
Editorial

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Since the end of World War II the advanced industrial democracies of Western Europe have witnessed changes in the demographic makeup of immigrants entering their borders. Whereas once Central and Northern Europeans dominated the immigrant landscape, now a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural mix of peoples from throughout Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Maghreb, sub-Saharan Africa and Asia stands out as the dominant form of immigration in these countries. Yet this is nothing new to Western European society. Centuries of intra-European migration before the mass emigration of Europeans to the New World gave individual west European societies multi-ethnic populations long before the arrival of Turkish and North African guest-workers or east European refugees. Despite these historical realities the consequences of large-scale immigration into contemporary West European society has had major political, social, and economic impacts on both migrants and their host country. The purpose of this volume *Migration and Immigration Policies* is to examine the myriad challenges facing Western Europe, and Germany in particular, in light of large-scale international immigration. Although the volume is centered primarily around the challenges confronting Germany there is substantial comparative approach which acts as a bridge between other advanced industrial democracies. In the spirit of the Journal the research presented here is based upon collective migration traditions, foci and problem-oriented solutions which are shared between Germany and other advanced industrial democracies. Further, the viewpoints, concepts and analysis of each paper in this volume clearly demonstrate the need for universal and cooperative solutions in coming to terms with the complex nature of immigration control; the challenges of migrant integration; the complex definition of what it means to be a citizen; the administrative hurdles and legal barriers to citizenship and naturalization; the economic opportunities and impediments facing migrants; the role of political parties in framing the immigration debate; and, the intractable nature of right-wing extremism.

Every state must face the difficulty of regulating the entry of individuals into its natural territory. Likewise, the state must establish the conditions of residence for aliens, and the methods by which non-citizens can become citizens. Decisions such as these, concerning the control of a population within a given territory, are not only economic, and demographic; they are profoundly political choices involving highly charged national debates.

The four papers that make-up this volume will address to varying degrees the economic, demographic, societal and political challenges which have come about as a result of large-scale migration since 1945. The first two papers: Heike Hagedorn's "Republicanism and the Politics of Citizenship" and Dietrich Thränhardt's "Tainted Blood: The Ambivalence of Ethnic Migration in Israel, Japan, South Korea, Germany and the United States" examine citizenship and naturalization practices. Both papers focus on the evolutionary nature of citizenship and naturalization policies and both pay particular attention to the divergent citizenship practices among several advanced industrial democracies. The following two papers: Uwe Hunger's "Party Competition and Inclusion of Immigrants in Germany" and Paul Harris' "Imagined Identity: Immigration, *Ueberfremdung*, and Cultural Chauvinism in German Far-Right Partisan Discourse" focus on the growing politicization of immigration in the post-War Germany. Both papers devote considerable detail to the contemporary political challenges and policy implications of large-scale international migration to Germany.

Heike Hagedorn's contribution "Republicanism and the Politics of Citizenship in Germany and France: Convergence or Divergence?" devotes considerable attention to the evolution of post-war German immigration policy. Hagedorn asserts that the German immigration tradition has undergone a dramatic transformation and is more in line with the French and U.S. republican model of *jus soli* citizenship rather than the ascriptive *jus sanguinis* based upon an ethno-cultural understanding of belonging. Hagedorn notes that the models of German citizenship are quite dynamic and evolving. Her analysis concludes that legislation and public discourse about German citizenship politics have converged toward the French republican model during the 1990s. For Germany, this means a normalization of the long awaited "delayed" nation in the field of citizenship politics which corresponds to a normalization of the German role in international politics.

Dietrich Thraenhardt's "Tainted Blood: The Ambivalence of Ethnic Migration in Israel, Japan, Korea, Germany and the United States" provides a view into the processes of migration and ethnicity formation, in five countries: Israel, Japan, South Korea, Germany and the United States. Thraenhardt's examination of return migration of co-ethnics living abroad illustrates the similarities and parallels in all such movements among different countries. In his comparative analysis of co-ethnic return migration, Thraenhardt's provides us a better understanding and deeper appreciation of the political and societal pressures which go into the making and unmaking of ethnicity in five countries. All national identities carry special characteristics such as language, religious beliefs, cultural links, past antagonisms or dependencies, racist cultural traditions, political preferences and past political failures or successes, in the long run, the interaction of these factors determines the policy outcomes. Thraenhardt concludes his study noting that although ethnic and racial discrimination is persistent within the five countries under review, integrative systems of the economy, social welfare, education, and military service should lead to integration over time.

Uwe Hunger's "Party Competition and Inclusion of Immigrants in Germany" examines the special role of parties surrounding the debate on immigration. Parties adopt platforms which will be politically advantageous to discuss in public. At the same time they influence the way they issues are formulated. In the arena of immigration policy, parties adopt a position based on an issue's salience among the voters. If voter preference changes among the population to the extent that the citizens attach greater importance to the benefit of immigration, political parties react by advocating more liberal policies. If on the other hand, the opposite is true, parties will frame the debate towards more restriction. From both approaches it becomes clear at this point that parties decisively shape the debate on immigration and integration policy. The problem with regard to immigrants is that the majority of immigrants in Germany have not been naturalized and, as foreigners, like the workers formerly, are excluded from elections and thus also from party competition.

Paul Harris' critique of Germany's far-right parties "Imagined Identity: Immigration, *Ueberfremdung*, and Cultural Chauvinism" in German Far-Right Partisan Discourse" follows Hunger's analysis by critically examining right-extremist rhetoric in light of Germany's liberal post-War immigration policies. Harris' study looks at German far right

partisan discourse and its attack on Germany's expansive immigration policies. His essay exposes the illusory and fallacious character of the far right's racist arguments in light of Germany's post-War status as a true immigration country. Like Hagedorn and Thränhardt, Harris' examination underscores Germany's post-War transformation from an *emigration* country to an *immigration* country and how the misunderstood and misused concept of ethno-cultural belonging (*jus sanguinis*) is used as a weapon against an expanding and evolving liberal immigration regime. Although xenophobic populist parties have had only limited success in Germany – primarily in local elections – such right wing populist sentiment influences policy making by way of the conservative Union parties who co-opt these ideals in an effort to ensure the shore up of their right-wing supporters.

Immigration has become a central issue of politics and public policy within advanced industrial societies. With the collapse of communism in Europe and the subsequent rise of irredentist and nationalist tendencies on a global scale, advanced industrial societies are now facing the challenge of sustained wide-scale migration. Accompanying these migratory flows are highly charged national debates surrounding immigration which has exposed the innermost workings of their respective political systems. As a policy issue, international migration has moved from the realm of “low” politics, i.e., problems of domestic governance, labor market and demographic policies to the realm of “high” politics, i.e., problems affecting relations between states. The immediate challenge of immigration policy making within advanced industrial democracies will be to balance immigration control and the sustained demand for entry concomitant to universal principles of human rights.