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**Romania and Bulgaria and the Freedom of Workers in Germany**



To what extent is the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German Social Welfare System by Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany legitimate?

**Anne Geerken**  
**11057165**  
**ES3-C**

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Supervisor: Dr. P Shotton  
Second Marker: M Lak

## Executive Summary

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As an essential basic principle of the European Union, the free movement of workers has been on everyone's lips with the European Enlargement of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007. With the complete abolishment of the restrictions on the free movement of workers for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in Germany in January 2014, critics feared an increased poverty migration and misuse of the German social welfare system. Amongst critics, especially CSU (Christian Social Union in Bavaria) party members fostered the hysteria and panic mongering by linking the Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union to the increased migration of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens and referred to "social tourism". With this term selected as unword of the year in Germany in 2013, the discussion reached its peak in the end of the year.

The research question, "to what extend is the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German social welfare state by Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany legitimate" provided the framework of a detailed gathering of statistical data from a variety of sources and qualitative research and furthermore the basis for an analysis and a critical discussion of the topic under study.

The paper reveals the misinterpretation by critics regarding the influx of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants and their demand on the German social welfare system. As often misunderstood by critics, Germany does not come as first choice for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. During research, the hypothesis of increased poverty migration comes to the fore, on which the European Commission and the German Government as well as migration experts counter argue. The research draws attention to the influx and duration of stay, in which Romanian and Bulgarian citizens are not the dominant nationalities. The integration process is by means of critics unsuccessful and leads to high-unemployed numbers of EU-2 migrants. The findings conclude this argument with emphasising that Bulgarian and Romanian migrants are in general well integrated. Although, there appeared to be an accumulation of unemployed Bulgarian and Romanian citizens who burden the communal services in big cities such as Berlin, Dortmund and Duisburg as a result of a lack of integration.

The data regarding the demand for social benefits by Bulgarian and Romanian migrants is misinterpreted, since statistical data from a variety of sources evidence, that EU-2 migrants demand less social benefits than other migrants inhabited in Germany.

The theory of poverty migration is out of question since EU-2 migrants are better qualified than other Eastern European nationalities and in general four/fifths of EU-2 migrants in Germany are employed. The number unemployed Bulgarian and Romanian citizens are marginal and in spite of the fact that they are eligible to demand social benefits, the amount of social welfare recipients does not endanger the German social welfare system. Although Germany's good reputation and especially its robust economic situation will lead to an increase of migrants, profits arise due to the fact that migration is fundamental to boost the pension scheme, foster and stabilise the health- and private nursing insurance and secure the economic growth.

The paper evaluates and analyses the gathered information carefully and conclude that the fear of poverty migration and misuse of the German social welfare state by Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany is not legitimate. Compared to previous European Union member states, such as Poland, the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the social welfare system in Germany are compared and the interview concludes a differentiation of the fears.

In order to avoid similar fears on new European member states such as Croatia, the report recommends statements and evidences which disprove the expected fears of critics. Political actors such as governmental bodies and politicians as well as organisations and migrant experts should intervene in an earlier stage in order to decrease the panic mongering and hysteria towards migration in Germany. Moreover the paper recommends the adaption of paragraph 7 of the German social security code to European law, since the paragraph declares that EU migrants are not eligible to receive certain social benefits. Experts argue that this paragraph is not in accordance with the European Unions aquis communautaire and the paper recommends the adaption.

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## 1. Introduction

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The end of World War II and its following economical miracle can be seen as a crucial moment for the migrant labour in Germany in the modern era. Critics even argue, without the “Gastarbeiter” (guest workers) the economic miracle would not have happened (Meyer-Timpe, 2001). Labourers from mainly Italy, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and the former country of Yugoslavia approached Germany with the aid of a bilateral agreement on labour recruitment during 1955 and 1967 (Seifert, 2012). As Bale explains, the guest workers “poured in to do the relatively low paid jobs that Germans turned their noses up at, but which needed doing if the country’s ‘economic miracle’ to be sustained” (Bale, 2008).

The ban on recruitment in 1973 strived to stop migration and foster the guest workers’ emigration, but the policy’s failure even evolved in a rise of foreigners, whilst guest workers took more often their women and children to Germany. Guest workers settled and their status turned to migrants. Germany became progressively a country of immigration that turned the Federal Republic into a more open and manifold country (Rehbein, 2011). However due to the lack of support and investment in the remaining guest workers and their families, Germany targeted migration for cheap rate, which resulted in a high number of unemployed migrants (Meyer-Timpe, 2001). “This feeds into a negative stereotype of the immigrant as a drain or even a parasite on the welfare system” (Bale, 2008).

Although the employment of guest workers is classified as successful model (Rehbein, 2011), “the numbers, concentration and visibility of migrants and minorities in Europe, long with the negative stereotypes mean that they are a hot-button political issue in contemporary Europe” (Bale, 2008).

Since non-EC citizens had the choice to return to their country of origin or take their families to Germany, the family unification nearly compensated the returned migration. During the mid 80s, migration to Germany declined and even led to a net outward migration. However, the amount of guest workers reached its peak again in the early 90s and during this time, the amount was even higher than in the 70s. Furthermore, the fall of the iron curtain, the Kosovo war and the escalated situation in the Kurdish populated part of Turkey were responsible for a massive asylum and refugees surge (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2014). With Poland being the most important country of labour migration in the 90s, Romania, The Czech

Republic, Slovakia and Hungary appeared to be less important. The number of Polish migrants from 2003 doubled with the enlargement in 2004. With the German limitations on migration in 2004, the prediction regarding increased migration influx from the eight new Middle- and East European Member States did not occur. However, at that point the labour migration for seasonal labour reached its highest point, with 329.000 labourers, mainly from Poland (Dietz, n.d.). Nevertheless, the European Commission stated, "The 2004 enlargement of the European Union (EU) has been an economic success for all European countries" (European Commission, 2007).

With the EU-2 enlargement of Romania and Bulgaria in 2007, the poorest countries in the European Union, critics especially in Austria, Germany, Great Britain and The Netherlands fear a wave of poverty migration. Due to the politicians' suspect of a tremendous burden on the social welfare systems in the host countries (Peter Dominiczak, 2013), Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands and Spain lifted the restrictions on the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian employees at the latest stage of the transition period for seven years, on December 31<sup>st</sup> 2013 (European Commission, 2011).

Due to the expiry of the restrictions on the free movement of workers on January 1<sup>st</sup> 2014 (Andor, 2014), the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of Germany's social welfare system merged into a tremendous argument among the European Union and its Member States. The discussion reached its peak with appointing the fear of poverty migration and especially the potential misuse of the Social Welfare System as "Social-tourism". Moreover the former interior minister Hans-Peter Friedrich (CDU) explains: "We need those, who are useful for us, and not those who exploit us. That should be our guiding principle for migration policy" (Wonka, 2011).

This dissertation discusses to what extent the fear of poverty migration of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants and their "Social Tourism" in Germany is legitimate and which aspects support this preconception. In connection to the successful model of the employment of guest workers, this paper tries to tackle the research question "To what extend is the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German Social Welfare System of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of the restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in

Germany legitimate?" by elaborating on experiences of former migration trends and characteristics. Additionally the paper fleshes out on the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian employees within the European Member States. By focussing on Germany as one of their target countries for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, the influx of migrants, the integration process and the integration problem zones are defined.

The intention is to measure whether poverty migration is likely to kick off even more after the abolishment of the restrictions in Germany and whether the theory of potential "social tourism" emerged.

## 2. Glossary

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BAMF	Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge)
BPB	Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung)
CDU	The Christian Democratic Union of Germany (Christliche Demokratische Union Deutschlands)
CSU	Christian Social Union in Bavaria (Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern)
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EU	European Union
EU-2	Bulgaria and Romania
EU-8	Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia
EU-10	Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia
EU-14	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden
EU-25	Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, The Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain
IAB	Institute for Employment Research (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung)
IZA	Institute for the Study of Labor (Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit GmbH)
NIP	National Integration Plan
NPD	National Democratic Party of Germany (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
SVR	The Expert Council of German Foundations for Integration and Migration (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration)

TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the functioning of the European Union
ZDH	Central association of skilled crafts organisations (Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks)

### 3. Literature Review

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The following chapter establishes the significance of the general field of study. The aim of this chapter is the critical evaluation of the different literature used and identifies the most relevant approach to answer the research question. The chapter of the literature review includes the linguistic definition of “Social Tourism”, then elaborates on the different key views on “Social Tourism” and moreover reveals the merits of the “Social Tourism”. After the clarification of the “Social Tourism”, which is relevant to answer the research question since this term appeared in the headlines in relation to the economic crisis, and the fact that transitional arrangements for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens are close to their end” (Remeur, 2013), the chapter continues with the different key ideas on the free movement of workers and in addition unfolds the merits on the freedom of workers. The understanding of free movement of workers key ideas and merits are important in order to answer the research question, since the restriction for Bulgaria and Romania ended in January 2014 and lead to a discussion in which critics fear a burden on the social welfare system due to possibly increasing migration. Moreover the chapter draws up the hypothesis for profits for Germany, instead of the misuse of the social welfare system. This significantly relates to the research question, since the research questions aims to reveal, whether those accusations are legitimate. The chapter unfolds the different views on the hypotheses and continues with the hypothesis of the misuse of the social welfare system in Germany. Both hypotheses will be observed and compared in the discussion chapter to aim for answering the research question.

#### **3. 1 “Social-tourism – Poverty Migration” Definition**

To understand the term of “Social Tourism” and its usage in the on going discussion of the abolishment on the restrictions of the free movement of workers for Bulgaria and Romania, the origin of the term “Social Tourism” will be defined in the following subchapters. The term of “Social Tourism” specifically, has been used by various critics and triggered a discussion regarding the topic.

##### **3.1.1. “Social Tourism” and its linguistic definitions**

According to “Der Duden”, a lexicon of the German language, the term “Social Tourism” has two different definitions. The first definition points out the efforts to offer a long-distance travel to socially disadvantaged persons. Additionally the definition refers to the research question, as it refers to the change of location conducted by the concerned persons to make

themselves enjoy certain social benefits (Duden, 2013). The definition by the German lexicon is significant to the research topic, as it approaches to define the term “Social Tourism”, which is essential in order to discuss the term and its relation to the research question later on. With its highly lexicographical competence, the “Duden” includes a literature-taking position, as it adds the term “deprecatingly” in front of the term “Social Tourism”. In comparison, Remeur directly connects the term to Bulgaria and Romania and in addition uses the term “welfare tourism”. Moreover he explains “welfare tourism has appeared in the headlines in relation to the economic crisis, and the fact that transitional arrangements for citizens of Romania and Bulgaria are close to their end” (Remeur, 2013).

### 3.1.2. Key view on “Social Tourism”

As reported by the German newspaper “Der Spiegel”, the author defines the problem of the standardisation of socio-political benefits in the European Union in 1989. The scope of the problem is defined clearly and relevant to the research topic, since the discussion of the social benefits and its eligible benefits recipients, regarding the free movement of workers and the establishment of the European Single Market in 1992 in Germany, draws similarities to the discussion of the ending of the restrictions on the free movement of workers for the EU-2 Member States today. Since “Der Spiegel” provides the perspective of sceptics regarding the Europeanization and the European Court of Justice, the article also refers to the former expert of the Ministry of Labour, Peter Clever. The article gains importance since the term “Social Tourism” is used for the first time by Clever, who feared that the “Social Tourism” would arise in Europe (Der Spiegel, 1989). With reference to the international social policy, Clever connected the term “Social Tourism” to the demands for foreign workers and the potential misuse of social benefits. The article includes only one-sided examples since it mainly provides the perspectives of the European sceptics, rather than referring to the perspective of the European Court of Justice or European supporters. In addition, the article uses rhetorically charged language, although it discusses a grave topic. The text contributes to more understanding of the topic under study by demonstrating that the fear on a burdened welfare state already existed before the EU-8 and EU-2 enlargement.

However, after Clever’s first mention of the “Social Tourism”, the usage of the term increased significantly since the enlargement of the EU-2 Member States in 2007 and fostered the ongoing discussion. Interestingly, the key view on the term “Social Tourism” is usually the same: insulting and negative.

The article by Engler and Grote formulates the issue of “poverty migration” by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. The significance of the article is clearly defined and it approaches perspectives from different actors related to the controversial discussion of “poverty migrants” in Germany. The article refers to a statement by the Christian Social Union (CSU), in which their key idea of “Social Tourism” becomes visible. Likewise Clever, the key idea of the term by the CSU is negative and insulting. Moreover the party expanded the term to “poverty migration”, and “conflagration and explosive charge for the European solidarity” (Engler, Grote, 2013). This key idea is related to a position paper by the German Cities Council, which reveals the amount of net migration gained in Germany in relation to Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. The data of the position paper is published briefly in the article and its data fosters to answer the research question.

However, the key view on “Social Tourism” by the academic researcher Jileva identifies a more positive term and explains migration, which does according to her “not involve residential settlement and does not pose a burden on the welfare states in Western Europe” and is an “incomplete migration”, a “form of mass mobility of very short duration, often documented as tourism, which involves petty trade in cross-border regions” (Jileva, 2002).

Just as Engler and Grote, the newspaper article by Janssen takes the position paper of the German Cities Council into account. The author’s scope of the article is the referral to the position paper and elaboration on the term “Social Tourism” in the opinion of former Interior Minister Friedrich. The article is relevant to the problem under study since it presents Friedrich’s opinion, which is, as well as the key ideas of Clever and the CSU, negative and insulting. Just as in the article stated by Engler and Grote, Janssen’s article reveals other crucial terms of “Social Tourism” which are important as they present the frequent and various usage in the on going discussion on the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. “Benefit abuse”, “cheating”, “faked documents” and “lying” are the key words connected to “Social Tourism” by Friedrich, which Janssen takes over from an interview of the “Heute-Journal”, one of Germany’s leading television news programs. By explaining Friedrich’s key views on “Social Tourism” the author includes a literature-taking position she does not agree with. After unfolding Friedrich’s opinion on “Social Tourism”, Janssen refers to a study by the Federal Statistical Office, to prove Friedrich wrong in which

the emigration and migration of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens are compared to other nationals.

### 3.1.3. Merits of “Social Tourism”

Although various politicians use the term “Social Tourism” in a negative and insulting way, the merit of the terms usage is that it fostered a massive discussion, which led to statements by various important actors in Germany and the European Union.

The main issues presented in an article by the German newspaper “Süddeutsche”, is the establishment of the State Secretary for assessment, if misuse of social benefits exists, and how the Federal Republic of Germany would cope with these issues. The author presents an interpretive research orientation by disclosing a collection of reactions regarding the on-going discussion of the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants by important political actors in Germany. The article gains importance in relation to the research topic, since the author reveals the actions taken by the national government. Just as the research question the article focuses on the potential negative influences on the social welfare system by migration to Germany (Süddeutsche, 2014).

Moreover, the discussion and the usage of the term “Social Tourism” led to a statement by the German Bundestag. The source (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013) provides a response to questions asked by members of the Bundestag. The core issue of the source are the social rights for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in Germany. The author’s research orientation is interpretive, as it answers questions asked by German deputies at great length. Several tables published by the Federal Statistical Office are used to talk back to the fear on poverty migration and an increased number of Bulgarian and Romanian welfare recipients (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). The analysis of the data is accurate and relevant to the research question, as it brings the amount of Bulgarian and Romanian benefits recipients in Germany to the fore. The source should be taken into account for the upcoming sections since it clarifies information such as migrants’ influx and departure, recipients subject to social insurance contributions and the unemployment rate in Germany of citizens with and without migration background. The data is presented in clearly laid out charts. To follow and to understand the argumentation of the response of the German Bundestag, knowledge of the European Basic Principles, such as the German Social Security Code, is advantageous. For the further

evaluation and discussion of the research question, this source provides logical and significant arguments.

Another merit of the term “Social Tourism” can be seen with its selection for the “un-word of the year 2013” (DPA, 2014). The scope of the article, which is the interpretive research orientation on the procedure and assessment of the un-word of the year 2013, is relevant to the overall research question. This source is useful to understand the attention, which the term “Social Tourism” gains nowadays. The theoretical framework of the source is developmental, as it explains the procedure of the selection of the un-word of the year 2013 (“Social Tourism”) by the jury of German linguistics. The source presents the terms’ importance and connects it to the topic, since shortly before the abolishment of the restrictions on the free movement of workers its discussion reached the highest point. Due to this nomination, the word could gain importance and lead to the point of responses regarding the potential fear of poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system. Experts on this topic had the possibility to proof or disproof to what extend the fear on poverty migration and on the misuse of the social welfare system is legitimate. The nomination of the “un-word of the year” is a crucial fact in order to smooth ruffled feathers regarding the present discussion.

### **3.2. The free movement of workers**

The origin of Article 45 “The free movement of workers” lies in Article 69 of the ECSC from 1951, which contained “some basic measures aimed at permitting the free movement of workers on EU territory” (Baldoni, 2003). Nevertheless the free movement of workers laid its focus on qualified workers in the indicated sector (Baldoni, 2003). In the case study on “The free movement of persons in the European Union: A Legal-historical Overview”, Baldoni presents the key ideas of the free movement of workers with referral to the European Community Treaty. Baldoni’s case study is of utmost importance since the article is about the free movement of workers itself.

Dr. Van Ooik, R., and Dr Vandamme, T. define the article in the Treaty on functioning of the European Union, 2013 as followed:

1. “Freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Union.
2. Such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment.

3. It shall entail the right, subject to limitations justified on grounds of public policy, public security or public health:
  - (a) to accept offers of employment actually made;
  - (b) to move freely within the territory of Member States for this purpose;
  - (c) to stay in a Member State for the purpose of employment in accordance with the provisions governing the employment of nationals of that State laid down by law, regulation or administrative action;
  - (d) to remain in the territory of a Member State after having been employed in that State, subject to conditions which shall be embodied in regulations to be drawn up by the Commission.

The provision of this Article shall not apply to employment in the public service” (Dr. Van Ooik, R., Dr Vandamme, T., 2013).

#### 3.2.1. The key ideas of the free movement of workers

Jileva explains her key idea of the free movement of workers as “part of the project of achieving equality of opportunity within the EU by dismantling obstacles to the mobility of factors of production” (Jileva, 2002). Furthermore, the freedom of movement to her is a “benefit of integration, and takes the form of legal provision which gives an opportunity for individuals to look for employment in the EU” (Jileva, 2002). The European Commission supports Jilevas key view on the topic with a press release in which Vladimir Špidla, EU-Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities, presents his key idea of the free movement of workers, and its importance as one of the basic principles of the European Union (European Commission, 2008). Špidla’s idea of the free movement of workers is presented as mobility, which will have a good outcome for the economy and might stop black labour and fictitious self-employment (European Commission, 2008). There seems to be a general agreement on the key idea of the free movement of workers, since additionally “Der Spiegel” presents an article including the key idea of the free movement of workers by migration expert, Klaus Zimmermann. To Zimmermann, the free movement of workers, especially in relation to the EU-2 Member States, is defined as a “good chance” (DPA, n.d.). This source is relevant to the research topic, as it provides the experts opinion, which can be compared and evaluated to the political opinions in order to answer the research question.

### 3.2.2. Merits of the free movement of workers in the European Union under the Council Directive 68/360/EEC and Regulation (EEC) No 1251/70 of the Commission

Since the establishment of the Schuman-Plan and its subsequent establishment of the Coal and Steel Community in 1950, the Department for Foreign Affairs presents the merits of the free movement of workers since it refers to the European Union and its guarantee of peace, prosperity and stability (Auswärtiges Amt, 2013). In addition, Baldoni refers to the forerunner of Article 45, Article 39 of the European Community Treaty, which explains that the “economic expansion favoured the mass movement of migrant workers, primarily from Southern Europe towards Northern and Central Europe” (Baldoni, 2013). In an article by the protestant news service, the core idea of the free movement of workers, as an essential basic principle of the European Union, is underlined by the German foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, as he points out that “whoever calls the free movement of workers into question, damages Germany and the European Union” (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2014). Additionally, the European Commission justifies the theory that Europe profits from the influx of migration in a press release in 2008. It presents the influx of migrants between 2004 and 2007 and concludes that the freedom of workers regulates itself and verifies this argument with a reference to another press release of the European Commission from 2008, which examines the “Employment in Europe 2008” (European Commission, 2008).

### 3.3. Hypothesis of profits for Germany instead of misuse of the social welfare system

There seems to be a general agreement on the profits for Germany as a result of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants by Jileva (2002), Galgóczi and Leschke (2012), Brückner, Hauptmann and Vallizadeh (2013), Geis and Kennedy (2014) and the interviewee Dr. Rinne (2014).

In the article on “Visa and free movement of labour: The uneven imposition of the EU acquis on the accession States” Jileva explains that “labour migration can have a significant beneficial effect on the economies and labour markets of both home and host country” (Jileva, 2002). Moreover, Jileva refers to a conclusion by the European Commission in relation to the experience of the enlargement of Spain and Portugal. The conclusion unfolds “However, fears that mass migration would ‘flood’ the labour markets of present states do not seem justified also in the light of experience from previous enlargements which would suggest that migration flows are affected by economic conditions and prospects, more than by the right of free movement” (Jileva, 2002). The article unfolds that “economic migrants are usually highly motivated and mobile which leads to moderate the excessive growth of labour

costs and thus maintain international competitiveness” (Jileva, 2002). The article closely connects to the hypothesis, of the fear being harmed by an enormous influx of migrants, and since its focus lies on Germany, it closely connects to the research question. Furthermore, the working paper by Galgóczi and Leschke, which mainly concentrates on the economic and labour situation after the enlargement, confirms Jileva’s point of view by presenting the growth share of Poland, Germany and the UK after the enlargement in 2004 and its labour mobility for Poland. Therefore the authors approves the benefits of increasing migration. This working paper is from highly importance since it enhances different figures presenting the EU-2 population and their connection to the European labour market. The figures are based on the European Labour Force Survey, which are “widely used in research on cross-border labour mobility” (Galgóczi, Leschke, 2012). Moreover, Dr. Rinne unfolds in a postal email interview that “circulation of skilled labour within the European Union overall contributed towards an improved solution of the demographic and economical problems” (Dr. Rinne, 2014).

The view of the German Institute for Labour occupational research agrees with Jileva’s point of view and explains the winnings for the welfare state, since migrants actively contribute to the pension scheme and therefore secure the more and more demographic aging state; Germany (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh, 2013).

To support the hypothesis of profits for Germany by Bulgarian and Romanian migrants rather than the misuse of the Social Welfare System, the central arguments of Geis and Kennedy consist out of twelve reasons for migration and the elaboration on the profits of Germany as a receiving country, as well as the profits for the migrants. The policy paper from 2014 is relevant to the research since it includes the clarification of the economic situation and its profits due to migrants. The information and the results shown in various charts, analysed by different authors, give numerous information about the economic benefits of migration influx to Germany.

In spite of the expected influx of about 200.000 Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in 2014 (Focus, 2013), the expert advisory board of German Foundations for Integration and Migration (SVR) points out the profits of the new mobility-dynamic, which has been defined as the key view by the European Commission earlier. The SVR annual report is interpretative

and the author's scopes are the migration trends, the integration processes and the challenges of the free movement of workers. The analysis of the data which the author uses to underline the hypothesis of profits for Germany due to Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, is accurate and relevant to the research question as it provides an interpretative set of information and underlines the theory for no evidence of poverty migration and misuse of the German welfare system by referring to a study of Giuliatti et al. (2011). Giuliatti's study analysed the influence of third country migrants and EU-migrants on the social state benefits from 1993 until 2008. The argument of no evidence for poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system by the expert advisory board of German foundations for integration and migration is supported by the outcome of Giuliatti's study. To underline their results the source includes well-illustrated data, which devote resources of the SVR migration barometer from 2013.

### **3.4. Hypothesis of misuse of the social welfare system in Germany**

Since previous references evaluated primarily the positive outcome of the enlargement and its connection to migrant trends, the following press article by economist Hans-Werner Sinn, presents the migrants' influx to Germany in a negative way. He includes literature-taking positions, which he does not agree with since he puts the EU's free movement directive into question and claims for the home country principle. The analysis of the data is relevant to the topic as it presents the free movement of workers from a more negative perspective than the authors Jileva (2002), Galgóczi and Leschke (2012), Brücker, Hauptmann and Vallizadeh (2013) and Geis and Kennedy (2014). Sinn argues that an "erosion" of the social welfare state will accrue and presents a calculation regarding the entitlement to benefits for Romanian citizens in Germany and talks back to the assumptions made by the previous authors. This article is relevant to the overall research topic as it provides an opposite expert opinion on poverty migration by favouring the allowance of EU-citizens living in other countries of the Union and claiming social benefit from their home country administration (Sinn, 2013).

Another important politician fearing the poverty migration is former Interior Minister Friedrich. In Janssen's newspaper article the author's main issue is the view by Friedrich on the abolishment of the restrictions on the free movement of workers. By referring to an interview in the German "Tagesschau" (news), which sums up Friedrich's opinion and fears, the author provides literature, which takes positions she does not agree with. Janssen unfolds

Friedrich's "infinite parasitism", regarding the free movement of workers and briefly quotes the view of Friedrich regarding the issue. Furthermore the article has a subjective basis, since it refers to a statistic by the Federal Statistical Office, which analysed the amount of immigrants and emigrants to Germany in 2012. The article can be used in order to answer the research question since Friedrich's opinion existed already for a long time and he was partly in charge of the panic mongering and hysteria regarding the free movement of workers for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in 2007. The article provides statistical information, which can be used in the findings section in order to elaborate on the verity to what extent the fear of poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system are legitimate.

There seems to be an accordance of Friedrich's view shown by Janssen and the British Premier Minister Cameron. Riesbeck and Doemens, journalists of the "Frankfurter Rundschau" explain the diverse opinions within the European Union by referring to a discussion between EU- Commissioner Andor and Cameron, in which the critics of the free movement of workers would make Great Britain to the "ugliest country in Europe" (Doemens, Riesbeck, 2013). The score of the article lies in the cheap propaganda on the problem under study by the Christian Social Union (CSU). The authors include literature-taking positions they do not agree on, and try to talk back to the hostile statements regarding the free movement of workers by unfolding the opinion stated by European Union and EU- Commissioner Vladimir Špidla. The importance lies on the focus of the articles political connection. The referral to statements made by CSU members, SPD's Minister for Interior and the Left party's chairman, the article refers to the research topics as it discusses the controversial opinions of German politicians regarding the on-going discussion of poverty migration and its panic mongering and exaggerated hysteria.

### **3.5. Conclusion**

The key findings of the literature review firstly unfold the high involvement of various actors in the discussion and to what extent the fear of poverty migration and the fear of misuse of the German social welfare system are legitimate. The findings are from highly importance to the research question since they will contribute in the following chapters to answer the research question.

The results of the literature review on the one hand reveal the perspectives of sceptics, with Friedrich, Sinn and Cameron on top of the list. This chapter unfolds their fear of poverty

migration and misuse of the social welfare system, in relation with Romanian and Bulgarian workers, as they refer to negative and insulting words such as “social tourism”, “infinite parasitism” and “poverty migration”. The literature reveals that especially the CSU and its party member Friedrich expect a migration wave and the abuse of benefit. (See annex, P. 67, Figure 6) The critics focus on the immigration towards Germany, which has been increasing since years, rather than on the net migration balance, which presents emigration as well.

On the other hand, the Federal Government of Germany as well as the European Commission comments on the hysteria and panic mongering and providing counterevidence for the hypothesis of poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system. Moreover the literature presents evidence such as statistics, charts and data results to talk back the negative hypothesis and presents the profits for Germany by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. This chapter includes the significant beneficial effects on the economies and the labour markets of both, home and host countries, since the authors refer to the motivated migrants and in addition to the increased growth share of Poland and Germany after the enlargement in 2004.

The research provides relevant material and has been narrowed down to exclude irrelevant material. The different research sources, such as essays, working papers and newspaper articles, imply various background information, opinions and studies, which are highly important to answer the research question in both, an objective and subjective way. The amount of the different sources and their different focuses provide an in-depth knowledge in order to answer the research question and taking different opinions and views into account.

The upcoming chapter, the Methodology chapter, will focus on the research methods, which have been used in order to critically evaluate the different types of literature.

## 4. Methodology

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This chapter focuses on the chosen research approaches in order to answer the research question. The objective was to combine quantitative statistical data from a variety of sources and qualitative research to test the accrued theory's authenticity.

The “multi- methodology” contributed towards a breadth and depth of understanding of the topic under study. Researching quantitative statistical data was chosen since it completed the qualitative primary data of the interview, and the interview results helped to discover a lack of validity of the quantitative measurements. The qualitative research method, also known as “bottom up approach”, was used since it allowed greater flexibility than the quantitative research approach and provided descriptive and rich in detail, primary data. The research topic drew up the hypothesis of poverty migration as well as the hypothesis of misuse of the social welfare system in Germany by the EU-2 citizens and the quantitative data from a variety of sources was convincing and statistics enabled to disprove the vague hypotheses established by critics. Moreover, the case studies, which emerged from the research were enriching since they related closely to the topic and to Germany as the analysed country.

The quantitative data presented primary data such as policy documents of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal Ministry of Interior, the European Commission and the German Bundestag. Moreover, books such as “European Politics” by Bale and “The Treaty on the Functioning of the EU” by Van Ooik and Vandamme were revised.

Secondary data in the form of working and research papers, academic research articles, relevant and reliable media reports were conducted. Working papers such as the “Intra-EU labour migration after Eastern enlargement and during the crisis” by Balgóctzi and Leschke, the analysis on poverty migration by Glismann and Schrader and the publication by Jobelius and Stoiciu, were used to comprehend the point of view of experts on the topic under study.

The fear of poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system have been discussed in the media especially in 2013, when the abolishments of the transitional arrangements on 1 January 2014 draw nearer. Therefore the paper analysis included articles by well-known German and International newspapers, such as “Der Focus”, “Der Spiegel”, “Die Zeit” and

“Euobserver” which provided unbiased information. Due to the public discussion of potential poverty migration and potential misuse of social benefits, a clash of opinions arose. Therefore the paper additionally included voices of critics on the free movement of workers, such as Hans-Werner Sinn, Hans-Peter Friedrich, David Cameron and members of the Christian Social Union.

Furthermore, the quantitative data presented different case studies such as “Visa and free movement of labour: The uneven imposition of the EU aquis on the accession states”, “Intra-EU labour migration after Eastern enlargement and during the crisis” and “Erfolgsfall Europa? Folgen und Herausforderungen der EU-Freizügigkeit für Deutschland” which connected to the research question, by presenting information regarding labour migration trends, benefits of migration and social benefit recipients.

The academic literature, which was gathered through the quantitative research of statistical data, provided explanatory text modules as well as clearly represented data charts. Especially the facts of the datasets, such as charts and statistics by the German Federal Statistical Office and the German Federal Employment Agency, were applied to answer the research question. The inclusion of datasets, tables and statistics allowed the discussion of the migration trends and its possible changes in Germany. Moreover the research presents an in-depth knowledge of migration balance, labour participation of migrants and inter alia percentages of degree holders with a focus on Germany and Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. The findings of the case studies have been in a conclusive and descriptive nature and can be applied to proof the hypotheses authenticity and to answer the research question.

The qualitative research methods, presented as an postal interview, provided an insight into the setting of a problem, which was the hypothesis on the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the social welfare system in Germany by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. The focus of the qualitative research lied on the primary data and is collected in form of an postal interview with Dr. Ulf Rinne, Deputy Director of Research and Personal Advisor to the Director of the Institute for the Study of Labor on behalf of Klaus Zimmermann, Full Professor of Economics at Bonn University and Director of the Institute for the Study of Labor. The qualitative research was used to look beyond the facts presented, such as text modules and data charts in the quantitative research and should gain a subjective understanding of the

interviewee's expertise. Since a face-to-face interview was not possible, the interview had to be conducted postal via email.

The interview was beneficial since it brings the interaction of an expert on the topic under study to the fore. The data gathered through qualitative research was based on human experiences, which was powerful and more conclusive than the quantitative data. The interview uncovers prevalent trends of the opinion and the thought of the interviewed person, which helped to tackle the research question. Using the qualitative research approach for this project was beneficial since it provided the interaction of an expert on the topic under study. Moreover, the interview adds an understanding and a description of the interviewee's experiences, which lead to more information regarding the free movement of workers for EU-8 countries and its focus on Poland. However quantitative research material regarding the free movement of workers for the EU-8 Member States arose with the case studies such as the annual report of the expert advisory board of German Foundations for Integration and Migration ("Erfolgsfall Europa? Folgen und Herausforderungen der EU-Freizuegigkeit fuer Deutschland"), the interview added value, since its approach was especially responsive to local situations and conditions, which in this case applied to Germany. Although the interview has been enriching and included important information regarding the topic under study, the risk of a subjective point of view arose since the interviewee answered the interview question on behalf of the Institute for the Study of Labor.

The combination of both, quantitative statistical data and qualitative data was beneficial and enriching for the topic under study. Moreover, the research question could be answered from a number of different perspectives, such as experts on the topic under study, gathered through the quantitative method, as well as an interviewee, familiar with the research topic.

With the establishment of the research proposal and its included time line, a general overview of the time will spend on gathering and analysing the data, was provided. The collection of the data has mainly been taken place by extensive desk research. With the approval of the research topic in January the desk research has been taken place from January until March, in order to get an overview of the topic under study and to become familiar with existing sources on the Internet as well as available data from books. With the extensive desk research important questions for the interview arose and potential interview partners has

been contacted in March. Expertise regarding the topic under study for the potential interview partner was required in order to use the gathered primary data for the thesis. In total about twenty organisations and migrant experts have been contacted. Apart from Dr. Rinne the contacted organisations and migrant experts replies were negative mainly due to lack of time.

To gather the data of the topic under study, the secondary data has been collected in a personalised data file, which enabled to keep track of the large amount of information regarding the overall research topic. The first approach was to gather raw data and included the hyperlinks into a Word document.

After extensive research, the raw data was inspected again in order to filter out the most important information. The sample of the resources was affected by different characteristics. These characteristics, which the secondary data resources were tested on, include the credentials of the sources and of the authors. Moreover, the date of publication had to be considered, since especially the European Policy on the free movement of workers and the Transitional Agreements might have changed. Moreover, the referencing of a source had to be taken into account in order to refer to presented data and figures.

The primary sources had to be tested on different characteristics as well, in order to proof their importance and relevance to the topic under study. The primary data of the qualitative research should be plausible, competent and transparent.

Since the collected data has been inspected again and tested by different characteristics to filter out the most important data, the personalised data file was summarised in a table and included the name of the author/company, the most important facts of the source and the hyperlinks of the source. The subsections mentioned in the index of the research proposal have been used in order to organise the sources even better.

The intention of analysing the data lies in the presentation of the most important findings, the connection of the sources to the topic under study and in the testing of importance related to the research question, the hypotheses and its subsections. The collected data was compared to each other, in order to find similar and dissimilar intentions and views and opinion of different authors and organisations.

Another research method, such as a survey filled-out by German nationals could have been used. By testing whether and to what extent the respondent fears a poverty migration and a misuse of the social welfare system, the survey could have unfolded a possible adoption of the fears, which was mainly created by politicians and was fostered due to an on-going discussion which led to hysteria and panic mongering. However, the survey has been refused, since the focus on this thesis lies on the opinions and views of political actors and experts on the topic under study, rather than the opinion and views of the German population. The use of the survey as a research method and its evaluation and the administration would have been easier. However, the survey's inflexible results could lead to dishonest answers and could produce a non-representative sample.

After the literature has been reviewed and the research method has been defined, the following part unfolds the findings regarding the topic under study. The methodology and the literature review are of particular importance as they provide the starting point for the findings, which will be presented in the upcoming chapter.

## 5. Findings

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The upcoming chapter unfolds the findings of the research, which has been done to elaborate on the research question. The chapter provides an insight of the findings with a focus on Germany as an appealing host country for migration. With Germany as a preference for EU-2 migrants the paper provides important information on whether the fear of poverty migration is legitimate, since the findings reveals that Germany comes not in first as a target country for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. Moreover, the section provides relevant data on how many EU-2 migrants live in Germany and how long their intention to stay is. The integration process in Germany and the integration in problem zones provide relevant data related to the research question, since critics argue Bulgarian and Romanian migrants are less integrated and endanger the social peace in specific areas. Additionally, this chapter includes the EU-2 member states and their connection to the German social welfare system, pointing out the rights and benefits for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, which will be essential to answer the research question. The economic situation including labour in Germany in relation to Romanian and Bulgarian migrants is discussed and explains their employment and unemployment situation in Germany. The data is meaningful in order to answer the research question, since the EU-2 migrants are surprisingly active in the German labour market and notably well qualified. Furthermore the profits for Germany due to Romanian and Bulgarian migrants come to the fore, which especially tackles the research question since most critics argue that the free movement of workers for EU-2 citizens will have negative effects on Germany. In order to discuss the fear of poverty migration and whether it is a threat to Germany, this chapter moreover explains the previous fear of poverty migration regarding the EU- 8 Member States, focusing on Poland.

### **5.1. Germany – A preference for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants**

Although, according to Angela Merkel, migration is not a temporary phenomenon but a permanent reality (Schmidt, 2013), usually the migration flows do not show clear trends. Migration is mainly influenced by its target country's different national rules for migration. Besides the political basic conditions, the economic situation, integration structures, the possibilities to become active in the labour market and the migrant's network, are of high importance for migration trends (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, n.d.).

Jobelius and Stoiciu present that the miserable initial social and economic conditions in European comparison influence Romanian citizens to go abroad in order to open up new perspectives of income and of employment (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). Moreover, the administrative chaos of the public administration in Bulgaria and Romania prevent the countries of receiving more EU funds and motivates migrants to become mobile within the European member states (Verseck, 2013). According to Jobelius and Stoiciu, Romanian migrants are not poverty migrants but persons who are eligible to accentuate their skills and qualifications under a better economic and social starting position. Therefore, Romanian migrants make use of their EU citizen rights to settle down in another EU member state and become active in its labour market (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014).

The fear of poverty migration and the potential misuse of the German social welfare system exist, although in European comparison the preference for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants is Italy (36%), Spain (18%), Great Britain (14%) followed by Germany (11%) (Medien Dienst Integration, nd.). Due to the linguistic and climatic similarities with Italy and Spain, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants prefer these countries to Germany (Dribbusch, 2013). However, since the financial crisis reached the Southern European countries and especially Spain, migrants now choose Germany as their target country more often (Thomas, 2013).

Although Germany does not come first as preference for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens, there are various appealing reasons to migrate to Germany. Despite the fact that Germany could withstand the financial crisis better than other European economies, not only the labour market is an appealing factor for migration. Political and legal security, economic security and medical care fascinate and entice migrants worldwide. Moreover, the country's good reputation in relation to the democratic system, the society's religious tolerance and the quality of the education system especially incentivizes good chances to the migrant's children (Scholz, 2013).

Concentrating on the robust economic situation in Germany during the financial crisis, the country became a magnet to mostly good qualified union citizens who escape from the unemployment and the lack of prospects in their country of origin (Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013). With the intended nation wide minimum wage by 2017, the attractiveness for migration to Germany already rises and the

country as a location for industry appeals as a lighthouse for potential immigrants (Glismann, Schrader, 2011).

Although the German social welfare benefits appear very high compared to the average salary in Bulgaria and Romania, the benefits do not more than guarantee a secure livelihood (Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013). Moreover, the SVR explains especially for migrants who are on one's own, the social benefits are not a migration gain. According to Jobelius and Stoicia, Romanian migrants choose their target due to the best possibility to work and not the country with the most distinctive social welfare benefits (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014).

Besides Germany's good reputation and attractiveness towards Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, some characteristics still discourage migration towards Germany. The SVR points out that the European Union language diversity is an effective, but not political steered migration barrier and makes the "social tourism" unlikely to happen. However, due to the prosperity gap between Germany and the EU-2 countries, Germany can expect an increasing migration (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2014).

#### 5.1.1. Influx and duration of stay of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants

The migrants' network is decisive regarding the influx and the duration of stay for new migrants arriving in Germany. As the Federal Agency for civic education (BPB) reveals, the bigger the group of migrants with the same country of origin in Germany, the higher the influx of new migrants from the same country of origin is likely to happen, since new migrants expect help and support with finding employment and accommodation from already in Germany inhabitant EU-2 citizens (Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, n.d.). Moreover, according to the SVR, the migration costs would decrease and the language barrier would appear less as a migration obstacle (SVR, 2013). This chapter elaborates on the influx and the duration of stay of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in Germany from 2005 until 2014.

According to Verseck, Bulgarian and Romanian citizens already migrated to Germany since the past two centuries. Especially with the enlargement in 2007, about 3 Million Romanian and 1,6 Million Bulgarian emigrated from their country of origin (Verseck, 2013). However, the

focus lies on other target countries such as Spain and Italy. The migration to Germany increased steadily from 2005 until 2013 (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014).

About 58.000 people from Romania and Bulgaria migrated to Germany in 2011 (Dribbusch, 2013). The migration balance for 2012 reached 71.000 migrants, which points out a net migration gain of over 22% in comparison to 2011 (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh, 2013). However, mainly Polish migrants (89.000) contributed to the migration balance. Romanian (88.000) and Bulgarian (88.000) represented about 4,5% of the foreign population in Germany by the end of 2012 (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). The migration trend of big groups from those three countries has been specified as threatening by critics especially in big German cities (Greven, 2013).

With the public discussion regarding the possible poverty migration from Southeast Europe, the Federal Employment Agency revealed facts, which contradict massive flows of migrants from these countries. About 320.000 Bulgarian and Romanian migrants inhabited Germany in 2013. However, Germany lays significantly behind the target countries such as Italy with 1,1 Million Romanian and Bulgarian citizens inhabiting and Spain with 950.000 migrants from Bulgaria and Romania (DPA, 2013).

With the abolishment of the restrictions on the free movement of workers for Romania and Bulgaria, researchers expected an increasing net migration from 100.000 up to 180.000 Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. According to the migration expert, Klaus Zimmermann, the amount of EU-2 migrants is going to reach the 200.000 mark in 2014 (Focus, 2013).

Although the expected migration influx by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants appears very high, it has to be taken into account that Polish and Romanian migrants dominate the amount of emigrants, followed by Bulgarian, Hungarian and Turkish citizens. The figure by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees presents the emigration of the ten most frequently nationalities in 2012, in which Romania is on 3<sup>rd</sup> and Bulgaria on 4<sup>th</sup> place (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012). (See Annex, P. 63, Figure 1) Moreover, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees explains that about three quarter of migrants from Romania and Bulgaria remain less than four years in Germany (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012).

As figure 2 (Bundesamt in Zahlen) unfolds, over 59,2% of Romanian and 58,1% of Bulgarian migrants return to their country of origin within less than one year. Moreover, about 26,2% of Romanian and 27,8% of Bulgarian migrants return to their country of origin within a timeframe of 1-4 years. The figure furthermore explains, that only 7,8% of Romanian and 7,2% of Bulgarian migrants intent to stay in Germany for 4-8 years. The intention to stay in Germany for 8-15 years is chosen by 3,9% of Romanian and 4,8% of Bulgarian migrants. With 1,3% of Romanian and 1,5% of Bulgarian migrants staying for up to 15-20 years, together with the amount of Indian migrants, the numbers for Bulgaria and Romania are in comparison to other migrants' intention to stay 15-20 years, very low. Moreover, only 0,1% of Romanian and 0,6% of Bulgarian migrants intent to stay 20-30 years in Germany, which is in comparison to the amounts of Turkey, Serbia, Italy, Greece and Croatia extremely low. The figure does not reveal the number of Romanian migrants with intention to stay longer than 30 years. However the figure shows that only 0.1% of Bulgarian migrants stayed in Germany for over 30 years. (See Annex, P. 64, Figure 2) Gajevic furthermore explains, that the majority of the migrants are returning to their country of origin due to language barriers (Gajevic, 2013).

#### 5.1.2. Integration process in Germany

As the host of the integration ministry conference, Norbert Bischoff from the Social Democratic Party of Germany explains diversity is enriching and nobody should feel foreign in Germany. Migrants should feel accepted and welcomed in order to unfold their prospects (Peters, 2014). Moreover, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees emphasises that knowledge of the German language is the basic requirement for social participation in the country and therefore irremissible for a successful integration (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012).

The establishment of an integration summit by Angela Merkel in 2006 fostered the creation of a yearly-renewed "National Integration plan" (NIP). Until 2012 over 400 negotiated agreements of the NIP could be implemented. With the focus on eleven dialogue boards, the NIP tries to cover the key aspects such as education, training, advanced training and language integration courses (Die Bundesregierung, n.d.). The centrepieces of the public integration course in Germany are conveying knowledge of the German language as well as orientation knowledge. With a nationwide system of integration and orientation courses, the

federal government established an efficient instrument in order to support migrants for forge ahead into the German society.

The integration process is divided into a language course and an orientation course. Since the language course concentrates on the autonomous language usage and the goal for foreigners to reach the B1 language level, the orientation course emphasises on common knowledge, knowledge on the legal system, as well as German history and culture. Besides the general integration course, which is obligated for migrants with insufficient knowledge of the German language, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees provides special courses for different target groups (integration courses for parents, integration courses for women, alphabetisation courses, youth integration courses, remedial courses). An integration course is mandatory for unemployment benefits II (Hartz IV) recipients.

The figure of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees presents the new integration course participants in 2012 according to the most frequently nationalities. Romanian and Bulgarian migrants come in 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> place after other nationalities, such as Turkey and Poland. (See Annex, P. 65, Figure 3)

According to Jileva, the free movement of workers is “an important signal of a willingness to treat the citizens of one EU Member State as welcome within any other” (Jileva, 2010). Moreover, Thomas explains that Germany underestimates the culture of welcoming and overestimates the attractiveness as a country for immigration (Thomas, 2013). The author explains that there would be no lack of a culture of welcome if the appropriate qualified employees are migrating to Germany. As the interviewee Dr. Rinne explains, the discussion of “social tourism” hinders the establishment of a successful culture of welcoming in Germany, which is necessary for Germany to become an attractive country of immigration on an international level (Dr U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014).

#### 5.1.3. Integration Problem zones: Big Cities

Although the research paper by Jobelius and Stoiciu reveals the good integration of Romanian migrants into the German labour market, this situation differs within the geographical regions. The migration of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens is distributed differently in the specific German communes. About one third of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants particularly accumulate in Berlin, Hamburg and further West German major cities,

such as Mannheim, Dortmund and Duisburg (Budras, Hauser, 2014). The municipal central association demanded counteractive measurements, especially in Dortmund and Duisburg (Doemens, Riesbeck, 2013), since the rate of the Romanian and Bulgarian working population in Duisburg only measures 15% to 20%. This concludes that over 75% of Romanian migrants are excluded and are neither employed nor obtain social state aid (Dribbusch, 2013). Especially Romanian migrants suffer from partly unsustainable conditions in urban districts as well as from precarious labour conditions, which, according to László Andor, especially affect the meat industry and could be tackled through a nation wide minimum wage (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). The critical situation especially in Duisburg has led to an increase of 30 staff members in the jobcentres since 1 January 2014 (Dribbusch, 2013).

Moreover, the Institute for Employment research (IAB) reveals that the labour market situation of Romanian migrants in structurally weak areas deviates from the national average. The unemployment rate of Romanian migrants in Duisburg reaches 18,7%, in Dortmund 19,3% and in Berlin 21,6% (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). According to Jobelius and Stoiciu, these employment rates are not alarming insofar, since the rate is still lower than the unemployment rate of other migrants in these cities. However, the unemployment rate reveals that the integration into the labour markets in these areas is less effective compared to the national average.

According to internal commune reports of the affected cities, a part of the incoming population in the affected communes redounds to the accentuation of social problems, since migrants stress the communal services of public interests (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). In particular the sector of education and enforcement of the compulsory school attendance as well as language imparting, housing conditions and supply of residential housing, homeless persons' accommodation, medicare and the medical emergency care are endangered. As Krauß explains, housing shortages is a present issue in some affected communes. Moreover, these reports point out the strain on social peace, especially in the affected neighbourhoods (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). According to Krauß, insufficient renovated real estate is rented to migrants and causes degrading living conditions (Krauß, 2014).

The assistance for affected communes and measurements against undeservingly labour and living conditions for migrants are the most important fields of action, in which the member states are assisted by the European Commission to improve the implementation of existing EU rules that coordinate social security (European Commission, 2013). As the SVR points out, especially financially weak communes are in need of financial support by the respective States, the Federal Government and the European Union in order to execute an effective integration policy (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013). With a national social fund for financial weak cities such as Dortmund and Duisburg, the complaints of German communes and their impression to be left alone with the problems of the migration could be resolved. In total the costs of the social fund would reach the three-digit million-euro sum. (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2014). According to Stephan Articus, Chief Executive of the German Cities Council, affected cities need more organisational and legislative support in addition to financial support (Doemens, Riesbeck, 2013).

Numerous approaches have already been identified in order to solve the problem of migration within the affected cities. These approaches include the entitlement for integration courses, different instruments for decreasing precarious employment as well as the implementation of working standards, the establishment of a national centre of excellence in order to clarify the entitlement of health insurance coverage for EU-2 citizens, financial support for language courses and pro-active social work (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). During a conference with delegates of thirteen affected cities, representatives of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of the Interior and Aydan Özoğuz, the Federal Government Commissioner for Migrants, Refugees and Integration, the Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety Barbara Hendricks pointed out that the funding of the program "Soziale Stadt" ("Social City") should be raised from 40 Million Euro to 150 million Euro. Hendrick elaborates on her assistance especially regarding the accommodation of migrants and warrants support of the Ministry of Housing and Constructions regarding the community management in order to foster the acquisition and the reconstruction of junk properties (Krauß, 2014).

## **5.2. THE EU- 2 Member States and the Social Welfare System**

Instantaneous before the complete opening of the German labour market for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens, the Christian Social Union (CSU) stirred up the mood with vigorous theses regarding the debate on poverty migration. In a draft resolution the CSU denounced the

continuing misuse of the European Freedom of Workers and claimed for postponement of the receiving of social state aid in the first three months of residence in Germany (Doemens, Riesbeck, 2013).

#### 5.2.1. Rights for social welfare benefits for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants

Regardless whether the EU-migrant exhibits employment or is unemployed, children benefit is granted in both cases (Reuters, 2014). Parents are entitled to receive financial support for children up to the age of 18 and in case of an apprenticeship, up to the age of 25. The benefits for the two first born children are 184 Euro, for the third born 190 Euro and any further child 215 Euro per month (Reuters, 2014). Although the child of citizens, who are eligible for children benefit, does not reside in Germany but in another European member state, the children benefit is still paid.

The situation for employed EU-citizens differs in that they are eligible to receive benefits three month after their arrival in Germany and after an investigation by the government (Kaiser, 2014). If a EU-citizen works more than one year in Germany and paid unemployment insurance contribution, he/she is able to receive unemployment benefits I. After one year of unemployment, the citizen is entitled to receive unemployment benefits (Arbeitslosengeld I) for six months.

If EU-citizens are employed less than a year and become unemployed, the unemployment benefits II (Hartz IV) can be requested. However, jobcentres will check very precisely, if the applicant became unemployed unintended (Ehrenstein, 2014). In order to receive "Arbeitslosengeld II" (Hartz IV), the Bundestag refers to paragraph 7 of the Social Security Code and clarifies that EU-Migrants are not eligible to receive unemployed benefit II (Hartz IV), if they remain in Germany only for job-seeking. With this regulation the Bundestag wants to prevent migrants coming to Germany with the single intention to receive social state aid (Budras, Hauser, 2014). Self-employed EU-citizens are eligible to receive unemployment benefits II, if they carry on a trade. The unemployment II benefit includes 391 Euro monthly and covers accommodation expenditures with a proof of employment (normal employed, self-employed or mini-job) (Reuters, 2014). Insufficient income for living of foreign employees or the self-employed workers leads to stock-up benefits, which raises the income to "Arbeitslosengeld II" niveau (Kaiser, 2014).

However, since national law refuses the payments of unemployment benefits for foreign job-seeking migrants, Kaiser questions whether these rules are in accordance to European Law, in which the “Coordination of social security system aims to facilitating the free movement of citizens in the European Union” (Europa, 2013). The on going discussions of the unemployment benefits and its civil commotion for EU migrants go far beyond higher social courts; several cases are now even discussed before the European Court of Justice, with the judicial discussion still awaiting. If the European Court of Justice decides to eliminate paragraph seven of the German Social Security Code, subsequently more unemployment II benefit (Arbeitslosengeld II) can be disbursed by employed EU-migrants after three months of arrival in Germany.

However, “according to a study just published by the European Commission, in most EU countries EU citizens from other Member States use welfare benefits not more intensively than the host country’s nationals” (European Commission, 2013). In Germany over one million foreigners are eligible to receive German welfare benefits and “Turks continue to be that largest group (352,231), followed by Polish (70,540) and Italians (62,374)” (Euobserver, 2013) receiving German state aid.

Dribbusch explains, the fear of migration has already been present for years, but intensified with the enlargements of 2004 and 2007 (Dribbusch, 2013). Moreover EU-Commissioner of Justice Viviane Reding points out, that the number of migrants migrating to Germany in order to receive social benefits is low (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). As EU-Commissioner for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion László Andor explains, in connection with Germany the social aid for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants is significantly lower than the taxes and national insurance contributions migrants paying whilst their inhabitation (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). Additionally, the German Federal Government unfolds that the migration of Bulgarian and Romanian is no matter of poverty migration (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). As Langenfeld reveals, “Poverty migration is so far an exception, not the rule” (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013).

#### 5.2.2. Bulgarian and Romanian social welfare recipients

Since the unemployment rate and the percentages of the Social Welfare recipients by Bulgarian and Romanian migrants lies significantly below the average of other migrant groups, Germany overall profits from the migration (Brücker, Hauptmann, Valizadeh, 2013). According to Brücker, Hauptmann and Valizadeh the percentage of Bulgarian and Romanian

recipients of unemployment benefit I (“Arbeitslosengeld I”) in 2012 are with 1% of the population, 3.300 persons, very low.

According to the Federal ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in Germany are less unemployed and receive less unemployment II benefit than the average. Including the overall six million recipients of unemployment benefit II, which makes up 7,5% of the overall population of Germany, only 18.000 Romanian and 20.000 Bulgarians are unemployment II benefit recipients. According to a statistic by the Federal Employment Agency, the amount of Bulgarian and Romanian recipients of “Arbeitslosengeld II” has doubled from 2012 to 2013 to 44.000 recipients. However, in comparison to the total “recipients of Arbeitslosengeld II”, the percentage for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens was, according to “Der Tagesspiegel”, with 0,7%, a “marginal factor” (Der Tagesspiegel, 2014). Taking this statistic into account, Bulgarian and Romanian migrants come in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> place of foreign social welfare benefits recipients. Only 2.000 self-employed workers of 170.000 Bulgarian and Romanian labour forces obtain unemployment benefit II (Dribbusch, 2013).

According to Brücker, Hauptmann and Valizadeh, the amount of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants eligible to receive child benefit in October 2012 lies with 7,9% under the average of the foreign recipients for child benefit (15,3%) and under the average of the overall population (10,7%) (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh, 2013). In 2013, the amount of children, eligible for children benefits holding the Bulgarian and Romanian nationality and residing outside of Germany, was analysed by the German Federal Employment Agency. The amount of Bulgarian children with a residence outside of Germany was 958, meaning only 3,87% whereas the number of children actually living in Germany was 23,778 (96,13%). The amount of Romanian children residing outside of Germany was 3,395, which is 9,5%. In total, about 32.324 children lived in Germany, a percentage of 90,5%. In comparison, to other European Union member states, the highest amount of children living outside of Germany applied to Polish children, with an average of 28,71% residing outside of Germany (Sate secretary Panel, 2014).

### **5.3. The EU- 2 Member States and labour in Germany**

As a demographic aging country, Germany has to win over migrants in order to close the gap of qualified employees. Germany is not only categorised as a country for migration, it

progressively becomes a country of emigration since qualified German labourers and executive staff is leaving the country (Straubhaar, 2008). In relation to Bulgarian and Romanian migrants, experts declare the qualified migration as a “migration of elite” rather than a “poverty migration” which in long-term contributes to the German economy (Evangelische Pressedienst, 2014). This upcoming section will focus on the labour situation for EU-2 migrants in Germany and unfolds the qualification of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. Since the research question concentrates on the justification of the fear of poverty migration, it is important to understand the labour situation of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in Germany.

#### 5.3.1. Bulgarian and Romanian workers and their qualification

According to Jobelius and Stoiciu, Romanian migrants are well integrated into the German labour market and belong to the qualified migrant groups, since a comparatively low amount of Romanian migrants make demands on the social welfare system (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). Since Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in Italy and Spain mainly work in the building industry and in the agricultural sector (Verseck, 2013), according to the Director of the Institute for the Study of Labour, Germany profits especially from highly qualified labourers such as doctors, engineers, nursing auxiliary and IT-experts (DPA, n.d.). In 2010, over 25% of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants held a university degree; however, 35% of the migrants entered Germany without a professional education (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh, 2013). According to the “Evangelischer Pressedienst”, about half of the Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are qualified and nearly a quarter of the migrants are highly qualified (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2013).

Galgóczi and Leschke explain that “an additional new feature is that migrants from low-wage countries tend to have a rather high educational profile both in absolute terms and also in comparison with nationals in the receiving countries” (Galgóczi, Leschke, 2012). The figure of the SVR unfolds the percentages of graduates migrated to Germany from 2000 until 2010 aged between 25-64. Although the percentage of graduates for Romanian and Bulgarian (EU-2) are with 30,9% lower than the percentage of the EU-14 Member States (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, The Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, United Kingdom, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Finland, Austria, Sweden) with 44,9%, the percentages of EU-2 member states graduates are higher than the percentages of EU-10 member states (Poland, The

Czech Republic, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Estonia, Slovakia, Hungary and Malta) with 24,4%. Third-country nationals present a percentage of graduates with 29,3%. The figure furthermore reveals the percentages of graduates without any migration background is 19,1%. In comparison to the same age majority, the percentage of university graduates in Germany is lower than the amount of university graduates of Romanians and Bulgarians. Furthermore Conrad presents that EU-Migrants in Germany are mostly younger and slightly better skilled than the average German (Conrad, 2013). (See Annex, P. 66, Figure 4)

### 5.3.2. Bulgarian and Romanian migrants and Employment in Germany

The European Commission argues “on average EU mobile citizens are more likely to be in employment than nationals of the host country, partly because more EU mobile citizens than nationals fall in the 15-64 age bracket” (European Commission, 2013).

According to the “Medien Dienst Inetgration”, 72,1% of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants aged between 25-44 and who migrated to Germany since 2007, are employed (Medien Dienst Integration, n.d.). The European Commission points out, “out of all recent intra-EU movers, Romanian constitutes the largest group of working age citizens living in another members state” which has been 27% in 2010. “Bulgaria constitute the fourths group, with a much smaller share” of 5% (European Commission, 2011).

The German Bundestag unfolds that in March 2013 the amount of employees subject to social insurance contributions holds 73.000 Romanian and 30.000 Bulgarian migrants. The amount of exclusive part-time employers was 16.000 Romanian and 6.000 Bulgarian migrants (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). With 51,2% the employment quota of Romanian and Bulgarian lies above the employment quota of the other foreign population (47,1%). Until midyear 2013, about 167.000 Romanian and Bulgarian migrants were employed, about 24% more than in previous year. Including the 26.000-40.000 self-employed persons and seasonal workers, the quota of employed migrants rises up to 60-64% (Focus, 2013). The Federal Employment Agency advices against panic mongering, since the amount of the expected migrants (100.000-180.000) for 2014 receiving unemployment benefit II is still lower than the average of the in Germany inhabitant migrants (Doemens, Riesbeck, 2013). The “Evangelischer Pressedienst” confirmed that four/fifth of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in Germany are employed (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2014).

In comparison to migrants from other eastern European countries, such as Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary and southern European countries such as Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, Romanian migrants have the highest employment rate with 60,2% (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). Already for years, Romanian EU-citizens have been working within the framework of the freedom of workers as university graduates, skilled workers, trainees, self-employees and seasonal labourer in Germany. Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in EU-Countries are predominantly working in the building industry (21,2%), in private households and home care (17,5%) and in the hotel and catering industry (14,2%).

#### 5.3.3. Bulgarian and Romanian migrants and Unemployment in Germany

As Hartmann and Reimer explain, the number of job seekers with Bulgarian or Romanian nationality has increased about 46% from 2012 to 2013. Compared to the EU-10 member states, the amount of job seekers raised to 24% from 2012 to 2013 (Hartmann, Reimer, 2013). However, the "Paritätische Gesamtverband", an association of social movement, explains, the number of Bulgarian and Romanian registered job seekers in November 2013 was 15.000. This number equates 0.6% of all registered job seekers in Germany (Der Paritätische Gesamtverband, 2014). Furthermore the figure by the German Bundestag backs up the numbers presented by the Paritätische Gesamtverband, since it reveals that the amount of Romanian job seekers in November 2013 was 8.237 and the amount of Bulgarian job seekers was 7.283. In comparison, the unemployed rate for Greek nationals was 0.6%, for Italian nationals 1,2% and for Polish nationals 1,1%. The figure clearly points out that the amount of unemployed Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in Germany is still lower than the amount of other European nationals. The total amount for unemployed foreign workers in Germany in November 2013 was 17,7% (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013). (See Annex, P. 66, Figure 5)

#### 5.3.4. Profits for Germany through Romanian and Bulgarian migrants

According to Špidla, former EU-commissioner for employment, Social Affairs and equal opportunities, the right to work in a foreign country, belongs to the fundamental freedom of the European Union (European Commission 2008). In agreement with migration expert Zimmermann, this fundamental freedom is "a good chance", especially for the German labour market (DPA, n.d.). As Geis and Kennedy explain, there are twelve good reasons for support and accept migration to Germany (Geis, Kennedy, 2014). Migration contributes towards the

economic strength as it bypasses the labour shortages without stressing the social welfare system (European Commission, 2008). Apart from the CDU's coalition partner SPD and the opposition, researcher of labour markets and employer's representatives allude to the positive economic impulse through migration to Germany (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014).

The aggrandisement of potential qualified employees and the migrants' average age, which is about ten years younger than the German average and as well as the average of the sending countries, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants contribute to the German economic growth. Migrants hold a degree more often than the majority of the German population does (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013). Due to the qualified migration of the EU member states, Germany gains a measureable cum dividend freedom of movement, which is according to Langenfeld, chairwoman of the SVR, so far barely appreciated (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013).

Importantly, 25-35 year old Romanian migrants are represented in Germany the most with an average age of 33 years (Jobelius, Stoiciu, 2014). Consequently, Romanian and Bulgarian mobile citizens are more "likely to be in the economically productive period of their life than the native population" (European Commission, 2011). Langenfeld points out, that the freedom of movement of the European Union is a successful model, since it developed a substantial European labour market and proves of value especially in times of the sovereign debt crisis (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013). Furthermore, attention should be paid to a decrease of debt per capita through migrants, since the accrued indebtedness is in opposition to the increasing number of taxpayer. As studies reveal, foreign citizens in Germany contribute a positive net contribution to the fiscal balance of the social state (Brücker, H. Hauptmann, A., Vallizadeh, E., 2013).

According to Geis and Kennedy, the public budget is secured, since migration boosts the pension scheme. Germany is doubtless a shrinking and aging country (Greven, 2013), which in long term harms the pension scheme; health insurance coverage and the long term care insurances (Greis, Kennedy, 2014). Due to the migrants' young age pattern, profits for the German social state arise, although migrants are eligible to claim benefits from the pension scheme as well as German nationals (Brücker, Hauptmann, Vallizadeh, 2013). However, the

payoffs for young people are less than the incoming payments and therefore migrants contribute a significant net retained premium towards the pension scheme, which results overall in a positive net retained premium due to migrants living in Germany. As consequence of Germany's high average age, German citizens demand more benefits from the pension scheme than migrants. About half of the German population receives tax financed and fixed state transfer payments. However, the amount of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants receiving state transfer payments is less than a quarter (MiGAZIN, 2014). Furthermore, Brücker, Hauptmann and Vallizadeh confirm that this contribution rises due to migrants' increasing qualification. As Greven explains, Germany is in need for 250.000 to 400.000 migrants yearly, to remain Germany's population on a constant level. Due to the fact that the death rate outruns the birth rate, with over 200.000 persons (Greven, 2013), the gap has to be balanced, if applicable with migration.

Apart from the pension scheme, migration fosters and stabilises the endangered health- and private nursing insurance. A financial gap within the health- and private nursing insurance arises, since the costs of an illness for elderly persons are higher than for younger persons. Furthermore, the contributor for the health- and private nursing insurance in Germany decreases due to the aging population. This gap can be fixed through successful integration into the labour markets, which is progressively the case. Although in case of need, migrants could claim benefits from the health- and the private nursing insurance. However, the number of young and less illness-affected migrants overweighs (Geis, Kennedy, 2012). With more than 70% of migrants regularly paying into the social insurances (DPA, n.d.), the exoneration from the public budget is ensured. However, a big part of the public state tasks and expenses are independent of the population. If the amount of population decreases, which will arise without increasing migration, public expenditure will not equally decrease. Less migration would in medium-term lead to rising taxes or shortening of government aid (Geis, Kennedy, 2012).

Liebig, Migration expert of the OECD, explains that the intention for migration mainly lies in employment, which furthermore contributes towards the prosperity in Germany. According to Bardt et al. (2012), the population's materialistic living conditions and quality of life closely connects with the growths of the gross domestic product. The OECD Better Life Index reveals another connection of migration and prosperity (Geis, Kennedy, 2012). Geis and

Kennedy explain that the stabilisation of the economic growths due to migration, supports German citizens in the long-term. However, a better revenue situation of the government body supports German citizens already at short notice.

Since the free movement of workers is an indispensable part of the European integration, Germany has probably benefited the most, according to current foreign minister Steinmeier (Evangelischer Pressedienst, 2014).

#### **5.4. Previous fear of poverty migration regarding the EU-8 Member States**

The next part of the chapter focuses on the experiences with the free movement of workers in relation to the EU-8 member states with a focus on Poland. Since the previous sections reveal, Polish migrants play a significant role regarding migration to Germany, emigration from Germany and the usage of the German social welfare system. The next section explains the connection of the fear on poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in comparison to the demand of the social welfare system by Polish migrants. In 2011 Poland's restrictions on the free movement of workers were abolished in Germany and critics feared a poverty migration and the misuse of the Social Welfare System by Polish migrants. The section is crucial in order to answer the research question since the same fears and worries regarding the free movement of workers appeared already before.

##### **5.4.1. Experiences with freedom of workers in relation to EU-8 Member States**

According to the European Commission, the free movement of workers is important to Europe's economy. A report by the European Commission reveals that the mobility of workers from the EU countries which joined in 2004 and 2007, had positive impacts on the member states' economies and did not harm the labour markets (European Commission, 2008). With the first Eastern European enlargement in 2004, and the abolishment of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in some European member states by 2009, critics already feared a poverty migration of low skilled Polish migrants (Zeit Online, n.d.). Germany held on to the restrictions on the free movement of workers for Polish migrants until 2011. Stawowiak explains that as a neighbour country to Poland, Germany in particular feared a poverty migration and a strong disruption on the labour markets (Stawowiak, 2004). Stawowiak points out that the public opinion of the old EU member states was influenced due to exaggerated announcements by newspapers and in addition alienated

people by impertinent public debates (Stawowiak, 2004). However a fear on the freedom of workers regarding Polish migrants already existed earlier, Dr. Rinne explains that fear was motivated differently, since Germany and Poland had in comparison to Romania and Bulgaria a strong traditional relationship (Dr. U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014).

According to the Federal Office for Employment since the complete abolishment of restrictions on the free movement of workers for Poland, the Czech Republic and the other new EU member states, the number of the employees subject to social insurance contributions raised about 100%, whereas the number of unemployment II benefits recipients from the EU-8 member states increased by 30%, which equates 1,5 % of all unemployment II benefits recipients in Germany in 2011. In connection with the experiences gained from the freedom of workers of the EU-8 member states, it cannot be assumed that the freedom of workers for the EU-2 member states impact the labour market in Germany (Reis, n.d.). Dr. Rinne explains that there has not been any evidence for a transformation of national employees or a decrease of the wage level as a result of migration (Dr. U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014).

The State Centre for Political Education, Baden-Württemberg reveals that the export trade into the new EU-8 member states increased with the enlargement in 2004 and more jobs in Germany were secured rather than endangered. Especially the engineering, capital goods manufacturers and the automobile industry profited from the EU enlargement. Moreover, the central association of skilled crafts organisation (ZDH) brings to the fore that the EU enlargement in 2004 did not lead to price or a high number of self-employed workers from Eastern Europe (Reis, n.d.). Dr. Rinne explains that although "Brain Drain" was noticeable in Poland, the circulation of skilled labour within the European Union overall contributed towards an improved solution of demographic and economical problems and enhanced the allocation efficiency of the European Union (Dr. U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014).

Although the poverty migration and the misuse of the German welfare state by Polish migrants failed to appear, critics still have the same fears regarding Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. Dr. Rinne explains the difficulties in invalidate previous preconceptions regarding the fear on poverty migration and the misuse of the social welfare system through objective research results (Dr. U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014). Furthermore Dr. Rinne

describes that the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German social welfare system still exists for Romania and Bulgaria, since the countries only recently transformed from state directed economies to free market economies, which did not apply to Poland. Moreover, one expects a comparatively high percentage of the Roman population group among the Romanian and Bulgarian migrants (Dr. U. Rinne, postal interview, May 13, 2014).

In connection with the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens in January 2014 and the related fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German social welfare system, this chapter provided an overview about how Germany coped with the fear on poverty migration and the misuse of social welfare system on EU-8 citizens with a special focus on Poland. The sources bring to the fore, that the fear on poverty migration and the fears by Polish and other EU-8 migrants did not appear and that the fears have been over exaggerated. The information gathered in this chapter will help to answer the research question, as it provides no evidence of a negative effect on Germany due to EU-8 migrants and could be transferred to the fear on poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system on EU-2 migrants as well.

## 6. Discussion

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The previous chapter provided numerous and relevant data, such as qualitative and quantitative data, in order to answer the research question, which is: "To what extent are the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German social welfare system of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of the restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany legitimate". Since the abolishment of the free movement of Bulgarian and Romanian workers in January 2014, critics fear an increased influx of these EU-2 member states, which could endanger the German social welfare system and could lead to a misuse of the social benefits, rather than the ordinary receiving of social state aid, which EU-2 citizens are eligible to receive as well as any other European citizen.

Mainly members of the Christian Social Union party (CSU) in Bavaria, including the former interior minister Friedrich and other critics, fear a poverty migration concomitant with the absolute freedom of workers for Bulgaria and Romania in the beginning of January 2014. Although the findings reveal that the main target country for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are Spain and Italy in first places, an increased migration to Germany cannot be eliminated.

The findings emphasise that migrants from Romania and Bulgaria, the poorest European Union member states, experience miserable initial social and economic conditions in their countries of origin. The lack of prosperity in their home countries leads to migration, since Romanian and Bulgarian citizens are willing to work and go abroad to open up new perspectives of income and of employment rather than living on the public's dime. Germany's strong economic position attracts especially young and qualified Bulgarian and Romanian migrants; hence they see perspectives in becoming active in another European, more prosperous, labour market. Since critics fear a process of poverty migration, the findings reveal that the employment rate for Romanian migrants (51,2%) lies above the employment quota of the other foreign population (47,1%) and therefore eliminates any possibility of poverty migration. The findings bring to the fore that although in cities such as Dortmund and Duisburg, the unemployment rate in general is high, it is still lower than the unemployment rate of other migrants in these cities. Critics argue that the migrants endanger the social peace within these big cities. This raises the question, whether Romanian and Bulgarian

migrants are less integrated into the German labour market as well as into the cultural life. However, the findings present that the critical situation in big cities might result in a less effective integration into the labour markets in these areas, compared to national level. As the results show, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are generally well integrated into the German labour market as well as into the German culture since they come in 5<sup>th</sup> (Romania) and 7<sup>th</sup> (Bulgaria) place of the integration course participants. One of the most obvious consequences of the emoted situation by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants within the big cities is that critics take the critical situations in these areas as an example in order to foster the panic mongering and hysteria of poverty migration and the misuse of the social welfare system. Here the domination of Polish migrants in Germany is completely set aside.

Moreover, in the present study, the scrutinized issue was the qualification of the Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. As the findings reveals, the percentage of degree holders of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants has been higher than the percentage of degree holders of the EU-10 member states. On these grounds it can be discussed, whether the migration from Romania and Bulgaria is rather a “migration of elite” than a poverty migration due to the fact that migrants with degrees are more likely to be employed in Germany and significantly contribute to the German labour activity rather than misusing the social welfare system.

Answering the research question and to what extent the fear of poverty migration by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants to Germany is legitimate, the findings reveal the significant increase of migration towards Germany in the past years and the expectation of even more increase, taking the assumption of migration experts into account. Due to the investigated research and the gathered informative findings, it can be concluded that the fear of overall increasing migration is legitimate, taking the number of migrants into account. Still, migration can also contribute enormously towards the German economy due to the displayed work force brought to the country. However, a poverty migration is unlikely to happen, since the findings present that Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are young, highly motivated and qualified and in the economic productive period of their life.

The fear of misuse of the German social welfare system is out of question, since the findings explain that Bulgarian and Romanian migrants do not demand more social benefits than other nationalities. Contrariwise, Turks are the largest group, followed by Polish and Italians,

to receive German social state aid. Moreover, the findings elaborate a higher contribution to the German taxes and national insurance by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, than they receive social state aid. According to critics, the unemployment benefit I and II should be prohibited to be paid to EU-citizens. As the findings present, the benefits are only available for EU-citizens as long as they are employed or registered as job seekers. Moreover, the paper reveals that the receiving of German state aid is not easy and the migrants have to undergo an accurate investigation by the government. This counter argues the fear of critics that the social state aid would be easily applicable for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants.

After a period of three months, employed migrants are eligible to receive unemployment benefit I. However, unemployment benefit II only applies to EU citizens who already contributed to the unemployment insurance and become unemployed within less than a year. Due to the fact that unemployment benefits II only applies to employed nationals and migrants, the fear of the misuse of social benefits by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in particular is expelled, since the employment quota of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants represent 51,2%. Moreover the amount of Bulgarian and Romanian unemployment benefit I recipients include 1%, and Bulgaria and Romania come in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> place, regarding the receiving of unemployment benefit II ranked by nationalities. In comparison to other foreign child benefit recipients with 15,3%, only 7,9% of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens receive children benefits. This relevant information militates against the hypothesis of the research question, that Romanian and Bulgarian migrants take advantage of the social welfare system. With 28,71% of Polish children residing outside of Germany and still receiving children benefit, it can be argued that the fear on misuse of the social welfare system is carried out by Polish migrants, rather than Romanian and Bulgarian migrants.

Moreover, the available evidence regarding the duration of stay for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants is significant in order to discuss whether a poverty migration in Germany is likely to happen. The statistics provided during the findings section indicate a duration of stay of the majority of Bulgarian and Romanian for less than four years. On the basis of this statistical evidence, a long-term migration to Germany is implausibly. Therefore, the misuse of the social benefits by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants is unlikely to happen, since the duration of stay mostly does not extend four years, which is too short for seriously endangering the German social welfare system.

On the grounds of the findings, it can be argued that Germany profits by the migration of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. On the one hand critics are concerned about the integration process and the problematic situation in big cities, which are, in the opinion of critics, caused by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. On the other hand the German government and the European Commission are aware of the problematic situation, which is not only caused by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, since their number is still lower than other foreign nationalities in these areas. In addition, the funding project for the large cities affected by migration has been raised from 40 Million to 150 Million Euros, in order to support the migrants as well as the situation in the communes. This gives evidence for the high importance of the integration process of migrants for the German government to that extend, that the aim for a better integration process in these areas is supported financially and organisationally. It can be argued that if the German government would not disburse this amount of money for a successful integration process, a serious threat of poverty migration or misuse of the social welfare system by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants would be likely.

In order to answer the research question and to what extend the fear of misuse of the social welfare system is legitimate, it can be concluded that the findings, which investigated significant evidence, can preclude the misuse of the German social welfare system by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. The fear of critics and that Romanian and Bulgarian migrants chose their target country according to the highest social state aid cannot be assumed, since Bulgarian and Romanian migrants do not receive more state aid than other nationalities in Germany. Moreover, the findings present that the unemployment benefit I and II are not misused by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. Contrariwise it presents only a marginal number of Romanian and Bulgarian employees receiving social state aid for lifting their financial prosperities apart from their income in order to secure their livelihood. Therefore the fear of the misuse on the social welfare system by Bulgarian and Romanian migrants cannot be concluded.

## 7. Conclusion

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In this investigation, the goal was to assess to what extent the fear on poverty migration and the fear of misuse of the German social welfare system by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants are legitimate. Since the restrictions on the free movement of workers have been abolished in January 2014, critics extensively expressed their fears.

The quantitative research method including primary and secondary data contributed to reach the goal of this thesis paper. Moreover the qualitative research method included a postal interview with Dr. Ulf Rinne, Deputy Director of Research and Personal Advisor to the Director of the Institute for the Study of Labor on behalf of Klaus Zimmermann, Full Professor of Economics at Bonn University and Director of the Institute for the Study of Labor, which added valuable information to reach the research reports goal. Furthermore, to answer the research question in the final stage, important secondary data such as research papers, academic research article and relevant and reliable media reports were conducted, reviewed, analysed and compared to conclude different beliefs and opinions by experts and critics on the topic under study.

One of the significant findings emerged from this study was the implausibly of poverty migration to Germany by Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. It was shown that the misuse of the German social welfare system by Bulgarian and Romanian citizens has been unjustified hyperbolised since there are other groups receiving more social state aid than Bulgarians and Romanians in Germany. The second major finding, to answer the research question, included the mostly high qualified and well-integrated Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, which eliminates the fear of mostly poverty migrants.

According to critics, the social welfare system is endangered by poverty migration, although the study proved that generally the Romanian and Bulgarian mobile citizens are in their productive period of life and therefore contribute to the German labour market, foster the GDP and secure the public budget.

However, the study revealed that the migration influx increased significantly in Germany, but not only applies to Bulgarian and Romanian citizens, since Polish nationals dominate the

migration to Germany. On the basis of the enlargement in 2004, including Poland as a new member state, the previous fear on poverty migration and misuse of the social welfare system was compared to the fears regarding the EU-2 enlargement in 2007. By comparing the past and present situation, the investigation showed that similarities arise, since critics already feared poverty migration and the misuse of the German Welfare with the enlargement in 2004. However, the findings bring to the fore that the fear was disproportionate, since the number of the new EU-8 member states employees subject to social insurance contributions increased by 100%. The result of this research supported the idea that the fear of poverty migration and the fear of misuse of the German social welfare system of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in particular was misinterpreted by critics in Germany as well as in other European member states such as Austria, The Netherlands and Great Britain.

The empirical findings in this study provided a new understanding of the free movement of workers, since the provision of social state aid differs to the citizens' nationality. Therefore it can be argued that the German social security code is in non-conformity with the European Law. This in particular affected my current view on the hysteria and panic mongering regarding the abolishment of the restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian workers and whether the experts on the topic under study could have repressed critics in order to prevent unjustified requested measurements particularly expressed by the CSU.

The research project's important limitation was the exclusion of particularly Sinti and Roman migrants. The current study was unable to analyse this variable, since it would have broaden the paper in great lengths.

This dissertation gave myself a deeper insight into the critic's fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German welfare state by Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. Since the general negative remarks, especially by free movement of workers opponents, predominated the discussion of the potential "social tourism" in Germany, to me the German government and experts on the field under study could have diminished the discussion with evidences in an earlier stage. Poland, Bulgaria and Romania can set an example of a successful model regarding the free movement of workers and hopefully minder the fear of poverty migration and misuse of the German social welfare state regarding the accession of Croatia in 2013.

## 8. Recommendations

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The final chapter concentrates on the recommendations for political actors such as the European Commission and the German government in order to avoid the hysteria and panic mongering for the next European enlargement. These recommendations include the adaption of paragraph 7 of the German Social Security Code to European Law and an earlier response of political actors and organisations disproving hypotheses.

Since the on-going discussion of the receiving of social benefits for European job seekers and unemployed persons, the adaption of paragraph 7 of the German Social Security Code to European Law is necessary. To decrease the judicial dubiety regarding the receiving of social benefits within the German National Court and the European Court of Justice the paragraph has to be adapted to European Law since the "Coordination of social security system aims to facilitating the free movement of citizens in the European Union" (Europa, 2013).

Moreover, the past discussion regarding the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the social welfares system in Germany showed that critics had been able to present misinterpret information regarding the topic under study and fostered panic mongering and hysteria among the German and European population. In order to prevent the panic and the over exaggerated fears for the enlargement of Croatia organisations, migrant experts and political actors shall respond to misinterpreted information in an earlier stage. Increasing clarification and public relations as well as the contribution of evidences based arguments could prevent another fear regarding the European Enlargement.

Several courses of action for Romania and Bulgaria can be suggested in order to establish better perspectives of life and to moderate the imbalance within the European Member States. The improvement of the administrative chaos in Romania and Bulgaria would grand these countries with more EU-subsidies, since the reformation of the public administration is a crucial political criterion to accede to the European Union.

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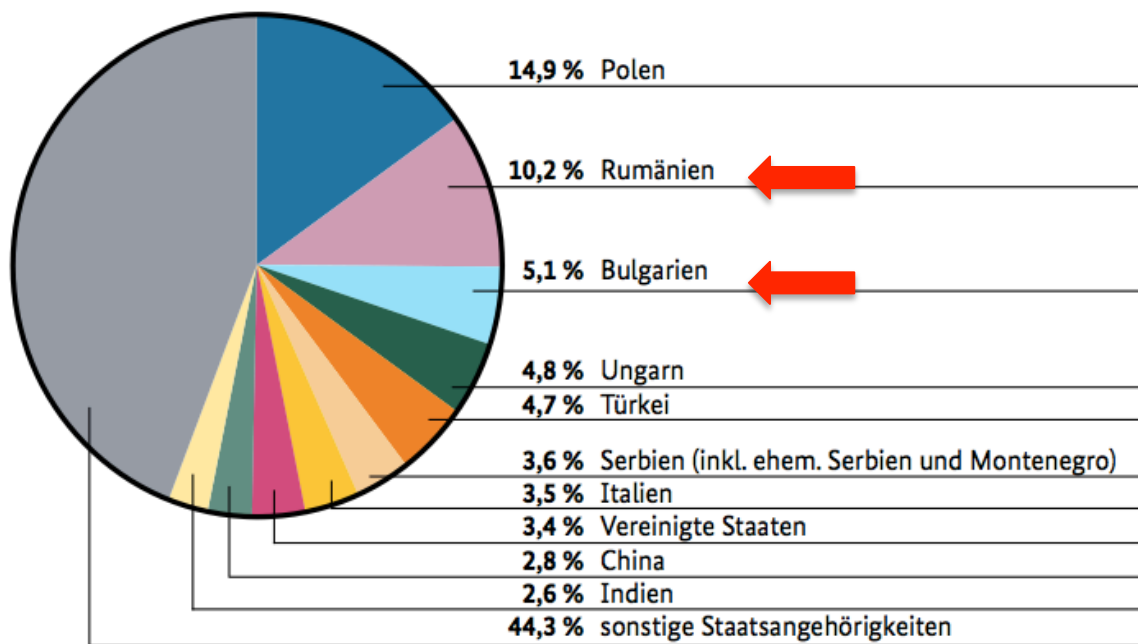
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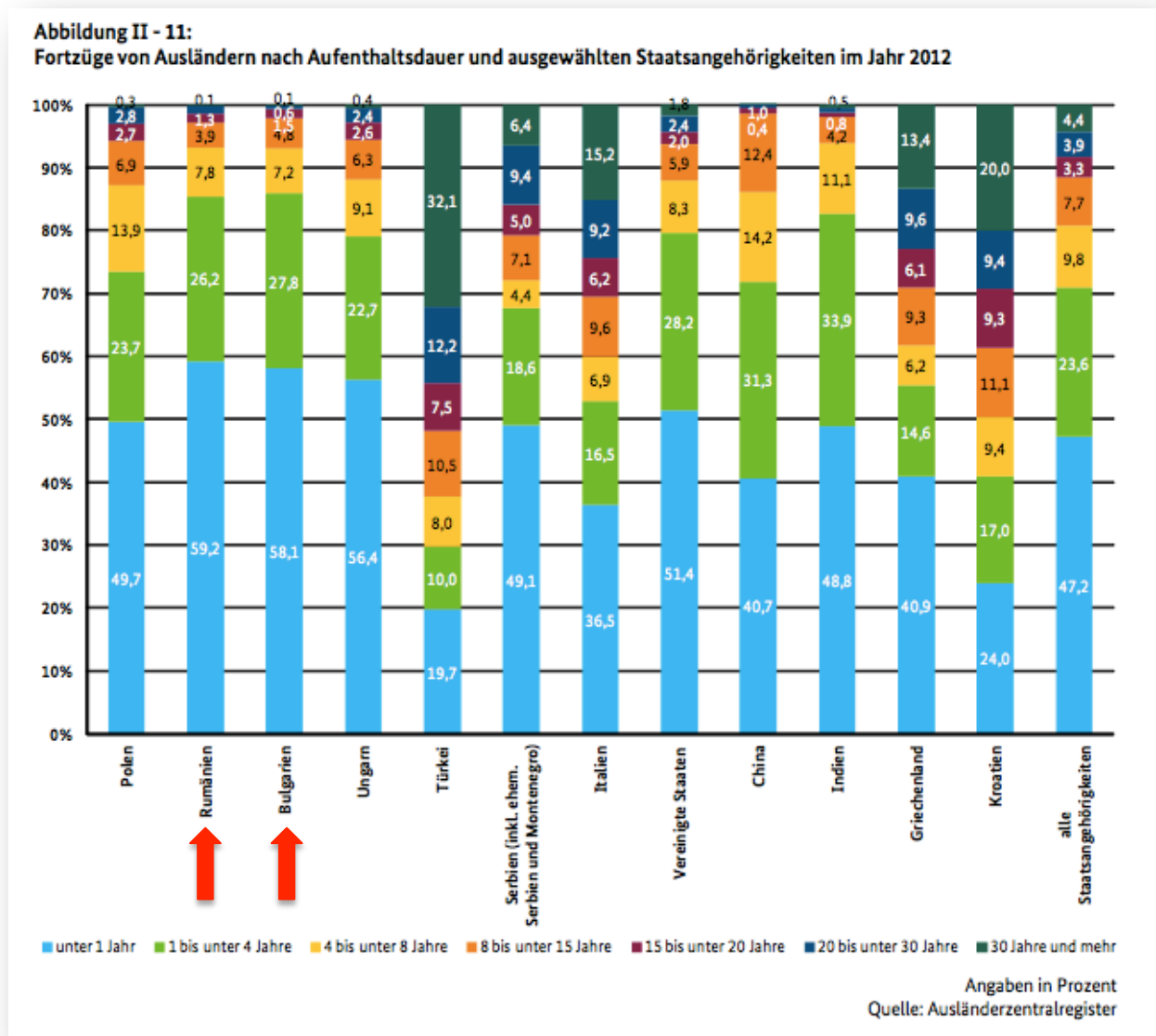
## 10. Annexes

**Abbildung II - 3:**  
**Fortzüge nach den zehn häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten im Jahr 2012**

**Gesamtzahl: 317.594**

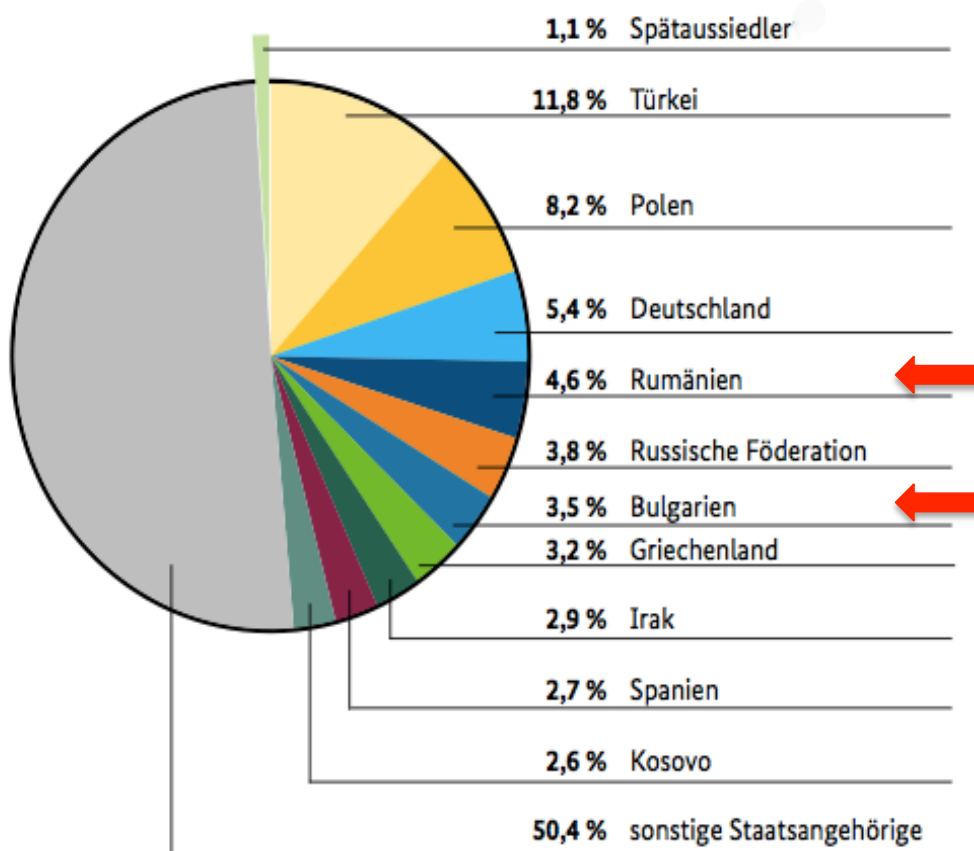


**Figure 1: Emigration according to the ten most frequently nationalities in 2012, (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012)**



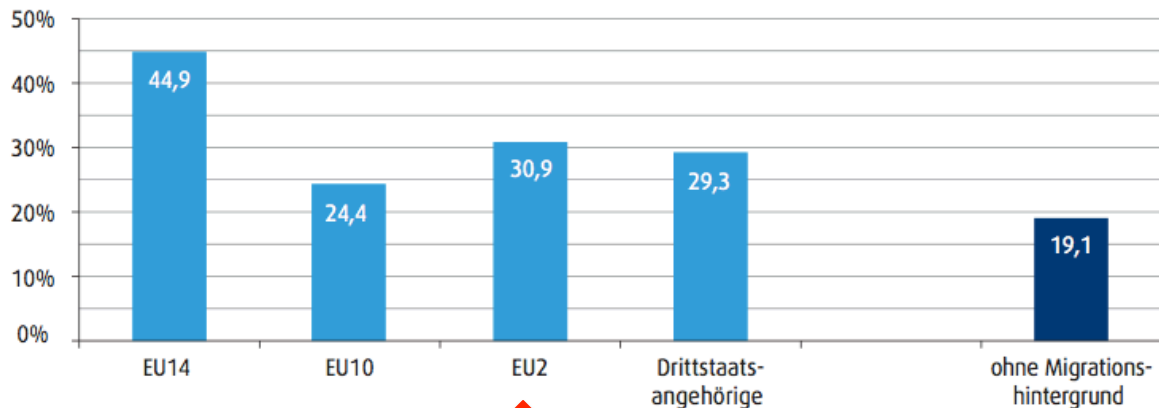
**Figure 2: Emigration of foreigners according to the duration of stay and selected nationalities in 2012 (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012)**

**Abbildung III - 4:**  
**Neue Kursteilnehmer im Jahr 2012 nach den häufigsten Staatsangehörigkeiten**



**Figure 3: New course participants in 2012 according to the most frequently nationalities (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2012)**

Abb. B.1.1 Akademikerquote 25- bis 64-jähriger Neuzuwanderer nach Herkunftsgruppe 2010



Anmerkung: Als Neuzuwanderer wurden Personen betrachtet, die zwischen 2000 und 2010 zugewandert sind.  
Quelle: FDZ der Statistischen Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, Mikrozensus 2010; eigene Berechnung

Figure 4: Percentages of graduate immigrants aged between 25-64 according to groups of origin in 2010 (Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration, 2013).

Tabelle 5: Bestand an Arbeitslosen nach ausgewählten Nationalitäten

Staat	Berichtsmonat		Vorjahresvergleich		Anteil an allen Arbeitslosen	
			Spalte 2 zu Spalte 1			
	Nov 12	Nov 13	absolut	in %	31.03.2012	31.03.2013
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Insgesamt	2.751.480	2.806.143	54.663	2	100	100
Deutschland	2.282.801	2.305.453	22.652	1	83	82,2
Ausland	464.786	496.654	31.868	6,9	16,9	17,7
darunter						
Bulgarien	4.891	7.283	2.392	48,9	0,2	0,3
Rumänien	6.177	8.237	2.060	33,3	0,2	0,3
Griechenland	16.062	18.011	1.949	12,1	0,6	0,6
Italien	30.608	32.778	2.170	7,1	1,1	1,2
Polen	25.930	31.465	5.535	21,3	0,9	1,1

Figure 5: Number of non-workers according to their nationalities (Deutscher Bundestag, 2013)



REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA  
FEDERAL MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR



Federal Ministry  
of the Interior



Ministry of Security and Justice



Home Office

His Excellency  
Mr Alan SHATTER  
Minister for Justice and Equality  
President of the European Council  
for Justice and Home Affairs  
94 St. Stephen's Green,  
IRL - DUBLIN 2  
- Republic of Ireland -

Dear colleague,

Freedom of movement in Europe is one of the central achievements of the European integration process and one of the most important and visible benefits of the European Union for its citizens.

We are fully committed to the common European right to the freedom of movement. We will always welcome Union citizens who move to another EU country to work or to take up professional training or university studies.

However, the right of EU citizens to freedom of movement is not unconditional; rather, Article 21 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union stipulates that Union citizens may move freely subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Treaties and by the measures adopted to give them effect. The limitations and conditions have been specified above all in Directive 2004/38/EC on the freedom of movement of persons.

2

Currently, a number of municipalities, towns and cities in various Member States are under a considerable strain by certain immigrants from other Member States. These immigrants avail themselves of the opportunities that freedom of movement provides, without, however, fulfilling the requirements for exercising this right.

This type of immigration burdens the host societies with considerable additional costs, in particular caused by the provision of schooling, health care and adequate accommodation. On top of this strain on vital local services, a significant number of new immigrants draw social assistance in the host countries, frequently without a genuine entitlement, burdening the host countries' social welfare systems.

As responsible Ministers we are committed to protecting the rights of those Union citizens who exercise their right to the freedom of movement in line with the common European regulations. However, we are equally committed to protecting the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens of our countries who have to shoulder the burden caused by the immigration of European citizens who actually fail to meet the requirements governing freedom of movement. And we are equally committed to preventing and combating the fraudulent use of the right of free movement by Union citizens or by third country nationals abusing free movement rights in order to circumvent national immigration controls.

This type of immigration threatens our common goal, which is to promote the mobility of those European citizens wishing to work, study or set up a business in another Member State, and to strengthen the social cohesion in the host societies by integrating new immigrants.

This kind of mobility between the Member States and the excessive strain on the social systems in the receiving societies threaten the acceptance of the European idea of solidarity, particularly if and when new immigrants seek the right to reside in another Member State through fraud or the systematic abuse of the right to free movement.

If Union citizens and the host Member States are to accept the right to free movement, we need to make sure that it is exercised responsibly and that abuse is combated in an effective manner.

For this reason, all necessary measures need to be taken to deal with the consequences of this type of immigration and to fight its causes. This includes legal as well as financial measures.

Member States must have at their disposal the necessary legal tools to fight abuse and fraud effectively in connection with the right to free movement.

However, the responsible authorities in the Member States have found that in many cases enforcing the applicable legal provisions is ineffective. It is true, for example, that persons who have acted fraudulently or abused the provisions governing the freedom of movement

may generally be expelled; the way the provisions are construed now, however, means that they may not be subject to a ban on re-entry at the same time. In fact, those who have actually been expelled because of fraud or document forgery cannot be stopped from re-entering the country virtually the next day.

It is not enough for Directive 2004/38/EC to stipulate requirements for free movement and to seek to prevent abuse and fraud, while Member States are unable to enforce the regulations because the sanctions are ineffective. This situation undermines the confidence of the citizens in the receiving states in the common European right to free movement.

While Article 35 of Directive 2004/38/EC does generally permit the Member States to adopt the necessary measures to combat abuse and fraud, it does not spell out what measures these could be and how the failure to comply should be sanctioned.

Bearing in mind the existing provisions of Directive 2004/38/EC, we wish to develop, together with the Commission, a common understanding of how to fight fraud and systematic abuse in connection with the freedom of movement more effectively. The aim should be a common understanding of what concrete actions and violations of provisions, alongside marriages of convenience, represent fraud or systematic abuse.

And we should also seek to interpret the Directive consistently in order to be able to take effective sanctions against fraud and the abuse of the right to move freely within the European Union. The sanctions to be discussed in this context include expulsion and bans on re-entry for appropriate periods.

At the same time we need practical measures to address the pressures placed on our social welfare systems. Arrangements at national or EU level that allow those who have only recently arrived in a Member State and have never been employed or paid taxes there to claim the same social security benefits as that Member State's own citizens are an affront to common sense and ought to be reviewed urgently.

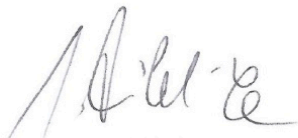
We request the Council Presidency to put this issue on the agenda of the upcoming Justice and Home Affairs meeting in June this year, so that these matters can be discussed.

We call upon the Member States of origin to permanently improve the local living conditions of those concerned. We also call upon them to make sure that the EU funds which have already been set aside for these purposes are actually used to benefit those concerned. It is up to the Commission to carefully monitor whether the funds are spent in a targeted manner.

We call on the Commission to take note of the recent developments as regards the misuse of the right to move freely within the EU, and the legitimate concerns of the citizens in the receiving states. We also call upon the Commission to counteract this development and to draw up proposals swiftly which can be submitted to the Member States for further consultations. Finally, we call upon the Commission to make sure that the earmarked funds are put to

effective use. At the same time we need to look at whether further funds can be used for the integration of those concerned. In this context Vice-President Reding, Commissioner Malmström, and Commissioner Andor will receive copies of this letter.

Yours sincerely




Johanna Mikl-Leitner  
Federal Minister of the Interior, Austria



Dr. Hans Peter Friedrich  
Federal Minister of the Interior, Germany



Fred Teeven  
Minister for Immigration, The Netherlands



The Rt Hon Theresa May MP  
Secretary of State for the Home Department, United Kingdom

*Copies to responsible Ministers of EU MS; Commissioners Reding, Malmström and Andor*

**Figure 6: letter to the Irish Presidency of the Council of the European Union together by Johanna Mikl-Leitner, Fred Teeven, Theresa May, Hans-Peter Friedrich**

## 11. Appendices

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### 11.1. Student Ethics Form

#### **Student Ethics Form**

Your name: Anne Geerken

Supervisor: Paul Shotton

**Title of Project:** Romania and Bulgaria and the Freedom of Workers in Germany

**Research question:** To what extent is the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German Social Welfare System by Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany legitimate?

**Context:**

With the abolishment of the restrictions regarding the free movement of workers for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in January 2014 in Germany, the fear of an increased poverty migration and the misuse of the Social welfare system in Germany and other European Member States arose. Such as German nationals and other European nationals, since January 2014 Bulgarian and Romanian migrants are eligible to receive German state aid after three months. This permission already fostered a discussion in Europe and particular in Germany, in which critics relate the freedom of workers in relation to the EU-2 member states to a "social tourism".

**The Aims of project:**

The paper aims to disproof the hypothesis of the poverty migration and the misuse of the German social welfare system with gathered evidences of various political actors, journalists and German migrant experts.

**Will you involve other people in your project?**

Yes.

**What will the participants have to do?**

An interview in written form will be conducted. The interviewee has to answer in advanced prepared interview questions.

**What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?**

The interviewee will be recruited via mail. A number of migrant experts and migrant organisations have been contacted in order to answer relevant questions regarding the research topic.

**What sort stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to, tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below?**

Questionnaires[ ]; Pictures[ ]; Sounds [ ]; **Words[ x ]**; Other[]:

**What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data?**

In order to guarantee the confidentiality of the interviewee I will not store the data of the interview after handing in my thesis. The gathered information will not be published elsewhere than in my Bachelor Thesis.

Student's signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Supervisor's signature:



Date: 28-5-2014

## 11.2. Interview with Dr. Ulf Rinne

### 11.2.1. Interview transcript

Interview regarding the free movement of workers for Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian and Croatian citizens

Answered by the Institute for the Study of Labor by Dr. Ulf Rinne, Deputy Director of Research and Personal Advisor to the Director

#### Poland

#### **1. Could you recognize a fear of poverty migration of Poland with the ending of the restrictions regarding the free movement of workers?**

Dr. Rinne: *"Yes, such a fear existed. With the beginning of the freedom of workers for Poland in 2011 but already long before the actual implementation. In relation to the European eastern enlargement the debate about migration, labour migration and skills shortages has experiences a new drive on German as well on European level. The reasons for this are obvious because the European eastern enlargement was for all intents and purposes unique. Regarding the new EU member states are national economies, which just transformed from a state directed economy to a free market economy. Furthermore, from the end of WWII until the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, any kind of East-West migration was prohibited. In the end the differences between the income and the degree of the unemployment of the old EU member states and the new EU acceding countries differs enormous. Furthermore the size of the enlargement as measured by the inhabitants demonstrates a big challenge for the progression of the European integration process."*

#### **2. Compared to Bulgaria and Romania, has there been any difference with the fear of poverty migration? If yes which difference?**

Dr. Rinne: *"Yes, I would argue that the fears were motivated differently. Whereas in case of polish migrations traditionally a strong relation between Poland and Germany existed, and already a comparatively high migration accrued before, the case of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants differs. These traditionally migrated to more southern European member states, such as Spain and Italy. This vitally changed through the financial and economic crisis, which heavily accrued in these countries whereas Germany was comparatively less affected."*

**3. Has there been any evidence for misuse of Social Welfare System for Polish migrants?**

Dr. Rinne: *"No, there has not been any evidence for a transformation of national employees or a decrease of the wage level as a result of migration from the new EU member states. Furthermore the feared migration into the German Social welfare system failed to appear. Although a "Brain Drain" – an emigration of qualified labourers- is absolutely noticeable in the countries of origin, examinations argue that the circulation of skilled labour within the European Union overall contributed towards an improved solution of the demographic and economical problems and enhanced the allocation efficiency of the European Union."*

**4. If there is no evidence for the misuse on the German social welfare system, why do critics have a similar fear again regarding the Bulgarian and Romanian migrants?**

Dr. Rinne: *"The fear accrued again since it is hard to invalidate such preconceptions through objective research results. Furthermore the fear of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants is motivated differently, compare to my evaluation above. Regarding Romanian and Bulgarian migrants a difference in welfare is recognisable. Moreover one expects a comparatively high percentage of the Roman population group among the Romanian and Bulgarian migrants who already suffered an economic and social discrimination in many countries. The fear furthermore exists because in practice distinct regulations are necessary, which are not written on paper. Possibly several applicable regulations are not sufficient or precise enough. Therefore it is possible that individual cases can stoke and adhere these fears."*

**Romania and Bulgaria**

**1. How did your organisation cope with the panic mongering and hysteria regarding the fear of poverty migration and misuse of the Social Welfare System?**

Dr. Rinne: *"Primarily we did research and communicated the results of our empirical studies to the broad public (for instance through different press releases)."*

**2. Did your organisation do any activities to lower the panic and the hysteria?**

Dr. Rinne: *"The IZA especially attempt to minder the panic and the hysteria through clarification and public relations. Through different interviews and verbal contributions in numerous national and international media, the IZA-Director, Prof. Klaus F. Zimmermann*

*pointed out the incorrect perception of an imminent or already accruing "Social Tourism" for which there are no scientific evidence."*

**3. Do you have any information how Bulgarian and Romanian migrants felt about these preconceptions when they arrived in Germany?**

*Dr. Rinne: "IZA-Director Prof. Klaus F. Zimmermann has been to Duisburg, which is one of the communal trouble spots of Romanian and Bulgarian and Roman migrants in Germany, in the beginning of 2014 in order to discussed about the problem situation and possible solution with people in power and local people relevant. Earlier, the IZA presented analyses and concepts for an improved integration of minorities, especially Roman people, to the European Commission. In this context, the argumentation is that integration efforts are necessary not only on moral and ethical grounds but also on social and economical grounds."*

**4. Do you think that these preconceptions lead to migrants staying in their home countries or choosing a different country rather than Germany?**

*Dr. Rinne: "The choice of other countries can accrue. Especially well-educated and qualified labourers can intensified this idea. At any rate such an unfounded discussion of "Social Tourism" hinders the establishment of a multiple requested culture of welcoming in Germany. However the establishment is immediate necessary in order to establish Germany as an attractive country of immigration on an international level."*

**5. Do you think that this massive discussion has led to the point that migrants felt discriminated by their origin?**

*Dr. Rinne: "It is very likely to be the case. Especially well-educated and qualified Romanian and Bulgarian migrants could feel discriminated due to the ongoing discussion."*

**Croatia**

**1. Do you think a fear of poverty migration and misuse of the Social Welfare System will emerge again with the enlargement of Croatia?**

*Dr. Rinne: "Yes, but I see the case of Croatia of similar type as the case of Poland. Traditionally Croatia shares a strong relationship with Germany, already in the past there accrued a comparatively high migration from Croatia, respectively from the former Yugoslavia."*

## **Overall**

- **What did your organisation learn from the past panic and hysteria with Poland, Romania and Bulgaria and how can your organisation contribute to prevent another fear of poverty migration?**

Dr. Rinne: *"The organisation was able to learn that preconceptions still dominate the public perception and scientific findings are noted insufficient. However the IZA can contribute with evidences based arguments regarding the differentiated argumentation, which hopefully will be picked up."*

- **How in your opinion can the government change the view on the "poverty migration and the social tourism"?**

Dr. Rinne: *"One the one hand with clarification, in which the government can function as a disseminator for scientific research. Moreover the specification of individual legal regulations can help. In this case it requires clear regulations for practice."*

### 11.2.2. Informed Consent Form

#### 4.3 Appendix 3: Informed Consent Form Informed Consent Form

1) Project Title:

Bulgaria and Romania and the Freedom of Workers in Germany

2) Project Description (1 paragraph):

To what extent are the fear of poverty migration and the misuse of the German Social Welfare System by Romanian and Bulgarian citizens due to the removal of restrictions regarding the free movement of workers in Germany legitimate?

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher. I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it. I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Signed:  Date: May 27, 2014