

Transnational Philanthropic Activities and Integration: The Moroccan Community in Germany

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Kirsten Schüttler
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)

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Abstract

Recently, the relationship between migration and development has received increasing international attention among both researchers and policy-makers. In this debate, the transnational philanthropic activities of diasporas are seen to contribute to the social and economic development of their origin countries. Several ministries and agencies for development cooperation have established funds for cofinancing diaspora development projects. On the other hand, public discourse on integration usually considers migrants' attachment to their countries of origin as an obstacle to their successful assimilation.

This paper focuses on the linkages between transnational philanthropic activities and integration, taking the Moroccan community in Germany as a case study. It presents related theoretical discussions in migration research and provides an overview of some of the existing empirical evidence. At the outset, it is argued that no clear link can be drawn between transnational philanthropic activities and integration for a migrant community as a whole. The migration waves to Germany, the social structure of and further fault lines within the Moroccan community are described in order to show the heterogeneous nature of a diaspora. In the second part of the paper, the cross-border philanthropic activities of the Moroccan diaspora are analysed. Based on non-representative semi-structured interviews with sixteen Moroccan associations in Germany, it is then argued that for this subgroup of the diaspora, the more integrated migrants are, the more they are able to engage in transnational activities such as development projects.

Keywords: Transnationalism, transnational activities, integration, diaspora philanthropy, Morocco, Germany

1. Introduction

The link between migration and development is at the top of the international agenda. In the international discussion, migrants' transnational economic and non-profit activities are considered to be a potential for the development of their countries of origin. Migrant sending countries are thus stepping up their attempts to court their diasporic communities and promote their ties to their 'homeland', hoping that the migrants will contribute to national development with their remittances, investments and transfer of know-how. Several ministries and agencies for development cooperation in receiving countries have made efforts to lower the cost of

remittances and facilitate diaspora investments and the transfer of know-how to the countries of origin. They have also established funds to cofinance development projects of migrant organisations, such as investments in public infrastructure.

On the other hand, in the public debate on integration, the links of migrant communities to their countries of origin are usually seen as problematic. With growing security concerns after the terrorist attacks of September 11 and a new assimilationism in Europe, loyalty to the country of origin is increasingly considered to be a threat to the integrity of the nation and its security. Part of the diaspora policy is thus criticised by politicians in the countries of destination. Certain activities have led to a real outcry in migrants' host countries and to a discussion about the question as to whom migrants are loyal to, what they identify with, and where their real home is. For example, in February 2008 when the new minister for Moroccans living abroad, Mohammed Aneur, called the Moroccan diaspora the 17th Moroccan region, he was fiercely criticised by Dutch politicians. When Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan held a speech in Cologne the same month to his 'fellow countrymen', he was accused of preaching Turkish nationalism on German soil and interfering with German home affairs.

Migrants' ongoing ties to their country of origin are blamed for a failure of integration and the poor social and economic outcomes. It is assumed that integration requires an exclusive orientation towards the recipient country. The commissioner for foreigners (*Ausländerbeauftragte*) of a German city, for example, named improved telecommunications and transportation as a reason for why Turkish migrants were less willing to integrate into German society (Faist 2000a: 9). Hence there is a tendency to perceive migrant organisations not as a positive form of civil society engagement but rather to be regarded with suspicion as a form of withdrawal from society.¹

This paper takes a closer look at the linkages between transnational philanthropic activities and integration. Taking the Moroccan diaspora in Germany as a case study, it will be argued that no clear link can be drawn between transnational non-profit activities and integration for a migrant community as a whole. It will be demonstrated that for a subgroup of the Moroccan community, the relationship may even be positive.

Previous research has either dealt with the situation of the Moroccan community in the recipient country (e.g. Berriane 2007; Mehlem 1998) or has taken a closer look at the effects of labour migration on the province of Nador, where many migrants in Germany originated from (e.g. Waltner 1988; Berriane/Popp 1998). Only more recently have transnational ties and the engagement of the Moroccan community in Germany been studied (Schüttler 2007,

Ostermann 2008). A number of papers about Moroccan migrants' transnational engagement in general also provide information about Moroccans in Germany and their transnational activities (e.g. de Haas/Plug 2006). There is a lack of research on the link between the transnational activities of Moroccans in Germany and their integration into the host society. Data is limited to recent papers on African migrants which link their integration into the German labour market with their development activities and also provide some evidence on the Moroccan community (Hillmann/Goethe 2008; Baraulina/Borchers/Schmid 2008).

As a result, in addition to the existing literature and statistics (provided by sources such as the German Federal Statistical Office, the Moroccan consulates and the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees), this paper is based on the results of 16 interviews with representatives of Moroccan associations in Germany.² They were conducted between October and December 2006 with a qualitative approach using a semi-structured format. The questionnaire was similar to the one used for a study of three other migrant communities in Germany (Baraulina et al. 2006), asking questions about the association and its members as well as their activities in Germany and Morocco. The interviewees were identified by internet research and the snow-ball method and are therefore not representative of the Moroccan community as a whole. For the most part, first and second generation migrants from non-religious associations were targeted who were active in transnational philanthropic activities and/or social, cultural or political activities in Germany.³ The results were cross-checked through interviews conducted with state actors, representatives of German institutions, researchers and NGOs in Morocco in January and February 2007.

The argument expounded in this paper is based upon three concepts: diaspora, transnational activities and integration. Diaspora is commonly defined as a 'self-identified ethnic group, with a specific place of origin, which has been globally dispersed through voluntary or forced migration' (Vertovec 2006: 1). According to Robin Cohen (1997: ix), members of global diasporas accept a link to their country of origin and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of similar background. Even though some researchers have called for a narrower definition, in this paper the term 'diaspora' is used in this broad sense, interchangeably with '(transnational) community', since it points to the transnational activities of migrants analysed in this paper. Nevertheless, 'community' and 'diaspora' are used here without the notion of a strong cohesion or a homogenous common orientation towards the country of origin from the beginning. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that not all migrants and their children may consider themselves part of the diaspora.

Transnationalism in this context denotes the involvement of migrants in affairs of their countries of origin, i.e. transnationalism from below (Guarnizo 1997).⁴ It can be divided into transnational identities and transnational economic, political or socio-cultural activities. The analysis is delimited to the latter, focusing on philanthropic activities considered to be positive from a development cooperation perspective, for example donations to charities and NGOs or development projects.

Since the concept of transnationalism emerged in the early 1990s, there have been debates about different aspects and understandings. One point of debate, for example, is whether transnationalism represents a novel phenomenon.⁵ In this paper, transnationalism and transnational philanthropic activities in particular will not be considered to be novel. Nevertheless, engagement on the part of migrant organisations is enhanced through the compression of time and space via technological innovations in transport and communication.

The definition of transnationalism used here also includes migrants that engage in transnational activities only occasionally (cf. Guarnizo 2000; Itzigsohn et al. 1999). Movement is not considered to be a prerequisite for transnational philanthropic activism (Levitt 2003: 179; Lacroix 2005: 93-94). Accordingly, not all migrants are seen as engaged in transnational philanthropic activities, without, however, going as far as those researchers who take the first, broader definition by Nina Glick Schiller et al. (1992) and confine it to occupations and activities requiring regular and sustained social contacts over time, such as the professional economic activities of transnational entrepreneurs, and thereby exclude important aspects such as remittances (e.g. Portes et al. 1999: 219; Faist 2000b: 189-190).

Integration is another concept that requires clarification. The notion refers to the incorporation of new migrants into an existing social system and its economic, political, and social institutions and culture. Following a new understanding, integration is considered to be a multipath and nonlinear process, depending on several factors. As integration is a multidimensional concept, this paper focuses on the dimensions of socioeconomic/structural integration and social integration only, comparable to two of Hartmut Esser's (1980) four dimensions of assimilation (cf. also Snel et al. 2006: 287). The former refers to migrants' social position (level of education, position in the labour market); the latter to social contacts with native residents, i.e. interethnic relations (marriage, friendships, associations, etc.).

The first section of this paper describes the theoretical discussion about the link between transnational activities and integration. It will provide an overview of some existing empirical evidence, focusing on migrant communities in Germany and on the Moroccan community in different recipient countries. The second part of the paper illustrates the

heterogeneity of the Moroccan community, revealing the diverse reasons for and the forms of migration, the social structure and residence status of the members and other fault lines within the diaspora. In a third step, the cross-border philanthropic activities of the Moroccan diaspora will be analysed. These activities are then related to the engagement of Moroccan migrant associations in Germany, as well as to the integration of the Moroccan diaspora into German society.

2. The debate on the correlation between transnational activities and integration

The debate among representatives of assimilationism and transnationalism

The debate on the relationship between transnational activities and integration is mainly shaped by two positions: representatives of assimilationism on one side and transnationalists on the other. Assimilationists traditionally consider migration to be a discrete event constituted by a move from one nation-state to another where migrants settle for good. Migrants progressively lose their ties to their old country and assimilate into the new one. Assimilationists see a strong interrelation between the different dimensions of integration; for example if a migrant has found a job (economic dimension), he or she most likely also has native friends (social dimension) (Gordon 1964; Esser 1980; Alba/Nee 1997). Persistent transnational ties and activities would thus weaken the integration into the place of immigration as a whole.

In contrast, the transnationalist approach perceives migrants as deanchored from both societies and having twofold identities and commitments (Morawska 2003: 133). It brings two societies into a single social field. Migrants live dual lives and possess homes in both countries (e.g. Portes et al. 1999: 217). This contradicts the assimilationist understanding of society as a nationally closed container. Transnationalists criticise this ‘methodological nationalism’ (Wimmer/Glick Schiller 2003). Instead of the claiming that a person only belongs to one nation state, transnationalists argue that migrants can be part of two societies at the same time.

Michael Bommers (2005) does not see a fundamental theoretical contradiction between the two positions, however, instead regarding them as different hypotheses about the relationship between the different dimensions of assimilation: From a transnationalist’s point of view, globalisation decouples the different forms of assimilation, which are closely interrelated in the view of assimilationists. Transnational orientation represents an alternative to other forms of social integration; while social assimilation loses relevance. Ethnic networks

are hence seen as a potential for the mediation of social options and not as an indicator for the reproduction of inequality restricting them. While assimilationists regard transnational activism as hampering integration, transnationalists see it as fostering integration.

Alejandro Portes et al. (1999: 229; 2002) for example consider transnational economic activities as a form of migrant adaptation in the U.S. Particularly for underprivileged migrants, it represents an alternative path to economic and status achievement, a strategy for avoiding the downward assimilation of accepting an inferior place in the social hierarchy. In this way, transnational involvement facilitates successful integration: It offers socioeconomic opportunities, can empower migrants and provide a sense of purpose and self-worth (Portes 1999: 471).⁶ Portes claims that transnational entrepreneurs are therefore well integrated into U.S. society.

Peggy Levitt (2003: 192) agrees that transnational activism influences social mobility. However, the socioeconomic outcomes resulting from assimilation and transnational engagement depend on both the context in the sending and receiving country and on migrants' socioeconomic characteristics (class and life cycle stage) and the particular constellation of practices they put together. For underprivileged groups, transnational activism may impede integration into the receiving society and imply downward mobility. Class not only has a strong impact on how the relationship between assimilation and transnational practices ultimately plays out, but also shapes one's ability to engage in transnational practices: 'Those who have more income, education, and language skills are more likely to be able to choose transnational activism, while those with less social and cultural capital are more likely to be forced into it' (Levitt 2003: 183).

In assimilation theory, migrants with a higher level of education do not choose transnational activism. Here education is assumed to lead to a decline in ties to the country of origin, insofar as it facilitates swifter integration and mobility in the recipient society (Guarnizo et al. 2003: 1216). Martin Marger (2006), for example, argues that there is no need for entrepreneurs entering the host society with sufficient human and financial resources to rely on transnational networks.

Whereas assimilationists view integration as progressive disengagement from the origin country, for other researchers, successful integration can even foster transnational activities: 'In contrast to classical conceptions of migrant integration, the integration of migrants in receiving countries cannot only coincide with but also even tends to amplify their involvement in the development of countries of origin. After all, successful and "integrated" migrants generally also possess the attitudes, know-how, rights and financial capacity for

setting up enterprises, participating in public debates and establishing development projects in their regions and countries of origin' (de Haas 2006: 2).

Besides other factors that influence transnational activities (cf. Portes 1999: 464-468; Lacroix 2005: 239) Portes et al. (1999: 224) also hypothesise that immigrant communities with greater average economic resources and human capital (education and professional skills) should register higher levels of transnationalism because of their superior access to the infrastructure that makes these activities possible. Luis Guarnizo et al. (2003: 1238), for example, show for their sample of Salvadoran, Dominican and Colombian migrants in the U.S. that those most involved in cross-border political activities are better educated and longer-term residents of the recipient country. Their transnational political engagement facilitates their integration into the political institutions of their new country (cf. also de la Garza/Hazan 2003).

In summary, it can be ascertained that the theoretical debate shows contradicting assumptions on the effects of transnational activism on integration and vice versa. The relationship between transnational positions and assimilation theory with regard to these aspects still needs to be clearly defined. Peter Kivisto (2001: 564), for example, asks whether Portes views transnationalism as a variant of assimilation or as an alternative. Kivisto himself considers transnationalism as one possible variant of assimilation, whereas Faist sees transnationalism as another possible outcome of migrant adaptation and incorporation into the receiving country, supplementing the concepts of assimilation and ethnic pluralism (Kivisto 2001: 565). According to Steven Vertovec one can say that 'the field of transnational migration is not yet very well theorized in relation to preceding concepts and policies surrounding assimilation, acculturation, cultural pluralism, integration, political inclusion and multiculturalism' (Vertovec 2001: 577).

Ewa Morawska (2003) and Peggy Levitt (2003) follow a moderate position, proposing that different forms of correlation between transnational practices and assimilation should be looked at. The relationship for them depends on the context as well as on the scope, intensity, and goals of the transnational activities. In addition, Jonathan Fox (2005: 4) believes that no predetermined response is possible as to whether engagement in the country of origin happens instead of an engagement in the host society or if there can be a win-win-situation that allows both trends at the same time. This may also change over time.

In agreement with these arguments, in this paper on the Moroccan community in Germany it will be argued that no clear correlation exists between transnational philanthropic activities and integration in general. For a certain subgroup, it will be shown that the

relationship can be positive. This contradicts those researchers and policy-makers who claim a negative correlation. Before looking at the case of the Moroccan community in Germany more closely, some empirical evidence on the topic will be presented on other migrant groups in Germany (same recipient country), as well as on Moroccans in France and the Netherlands, two other traditional immigration countries for Moroccan migrants (same country of origin).

Some empirical evidence

In addition to exploring the causes of migration, most research on migration has generally focused upon the ways in which migrants adapt to their country of destination. In the 1990s, transnationalists started examining the attachments migrants maintain to their countries of origin. Against this backdrop, studies usually focus on home or host country engagement and do not explore their relationship (Fox 2005: 3). Only recently have more researchers started looking at both involvements simultaneously and exploring their relationship (Morawska 2003: 133).

Recent studies on migrant groups in Germany point to the direction that integration contributes to transnational activism (Baraulina et al. 2006: 5-6, 67; Baraulina/Borchers/Schmid 2008; Hillmann/Goethe 2008; Sökefeld 2005: 49; Wolf 2007). They conclude that the migrants who contribute the most to the development of their countries of origin are those who, on the basis of a permanent residence permit, have the equal opportunity to access the labour market and a certain skills level, have achieved good social standing in the receiving country and are well-integrated there. A policy whose objective is to promote integration will thus at the same time foster migrants' involvement with their countries of origin. However, factors in the countries of origin may hamper their involvement. The studies also show that migrant associations often combine work on integration and transnational activities.

In his analysis of the transnational philanthropic engagement of Moroccans mainly living in France, Thomas Lacroix (2005: 233-242; 2008) concludes that this commitment is itself the product of a long-term process of integration in both receiving and sending societies. Integration into the recipient society provides access to the resources required for transnational philanthropic engagement. For a minority who already has a certain level of social resources and is actively involved in development projects, their transnational activism will in turn further foster their integration as they will establish and strengthen contact with state institutions in the country of destination through their transnational involvement. This

does not hold true for a higher number of migrants who are only sporadically involved in development projects and mainly provide funding. Moreover, only a minor part of the migrant community is involved in the first place. This number may also be too small to successfully move the members of the receiving society to change their perception of migrants and acknowledge their contribution to the development of their origin country.

Erik Snel et al. (2006) show in their quantitative study – unfortunately based on a small sample – that migrant groups which are less integrated into Dutch society are not more involved in transnational activities and do not identify more with their country of origin. The sample of Moroccans, who are generally regarded as less well integrated into Dutch society, was even comparatively less involved in transnational activities. Only their support of their family or relatives through transfers of money or goods occurred comparatively often. Nevertheless, those migrants with the weakest labour market position within the Moroccan and the Antillean group identified more with their country of origin.

The findings thus support the assumption that transnational involvement does not necessarily hinder integration. However, they also show that the situation for specific marginalised groups within a migrant community might be different. While socioeconomic and social integration do not have an impact on transnational activism in general, certain types of activism such as professional economic activities depend on socioeconomic integration. In addition, activism hardly diminishes with the length of stay.

In sum, it can be said that the empirical evidence on the above-mentioned migrant groups in Germany and Moroccan migrants in other traditional target countries supports the result distilled from the theoretical debate: The relationship between transnational activities and integration does not have to be negative. There may be no correlation at all or it may even be positive, and always depends on the context. In the following section it will be shown that in this regard, no general statement is possible about the Moroccan diaspora as a whole, as there is a wide range of different forms of integration into German society and level of attachment to the origin country.

3. The heterogeneity of the Moroccan community in Germany and its socioeconomic and social integration

Different reasons for and forms of Moroccan migration to Germany

From the 1950s onward, the first Moroccans migrated to Germany from the rural and densely populated Rif Mountains in the northeastern part of Morocco. While their primary reasons

were economic, the long-lasting migration tradition in the region also played a role (Berriane 2003: 265-267). In 1963, a labour migration agreement was concluded between Germany and Morocco. In this framework, mainly male migrants from the same region, especially from the province of Nador, came to Germany to work in coal mines as well as the chemical, textile and construction industries (Charchira 2005).

The migrants' lives were first oriented towards return: Only 5 % brought their families with them, even though 84 % of the men who migrated alone were married (Bossard 1979). The situation changed with the end of the agreement in 1973, which meant that circular migration was no longer possible. A majority of the approximately 22,400 Moroccan migrants living in Germany at the time (Waltner 1988: 90) decided to settle in Germany and arrange for family members to join them. The German government influenced this decision via changes in child benefits and tax law which then applied only to children who actually lived in Germany (Weber 1992: 16). These new non-economically active migrants contributed decisively to the growth of the Moroccan community in Germany. The primary family reunification was followed by a secondary one: Until today, the marriage of residents in Germany to partners from Morocco is often specifically used as a means of circumventing immigration restrictions (Berriane 1996: 180).

Besides labour migration and family reunification, since the late 1980s, educational migration has gained in importance. Moroccans now represent the largest group of African students in Germany: According to the German Federal Statistical Office, in the 2007-2008 winter term, 6,918 Moroccan nationals were registered as students. Of these students, 6,247 had attended school outside Germany and had acquired their university entrance qualifications there or via a preparatory college in Germany. Moroccan students studied engineering (3,206), mainly electrical and mechanical engineering, and to a lesser extent mathematics and natural sciences (1,417), especially information technology, as well as economics and social sciences (1,312). One of the reasons Moroccan students chose Germany as a destination was the good reputation of its universities in the technical domain (for further reasons cf. Roggenthin 1998: 88; Kerouach 1998: 75-81).

Moroccans also came to Germany as asylum-seekers. Following a general trend from the 1980s on, their number increased steadily, peaking in 1992 with 2,565 requests for asylum submitted. After a change in German asylum law, the number started dropping: In 2006 only 207 persons sought asylum. The number of Moroccans accepted as asylum-seekers is low. The German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees records only 55 such persons for the period between 1984 and 2006.

Residence status and social structure

In 2008, according to German statistics that do not include Moroccans who have acquired German citizenship, 66,189 Moroccans lived in Germany. The 2007 microcensus conducted in Germany provides a broader picture of the Moroccan community, which numbers 144,000 persons of Moroccan origin living in Germany, including those who acquired German citizenship or are second or third generation Moroccans holding a German passport.⁷ At the Moroccan consulates, 102,000 persons were registered in 2004, also including Moroccans naturalised as Germans, as the Moroccan constitution makes it impossible for Moroccans to renounce their Moroccan citizenship.

The community's social structure reflects the different forms of migration to Germany. While Morocco is one of the few exceptions for which Germany allows dual citizenship, German statistics only provide more information about Moroccans who do not have a German passport. These statistics show that family reunification has led to an increase in the number of women (today more than 43 %) and children and youth up to the age of 18 (today around 12 %) in the Moroccan community.

Table 1: Residence term of Moroccans in Germany as of December 2008⁸

Years of residence	Number of migrants (out of 66,189)
Unter 1	2,135
1-4	7,436
4-6	6,430
6-8	7,233
8-10	5,411
10-15	8,715
15-20	8,437
20-25	6,493
25-30	4,904
30-35	2,442
35-40	4,474
Over 40	2,079

German Federal Statistical Office, Wiesbaden, 2009.

Due to the different waves of migration, the number of residence years in Germany varies, with an average duration of 15.5 years at the end of 2008 according to the German Federal Statistical Office (Table 1). According to figures published by the German Federal Statistical Office, Moroccans are one of the migrant groups that apply for German citizenship most often (Table 2). Of the non-naturalised Moroccans, at the end of 2008 around 40 % had

a temporary residence permit and around 50 % an unrestricted residence permit (cf. the Foreign Central Registry (*Ausländerzentralregister*)). Only migrants with permanent residence status have unrestricted access to the German labour market.

Table 2: German citizenship granted to Moroccans (1994-2007)

Jahr	Number of Moroccans having acquired German citizenship
1994	2,888
1995	3,397
1996	3,149
1997*	4,211
1998*	5,657
1999*	4,950
2000	5,008
2001	4,425
2002	3,800
2003	4,118
2004	3,820
2005	3,684
2006	3,546
2007	3,489

German Federal Statistical Office, Wiesbaden 2008

*) Not including Hamburg

Whereas the number of economically non-active persons was fewer than 10 % in 1965 and only 22 % in 1973, family reunification increased this share considerably (Mehlem 1998). In mid-2007, 32,6% were regularly employed and subject to social insurance contribution, 13,3% were marginally employed and earned less than 400 € per month and 11% were unemployed (German Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit*). Moreover, 7.2 % of the Moroccan community was self-employed (Hillmann/Goethe 2008: 23, based on numbers published by the German Federal Statistical Office in 2007). This corresponds to a labour force participation rate of around 63 % for Moroccans without a German passport. The proportion of working women has risen slowly from 7 % in 1986 to 27.07 % in 2004 (Mehlem 1998: 50; German Federal Employment Agency). According to the preliminary results presented by Felicitas Hillmann and Katharina Goethe (2008: 18), among young women still coming to Germany within the scope of family reunification, a growing number appear to have a fairly high level of education qualification when they arrive and strive to find a job in Germany.

The majority of Moroccans are no longer employed in the mining and construction sectors but rather in the tertiary sector and, to a lesser extent, in the manufacturing industry (German Federal Employment Agency). Of those persons following a vocational training course around 72 % worked in the sector of industry and commerce, 13 % in independent professions (*Freie Berufe*) and 12 % in the craft sector at the end of 2007 (German Federal Statistical Office).

Most first-generation labour migrants were low-skilled, often illiterate workers from rural areas. The level of education in the Moroccan community has risen since the early 1990s, mainly as a result of the increasing number of students. Morocco was the seventh most important country of origin of foreign students in Germany in 2007/2008 winter term according to the German Federal Statistical Office. Compared to the size of their community, Moroccans have one of the highest percentages of students of all migrant groups in Germany. The number of graduates is low with regard to the number of students, but nevertheless comparable to other groups of foreign students in Germany. One of the reasons might be that many Moroccan students have to work while they study, as they do not receive enough financial assistance from their parents. In addition to students, there were 94 Moroccan scientists in Germany (graduates, postdocs and university professors) in 2006 (www.wissenschaft-weltoffen.de). The qualification of Moroccans in Germany today thus ranges from illiterate persons with no vocational training to university graduates and research staff.

Further fault lines

In addition to the differences in social status, there are a number of fault lines within the Moroccan community. Together with other factors they shape the different forms of engagement in Morocco and Germany.

Berbers–Arabs

Around 60–70 % of the Moroccan community's members today originate from the North-eastern part of Morocco, mainly from the province of Nador, as well as from the provinces of Al Hoceima, and, to a lesser degree, Berkane and Oujda-Angad (Maas/Mehlem 1999: 88). Their share in the Moroccan community has diminished over time as Moroccans from other regions increasingly started migrating to Germany. The majority of Moroccans in Germany are thus not Arabs but Berbers. Their region is one of the poorest areas in Morocco and its relationship to the rest of Morocco has always been ambivalent. This is due to the long-lasting

conflict with the Arabic-speaking population and the colonial division of the country as, contrary to the rest of Morocco, the Rif was under Spanish protectorate (Mehlem 1998: 39-43).

During the interviews, some persons made a distinction between those Berber migrants that came to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s and those with an Arab background that migrated after 1980. In addition to the cultural and linguistic distinction, the two groups differ socially. This dividing line is manifested for example by the existence of Berber cultural associations, although membership was mixed in many of the associations who were interviewed.

Relationship with the Moroccan government

The first Moroccan associations in Germany were founded in the 1970s. The so-called *amicales*, associations closely linked to the Moroccan Embassy, were first in charge of controlling the Moroccans living abroad and inhibiting their political activities (Belguendouz 2006: 4). The Moroccan government also wanted to impede unionisation or an engagement for the Berber culture. It feared that such activities might spill over to Morocco on the one hand; and on the other hand, did not want to endanger the good reputation of Moroccan workers as the country profited from their remittances.

With the first political reforms in the 1990s, the Moroccan government stopped using the *amicales* to spy on regime-critics. It also feared that this policy would ultimately lead to a decline in remittances (de Haas/Plug 2006: 610). Nevertheless, certain tensions still exist between the associations that cooperate closely with the Moroccan Embassy and the consulates in Germany and others who do not. The majority of the associations interviewed maintained contact with the consulate in charge of them.

Religious–no- religious

According to interviewees, the majority of Moroccan associations in Germany have a religious slant. The non-religious associations stated that Mosque associations had more members, were better organised and disposed of more financial means. They explained that this was due to the fact that religion strongly unified the members and influenced their willingness to donate or do volunteer work for the association. In this way, the Mosque associations were able to offer Arabic classes and social services that boosted their popularity. Another example given for the attractiveness of religious associations was that the political

situation in Morocco had prevented non-religious socially engaged associations from becoming established in Germany until the 1990s.

During the interviews, the representatives of non-religious associations distanced themselves from the religious ones and mentioned the threat of Islamic extremism. The religious associations interviewed, however, did not bring up this matter of their own accord.

Role of women

Generally speaking the members of Moroccan associations and especially their boards are predominantly male. In contrast, some associations deliberately promote the participation of women and criticise the conservative attitude of other associations. There are hardly any women-only associations.

Different generations

Even if some associations are multigenerational, the boards were mainly dominated by one generation and barely any younger members belonged to them. Furthermore, according to some second-generation migrants interviewed, there is a gap between the generations in the types of activity they pursue. Whereas first-generation migrants usually meet in cultural associations and tearooms, second-generation Moroccans are more involved in associations with a social slant. So far, the third generation has been involved to a greater degree in sports clubs, cultural and religious associations or online in Moroccan chatrooms.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the heterogeneity of the Moroccan diaspora does not permit a general statement about a general resistance or willingness to integration. Different kinds and levels of structural and socio-cultural integration can be identified depending on legal residence status, integration into the labour market and level of education and vocational training. The ties of the migrants to their country of origin also differ; and there is a wide range and degree of attachment and transnational engagement. The following section will focus especially on transnational philanthropic activities.

Only a small part of the diaspora is active in social or cultural activities in Germany and/or Morocco. In the section below, the focus will be narrowed even further to first and second-generation representatives of mainly non-religious associations with whom the interviews were conducted.

4. Transnational philanthropic activities and integration

Moroccan associations in Germany

The use of *amicales* to spy on the Moroccan community first inhibited both political activities and other forms of engagement in the Moroccan diaspora in Germany. According to some interviewees, the *amicales* were mainly occupied with the questions concerning their regular trips to Morocco. Apart from that, their members mostly ‘drank tea and played backgammon’.

The political reforms in Morocco in the 1990s led to a change among the existing associations in Germany: Whereas some associations now became involved with the problems Moroccans faced in Germany, others became more religious. Moreover, a number of new associations were created. Many of the associations interviewed have thus only been created in recent years or at earliest in the late 1980s. Today, multiple forms of associations exist: tearooms, sport clubs, cultural and mosque associations, parent and student associations as well as further associations involved in the fields of culture, society or politics. In addition, members of the Moroccan diaspora also organise themselves on the basis of personal networks.

Bekouchi (2003: 156) estimates that there are around 50 Moroccan associations in Germany.⁹ However, in 2007 already the consulate in Frankfurt listed 53 associations that registered with the consulate on a voluntary basis, the consulate in Berlin registered 5 and the consulate in Düsseldorf for North Rhine-Westphalia 28 associations. A study by the Centre for Studies on Turkey in Essen and the Department of Political Science of the University of Münster (1999: 90) identified 43 Moroccan associations in North Rhine-Westphalia. An evaluation of the Federal Registry for Foreigners’ Associations (*Bundesausländervereinsregister*) found 123 Moroccan associations in Germany (Hunger 2005: 227).

Still today only a small part of these associations is engaged in social activities. Despite the fact that the Moroccan community has mainly settled in two *Länder* – with around 80 % of Moroccans without a German passport living in Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia – a lack of communication and coordination between the associations can be observed. They do not always know each other or cooperate with each other, particularly when they are located in different *Länder*. A so-called umbrella organisation in Düsseldorf for example is actually only responsible for North Rhine-Westphalia and does not even include all associations in Düsseldorf. The heterogeneity of the Moroccan diaspora is one of the reasons for this.

Activities in Germany

The associations interviewed foster the integration of Moroccan migrants into German society through different activities. They help children with their homework, give German classes, offer vocational counselling, advise university students and give advice to Moroccan migrants on social questions such as problems within families. Representatives of the associations function as contact persons for schools and kindergartens in order to mediate between teachers and Moroccan parents. Some even cooperate with German administrations, e.g. the Department of Youth and Families (*Jugendamt*), on a regular basis.

Furthermore, they provide information about German society to Moroccan migrants and let them know about issues and developments such as the new German immigration law. They also keep Moroccans updated about changes in Morocco, for example on the new family law: Some associations targeting the empowerment of women informed about the changes regarding the position of Moroccan women with the purpose of influencing their role in Germany.

Besides their social engagement, the associations organise talks and cultural events on Morocco and different aspects of Moroccan culture and the situation of Moroccans in Germany in order to contribute to cultural exchange and inform the German public. They also seek exchange with other organisations and religious groups. In their political activities, the associations fight for issues such as extending right to vote at local level to non-EU citizens.

Transnational philanthropic activities

The interviews proved the existence of different forms and degrees of transnational engagement. They also showed that the activities are mainly led collectively, although informal groups of friends or relatives also frequently initiate activities and not only formally registered associations. This might be due to a lack of association experience in the first generation of migrants. For instance, a group of former students organised themselves informally and donated school materials and internet access for a year to two schools in Zaio, in the province of Nador.

The activities are mainly based on personal contacts, which allows for better monitoring of the use of donated fund. Generally speaking, one-off or sporadic donations predominate, mostly in forms of school material, ambulances or wheelchairs. Mosque associations are particularly active in this regard. Continuous support for an association or a project in Morocco is not very frequent and the realisation of a group's own project idea even

less so. Investments in infrastructure are rare. Thus the engagement on this level does not come close to scope of some associations' activities in other countries of residence, such as that of the association Migrations et Développement based in France and Morocco (cf. Lacroix 2005; Iskander 2005).

Individuals primarily make donations during their summer holidays in Morocco. They bring materials and equipment with them or spontaneously donate to associations in their villages or neighbourhoods. For example, a number of Moroccans living in Germany helped pay for a road to be paved in front of their neighbours' and friends' houses, with the work itself implemented by an NGO in Nador.

Moroccan associations and other self-organised groups in Germany often respond to direct requests from associations, villages or individuals in Morocco when making one-off donations. For example, one association which does not usually engage in non-profit activities in Morocco sent a wheelchair to Morocco in response to a written request by a disabled person. The founder of a hospital in Middar collected funds from Moroccans living abroad in different countries, including Germany.

Further evidence for singular collective donations comes from activities of different groups of friends from Zeghanghane, Arekman and Zaio, in the province of Nador, who donated ambulances to the respective local authorities. The ambulances facilitate out-patient dialysis and the rapid transfer of accident victims to the hospital, which is located some distance away in Nador. Other aid includes the shipping of hospital equipment no longer needed by the University Hospital in Frankfurt am Main, to Morocco, where it was distributed to different health posts. In some cases, associations, friends or relatives pay to enable children to come to Germany for surgery.

The earthquake of Al Hoceima in 2004 also led to a singular fundraising campaign, as a significant number of Moroccans in Germany originate from that region. Associations in Germany used their contacts to associations, foundations or individuals on site to allocate the donations. According to the 'Fondation Hassan II pour les Marocains à l'Etranger' the donations nevertheless lagged behind donations from the Netherlands, another country in which many Moroccans from this region settled.

In the rarer cases of longer-term engagement, the associations usually conclude a cooperation agreement with a partner on site. For instance an association helped set up a literacy project and several preschool classes in rural areas together with a Moroccan NGO. Nevertheless, an association that donates school materials on a regular basis for example simply distributes them through relatives or friends living in Morocco.

In sum, compared to other very active diasporas in Germany such as the nearly equally sized Afghan community the number and scope of Moroccans' transnational non-profit activities are smaller. Most associations engaged in social or cultural activities focus mainly on Germany. Their cross-border activities only fall under a broad definition of transnationalism which also includes occasional engagement. Some interviewees mentioned that Moroccans living in other countries were more involved in transnational philanthropic activities. Such a comparison needs to take the smaller size of the Moroccan community in Germany into account and would require further research.

Transnational philanthropic activities and integration

Nearly all associations interviewed active in Morocco also carry out activities in Germany related to the promotion of integration and/or cultural exchange. This finding contradicts a classification of associations into organisations oriented towards their country of origin and those focusing on their country of residence (cf. Diehl/Urbahn/Esler 1998). Neither singular or irregular cross-border philanthropic activities nor regular engagement appear to necessarily collide with other activities in Germany.

On the other hand, not all associations that are socially or culturally engaged in Germany are also involved in cross-border activities. Nevertheless, a number of the associations that are only active with regard to German society or are involved only in one-off transnational philanthropic activities expressed their wish to engage continuously in both settings. A lack of money was mentioned as the main constraint for transnational development projects. The associations often already have problems funding their activities in Germany, for example paying the rent for their associations' rooms, especially when the majority of their members have low-paid jobs, are pensioners or depend on social welfare. The associations engaged in transnational non-profit activities on a regular basis generally have members who are well integrated into the labour market and are often highly skilled. An example is the very active German-Moroccan competency network (*Deutsch-Marokkanisches Kompetenznetzwerk e.V.*) founded in 2007 (Bensalah-Mekkes 2008; <http://dmk-online.org>). This supports the hypothesis that the more structurally integrated members of a migrant community are, the more they are able to engage in transnational philanthropic activities. It also shows that those with a higher income, education and language skills may choose to become involved transnationally.

Furthermore, the associations stated that integration problems of Moroccan migrants in Germany were the reason for why they decided to focus their activities on Germany. As all activities are conducted on a voluntary basis, time constraints are also a factor, forcing associations to set priorities. They considered it more important to focus on the problems Moroccans faced in Germany, as they act on the assumption that they would permanently settle in Germany, unlike the first associations who did not care about integration problems.

Apart from problems with the structural integration of Moroccan migrants, after the September terrorist attacks in the U.S. and the Madrid attacks in 2004, in which Moroccans were involved, the associations considered it important to contribute to a cultural exchange and fight against anti-Muslim prejudices. They want to 're-establish the trust of German society in Moroccans' and 'show the true face of Islam'. Already during the interviews the organisations felt the need to stress either that they were non-religious or that they supported the democratic values laid down in the German Constitution. Thus, in addition to other factors, a lack of socioeconomic or socio-cultural integration seems hence to hamper transnational activities of the Moroccan community in Germany.

A majority of the associations interviewed had at least some German members – a sign of social integration. This facilitates transnational philanthropic engagement insofar as the German members may be able to access further sources of funding. One association with only members of Moroccan origin maintained that another German-Moroccan association could access a completely different range of funding options because its chairperson is German. In fact, this mixed association managed to obtain cofinancing from the German government for two of their projects via two different channels. Many of the Moroccan associations stated that they do not know where to apply for further funding and/or lack the capacity to write the required project proposal.

German-Moroccan mixed associations and the relationships and friendships among their members also mean that engagement in associations and transnational philanthropic activities can in turn foster socio-cultural integration. This is also true if one considers that the same organisational structure is usually also used for activities in Germany that promote integration.

The Moroccan government today assumes this positive correlation between integration and transnational engagement and has changed its policy accordingly: At first, the government rejected dual citizenship and the right to vote in recipient countries, as it was afraid that this might alienate Moroccan migrants from their country of origin (Leichtman 2002: 117). Today its representatives stress the importance of integration into the host society:

Only if Moroccan migrants achieve a secure status and economic well-being will they be able to contribute to the development of their country of origin.

However, it seems also important to point out that in addition to integration, other factors in the countries of origin and destination influence migrants' transnational involvement in development activities. In the case of Morocco, the democratisation and decentralisation process was one important trigger (Bensallah-Mekkes 2008; Lacroix 2008).

5. Conclusion

This paper's starting point was the observation that while representatives of development cooperation consider economic and philanthropic diaspora engagement to be positive, representatives of the ministries of the interior reject the ties of migrant communities to their origin countries, calling them detrimental to their integration and therefore to the recipient societies. The debate in migration research on transnational activities and integration reflects the political discussion with some representatives claiming a negative correlation and others arguing for a positive correlation. More moderate positions point out that multiple factors need to be taken into consideration.

Using the Moroccan community as an example, it has been pointed out that making general statements about a diaspora as a whole is difficult, as a community tends to be rather heterogeneous. The degree of integration and transnational orientation varies among its members. For the Moroccan associations interviewed in Germany it has been shown that transnational philanthropic practices are not necessarily antagonistic to integration. One could even argue that there can be a positive correlation as integration can foster transnational engagement and vice versa. In any case, it does not have to be a zero-sum game. These findings are consistent with the empirical evidence on other diasporas in Germany and their respective engagement as well as with the research on Moroccans in other host countries.

The study focused on non-religious associations engaged in transnational philanthropic activities and/or social, cultural or political activities in Germany; the results for other associations may be different. It would therefore be interesting to have a closer look at other subgroups within the Moroccan community and how they relate to integration. Mosque associations for example play a major role in the Moroccan diaspora and appear to be quite active in sending donations to Morocco. There may also be other associations that are not engaged in transnational activities but nevertheless foster segregation. Furthermore, it might also be interesting to look closer at other forms of transnational engagement and how they

relate to integration. It also seems important to analyse other factors that influence transnational philanthropic activities, such as the political situation in the countries of origin or public support for transnational involvement.

The debate about the correlation between transnational involvement and integration is not a mere academic one but has practical importance as well. In Germany some *Länder* are now starting to recognise that there might be a positive correlation between transnational engagement and integration. In North Rhine-Westphalia, for example, the ministry in charge of migrants is actively supporting transnational philanthropic activities.

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Links

<http://dmk-online.org>

<http://www.wissenschaft-weltoffen.de>

¹ For a more extensive elaboration on the contradictory views on diasporas, cf. Vertovec 2006.

² The interviews were conducted by the author for a study on the contribution of the Moroccan diaspora to the development of their country of origin for the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) (Schüttler 2007). Although the relationship between transnationalism and integration was not the focus of the study, the interviews provide interesting evidence on this topic.

³ The members of group referred to here as the 'second generation' were often born in Morocco and later followed their fathers to Germany who had already migrated some years before in the framework of the guest worker programme. Nevertheless, in the interviews they considered themselves to be second-generation Moroccans'

⁴ Thomas Faist prefers to use the term 'transstatal' instead of 'transnational'. For his argument, cf. Faist 2000a: 13-14.

⁵ For a discussion of transnationalism as a novel phenomenon, cf. Portes et al. 1999: 224-227; Kivisto 2001: 554-556. The arguments are similar to those in the discussion of the novelty of globalisation.

⁶ Snel et al. (2006: 286-287, 293) point out the differences between the U.S. and European welfare states such as the Netherlands and show that in the Netherlands, migrant transnational entrepreneurship is rare as an alternative route to social success for migrants.

⁷ Unlike other German statistics, since 2005 the microcensus has looked at the population with a 'migration background', i.e. all persons who immigrated to Germany after 1949, all foreigners born in Germany and all Germans born in Germany with at least one parent who immigrated to Germany or was born as a foreigner in Germany.

⁸ These figures do not take into account interruptions between the date on which the number of residence years was counted and the date the person first entered Germany.

⁹ When counting Moroccan associations one needs to take into account that not all of them include 'Moroccan' in their names, especially the mosque associations. Furthermore, Moroccan migrants also engage in Arab associations.