> <http://www.katholisch.de/video/16086-jeder-mensch-ist-ebenbild-gottes> (11.11.2017).

alienated, because they do not want to countenance the presence of outsiders and despise them, and those who are constructively seeking ways and means of accommodating them.”<sup>77</sup>

The Central Committee of German Catholics recently issued a statement describing a humane asylum policy as a task facing the European Union as a whole. It urged political leaders in both the European Union and Germany to press for the granting of international protection in Europe and to support a European asylum system to that end; to respect the protection of human life as the overriding priority at the external borders of the European Union; to extend opportunities for legal and safe access to international protection; to reform the Dublin system; to develop supportive and transparent distribution mechanisms at the European level; and to ensure fair and standardised asylum procedures.<sup>78</sup> This statement is not an expression of unrealistic Christian romanticism. On the contrary, it is a socio-ethical position which essentially also recognises – at least as an *ultima ratio* – the legitimacy of state restrictions on migration, if migration means damage being inflicted on “the good of the (recipient) community”<sup>79</sup>, prevention of the reliable institutional provision of “welfare state regulations as well as democracy and the rule of law”<sup>80</sup> or an overstretching of the absorption capacity of a country’s social systems. At no time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany has there ever been such a situation, however.

Consequently the migration researcher, Paul Collier, is among those who call for the adoption of a generous, humanitarian refugee policy. At the same time, however, he emphasises the importance of a “pragmatic immigration policy” which takes due account of economic and social facts and, with that in mind, he goes on to formulate the realities and limitations of an immigration policy. Collier points out

<sup>77</sup> Fuchs, Ottmar, “‘Wenn Fremde bei dir in eurem Land leben...’ (Lev 19,33-34): Zukünftige Herausforderungen durch die aktuelle Migrationsbewegung”, in: *Theologie der Gegenwart*, No. 60 (2017) 1, 47–71, here: 47–48.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Zentralkomitee der deutschen Katholiken, *Eine menschenwürdige Asylpolitik als Gemeinschaftsaufgabe der Europäischen Union: Erklärung der Vollversammlung des Zentralkomitees der deutschen Katholiken vom 24. November 2017*, Bonn 2017, 4.

<sup>79</sup> Johannes XXIII., *Encyclical Pacem in terris*, 11.04.1963, No. 106.

<sup>80</sup> Deutsche Bischofskonferenz/Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgruppe für weltkirchliche Aufgaben (Eds.), *Ökonomisch motivierte Migration zwischen nationalen Eigeninteressen und weltweiter Gerechtigkeit: Eine Studie der Sachverständigengruppe “Weltwirtschaft und Sozialethik”*, Bonn 2005, 1–67, here: 40.”

that, for socio-ethical reasons, an immigration policy must consider not only the interests of the migrants, the host countries and the people already living in the host countries, but also the interests of the countries the migrants have come from and of the people who have been left behind there.<sup>81</sup> In doing so he focuses his attention on the refugees and asylum seekers as well as on economic migrants.

### **Pull factor: labour migration**

Even though the migration debate over the past few years might indicate the opposite, the vast majority of migrants in Germany are not refugees applying for asylum in Germany. They belong to the group of labour migrants.

In studies of the economic factors encouraging migration to Germany the focus is often initially placed on push factors as a means of explaining why people (have to) leave their native countries and wish to settle in Germany. These factors have been examined in earlier contributions in this volume supplied by Graziano Batistella in respect of Asia<sup>82</sup>, Josef Estermann as regards Latin America<sup>83</sup> and Jordan Nyenyembe concerning Africa<sup>84</sup>. There can be no denying that the combating of the causes of migration and flight is crucially important in the age of globalisation.

However, an examination of the push factors cannot ignore the fact that economic migration – and especially migration in Europe – is also attributable to numerous pull factors. There can be no denying that, from an economic point of view, migration is mostly productive for the host countries. In economic terms it is recognised that societies which are open to migration profit from the increase in prosperity among various groups in society. This is readily apparent from the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. Although Germany twice laid the world to waste in the first half of the twentieth century, foreign countries quickly reached agreement to help rebuild it after

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Collier, Paul, *Exodus: Warum wir Einwanderung neu regeln müssen*, Munich 2014.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Batistella, Graziano, "Determinants and Organisation of Migration in Asia" on pages 3–12.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Estermann, Josef, "Poverty, Violence and Marginalisation – Causes of Migration and Displacement in Latin America" on pages 13–22.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Nyenyembe, Jordan, "Causes of Migration and flight in the African Context" on pages 23–31.

the Second World War. At that time nobody screamed "stop capital investment!", when foreigners began pumping their money into the shattered country. Nobody demanded "German goods for Germans!", when an export-led economy was established. Hence the prospering West German economy (whose products labelled "Made in Germany" "migrated" all over the world) was built up with foreign support. Indeed, as early as the mid-1950s an urgent search for workers was launched outside the country. Nine labour recruitment agreements were consequently signed in the years from 1955 to 1968 between the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries<sup>85</sup>, the original purpose of which was to regulate the length of time and conditions under which foreign workers were to be employed in Germany. Their stay in the country was initially to be limited.<sup>86</sup> The Federal Labour Office set up recruitment agencies of its own in several Mediterranean countries. Whenever German employers signalled a need for workers these agencies moved into action, recruiting foreign workers who were welcomed with open arms in Germany. Between 1955 and 1960 the number of foreign workers almost quadrupled from 80,000 to 300,000. As early as 1964 the millionth migrant worker, Armando Rodriguez from Portugal, was officially welcomed with a bouquet of flowers and presented with the gift of a moped, the event being duly reported and celebrated in the media. At that time no group of any social relevance raised its voice to warn against the country being "flooded with foreigners" or "overrun by foreign influences". The guest workers, as they were called, were regarded as important cogs in the wheels of the German economy.

The active recruitment of foreign workers lasted until 1973 when, as a result of the oil crisis and the beginnings of unemployment in the German labour market, a halt was called to any further recruitment. In 1991 a law on immigrants came into force which was designed to regulate the presence of foreigners in Germany. This law stipulated that every foreigner required permission to enter and stay in Germany. Short stays of up to three months not involving gainful

<sup>85</sup> Labour recruitment agreements were concluded with Italy (1955), Spain (1960), Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), South Korea (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).

<sup>86</sup> Comparable agreements for the employment of so-called contractual workers were signed between the German Democratic Republic and Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Poland, Hungary, Yemen and Angola.

employment were exempted from this obligation to obtain official approval. This marked the temporary end of the active recruitment of foreign workers until a special arrangement was introduced in the year 2000 in the form of a Green Card, the purpose of which was to attract (initially 10,000, later) 20,000 highly qualified foreign IT specialists to Germany.<sup>87</sup>

As a result of demographic developments, however, the Federal Republic of Germany continues to depend economically on immigration from other countries. Long-term studies show that, as far as the labour market is concerned, migration has positive long-term effects, even if the arrival of migrants can lead to problems in the short term. It is interesting to note that this also applies to the low-wage sector, where the presence of migrants leads to a job upgrade effect among the low-skilled.<sup>88</sup> This makes it all the more astonishing that migrants have latterly been seen as a threat and not as an opportunity for society in Germany – and that in a situation in which the “sharp decrease in the working population” constitutes the real threat. In fact, the declining labour pool threatens not only the country’s economic growth and stability, but also its social security systems and consequently society as a whole.<sup>89</sup> From an economic point of view and considering population developments in Germany, demographic compensation by means of migration cannot be avoided.<sup>90</sup>

Andreas Rauhut points out that, while they might suffer above-average unemployment rates, migrants are important for the financing of the pension scheme since they are a crucial source of financial support for the susceptible, contribution-financed

<sup>87</sup> The German Bishops’ Conference reacted swiftly to the arrival of the so-called “guest workers”. Immediately after the conclusion of the recruitment agreements it contacted the bishops’ conferences in Italy, Spain and Portugal and asked for foreign-speaking priests and nuns to be sent to Germany to provide pastoral care for the workers. (Cf. Die deutschen Bischöfe, Eine Kirche in vielen Sprachen und Völkern – Leitlinien für die Seelsorge an Katholiken anderer Muttersprache, Bonn 2003, 5.)

<sup>88</sup> Rauhut, Andreas, “Angst und Erlösung: Theologisch-ethische Betrachtungen zur Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen”, in: Theologie der Gegenwart, No. 59 (2016) 3, 202–217, here: 209.

<sup>89</sup> Fuchs, Johann/Kubis, Alexander/Schneider, Lutz, Zuwanderungsbedarf aus Drittstaaten in Deutschland bis 2050: Szenarien für ein konstantes Erwerbspersonenpotenzial unter Berücksichtigung der zukünftigen inländischen Erwerbsbeteiligung und der EU-Binnenmobilität, Gütersloh 2015, 78.

<sup>90</sup> Sinn, Hans-Werner, “Ökonomische Effekte der Migration”, in: ifo-Schnelldienst, No. 68 (2015), 1–6, 3.

pension fund. This is because they “receive much less by way of contribution-financed transfer payments than the local population does”<sup>91</sup>. Evidence shows that, in the course of their lives, migrants in Germany pay more in taxes and contributions than they receive in the form of social transfers.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the favourable age structure of migrants means that they generate considerable gains for the contribution-financed systems.<sup>93</sup> As regards their level of education and qualifications, too, migrants are instrumental in bringing about positive social developments in Germany. In 2012 the share of new migrants with a degree or university entrance qualifications was higher than the federal average.<sup>94</sup>

It is thus an opportunity and not a threat when social scientists say that, given the prosperity gap between the rich Western industrialised nations and the poor developing countries, the acceleration principle<sup>95</sup> will mean that the pull factors for economically motivated migrants attracting them to the rich countries, including Germany, will become stronger.<sup>96</sup> However, there is a need to develop strategies for integration and interculturalism in order to meet the challenges connected with the pending migration processes.

### Migration as an opportunity – a salvation perspective

The Catholic Church recognised the social and humanitarian challenges posed by migration at a comparatively early stage, setting up the International Catholic Migration Commission in 1952. That year also saw the appearance of the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia*. An important milestone in the documents issued by the Magisterium was the Instruction *Erga Migrantes* of 2004, which placed migration in a salvation perspective. Returning to the “unity of the whole human race”<sup>97</sup> referred to in *Lumen Gentium*, the Church places migration

<sup>91</sup> Brücker, Herbert, Auswirkungen der Einwanderung auf Arbeitsmarkt und Sozialstaat: Neue Erkenntnisse und Schlussfolgerungen für die Einwanderungspolitik, Gütersloh 2013, 28.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Bonin, Holger, Der Beitrag von Ausländern und künftiger Zuwanderung zum Deutschen Staatshaushalt 2014, Mannheim 2014, 53.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Rauhut, Andreas, op. cit., 210.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Ibid. 211.

<sup>95</sup> Collier, Paul, op. cit., 265.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Mack, Elke, op. cit., 178.

<sup>97</sup> LG 1.

and the concomitant transformation of monocultural societies into multicultural societies in a universal salvation perspective, points to the various dimensions of migration and calls for international coordination and cooperation. *Erga Migrantes* says, for example: “International migration must therefore be considered an important structural component of the social, economic and political reality of the world today. The large numbers involved call for closer and closer collaboration between countries of origin and destination, in addition to adequate norms capable of harmonising the various legislative provisions. The aim of this would be to safeguard the needs and rights of the emigrants and their families and, likewise, those of the societies receiving them.”<sup>98</sup> In this context *Erga Migrantes* also takes up the ethical question of a new international economic order for a fairer distribution of the goods of the earth, pointing out that an economic order of this kind would “make a real contribution to reducing and checking the flow of a large number of migrants from populations in difficulty.”<sup>99</sup>

*Erga Migrantes* regards the admission of migrants not as a diaconal option or an act of mercy that is only right and proper for the Church, but as the self-realisation of the Church. This applies to all structures, social forms and levels within the Church. “The admission of migrants, travellers, and pilgrims on the move makes the Church what it is.”<sup>100</sup> Thus *Erga Migrantes* states: “Welcoming the stranger, a characteristic of the early Church, thus remains a permanent feature of the Church of God. It is practically marked by the vocation to be in exile, in diaspora, dispersed among cultures and ethnic groups without ever identifying itself completely with any of these. Otherwise it would cease to be the first-fruit and sign, the leaven and prophecy of the universal Kingdom and community that welcomes every human being without preference for persons or peoples. Welcoming the stranger is thus intrinsic to the nature of the Church itself and bears witness to its fidelity to the gospel.”<sup>101</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, Instruction *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi*, Vatican City 2004, 8.

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

<sup>100</sup> Lussi, Carmem, “Die Mobilität des Menschen als theologischer Ort: Elemente einer Theologie der Migration”, in: *Concilium*, No. 44 (2008) 5, 551–562, here: 552.

<sup>101</sup> Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, Instruction *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi*, Vatican City 2004, 22.

However, it is not the Church documents on questions of migration that currently attract the attention of the general public. Right at the beginning of his pontificate in the first half of 2013, Pope Francis focused public awareness on the refugee drama during his first “programmatically” journey as pope to the refugee island of Lampedusa. Since then he has tirelessly pointed to the fate of the refugees and called upon Catholics the world over to lend their support to people on the move. The prominent German journalist, Heribert Prantl, wrote of this new papal style: “He takes the Gospel so seriously that all those who previously regarded it as a theological poetry album are beginning to feel queasy.”<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps Pope Francis is so sensitive to the fate of migrants because he himself was a “second-generation migrant” in Argentina, his parents having immigrated from Italy. This makes it all the more important for Pope Francis to see migration in a hope and salvation perspective. He said in his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Amoris Laetitia*, for example: “Human mobility, which corresponds to the natural historical movement of peoples, can prove to be a genuine enrichment for both families that migrate and countries that welcome them.”<sup>103</sup>

Needless to say the challenges associated with migration cannot be overlooked. They range from cultural difficulties such as machismo, misogyny, patriarchal attitudes, anti-Semitism, racism and corruption to criminal practices such as drug trafficking, theft and physical violence (including sexual violence). However, particularly in view of latent xenophobic attitudes in Europe, it is important not to overlook either the opportunities afforded by migration and the associated significance of integration and inter-culturalism. Studies of the social cohesion brought about by migration show that an increase in migration and the share of foreigners generally goes hand in hand with reduced levels of resentment.<sup>104</sup> At the same time life satisfaction among the indigenous population increases if immigrants live in their

<sup>102</sup> Prantl, Heribert, “Kapitalismus tötet? Der Papst hat Recht: Er proklamiert ein Konzept der solidarischen Ökonomie auf der Basis des Evangeliums”, in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung* of 7/8 December 2013, 22.

<sup>103</sup> Pope Francis, *Amoris Laetitia*, 19.03.2016, No. 46.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Wolf, Carina/Wagner, Ulrich/Christ, Oliver, “Die Belastungsgrenze ist nicht überschritten: Empirische Ergebnisse gegen die Behauptung vom ‚vollen Boot‘”, in: Heitmeyer, Wilhelm (Eds.), *Deutsche Zustände*, No. 3, Frankfurt/Main 2005, 73–91.



immediate surroundings, provided their own life context is not seen as being under threat. However, it is also clear that poverty is a “driver” of xenophobia. Divisions in society brought about by social and economic factors foster the development of xenophobia, which in socio-psychological terms can be described as a “neurotic shift in which a subconscious conflict (such as fear of poverty) encounters something different and specific, in this case ‘outsiders’.”<sup>105</sup>

The fostering of intercultural skills in the target countries of migration and the combating of the causes of flight in many parts of the world are among the key challenges facing a “world in the throes of change” in this age of globalisation. In his *Motu Proprio Humana Progressionem* of 17 August 2016 Pope Francis announced the institution of a Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development<sup>106</sup> which addresses the challenges arising from globalisation in the form of migration, environmental pollution, poverty, disease, marginalisation, unemployment, natural disasters, wars, human trafficking, slavery and torture. Worthy of particular note is that the Department of Refugees and Migrants will be run by the pope himself. This makes it clear that Pope Francis has made the issue of migration a top priority. In taking such a keen interest in the question of migration he has his sights on more than just the involvement of the Church.

In his document *Welcoming, Protecting, Promoting and Integrating Migrants and Refugees* issued for the 104<sup>th</sup> World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2018, Pope Francis reaches out beyond the Church to address all political and social players. He specifically calls for humanitarian corridors and family reunifications, demands labour market access for asylum applicants and advocates a general easing of the conditions for naturalisation.<sup>107</sup> At the same time he points out that integration can only succeed if societies in the host countries offer public and social space to those seeking to integrate and facilitate

<sup>105</sup> Etzersdorfer, Irene, “Was ist Xenophobie?”, in: Etzersdorfer, Irene/Ley, Michael (Eds.), *Menschenangst: Die Angst vor dem Fremden*, Berlin 1999, 79–112, 101.

<sup>106</sup> Apostolic Letter Issued *Motu Proprio* by the Supreme Pontiff Francis Instituting the Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu\\_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio\\_20160817\\_humana-progressioem.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio_20160817_humana-progressioem.html).

<sup>107</sup> Message of His Holiness Pope Francis for the 104<sup>th</sup> World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2018, “*Welcoming, Protecting, Promoting and Integrating Migrants and Refugees*”, [http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/de/messages/migration/documents/papa-francesco\\_20170815\\_world-migrants-day-2018.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/de/messages/migration/documents/papa-francesco_20170815_world-migrants-day-2018.html) (16.12.2017).

their political, cultural and religious participation while also accepting their right to be different: “Integration is not an assimilation that leads migrants to suppress or to forget their own cultural identity. Rather, contact with others leads to discovering their ‘secret’, to being open to them in order to welcome their valid aspects and thus contribute to knowing each one better.”<sup>108</sup>

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*