

## UNIVERSITEIT TWENTE.

# UNDERSTANDING THE INTEGRATION PROCESS ACROSS GENERATIONS OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY



Bachelor thesis for the attainment of the degrees Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Arts

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## **PLAGIARISM DECLARATION:**

I hereby declare that the bachelor thesis in hand on the topic

**„Understanding the integration process across generations of African Immigrants in Germany“**

is the result of my own independent work and makes use of no other sources or materials other than these referenced, and that quotations and paraphrases obtained from the work of others are indicated as such.

Münster- Enschede, 25.02.2013

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## **Abstract**

In year 2009, a study of the Berlin Institute for Demography and Development reported that, contrarily to other immigrant groups, in which the first and second generation and the first generation were following the same integration pattern, the African immigrants of the second generation were following different integration patterns than their counterparts of the first generation. While the first generation of African immigrants were being assimilated in the host society, the second generation was being assimilated in the ethnic milieu. The aim of the following paper is to look for possible explanations for these results presented by the Berlin Institute for Demography and Development. By doing this, this study will especially deal with two theories on intergenerational integration developed by the German sociologist Hartmut Esser and the American sociologist Zhou. The following study is relevant for further research because there are almost no publications about this specific question. It hopes to provide a first insight in the topic of the integration of the second generation African immigrants in Germany. It raises through this the awareness of researchers on investigating on this group, who has less been studied until today.

**Key Words:** downward integration pattern, Integration, people with a migrant background, ethnic milieu, host society, discrimination

Words: 10610

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>1.Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
2.Theoretical approaches of intergenerational integration processes.....	5
2.1.The Intergenerational Model of integration by Hartmut Esser.....	5
2.2.Definition of integration.....	6
2.3How is integration transmitted across generations of immigrants.....	8
2.3.1. Limits of the intergenerational integration model of Hartmut Esser.....	12
2.2.The Model of Segmented Assimilation by Min Zhou.....	12
<b>3. Some Facts on the Integration of African Immigrants in Germany.....</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1. The first generation of African immigrants.....	17
3.1.2. The Second generation of African immigrants.....	18
<b>4. Esser or Zhou: Who explains more?.....</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1. Expectation 1.....	20
4.2. Expectation 2.....	22
4.3. Expectation 3.....	27
<b>5. Conclusion and remarks.....</b>	<b>29</b>
5.1. What is the empirical relevance of this study?.....	29
5.2. What is the European relevance of this study?.....	30
<b>Literature.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>37</b>

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The notion that Germany is not an immigration country has pre-occupied the German policy for years. Immigrants were considered as temporal residents and therefore Germany did not practise an intensive integration policy (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2011). It is only with the reform of the nationality law in 1999, which gave children of immigrants the right to obtain German citizenship after their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday, that Germany begun to officially recognise itself as an immigration country (Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg, 2011). Since then Germany has undertaken several steps to establish an integration policy. This is expressed in the immigration act (Zuwanderungsgesetz), which has been passed in 2004. In order to regulate their integration, immigrants are granted with more rights. For instance the § 19 of the act foresees that immigrants can receive a permanent residence permit under certain conditions, as an example for work reasons. According to the §16 IV of the act, international students have the right to settle in Germany, if they find an occupation in accordance to their studies. Regarding the integration of the immigrants, § 43 I of the new act foresees integration and language courses to back up the integration of the immigrants. (Bundesministeriumm des Innern). However, Germany is still confronted with a number of integration problems, namely with the young immigrants living in the country. Recent surveys have shown that the educational results of the later are poorer in comparison to the scores of German youths of the same age, who do not have a migrant background (Bos, Wendt, Köller, & Selter, 2012). Some studies also show that many of these children face language difficulties even though they grew up in Germany (Bos, Tarelli, Bremerich-Vos, & Schwippert, 2011). Other indicators to the poor integration of these youngsters, which has raised the public opinion, are cases of honour killing<sup>1</sup>.

One group, which has been scarcely investigated in Germany, is the second generation African immigrants in Germany. The immigration of people from Africa is a quite new phenomenon compared to other immigrant groups in Germany. Except the people from Maghreb Africa, precisely Morocco, who arrived in Germany in the late 1980's as guest workers, the majority of the African immigrants, came as Asylum seekers, students or within the framework of family unification (Schmid,

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<sup>1</sup> The Spiegel online, an electronic Newspaper reported on the case of one Turkish girl, who has been killing by his brother, because she was having an affair with a German. (Diehl, 2012) Similar cases have also happened before. A study of the Bundeskriminalamt (the federal criminal police office) identified more than 70 such cases in Germany. (Korge, 2011)

2010). Since the beginning of the year 1980, the amount of people with an African migration background<sup>2</sup> living in Germany has been growing continuously. In 2005, there were about 432.000 African immigrants in Germany, with 312.000 of them belonging to the first generation and 120.000 belonging to the so-called second generation<sup>3</sup>; most of them were born in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2009). In 2011, the population of people with an African migrant background increased to 555.000 persons, i.e. 123.000 more than the number in 2007. This tendency is particularly caused by the increase of the second generation. Their number ascended from 120.000 in 2005 to 250.000 in 2011. This represents 37% of the entire population of African immigrants in Germany. Compared to other immigrant groups in Germany is the amount of second generation African immigrants quite big, since the second generation of all immigrants in Germany only represents in average 27,8% of the whole migrant population (numbers for 2007). Among African immigrants, Moroccan represents the biggest group of people with an African background living in Germany. In 2008, they were recorded 66.189, which is 24,7% of the overall population of people with an African migration background. Among sub-Saharan Africans, the Ghanaians form the biggest group with 20.447 persons in 2008, which represents 7,6 % of the overall population of people with an African background in Germany

These numbers show that African immigrants, and especially young African migrants, have become a very relevant and important part of the German society. However, the integration problems of this group are big and growing. This has recently shown a report of the Berlin Institute for Demography and Population entitled “Das Ungenutzte Potenziale” (The unused potential). In this report the level of integration of various ethnic groups in different federal states of Germany were assessed. It was one of the first studies that provided information on the integration of African immigrants of the second generation. In order to measure the integration

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<sup>2</sup> This work uses the definition of persons with a migrant background of the federal office for migration and Refugee. According to this definition, a person has a migrant background, when he immigrated into Germany within today borders ever since 1950. This definition also includes all foreigners born in Germany within today borders, even those naturalised; and all Germans born in Germany with at least one parent who immigrated into Germany since 1945 or who was born on German territory as a foreigner (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2009)

<sup>3</sup> In this thesis I used the definition of the federal statistical office of the terms „first generation“ and „second generation“. First generation refers to people who migrate their selves. Second generation refers to children of immigrants of the first generation, who were born in Germany. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2009) In this work, second generation also include people who came in Germany before the school age.

level of the various immigrant groups, the study developed its own created catalogue, the so called IMI (=Indicator to Measure Integration – Indikator zur Messung von Integration). The IMI contains indicators that assess the structural integration of the immigrants, for instance the education level, the labour market position, the type of profession and the revenue. Only a few of them focus on the social and the emotional aspect of integration such as citizenship status and bicultural marriage.

The data used by the Berlin Institute for Demography and Population were provided by the Micro census 2005 (first census in Germany that collected differentiated data on people with a migrant background)<sup>4</sup>. These data<sup>5</sup> described, for example, that the educational results of the second generation African immigrants were poorer than these of the first generation. Moreover, the data showed that the amount of bicultural marriage within the second generation was lower than within the first generation. This indicates that the distance between the second generation African immigrants and the German host society has become wider. Based on these data the Berlin Institute for Demography and Population came to the conclusion that the second generation African immigrants was being assimilated in the ethnic society, while the first generation was being assimilated in the host society (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung, 2009).

These findings of the Berlin Institute concerning the integration level of the African immigrants were quite surprising. Considering the fact that integration requires a minimum of knowledge of the culture and of the language of the host country (Esser, 2001), it could have been expected that the second generation of African immigrants, who was born and grew up in Germany and thus has these prerequisites, would be better integrated than the first. This incited me to deal with this phenomenon in my Bachelor's thesis. The question came to me: *How could this devel-*

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<sup>4</sup> The Microcensus is a yearly population sample conducted by the federal statistical office of Germany. It collects data on 1% of all households in Germany and is therefore a representative survey (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung, 2009). It is only in 2005 that the Microcensus started collecting data on people with a migrant background (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung, 2009), which might imply that the Census still has some weakness in collecting data on the integration of the immigrants. One weak point of the Microcensus is that it only provides data to assess the structural integration of the immigrants, for example education or occupation and does not yet contain sufficient data to evaluate the other aspects of integration, such as identification or cultural and social habits.

<sup>5</sup> The results of the Berlin institute are presented in the Appendix of this work. See Table 1

*opment be explained? Are there theories, which could explain this, at first glance, paradoxical findings?*

To assess this question, I will use an exploratory explanatory research design. This type of design is adequate to understand a topic which has not yet been studied (Reiter, 2013), for example the African immigrants of the second generation. It is a hypothesis-building research design and consists in collecting information about a general topic to draw out theories or hypothesis for a specific topic. In this work I analyse specific integration theories that explain the process of intergenerational integration from the first to the second generation. Until now integration has mostly been discussed from a static perspective in Germany. Only few studies deal with the transmission of integration over generations of immigrants. However, there are at least two theories which seem to me very promising in explaining the integration gap of the second generation African immigrants. These are namely the theories of the German sociologist Hartmut Esser and the American sociologist Min Zhou. These theories expressively deal with the transmission of integration across generations of immigrants.

My goal is to apply these findings to the group of African immigrants and draw conclusions with regard to their integration process. The Information used here will be provided from secondary sources, e.g. representative surveys. Another goal of my study is to raise the attention of researchers on the importance of studying African immigrants in Germany and Europe. Although immigrants from Turkey, Yugoslavia or Southern- Europe form the oldest and the biggest immigrant groups in Western Europe and do have greater attention, the need to consider the second generation of African migrants due to their growing number cannot be ignored.

In the following work, I will first analyse the theoretical approaches of Hartmut Esser and Min Zhou which explain the intergenerational process of integration of immigrants (chapter 2), then I will secondly apply these findings to the group of African immigrants in Germany (chapter 3), on this basis I will finally try to draw some conclusions concerning the future integration process of second generation African immigrants in Germany.



## 2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES OF INTERGENERATIONAL INTEGRATION PROCESSES

### 2.1. The intergenerational integration model by Hartmurt Esser

In this chapter I shall analyse the theories of intergenerational integration of Esser and the theory of segmented assimilation of Zhou. I hope to draw some conclusions from this analysis, about the factors that might explain the integration pattern of the second generation African immigrants. Before analysing which theories are adequate for the research question of this work, the state of the research on the integration of the second generation African immigrants should be presented. As we said previously, the group of African immigrants second generation has less been studied until now in Germany. Therefore looking for literature about the integration of this group is very challenging. Concerning the integration of the first generation of African immigrants, there is enough literature see for example Benndorf (2008) or (Schmid, 2010). Even in other European countries there are only a few literature works, which focus on the integration of African immigrants of the second generation. From these few literature works available, the focus is most of the time, put on people from Maghreb Africa, see for instance Crul & Doornik the Turkish and the Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands: Divergent trends between and Polarization within the two groups (2003) and Crul, Schneider, & Lelie (2012). However one should be carefully while using literature on people from Maghreb Africa to understand the integration of the whole African immigrants. The reason is that because of their skin colour and their cultural traits, i.e. language and religion, which resembles this of people from Arab countries, immigrants from Maghreb Africa are mainly perceived by the public opinion as members of the Arab ethnic group. Therefore they may face different integration problems than the African immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. To understand the integration of the second generation Sub-Saharan African immigrants' literature on other black immigrants can also be useful. At first, Black people are generally referred to as Africans by the public opinion. This implies that in some points, they might make similar experiences. There is a wide literature on the integration of the second generation of other black groups, for example Musterd & Smakman, (2000) or Portes & Zhou, (1993).  
The Intergenerational Integration Model of Hartmut Esser

## **2.2. Definition of Integration**

Ever since integration became an important subject of discussion in various societies, there has been no unanimous understanding of the concept of “integration” until today. The different concepts vary in their approaches. The most recurrent concepts include assimilationism and multiculturalism. In the assimilationism approach, integration means that the immigrants gradually abandon elements of their home culture and smelt into their host society. The end result of the integration process here is a homogeneous society, where immigrants become similar to the members of the host society. For some protagonist of the classical theory of assimilationism, like the American sociologist Gordon Park, the success of the integration process is determined by the cognitive and cultural dispositions of the immigrants. (Benndorf, 2008) On this basis, he argued that due to lack of the above aspects, black people, Indians and Latin-Americans could never be assimilated in the American society. (Benndorf, 2008) On the contrary, the multicultural approach considers integration as a process which involves both the immigrants and the host society. Integration means, that all parties involved abandon certain elements of their culture and identity and retains others that would then amalgamate with elements of other immigrant and non-immigrant cultures. (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003) The result of the integration process here is the creation of a new heterogeneous society presenting the characteristics of all ethnic groups within that society.

Esser’s understanding of integration is an advanced form of the classical assimilationism theory. As stated by this approach; he considers that the integration process should end up in the assimilation of the immigrants in the host society. Esser however distinguishes himself from the assimilationism approach in many ways. At First, Esser defines assimilation as the disappearance of social differences between the immigrants and the native. Then, contrarily to the classical assimilationism theory, which claimed, that in the host society, there is an irresistible centripetal force, compelling all immigrants independent of their generations to be assimilated for their own benefits (Esser, Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?, 2003), Esser claimed that integration does not always lead to assimilation. On the contrary, he argued that under certain conditions, segregation could occur. (Esser, Integration und ethnische Schichtung, 2001) Besides this, he assumed that the result of the integration process does not only depend on the immigrants, as claimed by the protagonist of the assimilationist ap-

proach; rather he advocated that the host society also has a responsibility on the result of the integration process.

Depending on the macro perspective or the micro perspective, Esser distinguishes between several understandings of integration. Viewed from the macro perspective Esser refers to integration as *system integration*. This means the association of the different constitutive parts of the system of a society, for example the market and the institutions of ethnic and host societies merge to build a single unit. This happens independently of the motivation of the individuals in that society and independently of the relationship between them. Concretely this means that there are no parallel institutions or market for the immigrants within a society, rather these institutions and market should be all interconnected to the whole system of that society. (Esser, 2001)

Viewed from the micro perspective, integration refers to the *social integration*. Contrarily to the *system integration*, integration here depends on some factors related to the individuals in that society, for example their motivations, their orientations or their expectations. (Esser, 2001) Generally when talking about integration, *social integration* is meant. This takes place in four steps.

The first step is the cultururation. It is the socialisation of the immigrant in his host society. In other words it is the process within which the immigrant acquires the necessary knowledge necessary for his first interaction with his host society. This includes knowledge in the language and in certain cultural aspects of the host society. Cultururation can take place at an earlier stage in the life of the immigrant, as it is the case with immigrants of the second generation. This is referred to as encultururation. It can also take place at a later stage in the life of the immigrants, and then it is called accultururation. According to Esser, encultururation is easily achievable than accultururation. The second step is the structural integration. In Esser's view, it is the most important step of the integration process. He referred to it as "the keystone of a successful integration of immigrants". (Esser, 2001, p. 5) At this stage the immigrant acquires good positions in the host society, for example more citizen rights or a good position on the labour market. In order to reach this step the immigrant must be well culturuated. However the host society should also be receptive, that is to say the natives should be willing to accept the immigrant into their institutions. The

third step is social integration. It consists of the interaction between the immigrants and the natives. According to Esser it is easier to achieve social integration when the immigrant has acquired a good position in the society. However it can never take place where there is no room for the immigrant and the native to be in contact. That is to say in segregated societies, where immigrants live apart from the natives, social integration would not take place.

The last step is the emotional integration. It automatically takes place when social integration is reached. At this stage, the immigrant adopts the values of the host society and identifies himself with these values. This is translated in a “we-feeling” which means that the immigrant starts considering himself as a member of the host society.

Just like all existing theories, Esser’s theory has limits and critics. In her study on the integration of the second generation immigrants in Austria, Weiss<sup>6</sup> disproved Esser’s assumptions on the casual relation between the different steps of integration. She observed two groups of immigrants, the first group with low-educated parents and the second group with high- educated parents. She found out that the first group tended to be ethnically oriented, that is to say they favoured ethnic relationship more than relationship with the native population. The members of this group did not identify themselves with the Austrian society. In the second group she could not find a tendency towards ethnic orientation. The youngster of the second group had more contact to the native society. However she could still observed a lack of identification with the Austrian society within this group. She came to the conclusion that, there is a strong causal relationship between structural integration and social integration. However integration does not always follow the linear causality model proposed by Esser. (Weiss, 2007)

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<sup>6</sup> Hilde Weiss is an Austrian sociologist. She studied the integration of the second generation immigrants in Austria.

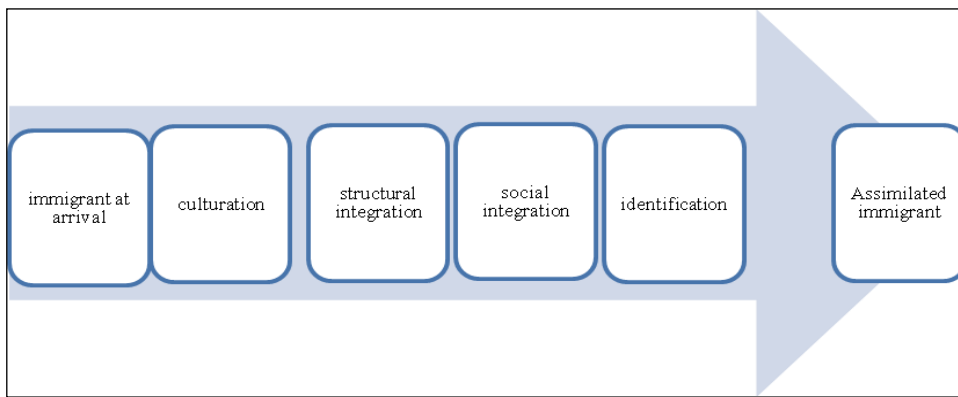


Figure 1: the Integration Model of Hartmut Esser

### 2.3. How is integration transmitted across generations of immigrants

Until the end of the 20th century, it was believed that the integration process is transmitted over generations and that after the second and the third generation, assimilation automatically occurs. This has been disproved. The structure of the host society is not static, so immigrants of the new generations experience different conditions than their parents and this might lead to a different integration pattern.

In the framework of his study on the second generation of Yugoslavian and Turk immigrants in Germany, Esser observed two tendencies. The group of Yugoslavians were assimilated into the German society whereas the group of Turks were following the negative integration pattern of their parents. He came to the conclusion that the integration process can also end with segregation in the second or the third generation of immigrants. (Esser, *Integration und ethnische Schichtung*, 2001)

He used the model of sociological explanation to explain the factors that can influence the decision of an immigrant to assimilate into his host society or into his ethnic milieu. Based on the principle that each collective phenomenon is the result of individual actions, which are the results of more or less rational decisions and which are shaped by socially structured situations, this model consist of three steps: the logic of situation, the logic of selection and the logic of aggregation. (Esser, *Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?*, 2003) The logic of situation connects objective societal structures with subjective parameters guiding the actions of individual actors and the logic of selection specifies a rule about the (causal) connection between these parameters, for example the

rational choice rule. With the logic of aggregation the effects of the decisions of an individual on the other individuals in a society are specified.

Regarding the logic of situation, every social action is motivated by the fulfilment of a need. This could be a physical need or social approval. In order to get this need met, the individual makes an investment. These needs and the conditions for their achievements are not universal for all societies; on the contrary they vary in each society. Depending on their needs and on the opportunities they see in each milieu to satisfy their needs, the immigrants will choose between being assimilated into the ethnic milieu or into the host society. If the host society is more advantageous, the immigrants will prefer to be assimilated into the host society. If on the contrary the ethnic minority group is more advantageous than the host society, the immigrants, especially those who lack the relevant input means, like the knowledge of the language and the culture of the host society, will prefer to be assimilated in their ethnic groups. Esser also assumed that, when there are structural disadvantages in the host society, such as discrimination, some immigrants, despite the fact that they have the relevant input, might choose to integrate into the ethnic milieu. (Esser, Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?, 2003)

Following the logic of selection<sup>7</sup>, before choosing an action, the individuals of a society, will contemplate all the alternatives to that action and then choose the action that brings the most gain at the lowest cost and risks. This means that the immigrants and their following generations might have to choose between the option of being assimilated into the host society or into the ethnic milieu by comparing the expected utility of each option e.g. the economic opportunities in the host society or the cultural evaluation of education in that society. If the host society offers more economic advantages than the ethnic milieu, the immigrants and their offsprings will choose to be assimilated in the host society. In the same way, if education has a higher importance for social upward mobility and the immigrants do not have these required educational qualifications, they will prefer to turn to the ethnic milieu. The

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<sup>7</sup> This is also referred to as the expected utility theory or the theory of rational Choice

choice of an option can only be rational when the immigrants have enough information about the different options.

The expected utility of an option is shaped by restrictions from the host country. Concretely this means that an immigrant might be willing to be integrated into his host society, however if he misses the relevant input, for example a good knowledge of the language or the culture of this host society, the cost of achieving his goal will increase, e.g. he will have to invest more money for language courses or more time to have a job. Besides this, due to the fact that he has no assurance of succeeding in learning the language or of getting a job after completing his language course, investing into the social capital of the host society will become too risky. Esser also argued that an immigrant, even with the prerequisite input to being integrated into the host society, will prefer to being assimilated into the ethnic milieu, if he found out that the capital he has, when invested into the socio-capital of the host society will be restricted by discrimination and as such yield low utility. (Esser, *Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?*, 2003)

With the logic of aggregation, Esser argued that the decision of an immigrant to invest into the capital of a given milieu always leads to structural consequences, for example the distribution of traits within a population of otherwise unconnected actors, as in the case of ethnic inequality. (Esser, *Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?*, 2003) In some cases this can even lead to the emergence of an ethnic community or of a transnational society. This modifies the expected utility weight of the options the immigrants have at their disposal. Changes of the expected utility of an option can also be caused by changes in the size of the immigrant population, for example due to follow-up migration. When the size of the ethnic population increases, the expected utility weight of investing into the ethnic milieu also increases. However there is a limit, after which the expected utility of the ethnic milieu will decrease, if the size of the immigrant population continues to increase<sup>8</sup>. It can also happen that the size of the immigrant

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<sup>8</sup> With a high number of immigrants, the ethnic milieu becomes well organised. However, when this number become too high, it becomes difficult for the ethnic milieu to be well organised. Also the

population decreases through absorption i.e. when the immigrants are being assimilated into the host society. These structural changes modify the logic of other immigrant groups and explain why the choice of the second generation sometimes differs from the choice of the first generation.

### **2.3.1. limits of the intergenerational integration model of Hartmut Esser**

From the previous observations, it can be said that Esser's theory of intergenerational integration, which is based on the economical theory of rational choice seems to be useful to understand which factors influence the choice of the second generation African immigrants. This theory alone is not sufficient to understand how integration is transmitted across generations of African immigrants. The reason behind this is that the model described by Esser is general in approach. Therefore the probability of omitting relevant variables specific to African immigrants is high. Another problem with this model is that integration is viewed as a decision taken by immigrants. This presumes that African immigrants deliberately choose which integration patterns they follow and have the absolute control over their integration. In other words, this means that the transmission of the integration process across African immigrants is not influenced by contextual factors, but only by the African immigrants themselves. This explanation stays in contradiction to the definition of integration made by Esser himself, according to which integration is a multidimensional process, whose direction is determined by both the immigrants and the host society.

## **2.2 The segmented assimilation model of Zhou**

As a complement to the theory of Esser, the theory of segmented assimilation of Zhou will be used. This American sociologist is one of the most prominent defender of the theory of segmented assimilation; she studied how integration was transmitted across generations of various immigrant groups in the USA, among which the black immigrants.

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opportunities for example for social well-being will no more be sufficient. The optimal majority can be found. (Esser, Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory of Intergenerational Integration?, 2003)



With her theory of segmented assimilation Zhou assumed that the integration process of generations of immigrants takes place in different segments of the society. She distinguishes between three possible multidirectional patterns:

- The time-honoured upward mobility pattern, which consists in the acculturation and the economic integration of the immigrants into the normative structures of the middle-class, the host society.
- The downward-mobility pattern which is the opposite route and dictates the integration of the immigrants into the underclass, the ethnic milieu. This pattern is the one the Berlin Institute observed on the second generation African immigrants. It is also referred to as “the decline of the second generation. (Zhou, 1997)
- The third route is the economic integration in the middle-class or host society. Through this she demonstrated that social upward mobility does not always imply the acculturation of the immigrant or the rejection of his ethnical values.<sup>9</sup>

According to Zhou the pattern which the integration process of an immigrant will follow is determined by the interaction of *individual factors* like education, language, place of birth and length of stay in the host society, socio-economical background; *structural factors* like skin colour, place of residence and absence of a feasible way up the social ladder, which creates vulnerability for downward assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993, p. 11) and the *cultural values* of the immigrant ethnic milieu (Zhou, 1997) .

With regards to the individual factors, Zhou assumed that the socio-economical background of the immigrant plays a major role in determining the direction in which the immigrant of the second generation will integrate. In fact, depending on the socio-economical background, of their family the children of immigrants will have better or less access to the required resources for social mobility. Based on this, they will follow a peculiar integration pattern. For example Zhou observed that Cuban immigrants from rich families were following the upward mobility pattern, whereas their counterparts from low socio-economical backgrounds were following

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<sup>9</sup> Together with Portes, an another American sociologist and protagonist of the theory of segmented assimilation, Zhou observed that the Punjabi Sikh community in North California, despite their poor socio-economical background and the overt racial discriminations toward them, could still achieve an economic success. Also they still preserve their ethnical values and did not adopt the “adversarial culture of the sub cultural milieu they were living in. (Portes & Zhou, 1993)

the downward mobility pattern. (Portes & Zhou, 1993) Regarding the structural factors, Zhou assumed that because of the structural changes of the recent years, for instance the move to the knowledge economy, the social ladders, i.e. the chances for the immigrants of getting a high-pay job, especially for the immigrants with low qualifications, have been reduced. This implies that the immigrant of the second generation has even less chances of getting a job and climbing up the social ladder under the same qualifications of their parents. Because of this and the growing poverty, suburban centres are created, where immigrants live apart from other members of the middle-class. Growing in such unprivileged milieus might represent an obstacle for the integration of immigrants of the second generation in their host society. There are multiple reasons for this. The first reason is that there are few resources for social advancement in these suburban centres, e.g. poor quality schools or absence of funding. Secondly, in these suburban centres the immigrants and their offsprings are confronted with an adverse subculture which is qualified by a deliberately alienation from the middle-class mores. Values like going to school for example are generally considered there as “white” and “un-cool” (Zhou, 1997, pp. 987,989). This influences the school ‘results of children of immigrants’<sup>10</sup>. Fordam in (Portes & Zhou, 1993) qualified this milieu as one where there is an “unqualified acceptance of the ideological realm of the larger society and a wilful rejection of whatever will validate the negative claims of the larger society”. This phenomenon could be observed by the German sociologist Iris Schmitt, while comparing immigrants’ offsprings in Canada and in Germany. (Schmitt, 2007)

Zhou also assumed that one major individual factor that also influences the integration pattern of second generation immigrants is their skin colour, since this could become a handicap preventing them from acquiring high positions in the society. According to Zhou, this is one of the explanations, why black people integrate more in the suburban milieu in the USA<sup>11</sup> (Zhou, 1997)

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<sup>10</sup> Portes and Zhou observed that among the groups of Mexican immigrants of the second generation there were divisions based on the school results. The Cholos and the Chicanos deliberately avoid having any characteristics that resemble the white culture, for example they avoid having good school results and avoid staying around whites. With this type of behaviour, they express their fidelity to their Mexican origins. They excluded other Mexicans, who have good school results and refer to them as “School boys” or “wannabe” meaning that the latter are fake Mexicans. (Portes & Zhou, 1993)

<sup>11</sup> Portes and Zhou claimed that the lack of integration of the second generation of immigrants from West Indians, Jamaica, Trinidad and Caribbean republics were caused by the overt discrimination they were experiencing in the US society. (Portes & Zhou, 1993)

However, while observing some Asian groups like the Punjabi Sikhs in California, she assumed that sometimes even while experiencing discrimination and even while living in an unprivileged segment, an economic success could still be observed, when the ethnic cultural background of the immigrant is favourable to social upward mobility. Zhou described such ethnic cultures that vaunt values in accordance with the values of the host society as favourable to social upward mobility (for example education, discipline and hard work).

As conclusion, to this part, it can be said that, although Germany and the USA have two different social contexts and different ideals of integration<sup>12</sup>, some information collected from the black immigrants in the USA however could still be applied on the group of African immigrants in Germany. The American society Zhou depicted in her study is echoed in the German society. For instance, like in the USA, the German society is made up of different segments. In Germany, like in the USA, immigrants follow different integration patterns. This can be inferred from several studies i.e. the 2009- survey of the Berlin institute as well as from various debates on integration. Like in the USA, immigrants in Germany mainly live in disfavoured areas with low access to the resources of the society. (Häussermann, 2009)

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<sup>12</sup> In the USA integration is seen as from a multicultural perspective while Germany define integration following the assimilationist approach (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, The European Second Generation Compared: Does the Integration Context Matter?, 2012)

### 3. SOME FACTS ON THE INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN GERMANY

Before looking for possible explanations to the downward mobility of the second generation African immigrants, the actual integration pattern followed by the African immigrants will be assessed. Concretely, the integration state of both the first and the second generation will be assessed.

The publication of the results of the 2009 survey “das Ungenutzte potenziale” from the Berlin Institute for Demography and Population raised a lot of critiques. For some sociologists, comparing the integration level of various immigrant groups leads to an ethnification of the integration process and defeats the purpose of the integration debate – i.e. creates a competition or a division problem within the ethnic groups. These same sociologists also criticize the fact that by comparing the different immigrants groups, the Berlin Institute for Development and Demography did not stress on the role of the host society in the integration process of the immigrants. (Gesemann, 2010).

The validity of the results reported by the study was also criticised because some of the indicators used to measure the integration state of the immigrants. For instance, the indicator “citizenship status” might not always be appropriate to measure the level of integration for people with a migrant background. The acquirement of citizenship could be motivated by other factors, such as the search for a secure resident permit or the search for more opportunities. The same, the indicator “bicultural marriage” is not adequate to assess the integration state of an individual.

The mode of comparison used in the 2009- survey also seems to be inadequate. For instance the Berlin institute concluded that the second generation African immigrants were less integrated than the first generation, because their educational scores were lower than the educational results of the later. The problem is that the Berlin institute did not distinguish between immigrants of the first generation who had completed their school careers in their homelands and those who had completed it in Germany. So the higher educational scores of the first generation in comparison to the second generation could be explained by the fact that many African immigrants of the first generation come as students (Schmid, 2010) or already completed their educational life before migrating to Germany.

The indicators used in this thesis include the *participation in the labour market and the source of revenue*.

The indicator *educational achievement of the immigrants* was deliberately ignored because, as we mentioned above, it does not allow comparison on the integration state of the first and the second generation. The indicator *participation in the labour market* as an evaluation of the level of integration of immigrants measure aspects like the type of profession the immigrants exercise. The second indicator is the *source of revenue*. Depending on where they get their revenue from, i.e. whether from one's profession or from social help, one can determine whether an immigrant is integrated or not.

The integration level would be stated by comparing, for each indicator, the gap between the native Germans and the immigrants. The narrower the gap between the immigrants and the native Germans are, the better integrated are the immigrants.

### **3.1. The first generation of African immigrants**

Among the 555.000 people with an African migrant background living in Germany, 351.000 belong to the first generation. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

Among first generation immigrants living in Germany, 219 000 are not economically active<sup>13</sup>. This represents approximately 62, 4 % of the whole population of first generation African immigrants. This number seems far from reality and could be explained by the fact that the occupations exercised by the immigrants are not all registered. Contrarily, 47, 4% of the native Germans are not economically active.

Among the African immigrants of the first generation who are economically active around 17, 3 % are unemployed. This is by far higher than the percentage of native Germans, who are economically active, but do not have an occupation, i.e. 5, 1%. Regarding the percentage of people having an occupation, the gap between the African immigrants of the first generation and the native Germans is narrow. 82, 6% of the first generation African immigrants have an occupation compared to 95% in the group of native Germans. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

While observing the type of occupations exercised by the immigrants, it can be found that 49, 2 % of the first generation African immigrants who are economically active work as employees<sup>14</sup>. In comparison, 59 % of the native Germans work as

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<sup>13</sup> An economically active person, is someone who is in the working age, i.e someone who can have an occupation. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

<sup>14</sup> Employees are better paid jobs. Employees generally work in the administration. This job requires some educational skills. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

employees, Regarding low-skilled occupations, 38, 1% of the first generation African immigrants who are economically active, work as drivers or merchants. In contrast, only 24, 1 % of the native Germans exercise this kind of occupations. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

Almost similar tendencies can be observed between the first generation African immigrants and the native Germans: 45, 9 % of the African immigrants have their revenue from their professions; this is 0, 81 points more than the amount of native Germans. Also 4,2 % of the first generation African immigrants compared to 3, 1 % of the native Germans have their revenue from social help. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

The previous facts give evidences that the gap between the native Germans and the first generation African immigrants is becoming narrow. However it does not yet allow conclusions on the integration state of the first generation.

### **3.2. The second generation of African immigrants**

In 2011 the number of people with a migrant background belonging to the second generation was 204000. (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

In 2011, 94000 of the immigrants of the second generation African immigrants were not economically active. This represents 46, 07 % of the whole population of the second generation African immigrants. This is 1,33 points less than the number of native Germans, who were not economically active. Among the economically active population of African immigrants of the second generation, 17, 4% had no occupation. This is 3 times more than in the group of native Germans, who are economically active and who have no occupation.

Regarding the type of profession, one notices that 52, 2% of the African immigrants of the second generation, work as employee and 36, 4% work as merchants or as drivers. This is respectively 22,8 and 24,4 points more than the native Germans

Regarding the source of revenue only 7, 8% of the second generation takes his revenue from one's profession, contrarily to 46.71% in the case of the native Germans. Also only 0,5 % of the members of the second generation of African immigrants have their revenue from social help.

From the following observations, it is difficult to determine the integration state of the second generation African immigrants. At one hand the indicator *participation in the labour market* shows that there is a wide gap between the second generation African immigrants and the Germans without migrant background. At the other hand the indicator *type of profession* shows close similarities between the second generation African immigrants and the Germans without migrant background.

The poorer labour market participation of the second generation, compared to the first generation African immigrants could be explained by the age of the former. With an average age of 23 years old, the second generation African immigrants is younger than the first generation, who is 37 years in average (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012).

To sum up this section of work, it could be said that, there is not enough information to establish with certainty which integration pattern the African immigrants are following. In order to do so, additional information would have been required, e.g. their educational scores, their German language skills or their political and social participation. The facts presented previously shows evidences that the first generation African immigrants might be assimilating into the German society, at least structurally. Also the higher unemployment rate among the second generation African immigrants might be an indicator of their lack of structural integration, thus on their assimilation into the ethnic milieu.

#### **4. ESSER OR ZHOU: WHO EXPLAINS MORE?**

In the previous section theories, which could explain why the second generation of African immigrants is less integrated than the first generation in Germany, have been investigated. Previously, it has been seen that every society changes over time and with it the logic that influences the decisions of the individuals living in that society. This might explain why the second generation of African immigrants takes different decisions than the first generation. However, it might not explain why the second generation of African immigrants follows the segregation path while the first generation follows the assimilation path. According to Esser's model of inter-generational integration enunciated previously, the answers might lie in the expected utility of the second generation of African immigrants seen in the ethnic milieu and in the host society. The milieu where the immigrants grew up and their cultural values might also be relevant, following Zhou's views. Based on both theories three expectations could be drawn out,

*Expectation 1: The expected utility of being assimilated in the ethnic milieu is higher than the expected utility of being assimilated in the host society*

*Expectation 2: The expected utility of being assimilated in the ethnic milieu is smaller than the expected utility of being assimilated in the host society, but there are social restrictions like discrimination, which hinder the immigrants from achieving their needs*

*Expectation 3: The values of the African immigrant group do not favour their integration in the German host society.*

##### **4.1. . *Expectation 1: The expected utility of being assimilated in the ethnic milieu is higher than the expected utility of being assimilated in the host society***

Based on Esser's views the expected utility of being assimilated into the ethnic milieu will be higher than the expected utility of being assimilated into the host society, if the African milieu is so well organised that it offers more opportunities for the second generation of African immigrants to achieve their needs than the German society does. An illustration to this situation is when an African immigrant of



the second generation without qualifications and thus without job opportunities in the German society, is offered the possibility to work in a family business.

In order to find whether this expectation could be applied to the case of the second generation African immigrants, the question whether the African society is well organised needs to be answered. In their surveys on some African immigrant groups for the Centre on Migration citizenship and Development (COMCAD), Sieveking, Fauser and Faist, three sociologists from the University of Bielefeld in Germany showed that there is not really an African ethnic society. On the contrary, the African immigrants are organised in many small networks on the basis of their nationalities, religion or much more on their ethnic groups and their region of origins. (Sieveking, Fauser, & Faist, 2008). These networks are small reproductions of their societies and are based on solidarity and mutual help<sup>15</sup>. Therein the African immigrants use their language and reproduce certain aspects of their culture, for example their traditional fest or ceremonies. Sieveking, Fauser and Faist noticed there is a very weak collaboration between the different African networks. They reported, for example, on the case of Nigerian immigrants who are not well accepted by other African immigrant groups because of their arrogance. (Sieveking, Fauser, & Faist, 2008, p. 43) The three sociologists from Bielefeld also noted that, at the exception of some religious groups or some Ghanaian networks, conflicts on power and leadership position were usually observable within the same network, leading to a fragmentation of the later. These conflicts between and within the African networks indicate the lack of organisation of the African immigrants. Because of this lack of organisation and regarding the results of the micro census 2011, which shows that among the 200000 African immigrants having an occupation, only 13000 are self-employed (see table 3 appendix)<sup>16</sup>, it might be plausible that the African communities do not have structures, for example socio-economical structures, which could enable the second generation to fulfil their physical needs or to obtain a good social position.

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<sup>15</sup> Contrarily to Esser for example, they view ethnic organisations as positive factors for the integration of the immigrants in the host society.

<sup>16</sup> The statistical federal institute did not make any reference concerning the number of immigrants employed in family business, because of the impreciseness of the data.

As following, it could be concluded that the expected utility of assimilating in the African Milieu seems to be lower than the expected utility of assimilating in the German society.

**4.2. *The expected utility of being assimilated in the ethnic milieu is smaller than the expected utility of being assimilated in the host society, but there are social restrictions like discrimination, which hinder the immigrants from achieving their needs***

According to Esser, even when the expected utility of assimilating in the host society is higher than the expected utility of assimilating in the ethnic milieu, an immigrant will still choose to be assimilated into the ethnic milieu, when there are restrictions in the host society, that hinder him from achieving his needs. These restrictions could be language barriers or discriminations.

Regarding the fact that the second generation African immigrants were born in Germany and have been exposed much longer to the German culture, it seems less plausible that they are confronted with language barriers. However, this eventuality should not be totally dismissed, as some studies show, that children with a migrant background also have language difficulties. For instance, the IGLU/ PIRLS (The Progress in International Reading Literacy Survey) shows that the competences in reading-comprehension of second generation immigrants are in average good, but there are still many children with a migrant background with low reading-comprehension skills. According to this IGLU/ PIRLS report 23, 1 % of the children with a migrant background have very poor competences in Reading-comprehension; in comparison this is only 8.4 % among children without migrant background. (Bos, Tarelli, Bremerich-Vos, & Schwippert, 2011).

The second variable *discrimination* seems more plausible. The reason why this is said is that many surveys, for instance the Shadow Report of the European Network Against Racism (Hieronymus, Fögen, & Meheroglu, 2012) and the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey of the European Union for Fundamental Rights (European Union Agency for Fundamental rights, 2009) have shown that African immigrants belong to the group of immigrants, who are most affected by discrimination.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Also see in appendix table 2

In its broader sense, discrimination refers to the unfair treatment of individuals. The European Union distinguishes many forms of discriminations. The most common are direct discrimination and indirect discrimination.

Direct discrimination is said to occur “where one person is treated less favourably than another is, has been or would be.” (FRA -European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010) Here the action of discriminating an individual is intended and is based on personal characteristics like gender, skin colour, ethnic, religion or belief, disability and sexual orientation. (FRA -European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010) On the contrary indirect discrimination is not intended. It is deemed to take place “where an apparently neutral provision criterion or practice would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons”. (FRA -European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010).

It is still very challenging to determine whether an action is discriminative or not because there are not yet fixed indicators to identify discrimination. Toward this there are a multitude of concepts. In Germany the concept of institutional discrimination has been the most prominent in the discourse about discrimination. According to this concept discrimination occurs unintentionally, as a result of the application of some formal and informal rules. Discrimination here can be direct or indirect. Many sociologists demonstrated that the second generation immigrants were confronted to discrimination in almost every situation of their lives. In this work a special emphasis will be put on discrimination in the educational system. As seen previously, Esser considers education as the key to structural integration, which is in turn the keystone of a successful integration process.

In the middle of the years 1990, the German sociologists Gomolla & Radtke, (2009) conducted a representative survey in the city of Bielefeld to find out whether the second generation of immigrants was confronted with institutional discrimination in the German schools. In order to assess their research question, they observed the mechanism of selection practised in different schools. Toward this, they combined qualitative interviews and the analysis of secondary data.

They found out that already with the choice of the primary school; children with migrant background are discriminated. Discrimination here occurs as a result of the German regulations on education. In almost all the federal states of Germany, the students must be enrolled in the primary schools of the districts where they have their residences. Regarding the fact that most immigrants live in urban centres, with a low proportion of people without migrant background, the second generation will attend “problematic” school, where their chances for a successful educational track are low. Radke qualified as “problematic”, schools that have a so high amount of children with migrant background that their resources are insufficient to guarantee its school pupils a good formation. (Gomolla & Radtke, 2009) They also observed a new form of direct discrimination when some schools, in order to exclude school ‘pupils with a migrant background, that they consider as a burden for the development of their first- class image, require additional tests like religion test to enrol children. (Gomolla, 2008)

According to Gomolla and Radke (Radtke, 2007), the fact that some school pupils must take a language-ability test is discriminative and put children with a migrant background in an unprivileged situation. Regardless of their language skills in their mother tongue and their migration background, children with a migrant background are mostly qualified as having language-disabilities and put in lower classes than the one they were supposed to visit or in specific classes for children with a learning-disability. This has consequences on their educational development. For instance, these children might face exclusion because they are older than the other school ‘pupils and with it the probability of dropping school might increase. In addition to this, the fact that these children attend separate classes, where the proportion of native language speakers is low, might impede the development of their German language- skills. (Gomolla, 2008)

This practice, which is compulsory in all German federal states, has a good purpose in its essence. The purpose is to identify children with language- disabilities and provide them a program adapted to their needs. The problem is, according to Gomolla & Radtke,( 2009 )the method used to conduct these language-tests. Having observed the way some language- tests were conceptualised, they found out that the method used by these tests was not adequate in evaluating the language- ability of children with a migrant background. The language skills of these children in

their mother tongue were not considered and conclusions on their ability to learn the German language were drawn prematurely.

The practise of these language- tests have not been modified by the educational reforms of the recent years and the same problems found by Gomolla and Radtke are still observable, for example the language test *Delfin*<sup>4</sup> used in the federal state of North- Rhine- Westphalia still evaluates the language- ability of children based on their German skills. German is still the compulsory language for the test and answers given in another language than German are not accepted, even if they are right. (Ministerium für Familie, Kinder, Jugend, Kultur und Sport des Landes Nordrhein-Wesfalen, 2013)

When it comes to the transition from the primary school to the secondary school, Radtke and Gomolla also found out that even under the same qualification children with a migrant background were less recommended for a higher educational track, than the children without migrant background. They found out that one of the reasons to this tendency was the stereotypes the school teachers have on the ethnic group of the children. The two sociologists reported on many cases where school pupils with a migrant background, were recommended for a lower educational track on the ground that their language skills were not sufficient to succeed in a higher educational track. Another argument they found, often used by the teachers to justify their recommendation for a vocational track, was the expectation that the parents of the children with migrant background would not provide their children the assistance they will need, if they choose a higher educational track. The assumption that discrimination may take place during the transition from the primary school to the secondary school has lead to controversies in the social debate. Kristen (2006), a German sociologist of the social science research Berlin made a meta-analysis of several studies about discrimination in schools. She found that there was no relationship between the ethnic origins of the children and the recommendations of the teacher.

In the case of second generation African immigrants, these discriminative experiences might be also related to their skin colour. “Basis and Woge e.V.” in Hamburg, an association engaged in the fight against discrimination in schools reported on several cases , where second generation African immigrants were

discriminated in schools by their teachers and by their fellow pupils. An example is the case of a nine-year-old black boy who was constantly mobbed by his fellow pupils telling him to “disappear, go to a place where people with such a dirty skin like yours come from!” (Basis & Woge e.V., 2010). The fact that the teacher never intervened made the child lose the will to go to school. These examples give evidences that pupils with migrant backgrounds might often be confronted with discrimination in schools. This might indicate that sometimes school administrators are not able to protect their school ‘pupils from being discriminated. The core of the problem lies in the definition of the terms “discrimination” or “racism”. Because of the subjective nature of these terms, it is usually difficult for parents to convince the schools of the existence of discrimination or racism in their schools.

These discriminations in schools might lead to poor educational scores of the second generation African immigrants. Moreover it might also influence their integration pattern. For instance, some will developed an extreme feeling of frustration from discriminative experiences in schools and thus decide to become distant to the German society, e.g. the case of Turkish immigrants of the second generation reported by a German pedagogue Barbara Schramkowski( 2010).

Not only does the second generation of immigrants experience structural discriminations, they are also confronted with emotional discrimination. This happens when these second generation immigrants are referred to as “others” and are denied the feeling of belonging to the German society by the natives, although they feel German. This type of discrimination is prevalent in Germany and can be explained by the fact that until 1999, Germany only defined being German following the principle of the “jus sanguinis” i.e the *right of blood* principle of nationality by which citizenship is not determined by place of birth, but by having one or both parents as citizens of the nation (Böcker & Thränhardt, 2003). This thought pattern might still be present in the attitudes of members of the society even till today. This type of discrimination also influences the integration pattern of these second generation immigrants negatively. Depending on the intensity of the discrimination experiences they have, they will look for alternative identities in the ethnic milieu or in an urban subculture. The fact that the integration of immigrants of the second generation can be influenced by the feeling of not belonging to their host society has been confirmed by several studies, for instance (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011; Schramkowski, 2010). In her research on the integration of teenagers with migrant

backgrounds in Germany, Schramkowski found that many youngsters with a Turkish origin deliberately choose to be assimilated into the ethnic milieu because they feel excluded by the German society, which always refers to them as foreigners, despite all their efforts to integrate into the German society. (Schramkowski, 2010) For the majority of her interview partners, their integration would have been successful, if they had been accepted by the German society. (Schramkowski, 2010)

**4.3. *Expectation 3: The values of the African immigrant group do not favour their integration in the German host society***

Zhou demonstrated that when the immigrants have a culture favourable to integration, the second generation will integrate into the host society, even if he is facing overt discriminations. Based on this, one could assume that the vulnerability of the second generation African immigrants to discriminations might be explained by the fact that the African cultural values are not favourable to integration.

In order to investigate this expectation, we need to define the characteristics of a culture favourable to integration. From her analysis on Asian immigrants Zhou found out that the values “Hard work” and “responsibility” are favourable values to integration. The problem is how to justify that the members of a specific culture do not have it. It is very challenging, even impossible to determine whether a culture has these characteristics or not. This is very subjective task.

To sum up this section, it can be said that, from the explanations presented above, in order to explain the integration pattern followed by the African immigrants, I found that the theory of Esser was more adequate. It could explain how the immigrants take decisions and which factors influence their actions. The segmented theory of Zhou is also relevant for this topic and could have been used as complement to the theory of Esser. However the later cannot easily be empirically tested.. Regarding these findings, one might ask one’self, *why is the first generation african immigrants being assimilated into the host society, in spite of the fact that they are also discriminated?* The explanation to this might be the fact, that the first generation has different expectations than the second generation. Concretely, this means that the second generation African immigrants who have been enculturated in Germany would share the same values of equality with members of the host society and might be more sensitive to discrimination than the first generation. Like in the cases

reported by Portes & Zhou, (1993) the second generation African immigrants would tend to integrate in the ethnic milieu or in an adversial subculture. Contrarily, the first generation, would more consider the advantages they have in the host society, which they could not have in their home country, and would accept their situations.



## 5. CONCLUSION AND REMARKS

### 5.1. What is empirical relevance of this study?

The research question of this work was, how could the downward mobility pattern of the African immigrants be explained? Are there theories which could explain this phenomenon at first glance or paradoxical findings?

In order to assess this question, I first attempt to establish the actual integration pattern of the African immigrants. This was not really fruitful. Since the group of African immigrants have been less studied until now, there were not enough data on them. Moreover these data were not always well adequate to measure integration. Based on the few data we collected from the Microcensus 2011 I could find some signs that indicate that the African immigrants of the first generation were being assimilated in the host society while African immigrants of the second generation were being assimilated in their ethnic milieu.

The method I used to investigate the research question was called the explorative explanatory research design. Following this model, two theories were analysed, the intergenerational integration model of Hartmut Esser and the segmented assimilation theory of Min Zhou. According to Esser's theory, the integration pattern, which an immigrant follows, is determined by the expected utility the latter see in his ethnic milieu or his host society. This theory also stipulates that the integration pattern an immigrant takes is shaped by the social constraints existing in the host society, for example discriminations. This theory appeared to be more adequate to understand why the second generation African immigrant tend to follow a different integration pattern than the first generation.

The theory of Zhou also provides a complementary understanding of the integration pattern of the African immigrants. She claimed that the cultural values of the ethnic milieu plays an important role on the direction the integration process might take. Concretely, this means that when the immigrant misses the favourable cultural dispositions to be integrated, he will be assimilated into the ethnic milieu.

From our analysis of both theories of Esser and Zhou I found three possible ways of understanding the integration of the second generation of African immigrants.

1. The African milieu is more attractive than the German society
2. The German society is more attractive than the African milieu, but there are social restrictions, such as discriminations.
3. The cultural values of the African milieu are not favourable for the integration of the African immigrants.

The first explanation could not be approved empirically and the third does not seem empirically testable. The explanation, which appeared more plausible to explain the integration pattern followed by African immigrants in Germany, is the second explanation, “The German society is more attractive than the African milieu, but there are social restrictions, such as discriminations”

This could be a possible hypothesis for further empirical surveys on the second generation African immigrants. It could be accessed through in-depths interviews. The later are appropriate; because it gives the interviewed subjects the opportunity to express their selves freely about a topic and the risks of omitting relevant variables is less.

## **5.2. How far is this study relevant for the European Union?**

The integration of immigrants has always been under the competence of national states. It is only in 1999 with the article 13 of the Treaty of Amsterdam, that the European Union was conferred with more power in the regulation of national immigrant integration policies. (Heckmann, 2010) As a result of the acquisition of this power, the European Union has passed several legislations to regulate the immigrant integration policies of its member states, for example the Racial Equality Directive (RED) which confers the European Union the power of taking special measures to hamper the grounded discrimination of individuals on the basis of their skin colour or ethnic origins, their age or handicaps, their religion or their sexual orientations

Although Germany has transposed the RED in its national law in 2006, still many people, precisely those with a migrant background face discrimination as it was observed, in the previous section of this work.

Before Germany implemented the RED in 2006, premises of an anti-discrimination policy could already be found; e.g. the article 3 of the fundamental law of Germany (das Grund Gesetz). In the legal provisions of this article the grounded discrimination of all individuals living in Germany by the state and (or) by another individual is prohibited. In the reality however this article only offers a protection against dis-

criminary acts from the state and its bodies. Article 3 does not directly apply to the sphere of civic and labour market. For these spheres specific legislations were in application for instance the Industrial Relations Act (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz, BetrVG*) at the labour market sphere and the German Civil Code at the civil sphere. The latter emphasize mostly on aspect of discrimination based on gender and disregard the aspect of race. (Peucker, 2012)

The implementation of the RED in 2006 brought many changes in the immigrant integration policy of Germany. As a consequence to its implementation in Germany, more legal basis was created, that give people victim of discrimination the possibility to pursue their rights. As an example new provisions were included in the BetrVG that bind the companies to take measure to combat racism and xenophobia (§80I No.7 BetrVG) or prevent discrimination during the recruitment of new staff. (§99II No. 6 BetrVG). (Peucker, 2012).

An example of change at the civil sphere was the annulment of the section 611 (a) of the German Civil code, which only prohibit discrimination based on Gender; and the introduction of the General Equal Treatment Act which bans all form of discriminations. (Peucker, 2012)

The RED also provides the member states with means to have an effective anti-discrimination policies and a better integration policy. It should however be mentioned that this means are mostly suggestions and policy evaluations. As an example under the prescription of the RED, an equality body was created in Germany that provides to the victims of discrimination assistance for judicial or administrative proceeding to claim their rights. (Banulescu-Bogdan & Givens, 2011) These equality bodies also help Germany to evaluate the state of its Anti-discrimination policy.

Though the RED has helped improving the German anti-discrimination policies and had provided a better framework for the immigrant integration policy of Germany, as seen in this study second generation African immigrants are still subject to overt discriminations. The problem lies in the implementation of the RED in Germany. Like article 3 of the German constitutional law, indicators to determine when discrimination takes place were not provided by the European Union, which result

sometimes in the legalisation of discriminatory acts<sup>18</sup>. Moreover the fact the majority of the legislations of the European Union concerning discrimination are not binding, do not guarantee an effective protection of people with a migrant background against discrimination. (European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights, 2011)

The case of the second generation African immigrants observed in this work shows that the European Union has not yet acquired the supremacy in the field work of immigrant integration. This also shows the importance of redefining the instruments used by the European Union to regulate the integration policies of its national states.

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<sup>18</sup> Children of immigrants, born in Germany receive the citizenship only after their 18th year. Prior to this age they do not have the same rights than Germans. This might be considered as a form of discrimination.

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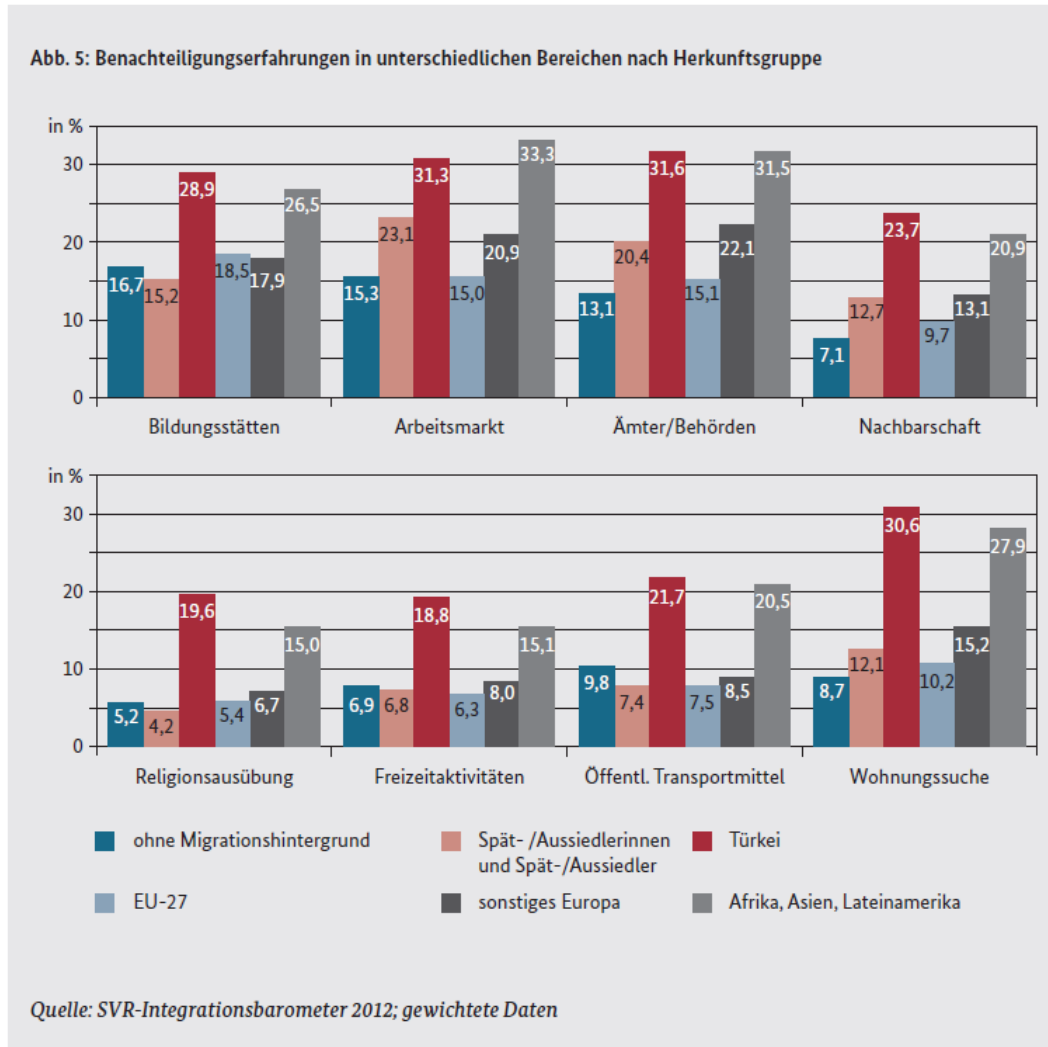


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## Appendix

**Figure 1: Different sectors where discrimination takes place in Germany**

Schools and the public institutions are the place where people experience the most discrimination.



(Expertise für Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes, 2012)

### The Data of the Microcensus 2011

The following tables present the results of the Microcensus 2011 for the group of African immigrants.

**Table 1: The source of revenue of the first and second generation African immigrants in 1000**

Revenue	German with no migration background		First generation of African immigrants		Second generation of African immigrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
population	32078	33174	206	145	102	102
Through one's profession	16423	13246	116	45	9	7
Social help for jobless persons <sup>19</sup>	326	239	5	/	1	/
Family members support	5713	9137	25	58	84	84
Personal assets and tenancies	279	248	/	/	/	/
Hartz IV payments <sup>20</sup>	1089	965	32	27	7	8
Other forms of help ( Bafög <sup>21</sup> , Elterngeld <sup>22</sup> ( parental benefit))	332	613	9	6	0	1

(Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)

<sup>19</sup> This is the so called „Arbeitslosengeld“ it is ( here define what Arbeitslosengeld means)

<sup>20</sup> Hartz IV payments are a kind of social help given to poor people in Germany, in order to guarantee them a minimum of life standard.

<sup>21</sup> Bafög is a financial support given by the government to students, which they should pay back when they will start working.

<sup>22</sup> Elterngeld is a benefit parents receive from the government (look for a more appropriate definition)

**Table 2: The participation of first and second generation the African immigrants on the labour market and the type of profession exercised in 1000**

Profession	German with no migration background	First generation of African immigrants	Second generation of African immigrants
Population in total	65792	351	204
Economically inactive	31216	219	94
Economically active	34576	219	23
unemployed	1763	38	4
employed	32813	181	19
Self-employed	3679	12	1
Employed in a family business	204	/	/
Civil servant	2000	/	/
employee	19368	89	12
Manufacturing trade	8985	44	5
Commerce, drivers	7915	69	7
Other activities	15306	68	7

(Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012)