

Immigration Barriers in Minds: The Case of Germany – An Empirical Analysis with Policy Implications

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Abstract:

In this empirical study, the results from the European Social Survey for Germany were used to determine the relation between the perception of the country's future and possible barriers in minds towards immigration such as trust in the system, the perception of human interactions in the society and the satisfaction with the socio-economic conditions of the country. In Germany, the increasing number of foreigners, especially guest workers and asylum seekers divided the society into two. Some attacks to the asylum seekers' dormitories in the economically weak regions of Germany indicate an association between economical problems and barriers in minds towards migrants. Especially the rise of the immigration-critical PEGIDA movement showed that there is a group of people in German society feeling that their voices are not heard. They do not trust in the system and claim that their voices should be heard, since they are the people of this country. A closer look at the demonstrators indicate that the movement has its roots in the economically weak East Germany, where the motivation of the majority of the demonstrators is not a racist one. In order to see the economical association in the barriers in mind towards immigration, a principal component analysis was done to solve the problem of multicollinearity. A multiple linear regression was done to show the relation between the perception of the country's future and socio-economic dimensions including immigration.

Keywords: Immigration, trust, perceptions, European Social Survey

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1 Introduction

PEGIDA – Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of Occident. The movement which calls itself as the representative of angry citizens was founded in Dresden in October 2014 ¹. Since then, it has mobilized different groups of the German society across Germany, and some others in different European countries ². According to a survey made by Werner Patzelt of Dresden, 65.2% of PEGIDA members consider themselves as “politically at the center”, whereas only 4.4% consider themselves as “extreme right” ³. Although the political movement began towards the end of 2014, it has its roots in the anti-communist demonstrations of 1989 in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). In the same study, 40% of the interviewed 242 PEGIDA members said that they demonstrated against the GDR regime in the past. Both the increasing number of asylum seekers in Germany and the internationalization of the East German economy led to an ongoing debate on the role of immigration, asylum seekers and the future of European Union in the German society.

The study mentioned at the beginning is a micro survey. It would be interesting to check for similar tendencies in other surveys which are not limited to PEGIDA members, and the focus is on the attitudes, behaviors and beliefs on different sociopolitical issues of the interviewees. One such survey is the European Social Survey (ESS) of the European Science Foundation to analyze the cross-national attitudes of Europeans over time ⁴. The survey is done since 2002 on a bi-yearly basis; the most recent data available is from 2012 (round 6) covering 30 nations across Europe.

The aim of this research paper is to analyze attitudes of Germans on the issues of immigration, trust in the political system and social interactions by using their answers to the ESS questionnaire. The hypothesis is that these factors are related to the perception of Germans on the collective future of their own country - based on their subjective interpretations of events.

In order to analyze this research question, a two-step approach will be implemented. At first, dataset will be reduced to those interviewees who are

¹ www.pegida.de

² see e.g. www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-31657167

³ Patzelt, 2015

⁴ www.europeansocialsurvey.org

citizens of Germany and belong to at least second generation born in the country (i.e., the interviewees and the parents of the interviewees were born in Germany). Then, a principal component analysis will be done in order to reduce the dimension of the data to aggregated compound variables which can represent the data in a reduced dimension. After this dimension reduction, a multivariate regression analysis will be done to understand how much of the pessimism on the future of the country can be explained by different aggregated factors selected based on theoretical argumentations. Based on the results, some policy implications will be made.

2 Data

Data used is the sixth round of ESS, conducted in 2012. From the dataset, only the interview results of Germany is taken, since this country is the focus of the paper. The results are filtered to have only the answers of all those who were born in Germany (criterion 1) who have both of their parents born in Germany (criterion 2) and are citizens of Germany (criterion 3). This was a necessary point to be taken in order to leave aside the views of foreigners or first generation migrants in Germany. Out of 2957 interviewees, 498 remain in the dataset. According to the convention, data is weighted by using the design weight provided by ESS within the dataset.

The proportion of male interviewees to female interviewees is 51% to 49%. The age of the interviewees varies between 15 and 94. Almost half of them (48.2%) live in towns and small cities, 23% of them live in villages and only 13.3% live in big cities. 2.1% of the interviewees are legally married, 11.8% are legally divorced, 15.8% are widowed and 26.5% never got married. 47.6% of the interviewees are part of a two-persons household, 21.5% live in a one-person household and for the rest, the households consist of more than two persons.

The question on what their economic activity was in the last 7 days, 79.4% of the interviewees did not provide an answer ("not applicable"). Among the remaining interviewees who answered the question, 42.4% of them have a paid work, 26.9% of them are retired, 8.5% of them are looking after their children, 7.5% are studying and 7.4% of them are permanently disabled. 7.4% of the interviewees are

unemployed. 51.9% have a wage or a salary as the main source of household income, 32.7% have pensions, 6.9% are self-employed, 6.5% have social or unemployment benefits, the remaining interviewees have other sources of income such as savings or farming.

The answer to the question on what they feel about their own household income nowadays delivers important findings. Only 24.1% live comfortably with the present income, 57.5% say that they cope on the present income and 17.8% feel difficulties to live with the present income, the rest not responding to the question.

Within the last 12 months (prior to the time of the interview), 57.2% of them had a period of unemployment. On the issue of the role of immigrants for the economy, 31.8% says that they are relatively bad for the economy (answers between 0 and 4, 0 being "bad"), 24.9% are neutral on the issue and the rest observe it as a positive phenomenon. Whether the immigrants make the country a bad place to live or not, 35.9% of the interviewees were negative on the issue, 30.8% neutral and the remaining interviewees were positive.

3 Results

3.1 Theoretical Underpinnings

The construction of the empirical study is based on both the observations of the protest movements in Germany and on their theoretical underpinnings. The point of interest was to identify the perceptions of the interviewees on the future of the country and how this phenomenon is related to different socio-economic factors to see if the same tendencies can be reflected as in the protests. The issue of immigration is a central topic in this analysis, which has its theoretical underpinnings in the Heckscher-Ohlin model of the economic theory. This model states that if mobility is allowed, labor would go to those countries which possess a higher marginal productivity of labor than the others⁵. Under these circumstances, migration makes the labor market more competitive and may increase the qualified labor force. The implication would be that less qualified domestic workers may lose their jobs to more qualified foreign workers. At the

⁵Heckscher & Ohlin, 1991

same time, this means that the culture of country does not need to be a homogenous one anymore. In Germany, the discussion of a “multicultural society” has created two sides. On the one side, the identitarian movement is arguing against a multicultural society for the sake of the national-European identity and although they refuse to be a part in the conflict between Nazis and multiculturalists, the identification of their ideological points lead to the conclusion that the groups are politically extreme right ⁶. On the other side, most of the politicians from mainstream parties and local citizen organizations support a multicultural society, some persons even defining it as a reality and not as a concept⁷.

Especially in case of Germany, it can be observed that industrial revolution was led by the state, which established the foundations of a corporatist culture in Germany ⁸. This hypothesis suggests that people expect a lot from the state - also the ongoing debates on immigration in Germany is based on arguments which expect the state to act one way or the other. Since the state has a central role in people’s lives in Germany; it would be interesting to see whether the people trust to the institutions of the system. This is an important question raised after PEGIDA. After all, this organization often criticizes different elements of the system such as political parties, politicians, European Union and governing bodies. Economically speaking, trust into the system has a risk factor which comes from the uncertainty of the future and trust as a solely notion cannot be observed in a discrete manner - it has to be related to do a certain action ⁹. For example, PEGIDA expects from the state to change (the notion of future expectancy) the law on asylum seekers and immigration (the notion of having a preference), but does not trust the system itself. The system may consist of formal institutions (state, parties, government, legal system, media, ...) but it can also contain some informal institutions (relations, traditions, customs, use of political correctness in the everyday language, ...) which are related to market transactions (taxing policies, policies contributing to a multicultural society, financing the needs of asylum seekers, investing in the integration of immigrants, promoting multicultural schools, coping against political incorrectness, ...). In other words, formal and informal institutions of the system are embedded in the market transactions. The theory of social

⁶ Hafenecker, 2014

⁷ www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/suessmuth-interview-wir-brauchen-eine-leitkultur-des-zusammenlebens-1.316671

⁸ Habisch & Schmidpeter, 2005

⁹ Furlong, 1996

embeddedness¹⁰ constitutes the underpinnings of this way of thinking, which opposes to an exogenously given notion of trust. Furlong (1996) points out that the predispositions of people on trust is shaped by the social context, and refers to Williamson's study¹¹ for six different contextual notions (societal culture, politics, regulation, professionalization, networks, corporate culture) to consider trust.

3.2 Results

The aim was to see the association between the perception of the country's future and socio-economic factors. For this case, regression analysis is a useful tool. However, it also has some shortcomings. For example, the dependent variables shall not be correlated with each other, which is a common problem described as multicollinearity¹². This problem can be solved by a careful selection of independent variables, which are correlated with the dependent variable, but not with each other.

This approach can be implemented by using principal component analysis (PCA) to reduce the dimension of the data and at the same time apply an orthogonal transformation in order to have components which are not correlated with each other. The method is similar to the linear regression analysis. If the principal components are rotated, this method delivers orthogonal aggregated components based on either covariances or correlations of the observed data¹³.

The components C_i , $i = 1, 2, 3$ were elaborated by a varimax rotation, where the missing values were replaced by the mean values of the corresponding variables. KMO test was significant with $p = .000$, indicating robust results for the PCA. The number of components were determined by a scree plot showing the corresponding Eigenvalues of the components, where three components can altogether explain 50% of the data. The method based on covariances was used to determine the principal components.

The results were rescaled for the interval between 0 and 1. Some variables with little influence (less than .450) were omitted for the representational rotated

¹⁰ Granovetter, 1985

¹¹ Williamson, 1993

¹² Komlos & Süssmuth, 2010

¹³ Jolliffe, 2002

component matrix. This was done in order to give a better idea for interpretation. These were the variables on interest in politics, life satisfaction, thoughts about homosexual persons and government's role in reducing income differences. The results of the rotated components are given in Table 1.

The three components can be interpreted as components showing the tendencies of people on the issues of their attitude towards the system (C1), migrants (C2) and interactions with human beings (C3). The first component can be seen as playing an important role in the movements criticizing the system, since people often feel that their voices cannot be heard by the actors of the system. In this case, not only the trust in the system is involved, but also the perception of the satisfaction from the system. The second component shows the attitude towards a multicultural society, and at the same time, involves some basic economic questions or considerations like: What will happen if the immigration barriers do not exist? Will the societal values change, like PEGIDA predicts? What will happen to the jobs and the social security system? Will the criminalization increase? How about the possibility of a parallel society, if too many migrants from the same ethnical group come? The third component is directly related to human values, which may play an important role especially if the interviewees have financial difficulties and seek for solidarity in the society. Also the third component can be identified in some movements which criticize the system, since they may involve a component of nostalgia ¹⁴.

Based on these factors, a multiple linear regression analysis was conducted. In addition, a constant and the interviewees' perception of the world were included. Results of the regression analysis are given below in Table 2. Multiple linear regression analysis was done using an ordinary least squares (OLS) estimation with the dependent variable "For most of the people in country, life is getting worse". All coefficients are statistically significant under the corresponding confidence levels of 0%, 5% and 10%. R squared is .303 and adjusted R squared is .298. Overall, the analysis gives an idea of the relation between the collective perception of country's future and socio-economic dimensions which influence the everyday life of the interviewees, without emphasizing causality.

¹⁴<http://www.zeit.de/2015/07/pegida-osten-leser-reaktionen>

Table 1: Principal Component Analysis Results

	C1	C2	C3
Trust in country's parliament	.765		
Trust in politicians	.757		
Trust in political parties	.749		
Satisfaction with government	.739		
Satisfaction with democracy	.707		
Trust in legal system	.582		
Perception of health services	.561		
Perception of education	.544		
Perception of economy	.533		
Trust in police	.472		
Immigrants and cultural life		.795	
Immigration's effect on life		.788	
Immigration's effect on economy		.744	
Support on EU		.657	
Allow immigrants from same race		-.595	
Allow immigrants from different race		-.525	
Allow non-European immigrants		-.505	
Helpfulness of people			.720
Opportunism of people			.720
Trustfulness of people			.692

Source: Author's own calculations using SPSS

Table 2: Robust OLS Estimation Results for the dependent variable "For most people in country, life is getting worse"

	Coefficients	p-Values
Constant	1.639 (.101)	.000
Hard to be hopeful about the future of the world	.245 (.037)	.000
Trust in the system	.296 (.036)	.000
Attitudes towards migrants	.158 (.035)	.000
Human interactions	.110 (.035)	.000

Source: Author's own calculations using SPSS. Standard errors in parantheses.

4 Discussion and Policy Implications

4.1 Discussion

Based on the results, it can be said that system, migrants, interactions with people and the perception of the world can be associated with the perception of the country's future. A regression analysis is not the analysis of causality, therefore, other thoughts must be made prior to the conclusion.

The factors of causality influencing the perception of the country's future is country-dependent, i.e. different socio-economic developments in different countries lead to different perceptions. For example, the issue of asylum seekers coming from other countries cannot be a factor in Syria, because most of the people there aim to immigrate to other countries, whereas no asylum seekers go to a country in war - but the human interactions can be an important factor of causality influencing this perception, since during the times of war the attitude of other people determine either solidarity or opportunism.

In case of Germany, people are aware that the war elsewhere has a negative contribution from Germany - even the PEGIDA movement criticizes often the fact that Germany sells weapons to countries in the Middle East. Some interviewees know that the system itself does not act in an ethical manner to end the war, which both influences the situation in the world and the country's future, since more money will be invested for integration, asylum seekers, immigrants etc., which needs to be either financed via tax payments or as a reduction of other payments of the state. At the same time, it is not clear what the consequences of parallel societies will be. For example, a PEGIDA spokesperson¹⁵ claims that parallel societies are not bad as long as they do not contribute to social problems more than the contributions of other groups. Furthermore, the concerns of people on these issues are not relieved. An important observation was made by political scientist Werner Patzelt, who said that no one asked the German people if they want their country to be an immigration country¹⁶. As long as the issues of fights among foreigners¹⁷, estrangement and the prejudice on asylum cheating¹⁸ are

¹⁵<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4618182,00.html>

¹⁶https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_c9bYsYaoE

¹⁷<http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2015-01/dresden-fleuchtlings-asylbewerber-tod-ermittlungen-haftbefehl>

¹⁸<http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2015-08/asylmissbrauch-unwort-asylrecht-fluechtling>

often mentioned, the prejudice towards foreigners does not decrease. Certainly, the state invests a lot to promote multiculturalism and integrate the foreigners in order to reduce the prejudice; however, this seems to ignore the native people's concerns (or, the politics cannot give satisfactory answers to these concerns).

The concerns of people are very subjective, i.e. there is a dimension of reality, which may be exaggerated by the mainstream media, and there is a dimension of the perception, which may or may not be true. An interesting interview is the one with Andreas M. from Freital, East Germany, who protested asylum seekers with a Nazi salute¹⁹. He was retired early because of his health situation, and lives with a net salary of 350 a month. He claims that he is not against foreigners, but the system has to solve the problems of German unemployed in the region, who also have no place to live. At the same time, he also says that some of these German unemployed are simply lazy to find a job due to the unemployment benefits. Therefore, the transition between the perception and reality is not clear, where the one-sided point of view that immigrants are taking jobs from Germans is starting to lose points, even among those who protest against immigrants in an extremist way. However, there is more. Due to the corporatism hypothesis described above, a lot is expected from the state and the state is involved in many aspects of the economic life. In order to finance these activities, high tax revenues are needed. Therefore, the perception of financing foreigners (asylum seekers, or immigrants who are perceived to enjoy the benefits of the welfare state) with German taxes increases in Germany. In that case, the positive role of immigrants is ignored or not perceived. This may be due to the trend in the media to exaggerate negative events in general, and negative associations with immigrants in particular, some negative experiences with immigrants or not knowing that e.g. immigrants do the jobs which unemployed Germans do not want to²⁰, or they even take over some deserted places²¹.

Not only the protests from the socially excluded, but also the protests of asylum seekers are interesting to understand the situation. Another recent event shows the interaction of an asylum seeker's daughter and the German chancellor Angela

¹⁹ <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article144914423/So-erklaert-sich-der-Hitlergruesser-aus-Freital.html>

²⁰ <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-8649351.html>

²¹ <http://www.welt.de/regionales/nrw/article144924378/Fluechtlinge-besiedeln-verlassenen-Stadtteil.html>

Merkel²². The girl complains Ms. Merkel that it is not clear whether she and her family will be allowed to stay in Germany, and the uncertainty is really bad. As a reaction, Ms. Merkel says that it is not possible to take all the people from Africa who want to come and stay in Germany, because Germany cannot manage it. This answer makes the girl cry. Shortly after this event, the Chancellor's policies changed towards accepting many asylum seekers, which led to a decrease in her popularity ²³.

Clearly, there are perceived and real problems of immigration. The perceived problems of immigration change character over time, especially in the argumentation of the new right movements. Whereas the typical Neo-Nazis make arguments like "criminal foreigners shall go", the new-right movements focus on the failure of the multicultural thinking, criticize that asylum seekers live under very bad conditions and emphasize that not the parallel societies are bad, but the cases in which they have an impact on the social problems of the country.

Overall, there are immigration barriers in minds which can be associated with socio-economic problems. These are related to the issues of integration, security, increasing inequality in the society and the perception that migrants are the causes of some problems in the society.

At the same time, the degree of hopefulness on the country's future is not restricted to the wrongly perceived negative impact of immigration, it goes beyond immigration to the attitude towards the system as a whole, which cannot satisfy the socially excluded.

This attitude consists of, but is not restricted to, the dissatisfaction with the system and its components including health services, economy, democracy, police force and politics. Interviewees feel that government shall change policies according to its people's opinion, since almost 60% of them feel that citizens do not have the final say on important political decisions and almost 65% feel that the government does not explain the decisions to its own citizens. 70% of the interviewees feel that government does not do anything to protect its citizens from poverty. 90.2% of the interviewees feel that government shall be strong. These

²² see e.g. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/amy-davidson/merkel-and-the-crying-girl-five-lessons>

²³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/10/01/us-europe-migrants-merkel-popularity-idUSKCN0RV4VZ20151001>

answers are restricted to the questions regarding the government, and they reflect the corporatism hypothesis described earlier. It is not yet thinkable that these measures can be taken by individuals by creating new employment opportunities by founding new firms with innovative ideas, or by the private sector using corporate social responsibility.

At the same time, people perceive that people are acting in an egoistic manner and take advantage of other people - which means that the perceived trust among individuals is also low, the micro-level observation corresponding to the macro-level observation of the trust in the system. This may be even bigger, if foreigners are taken into account. Barriers such as culture, religion and language, and media news on fighting foreigners and asylum cheating may act in favor of strengthening this perception. As it was said before, the perceptions may differ from the real dangers - for example, only 12% of the interviewees were subject to a burglary or an assault in the previous five years, but 25% of them do not feel safe to walk in the dark. Even this micro-level observation shows the fact that negative perceptions do not only consist of bad experiences from the past. Another factor of influence can be seen as the answer of people to the question whether people in their local area help each other, where 43.4% say that this might not be the case. Most of the interviewees (98.5%) find important to help other people, 92.6% of the interviewees find it important to understand different people. Of course, the latter two results differ from the attitudes towards immigration - in other words, almost all of the interviewees are in favor of helping and understanding the others, whereas two thirds of them do not see anything positive related to immigration (they are either negative or neutral).

Science shall explain things simply. Metaphorically speaking, the situation can be understood in a simple way from Turkish singer Ferda Anıl Yarkın's song "Zorlama Güzelim" ("Don't Push Me, Beautiful")²⁴: "Even if we are friends, does it matter? Until where does this friendship go? I don't have anything against compassion or respect, but marriage kills love, beautiful!"

People want to be helpful and understand others, but due to the increasing social problems and natives' feelings of being treated as second-class citizens may lead to kill the mood of being helpful and understandable, since the native people feel that Germany plays the role of world's social security office (an election slogan of

²⁴<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TURTIhZdIT8>

both extremist NPD and centrist AfD), which may “kill [this] love” in terms of Yarkin, and is in line with the findings of Schlüter and Wagner ²⁵. Immigration has many dimensions. The fact that integration and social benefits for asylum seekers are financed publicly builds the humanitarian dimension of the issue. On the other hand, the dimension of justice remains open. Many people perceive the fact that asylum seekers receive pocket money from the state as an unfair issue, especially for those asylum seekers whose home countries are not in war ²⁶.

One possible explanation can be people’s perceptions on the inequality among Germans (which remains unsolved) and their own roles as taxpayers financing immigrants and integration. At the end, even the experience of the interviewees on the issue of unemployment is a perceived risk factor for them with regard to future: 40.2% of the interviewees were at least once unemployed for a period of at least three months and 57.2% were at least once unemployed for a period of at least one year. The perceived risk of losing the job again may be indirectly associated with immigration; also, the fact that the press is very often talking about unsatisfied asylum seekers ²⁷ ²⁸ may lead to the fact that their role as taxpayers are not respected, on the contrary, there may even be the wrong perception that the asylum seekers “want more and more”, although what they need is really basic stuff to live, and the exaggeration again belongs to wrong perceptions.

To sum up, the perceived and the real dissatisfactions of the interviewees based on their micro-level and macro-level interactions are associated with the way they perceive the future of the country. These have different possible causes as discussed above. They go beyond the quantitative analysis and provide an idea to see the bigger picture.

4.2 Policy Implications

A further question based on the quantitative analysis and the discussion of the results would be what the learnings can be for policy implications.

²⁵ Schlüter & Wagner, 2008

²⁶ <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article145287246/Eine-Zumutung-fuer-die-deutschen-Steuerzahler.html>

²⁷ http://www.suedost-news.de/region+lokal/landkreis-berchtesgadener-land/bayerisch-gmain_artikel,-Asylbewerber-unzufrieden-ueber-Unterkunft-_arid,183167.html

²⁸ <http://www.merkur.de/lokales/region-holzkirchen/holzkirchen/holzkirchen-asylbewerber-protestieren-gegen-unterkunft-5300812.html>

For a country, it is (or it must be) important that there is trust in its system and its formal as well as informal institutions. The interviewees as a representative group of Germans feel that they do not have the final say on important political decisions, and that their voices are not heard by the authorities, where they value the role of a central authority to provide a large amount of public goods a lot. The problem cannot be solved, unless the German bureaucracy is transformed and modernized to involve the voices of different people who are hitherto “excluded”. To dismantle immigration barriers in minds, governments tried to implement a lot of integration programs to integrate the foreigners, however, they did not do much to emphasize the positive role of immigrants in the economy and in the social life. This may be one solution to the problem - a big and complicated PR campaign.

On the other hand, what Ms. Merkel says about immigrants is a further issue to be considered while making a policy advice. During her interaction with the asylum seeker’s daughter, she said that Germany cannot accept all the asylum seekers to remain, since they cannot manage the situation. Even the current situation of the asylum seekers gives an idea that the current resources and the budget of the government remains behind the number of asylum seekers; in most of the country, asylum seekers live in schools, sport halls or even in tents²⁹. Since the politics made it clear that the large number of asylum seekers cannot come to Germany, it may seek ways to improve the living conditions of them in their home countries. According to Schlüter and Wagner, the larger the group of immigrants, the more negative reactions there are in the society, although this can also be seen as a way to increase contact.

A popular argument among PEGIDA demonstrators is that the immigrants do not come to Germany because they want to - this is also true, because nobody leaves his home without any important cause, such as the war. Is there a way to make the immigrants stay and at the same time improve their lives?

An interesting aspect is an interview with Germany’s former president Horst Köhler that German soldiers in Afghanistan were supposed to protect the country’s economic interests, which was criticized so bad that he had to resign. He said³⁰: “A country of our size, with its focus on exports and thus reliance on

²⁹ <http://www.npr.org/2015/08/12/431959358/overwhelmed-german-cities-house-asylum-seekers-in-tents>

³⁰ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/controversy-over-afghanistan-remarks-german-president-horst-koehler-resigns-a-697785.html>

foreign trade, must be aware that (...) military deployments are necessary in an emergency to protect our interests - for example when it comes to trade routes, for example when it comes to preventing regional instabilities that could negatively influence our trade, jobs and incomes."

This statement clearly suggests that Germany shall be involved in military operations for the sake of its own economy, and it is backed up by policy documents approved in the Federal Parliament³¹. The policy implication is to intervene in other countries and to their sovereignty. At the same time, German exports also include weapons sold to countries of Middle East in an increasing fashion even after the resignation of Köhler^{32 33}. The simultaneous implementation of abolishing the delivery of weapons to Middle East countries and the public-private cooperative policy of knowledge and technology transfer is a way to ensure the security and concerns of Germans, and at the same time abolish the conditions which make the immigrants leave the countries. This is nothing new for Germany, in fact, there are very good examples of this knowledge transfer to African countries both in terms of private firm activities and activities involving German public universities³⁴³⁵³⁶, however, these activities prove to be inefficient if the war involvement of Germany continues in terms of "protecting own economic interests" and/or selling weapons, which is not supported by people. The fact that Horst Köhler rejected the need for a new discourse to change Germany's intervention in Afghanistan led him to be criticized and forced him to resign from his duty as the President. If one compares the decreasing popularity of German Chancellor Merkel with Köhler's decreasing popularity prior to his resignation, it can be concluded that Germans want neither a war involvement of their country nor an endless immigration wave to their country. Even though there are (and will be) extremist groups trying to make use of people's perceptions and concerns, more and more people recognize the need for a new discourse based on ethical grounds, accompanied by a knowledge transfer to ensure people discover their own capabilities in their own homes.

³¹ https://www.cducsu.de/sites/default/files/Sicherheitsstrategie_Bechluss_080506_1.pdf

³² <http://www.global-perspectives.info/index.php/international-edition/2014/quarterly-two/440-middle-east-the-saga-of-german-weapons-for-the-arab-world>

³³ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/daniel-wagner/germanys-arms-sales-and-t_b_3803403.html

³⁴ [http://www.dafg.eu/de/aktivitaeten/archiv/archiv-kultur-wissenschaft/archiv-kultur-wissenschaft/?tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=674&cHash=e2188cb75395b92e08e7a05d91402fe2](http://www.dafg.eu/de/aktivitaeten/archiv/archiv-kultur-wissenschaft/archiv-kultur-wissenschaft/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=674&cHash=e2188cb75395b92e08e7a05d91402fe2)

³⁵ <http://www.welt.de/wirtschaft/karriere/article122407485/Arabische-Staaten-zahlen-gut-fuer-deutsche-Bildung.html>

³⁶ http://www.hrk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/hrk/02-Dokumente/02-10-Publikationsdatenbank/Beitrag-2013-04_Deutsch-arabische_Hochschulkooperationen.pdf

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