



INTEGRATION STRATEGY GROUP

In it for the long run: Integration lessons from a changing Germany

by Jessica Bither and Astrid Ziebarth

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About the Integration Strategy Group

The Integration Strategy Group (ISG) is a joint initiative of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It is an expert exchange to assess the current opportunities and challenges of integration practices in Morocco, Turkey, and Germany.

The aim of the Integration Strategy Group is to exchange internationally and generate insights for future policies and good practices in the policy field of integration, a field that is important from a domestic, but also a regional and foreign policy point of view for creating a stable neighborhood.

To this end, an interdisciplinary group of twenty Moroccan, Turkish, and German officials and non-government stakeholders from the migration policy field are meeting three times over the course of 2016 in Germany, Turkey, and Morocco. Brief reports will be generated from the exchange.

The Integration Strategy Group is based on the premise that human mobility to all three countries will continue and that integration and inclusion practices are needed. Successful integration practices promote trust between migrants and receiving societies and create inclusive societies based on mutual understanding. The integration and inclusion of different migrant groups can greatly facilitate economic exchange, development and growth opportunities and creates the basis for social stability. On the other hand, the non-integration of immigrants, refugees and return migrants can lead to greater social, economic and political friction, potentially hindering economic development and fostering instable security situations. While Morocco, Turkey, and Germany face different sets of issues related to migration and integration, each country is in transition and must meet the challenge of creating integrated and inclusive societies.

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* The views expressed here are the views of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the position of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH or of those who participated in the Integration Strategy Group activities.

IN BRIEF

More people across the globe are currently seeking temporary or permanent residence in other countries than ever before. The integration of millions into receiving societies is a daunting policy challenge that will take decades. This is true not only for countries with a longer history of integration measures, such as Germany, but also for countries new to the challenge. The costs of non-integration can be very high: from wasted economic and human potential, to serious strains on social cohesion and internal stability.

The arrival of over one million migrants and asylum seekers in Germany in 2015 has created a growing sense of urgency for integration policies. While the results of current measures will not be visible immediately, Germany has already gained experience from past periods of immigration that it can now look to, and that could also provide insight for other countries. Germany is neither perfect, nor is it hopeless. This paper suggests that Germany has already drawn valuable lessons from its own immigration experience, in particular in terms of labor market integration. We examine the state of integration measures in four core areas: 1) the labor market, 2) education, 3) urban planning, and 4) diversity, inclusion and the receiving society. Lessons in education and urban planning are harder to implement. However, it also points to persistent challenges that Germany must continue to address, such as social and structural discrimination for people with migrant family background, as well as policies geared toward actively managing diversity and inclusion, and addressing the receiving society. Here, Germany is at the beginning of a learning process that will become increasingly important as German society continues to be more ethnically and culturally diverse, and increasingly polarized politically speaking. Learning from such lessons will help create the necessary building blocks for the new migration realities ahead in many countries.

1. Introduction

With a record number of people displaced worldwide, and the movement of people in search of jobs, better lives or fleeing violence, natural disasters or war, the issue of integrating newcomers into societies will remain a core policy challenge and a crucial aspect of global migration.¹ This is true not only for countries with a longer history of integration measures, such as Germany, but also countries such as Turkey or Morocco, which are also seeking ways in which to integrate newcomers.

In July 2016, Germany passed its first comprehensive Integration Law on the national level, which includes a range of supportive as well as punitive measures (though integration measures and

¹ For this brief, Integration is seen as a long term process with the goal to include all people who reside lawfully in Germany into German society. Integration spans several phases, from pre-departure, to arrival to the actual residence in Germany. Integration needs to enable an equal and fair access to all parts of German society, e.g. the labor market or education, while migrants on their part undertake efforts to learn German and follow the basic law of Germany. Integration is an effort of multiple stakeholders, such as the state and the receiving society, and does not rest solely with migrants. Integration efforts in Germany span several groups: migrants who have come to Germany through regular channels, e.g. to work or study or through family reunification programs; asylum seekers who fled wars or persecution with rights and protection under international law; and the children of both groups, regardless of their place of birth.

policies existed before then).² While Chancellor Angela Merkel hailed it as a “milestone,” others have criticized it for its supposed implicit assumption that newcomers are unwilling to integrate; other critics contend the mandatory residential requirements may run counter to labor market needs. The law was a response to the arrival of over one million asylum seekers in Germany in 2015, which has created a growing sense of urgency and significant increases in new funding at the federal level for integration policies.³ Policymakers in Germany by now understand the potential costs of non-integration: from wasted economic and human potential to serious strains on social cohesion and internal stability. Germany is not starting from scratch and already has integration experience and governance initiatives to draw from, which serve as lessons not only for Germany itself, but also for other countries that may need to design integration policies.

Policymakers in Germany by now understand the potential costs of non-integration: from wasted economic and human potential to serious strains on social cohesion and internal stability.

The integration picture in Germany is neither perfect nor dire. This paper argues that Germany has drawn valuable lessons from its own immigration experience, in particular in terms of labor market integration, and also, though to a lesser extent, in education and urban planning. However, it also points to persistent challenges that Germany must address, such as social and structural discrimination for people with a migration background, as well as policies geared toward managing diversity and inclusion, and addressing the receiving society.⁴ Here, Germany itself is at the beginning of a learning process that will become increasingly important as German society becomes more ethnically and culturally diverse.

GERMANY: A COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION

Germany has a history of immigration and emigration that started before World War II. Since the 1950s, Germany has experienced different types of immigration, all of which shape the integration debate today. The most prominent period of migration was the era of postwar labor migration. Agreements with Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain, and other countries between 1955 and 1973 brought a total of 14 million guest workers, or *Gastarbeiter*, to Germany, of which approximately eleven million returned home. Following the oil crisis and economic recession, the recruitment ban of 1973 halted all labor recruitment of foreign workers. But family reunification continued for those who decided to stay. Furthermore, from 1950 to 2005, 4.5 million *Aussiedler*

² Main measures of the new integration law include: 1) mandatory integration and language courses for those asylum seekers most likely to become recognized refugees, sanctions through cut of benefits for those who fail to attend; 2) restriction to choice of residence location in the first three years for those asylum seekers unable to fully provide for themselves; 3) suspension in most parts of Germany of the *priority review regulation* for job openings for the next three years which requires that employers can only give a job to an asylum seeker if no German nor EU citizen is available for the job; 4) creation of 100,000 low-skilled job opportunities for asylum seekers in mostly municipal or welfare organisations, such as handing out food in refugee shelters or taking care of green spaces. Source: Bundesregierung, “Grünes Licht im Bundesrat. Integrationsgesetz setzt auf Fördern und Fordern,” July 8, 2016. <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2016/05/2016-05-25-integrationsgesetz-beschlossen.html>

³ The government is providing seven billion Euros to the federal Länder level between 2016 and 2018 to provide for housing and other needs. In 2017, the federal budget has earmarked 19 billion Euro for services and measures for asylum seekers. Source: Bundesregierung, “Kompromiss bei Integrationskosten. Bund gibt Ländern weitere sieben Milliarden”, July 7, 2016 <https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2016/07/2016-07-07-bund-laender-treffen-integrationskosten.html>

⁴ To be clear, such measures are still distinct for certain types of people: labor migrants who have the opportunity to return home, and refugees and asylum seekers, with rights and protection under international law. Many integration aspects, however, are applicable to both groups or to one group in different stages of their stay, such as the children of refugees who may become citizens with a migration background.

(ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states), most of them in the early 1990s, settled in Germany. Recent labor migration, mainly from other European countries, has further led to the growth of Germany's immigrant population. Germany experienced a previous peak of asylum seeker arrivals: approximately 400,000 from the Balkans in the early 1990s. Finally, there was the recent arrival of over one million people in 2015, mainly from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Today, Germany is the second-largest immigration country in the world in terms of absolute numbers in the OECD, right behind the United States (though it ranks only 15th relative to population size).⁵

In 2015, 2.1 million people migrated to Germany: 45% from other EU countries. Almost one million people moved out of Germany, leaving net migration at 1.1 million. In comparison, net migration was at 550,000 in 2014. In 2014, of Germany's 81 million inhabitants, almost 17 million, or roughly 20%, were first-generation migrants or are had migration history in their family.⁶

Germany was a latecomer in officially recognizing that it had become a country of immigration. Only in the late 1990s did public discourse come to terms with this new self-understanding. This helped launch a process of legislative changes that began with the reform of the Nationality Act of 2000 and the Immigration Act of 2005, which for the first time made the promotion of integration a federal

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responsibility. Several federal initiatives on integration followed the Immigration Act (see text Box 1) and, in 2014, the German government accepted limited forms of dual citizenship. These changes marked a paradigm shift and departure from long-held German cultural conceptions of nationhood and belonging based solely on blood ties.^{7,8} It also exposed the biggest fallacy of the German relationship to immigration—that “guest workers” would

eventually return home, a notion that itself posed an obstacle to integration. Since then, the topic of integration has been the subject of controversial and emotionally laden debates, in particular in 2010 when former banker and politician Thilo Sarrazin published a highly controversial book called *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Germany Abolishes Itself) in which he claimed that immigrants were “dumbing down” German society, blaming Muslims for refusing to integrate. As in other European countries, the integration debate in Germany is inextricably linked to the issue of religious pluralism and Germany's Muslim community, which today constitutes approximately 6% of the population.

⁵ OECD (2016), Foreign-born population (indicator). doi: 10.1787/5a368e1b-en (Accessed on 31 August 2016). <https://data.oecd.org/migration/foreign-born-population.htm#indicator-chart>

⁶ The official census includes “the population group with a migration background [consisting of] all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany.” In legal terms, this definition also often includes third generation migrants. Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, “Personen mit Migrationshintergrund,” access via the Destatis website: <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Methoden/PersonenMitMigrationshintergrund.html>

⁷ But only for those children born in Germany to immigrant parents who have been in Germany for eight years or more and have a permanent residence title. Currently, some politicians advocate for a full implementation of *ius soli*, meaning that children of, for example, refugees should automatically become German citizens.

⁸ Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Harvard University Press, 1998).

TEXT BOX 1: SELECT FEDERAL INITIATIVES

The German Islam Conference was established in 2006 by the Federal Ministry of Interior with the aim to be the most important forum between the German state and Muslims living in Germany. In its first years, it convened annually and focused on topics of security and religious education. More recently, flexible working committees meet throughout the year and are now addressing topics such as strengthening Islamic welfare provision and pastoral care. A challenge throughout the years has been to identify the proper representatives for Muslim associations and groups.

The Integration Summit (*Integrationsgipfel*), initiated in 2006 by the Federal Chancellery, convenes relevant stakeholders from the government, migrant associations, employers' associations, unions, and civil society to discuss changing topics relevant to the integration and inclusion of immigrants. The 8th integration summit, held in November 2015, addressed medical care. Past topics included labor market integration or education. The first national integration summit led to the creation of the National Integration Plan. Some critics say the summit has a mere symbolic function, while others claim it is a relevant forum to bring the topic of integration to the forefront.

The **National Integration Plan** was the outcome of the first Integration Summit in 2006. The aim was to bundle uncoordinated integration projects by several governmental and civil society actors on the local, state (*Länder*), and national level and to establish integration as a cross-cutting, multilevel, and multistakeholder process. The National Integration Plan led to the establishment of the National Action Plans on Integration in 2007, aimed to monitor the progress in action areas identified by the National Integration Plan to make integration more binding and tangible. Action areas were divided into ten topical areas, among them for example labor market integration, integration courses, integration of women and children, integration in fields of health and sports, and political participation. To evaluate and monitor the impact within the action areas, progress reports are conducted in regular intervals, starting in 2008. Critics have pointed out that the challenge for this process was the coordination between the state and federal level, and the non-binding character of most measures, with no real repercussions if established targets and goals are not met.

Integration courses were first introduced in 2005. In 2015, under the **Immigration Act** (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*), they were made mandatory for new migrants without sufficient German language skills. They are aimed at non-German speaking migrants and refugees alike, and consist of 660 teaching units. Integration courses are more than language courses, however: besides 600 units of German language training, they also offer an introduction to the German legal system, history, and culture, among other topics. Beyond that, they strive to impart knowledge about moral values deemed important in German society.⁹ In 2015, 190,000 persons attended an integration course, and 300,000 participants are expected in 2016. The new Integration Law of 2016 stipulates that more integration courses have to be offered to meet the demand and long wait lists for courses. The units for orientation about cultural habits, norms and values are to be almost doubled from 60 to 100.

⁹ Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, "Integration Courses – what are they?," 2016. <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/integrationskurse/integrationskurse-node.html>

II The integration picture in Germany

This brief focuses on four core areas essential to the success of integration: employment, education, urban planning, and social cohesion. In each area, the German experience provides lessons and insights.¹⁰

1. LABOR MARKET: A NECESSARY SUCCESS

Today, it is widely acknowledged in Germany that **labor market access** is an important stepping stone for successful integration.¹¹ This was, however, not always the case. The guest-worker program from 1955-1973 was a cornerstone of Germany's economic success and, naturally, labor market access for guest workers was not a challenge but a prerequisite. It was after the 1973 recruitment ban that the issue of labor market access, as a key to integration, became an issue, since a large part of the three million guest workers who stayed decided to bring their families. Integrating these newcomers and their children into the labor market (or otherwise) was not a state priority at the time. In the 1970s and 1980s, for instance, leading political parties did not consider language promotion a state responsibility,¹² and in general, the following decades were marked by a restrictive environment to potential new labor migrants and asylum seekers.

It was after the 1973 recruitment ban that the issue of labor market access, as a key to integration, became an issue, since a large part of the three million guest workers who stayed decided to bring their families.

Today, when measured by labor market access, the integration of these family members as well as their second and third generation remains below potential. In 2013 and 2014, the unemployment rates were double that of those without a migrant background (8% compared to 4% of 25 to 64 year olds in 2013, and 6% to 3% of those aged 15-64 in 2014).¹³ Studies also point to potential

reasons for these figures: underprivileged family or socio-economic background and related higher school-dropout rates meet less tangible issues such as social discrimination, implicit or explicit discrimination in the education and training sector, as well as negative effects of limited language skills or people employed below their actual skill level due to the lack of recognition of their credentials (formal or otherwise).

¹⁰ The choice of core topics was based on the author's own research and background interviews with migration experts and officials.

¹¹ Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände, "Arbeitspotenziale von Asylsuchenden und Geduldeten zukunftsorientiert nutzen. Aktualisiertes Positionspaper zum Arbeitsmarktzugang von Asylsuchenden und Geduldeten," June 12, 2015, p.9. [http://www.arbeitgeber.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/res/Popa-zum-Arbeitsmarktzugang-von-Asylbewerbern.pdf/\\$file/Popa-zum-Arbeitsmarktzugang-von-Asylbewerbern.pdf](http://www.arbeitgeber.de/www/arbeitgeber.nsf/res/Popa-zum-Arbeitsmarktzugang-von-Asylbewerbern.pdf/$file/Popa-zum-Arbeitsmarktzugang-von-Asylbewerbern.pdf)

¹² Klaudia Tietze, *Einwanderung und die deutschen Parteien: Akzeptanz und Abwehr von Migranten im Widerstreit in der Programmatik von SPD, FDP, den Grünen und CDU/CSU*, (Berlin: LIT; Auflage: 1., Juni 2008), p. 304.

¹³ Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, "Bevölkerung nach Migrationsstatus 2014," Mikrozensus 2014, access via the Destatis website: <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/MigrationIntegration.html>

For example, studies document discrimination in application processes for names that are not typically associated with being German, such as Hakan or Ahmet rather than Lukas or Tim.¹⁴ Furthermore, there is evidence that German language skills translate into positive employment prospects as well as higher earnings. A 2014 study by the Institute for Employment Research showed that migrants with proficient or very proficient German language skills had a 9% to 15% higher likelihood of working and those proficient earned 12% more. Those very proficient made up to 22% more.¹⁵ The same study indicated that migrants who do not have formal recognition of their credentials are often employed below their skill level and earned less.¹⁶

While these results point to the continued necessity of policies to target equal labor-market access, including tearing down barriers to reach that goal, Germany has done much in the past decade in addressing these challenges. These changes were encouraged by a new awareness in the mid-2000s, and change in discourse of the pending demographic change in Germany and critical labor shortages in key sectors, which led to a series of reforms both regarding labor market access for skilled migrants, and more recently for asylum seekers and recognized refugees.¹⁷ Beginning in 2012, a number of reforms regarding labor migration were introduced, which also had positive effects on labor market integration.¹⁸ According to the OECD, Germany today is among the OECD countries with the fewest formal restrictions for highly skilled occupations.¹⁹

The federally funded support program *IQ Netzwerk* (Integration through Qualification Network) was initiated in 2005 and operates in all 16 German states. Its mission is to increase the chances on the German job market for persons with a migrant family background.²⁰ Similarly, the Recognition Act of 2012 was a response to the insight that recognition of qualifications was a key factor of integration.²¹

The German policies aimed at labor market integration, in fact, have laid a decent groundwork for labor market initiatives aimed at recently arrived asylum seekers.

The German policies aimed at labor market integration, in fact, have laid a decent groundwork for labor market initiatives aimed at recently arrived asylum seekers. In the past three years, access for asylum seekers and recognized refugees to the labor market has been actively promoted. In 2014, the federal government lowered the waiting time for asylum seekers before they could enter the labor market from nine months to three

¹⁴ Leo Kaas, Christian Manger, "Ethnic Discrimination in Germany's Labour Market – a Field Experiment," *German Economic Review*, January 25, 2011, p. 28. https://kops.uni-konstanz.de/bitstream/handle/123456789/12061/Kaas_Manger.pdf?sequence=1

¹⁵ Das Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (IAB) Kurzbericht, *IAB-SOEP Migrationsstichprobe. Leben, lernen, arbeiten - wie es Migranten in Deutschland geht*, (2014), Kurzbericht 21/2014 Spezial, p. 1-2. <http://doku.iab.de/kurzber/2014/kb2114.pdf>

¹⁶ Regina Konle-Seidl and Georg Bolits, *Labour Market Integration of Refugees: Strategies and good practices*, March 2016, European Parliament. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/578956/IPOL_STU\(2016\)578956_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2016/578956/IPOL_STU(2016)578956_EN.pdf)

¹⁷ In its skilled labor strategy from 2009, the German government assumed that the German labor market potential will decline by 6.5 million by 2025 unless additional potentials, including immigrants, were utilized.

¹⁸ In 2012, the Recognition Act came into force, giving migrants the right to claim a formal recognition of their qualifications for employment in Germany, and §18 c of the Residence Act introduced supply-side criteria as part of overall foreign recruitment through a job-search visa, allowing foreign academics to stay in the country for 6 months in order to secure employment, and new employment regulations adopted in June 2013 opened the job market even further to non-EU migrants in those areas in which the Federal Employment Agency has identified bottlenecks in filling labor shortages. It lists these semi-annually in so-called white lists or *Positivlisten*.

¹⁹ OECD, *Recruiting Immigrant Workers: Germany* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2013), p. 288. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264189034-en>

²⁰ Netzwerk Integration durch Qualifizierung, <http://www.netzwerk-iq.de/>

²¹ Die Bundesregierung, "Anerkennungsgesetz ist Integrationstreiber," November 27, 2013. https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/IB/Artikel/Arbeitsmarkt/Anerkennung_Abschluesse/2013-11-27-erkennungsgesetz-ist-integrationstreiber.html

months.²² The new Integration Law of 2016 further eased access for refugees and asylum seekers to jobs, and vocational trainings. The preferential treatment for German or EU citizens in the job market, called *priority review*, has been suspended in most parts of Germany for the next three years until 2019, and 100,000 low-skilled jobs were created to ease entry for asylum seekers and refugees and familiarize themselves with the work environment in Germany.²³

Integration efforts aimed at refugees are thus no substitute for attracting skilled migration to Germany to match labor market needs.

In addition, federal and local programs such as *IdA 120* in Bavaria (Integration through Training and Employment),²⁴ seek to assess competencies of asylum seekers who have a good chance of being allowed to stay in Germany and to match their skills to the needs of employers. Similarly, a new initiative in Hamburg “Work and Integration for Refugees” combines skills assessment and individual consulting, and connects refugees with companies for employment, apprenticeship and internships.²⁵ To be sure, bringing newly arrived refugees into the labor market will be no easy feat and very costly. The head of the Federal Employment Agency, Frank-Jürgen Weise, estimates that only 10% of those arrived in 2015 have an academic qualification while another 40% have some form of experience, with the remaining 50% requiring a lot of support to enter the labor market.²⁶ Integration efforts aimed at refugees are thus no substitute for attracting skilled migration to Germany to match labor market needs.

There is, nonetheless, still room for improvement in Germany. For example, studies point to the fact that in many OECD countries migrants are more entrepreneurial than local-born populations, adding innovation and creating new jobs for local economies in addition to providing successful career pathways for migrants. In the U.S. in 2012, immigrants were almost twice as likely to fund their own business, a figure similar for Britain.²⁷ While in Germany, migrant entrepreneurship has risen in 2013/2014, with migrant entrepreneurs forming a higher share of the working population (21%) than their share of the working age population at large (18%),²⁸ it is still below that of migrant communities elsewhere. Furthermore, employers still lament the suboptimal cooperation between the many different agencies involved in the labor market access and integration process for higher skilled migrants, that often leads to long waiting times and opaque decision-making on work permits and status. Lastly, a main hurdle concerns the sequencing of integration and

²² This regulation does not apply to asylum seekers from countries that are categorized as safe country of origin. They are prohibited to enter the labor market and can only do so if their asylum claim is ruled positively.

²³ Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, “Erleichterter Arbeitsmarktzugang für Flüchtlinge,” August 5, 2016. <http://www.bmas.de/DE/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2016/erleichterter-arbeitsmarktzugang-fluechtlinge.html> and Informationsverbund Asyl und Migration, “Access to the labor market,” 2016. <http://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany/reception-conditions/employment-education/access-labour-market>

²⁴ Bildungswerk der Bayerischen Wirtschaft e. V., “IdA 120 – Integration durch Ausbildung und Arbeit” 2016. <http://www.bildunginbayern.de/berufliche-bildung/ida-120-integration-durch-ausbildung-und-arbeit.html>

²⁵ About the program: Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration, “Verfahren W.I.R - Work and Integration for Refugees. Integration von Geflüchteten in Arbeit” 2016. <http://www.hamburg.de/wir/>

²⁶ Bild am Sonntag, Interview with Frank-Jürgen Weise, head of Germany’s Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, “Die Integration wird lange dauern und viel kosten,” August 27, 2016. <http://www.bild.de/politik/inland/bundesamt-fluechtlinge/es-wird-lange-dauern-und-viel-kosten-fluechtlinge-integration-47531702.bild.html>

²⁷ Philippe Legrain, *Refugees Work: A Humanitarian Investment That Yields Economic Dividends* (Tent, May 2016), p. 39. http://www.opennetwork.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Tent-Open-Refugees-Work_V13.pdf

²⁸ Dr. Georg Metzger, *Migrants are more active entrepreneurs – mostly as a result of labour market conditions*, KfW Research, No. 115 (January 29, 2016), p. 7. <https://www.kfw.de/PDF/Download-Center/Konzernthemen/Research/PDF-Dokumente-Fokus-Volkswirtschaft/Fokus-englische-Dateien/Fokus-Nr.-115-January-2016-Migrant-entrepreneurs.pdf> The KfW study also offers reasons for this: next to greater willingness to give risks and a stronger presence of role models, also limited labor market opportunities, due to discriminatory factors listed above, play a part.

language courses in combination with labor market integration projects or on-the-job training. At the moment, an asylum seeker runs through them mostly consecutively, leading to longer waiting time until he or she can gain work experience in Germany. These measures should happen simultaneously to allow for a speedy entry into the labor market. Pilot projects are currently testing how those requirements can be better coordinated.

Nevertheless, in terms of labor market integration, Germany has learnt from its past and has a solid foundation for the road ahead.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM INTEGRATION IN THE LABOR MARKET

- Easy and fast access to the labor market is crucial.
- Language and recognition of qualifications are necessary for equal participation of migrants in the labor market.

HOMEWORK

- Continue efforts to reduce discrimination, implicit and explicit.
- Promote migrant entrepreneurship.
- Improve cooperation between agencies and actors involved in labor market access.
- Develop flexible models that allow for a fast integration into the labor market while fulfilling required integration and language courses.

2. EDUCATION: THE CRITICAL CONSTRUCTION SITE

Over 300,000 refugee children who came to Germany in 2014 and 2015 are currently attending German schools.²⁹ The current system was not set up to host so many new students at once, and schools all over the country are trying to make “fast track integration” work. The fact that the German education system is the responsibility of the German *Länder*³⁰ makes policy in this regard particularly complex and leads to a variety of measures and different levels of success depending on the state, city, or school. Nevertheless, some key lessons from Germany’s own experience in educating of children of migrants offer indications of crucial factors for integration in the education system.

In the 1970s, many German states introduced so-called *Ausländerklassen* (classes for foreign nationals) for children of guest workers. Yet, these ended up being a hurdle to integration. They were often initially set up to promote German language training for a maximum of two years in order to allow for attendance of regular schooling but also aimed at preparing school-aged children for return to their home countries. This left much discretion to local schools and authorities about whether

²⁹ Anant Agarwala and Götz Hamann, „Flüchtlingskinder in der Schule. Schaffen die das?“, *Die Zeit*, July 6, 2016. <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2016-07/fluechtlingskinder-schule-fluechtlinge-deutschland>

³⁰ Federalism is the governmental organization principle in the Federal Republic of Germany. This principle was enshrined in the Basic Law of 1949 (Art. 20). Germany is composed of 16 federal governments called *Länder*. One of the main characteristics of the German federal system is the close cooperation between federal and state governments. Self-government is guaranteed to the federal states except as otherwise provided by the Basic Law. Federal law takes precedence over state law (Art. 31). According to Art.70 (and following) of the Basic Law, the federal states have the right to legislate, except on subjects for which the Federal State has exclusive legislative power (for example on foreign affairs and defense). Source: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb) editorial, May 3, 2013. <http://www.bpb.de/izpb/159330/editorial>

and when these children would attend mixed classes.³¹ Many migrants ended up segregated from society and failed to acquire either German language proficiency or a diploma.³²

In 2001, the results of the first worldwide study by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) caused the “PISA-Shock” for Germany. The study showed that German schoolchildren performed below OECD average and results further indicated that the relation between socioeconomic status and school performance was more pronounced than in any other OECD country. Children with a migrant family background performed worse across all disciplines.³³

Conceptually speaking, the biggest shift in thinking was the growing awareness that the children of migrants are also “our children” and a core responsibility of the German education system.

Since the PISA shock, Germany has begun to address some of the issues related to equal education opportunities for all Germans. Conceptually speaking, the biggest shift in thinking was the growing awareness that the children of migrants are also “our children” and a core responsibility of the German education system. Beginning in 2003, national standards were introduced

for primary and secondary schools and many states decided to opt for more comprehensive schools. A decade later, in 2012, Germany had succeeded in climbing above OECD average overall and children with a migrant background improved their scores in math by 24 points since 2003 and attendance of high schools to almost 30%, up from 16.4% in 2003.

Nevertheless, children and youth with a migration background, who constitute 33.7% of all children under the age of 15 in Germany today, continue to face disadvantages in Germany’s education system. As a systematic analysis of 53 studies from May 2016 indicates, they still attend pre-school less frequently, are underrepresented in the university-track schools (*Gymnasium*), and show poorer results in reading, math, and social sciences.³⁴ Studies point to different factors for this, many related to socio-economic status, but also to the education level of parents and other forms of implicit or explicit discrimination, as well as self-perception of students themselves. Other factors seem to play a role as well: in Germany’s big cities, almost 70% of children with a migration background go to schools where children without a migrant background are not the majority.³⁵ 41% of primary school children go to such “segregated” schools.

³¹ Sylvia Vogt, „Schule und Integration: Die Geschichte. Das schwere Erbe der Ausländerklassen“, *Der Tagesspiegel*, October 24, 2013. <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/schule/schule-und-integration-die-geschichte-das-schwere-erbe-der-auslaenderklassen/8979330.html>

Verordnung über den Bildungsgang der Grundschule, Version of 9 September 2010, p. 6.

<https://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/sen-bildung/rechtsvorschriften/grundschulverordnung.pdf?start&ts=1285241747&file=grundschulverordnung.pdf>

Christian Langenfeld, *Integration und kulturelle Identität zugewanderter Minderheiten: Eine Untersuchung am Beispiel des allgemeinbildenden Schulwesens in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Mohr Siebeck: 2001), p. 616

³² „Mit der Nadel einen Brunnen graben“, *Der Spiegel*, February 27, 1989 <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-13495353.html>

³³ OECD, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, “Literacy Skills for the World of Tomorrow. Further Results from PISA 2000. Executive Summary”, <https://www.oecd.org/edu/school/2960581.pdf>

³⁴ Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR), „Doppelt benachteiligt? Kinder und Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund im deutschen Bildungssystem“, Expertise, May, 2016 <http://www.svr-migration.de/publikationen/doppelt-benachteiligt-kinder-und-jugendliche-mit-migrationshintergrund-im-deutschen-bildungssystem/>

³⁵ Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR), „Segregation an deutschen Schulen“, Studie, July, 2013. http://www.svr-migration.de/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/SVR-FB_Studie-Bildungssegregation_Web.pdf

A recent OECD report concludes that in most countries such high concentrations of immigrant student in schools lead to poorer performance, however, that “it is primarily the concentration of disadvantage, not the concentration of immigrant students that has a detrimental effect on learning.”³⁶

Early pre-school education has received particular attention in this regard. Research findings suggest that support through preschool programs and nursery school can significantly compensate for a potential lack of learning opportunities at home, including language acquisition, and increase the chances of children of attending *Gymnasium*.³⁷ This is, statistically speaking, even more true for children with a migration family background, whose chances increase by 44%.³⁸ However, among children under three, only 22% of families with migration background send their children to daycare facilities as opposed to 38% without a migration background (though these figures are correlated to socioeconomic factors as well).³⁹ Migrant families also use other informal early education support programs, such as swimming classes, less often. Most German states have begun to address this by measuring the language competency of preschoolers over the last decade along with programs for children in need of additional support. However, quality and availability of these efforts still vary widely and great room for improvement exists.⁴⁰

School attendance for children of newcomers today is mandatory in Germany and the recent increase of new students from diverse sets of cultural and educational backgrounds will test integration measures in schools. Children of asylum seekers begin by attending so-called welcoming, transition, or preparation classes, which include language training and cultural integration courses in addition to basic school curricula. There are currently no common standards guiding the transition from these classes to regular schooling, but the general aim is to integrate them within one year.⁴¹ The needs of individual children and schools vary greatly, so that no one model has yet emerged as a catch-all good practice. There is, however, a consensus that integration into the regular schooling system should take place as soon as possible, that many of these children will require additional assistance, and that more teachers, social workers, and qualified personnel to teach German as a second language are necessary.

³⁶ OECD (2015), *Immigrant Students at School: Easing the Journey towards Integration*, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264249509-en>

³⁷ SVR, „Doppelt benachteiligt?“, p.31

³⁸ Mediendienst Integration, „Zahlen und Fakten: Integration, Bildung,“ citing SVR (2010). <https://mediendienst-integration.de/integration/bildung.html>

³⁹ SVR, „Doppelt benachteiligt?“, p.15

⁴⁰ Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, „Sprachliche Integration von Migranten in Deutschland,“ Integrationsreport 2008. https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/WorkingPapers/wp14-sprachliche-integration.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

⁴¹ Anant Agarwala, Arnfrid Schenk and Martin Spiewak, “Flüchtlinge im Schulalltag,” *Die Zeit*, July 11, 2016. <http://www.zeit.de/2016/29/integration-fluechtlinge-schule-kinder-jugendliche-deutschunterricht-sprachbarriere-bildungspolitik>

Already 12,000 new teachers, some returning from retirement, were hired over the course of 2015 with an estimated need of an additional 10,000 to 14,000 more, as well as more social workers.

Already 12,000 new teachers, some returning from retirement, were hired over the course of 2015 with an estimated need of an additional 10,000 to 14,000 more, as well as more social workers.⁴²

Integration through education, in some ways, is both the most important and most complex policy challenge ahead, as it is deeply intertwined with other policy fields, and wider societal structures in which children and students operate. The current

focus on the integration of the newly arrived children in this sense may well be an opportunity to find more resources and impetus for long overdue programs and reforms.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM INTEGRATION AND EDUCATION

- Integration of newcomers in regular schools as soon as possible, with special support in particular regarding language training.

HOMEWORK

- A particular focus on early education.
- increase in other support measures, specifically geared toward the needs of families of children with a migration background, but also individually tailored and implemented according to school.

⁴² Kultusministerkonferenz und Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, "Bildung in Deutschland 2016. Ein indikatorengestützter Bericht mit einer Analyse zu Bildung und Migration," p. 200f. <http://www.bildungsbericht.de/de/bildungsberichte-seit-2006/bildungsbericht-2016/pdf-bildungsbericht-2016/bildungsbericht-2016> Thomas Vitzthum, "Lernschwache Schüler leiden unter Flüchtlingskrise," *Die Welt*, January 1, 2016. <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article151482690/Lernschwache-Schueler-leiden-unter-Fluechtlingskrise.html> Christian Füller, "Flüchtlingskinder an Schulen: So wird das nichts mit der Integration," *Der Spiegel*, October 12, 2015. <http://www.spiegel.de/schulspiegel/kommentar-zu-fluechtlingskindern-an-schulen-integration-bleibt-erfolglos-a-1057044.html>

3. URBAN PLANNING AND INTEGRATION: A LABORATORY

In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, most urban planning in both East and West Germany dealt with “hardware:” matters of actual buildings and infrastructure. Then migrant integration topics were not part of urban planning, especially since it was thought that guest workers would only stay temporarily. Thus, no explicit housing policy was established, rather it was seen as the task of employers or private individuals to provide housing to the workers who often lived in shared housing (*Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*) at the factories.⁴³ For the guest workers, the often very small housing units were deemed sufficient as they sent home funds to build and buy homes for their anticipated return. As time passed, guest workers acquired more wealth and a number realized that they might stay as their spouses and children joined them. Many also moved out of the shared housing and into private housing.⁴⁴

In the late 1980s and especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than three million ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) from Eastern Europe and Russia entered Germany

In the late 1980s and especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than three million ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) from Eastern Europe and Russia entered Germany and housing in many cities became scarce (also due to movements of people from the former GDR to areas in western Germany.) They mostly moved into cities where job opportunities and ethnic networks were present, whereas in rural areas living space went unused. Hence, regulations were passed in 1989 and amended in 1996 that ethnic Germans who could not sustain themselves and needed public subsidies had to move to ascribed areas for a specified amount of time, generally for at least two years.⁴⁵ The law was struck in 2009.⁴⁶ There were no conclusive evaluations of whether these geographical regulations in the 1990s until 2009 helped or hindered integration, as the experience differed among cities and municipalities. Interestingly, a survey conducted among ethnic Germans showed that most did not mind the measures as their desire to be near their family and other support networks was often met.⁴⁷

Tight housing markets and increasing rents is a major challenge in some areas of Germany, especially in wealthier urban areas in the west and south – one that the 2015 influx has exacerbated.⁴⁸ Similar to the situation in the 1990s, the federal government included geographic assignments for asylum seekers and refugees in the 2016 Integration Law, which has sparked controversy regarding their impact on integration. Cities and municipalities argue that geographical assignments help them better plan their resources such as housing needs, allowing

⁴³ Jutta Höhne, Benedikt Linden, Eric Seils and Anne Wiebel, *Die Gastarbeiter. Geschichte und aktuelle soziale Lage*, WSI Report, September 16, 2014, p. 31. http://www.boeckler.de/pdf/p_wsi_report_16_2014.pdf

⁴⁴ “Stadtplanung & Integration: Interview der Referenten Prof. Dr. Ingrid Breckner und Prof. Dr Maurice Blanc,” Institut Français, October 16, 2012. <http://www.wachstum-europa.de/stadtplanung-integration-interview-der-referenten/>

⁴⁵ Different changes to the law affected the duration of mandatory move to the ascribed areas. It consequently passed from two years to an indefinite duration to be changed back to a two-year duration.

⁴⁶ Sonja Haug und Lenore Sauer, *Zuwanderung und Integration von (Spät-) Aussiedlern - Ermittlung und Bewertung der Auswirkungen des Wohnortzuweisungsgesetzes*, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2007, p. 196. http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Forschungsberichte/fb03-wohntzuweisungsgesetz.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

⁴⁷ Sonja Haug und Lenore Sauer, *Zuwanderung und Integration von (Spät-) Aussiedlern - Ermittlung und Bewertung der Auswirkungen des Wohnortzuweisungsgesetzes*, Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2007, p. 196. http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Forschungsberichte/fb03-wohntzuweisungsgesetz.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

⁴⁸ Estimates range between 350,000 to 400,000 apartments that are currently lacking yearly. The federal government has pledged to increase its support for building social housing, which is under the jurisdiction of the German *Länder* or states, with additional €500 million per year. A shortage of housing was already existent before the increase of asylum seekers and refugees in 2015, but is now exacerbated by their arrival. This leads to tensions around affordable housing and increased discrimination in the housing market to the detriment of migrants and refugees, who are often rejected by landlords for no apparent reason.

them to provide better integration measures and prevent the “ghettoization” of certain city areas. Advocates for refugees argue that refugees and asylum seekers should have the freedom to move wherever they chose, in particular regarding economic opportunity and job access, and that they

should be able to be included in already-existing support networks from people of their own country of origin, even if it might mean less contact and interaction with the receiving society.

In contrast to the first period of migration to German cities, today there are more nuanced and integrated urban planning approaches encouraged by the Federal Government and deployed at the state and local level.

In contrast to the first period of migration to German cities, today there are more nuanced and integrated urban planning approaches encouraged by the Federal Government and deployed at the state and local level. This movement away from a reliance on physical planning began in the early 1990’s. At this time, there was a rising awareness that social issues, including integration and urban planning should not be seen as distinct and that an integrated approach to urban planning was needed. Urban planning was increasingly seen as creating and influencing social and economic space within cities and localities. It was not just the buildings that mattered, but what happened in the spaces between buildings and the services or projects offered.⁴⁹ This new thinking led to municipal dialogues with

inhabitants including migrants. Local administrations began to see neighborhoods and their inhabitants in a systemic way as well as to address social hotspots. In 1999, the federal program Social City (*Soziale Stadt*) was launched, which provided impulses on how to address social challenges and build social cohesion.⁵⁰ Also, the federal government started the research program Experimental Housing and Urban Development (ExWoSt), which supports innovative planning and housing politics.

The latest ExWoSt project began in October 2015 and focuses on how to effectively include migrants in urban planning of their neighborhoods, and which methods work best to reach them and connect them to services.⁵¹ It is only in the past few years that cities in Germany started to include the view of migrants or people with migration history into neighborhood management and planning. As a result, intercultural community centers, new layouts for public spaces within the neighborhood, and projects such as the *Kiezmütter* or *Stadtteilmütter* (neighborhood moms) were created. The neighborhood moms programs train immigrant parents to reach out to other less integrated immigrant families in their native language to help them find their way around the city and into German society. At the same time, involving inhabitants in the planning of mosques for example, such as in the city of Duisburg,⁵² has helped ease social tension and friction in mixed neighborhoods. But of course tensions about social cohesion persist in communities across Germany and an imperative for neighborhood management remains to create an urban space that works for all.

⁴⁹ Thus, integrated urban planning is a cross-sector process that gives equal consideration to the economic, environmental, social, and cultural dimensions of a sustainable city. It includes the involvement of various stakeholders, including citizens, the private sector, academia, and different levels of government.

⁵⁰ To date, the program *Social City* has supported more than 700 projects in over 400 cities and municipalities. Federal Institute for Research on Building, Urban Affairs and Spatial Development, „Experimental Housing and Urban Development.“ <http://www.bbsr.bund.de/BBSR/DE/FP/ExWoSt/aktuelle-meldungen-4m/km-exwost-beteiligung-zuwanderer-zwischenergebnisse.html>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² European Urban Knowledge Network, “Participatory planning around mosque building in Marxloh-Duisburg”, December 11, 2012 <http://www.eukn.eu/e-library/project/bericht/detail/participatory-planning-around-mosque-building-in-marxloh-duisburg/>

Germany's contribution to the 15th International Architecture Exhibition 2016 in Venice (Biennale) was titled "Making Heimat. Germany, Arrival Country," and focused on what makes a good "arrival city" for migrants. According to journalist Doug Saunders, the author of the book *Arrival City*, ethnic neighborhoods should not be seen as hindering integration; rather they allow new arrivals to be more successful. Important prerequisites for a good arrival city are "affordable housing, access to work, small-scale commercial spaces, good access to public transit, networks of immigrants from the same culture, as well as a tolerant attitude that extends to the acceptance of informal practices."⁵³ Whether German urban planning initiatives can turn cities into arrival cities soon is unclear. Urban planning is not a magic solution to solve social issues, but bad urban planning can create social problems.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM INTEGRATION AND URBAN PLANNING

- An integrated approach, one that thinks in the social, environmental and economic dimensions within the city space, has the most potential for success.
- Inclusive planning and engagement: cities should integrate migrants and their needs into all levels of municipal, especially neighborhood management planning.

HOMEWORK

- Increase housing for asylum seekers and refugees.
- Evaluate the regulation of geographical allocations, its impact, and usefulness.
- Develop resources for local governments to support inclusive participation and outreach in integrated urban planning processes.

4. A NEW "WE" FOR GERMANY? DIVERSITY, THE RECEIVING SOCIETY, AND BUILDING THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF A COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION

Germany will continue to be a country of immigration and it will continue to become more diverse. More than 20% of the German population already has a migration background in their family. More than a third of all children in Germany under the age of ten have a migration background;⁵⁴ in cities like Hamburg this applies to almost 50% of the youth under the age of 18, and in Stuttgart to about 40% of pre-school kids.⁵⁵ This growing diversity requires action and attention from all, civil society actors, the business sector and public administration. In terms of actively embracing this diversity both in policy and public perception, Germany is still at the beginning of its own learning process. The future of social cohesion and integration success will also in large part depend on supporting diversity and inclusion policies and civil society initiatives as well as good communication with the receiving society about immigration and integration.

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⁵³ "Making Heimat. Germany, Arrival Country," *Making Heimat website*. <http://www.makingheimat.de/en>

⁵⁴ Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (bpb), „Zahlen und Fakten. Die soziale Situation in Deutschland. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund I“, December 31, 2015. <http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/zahlen-und-fakten/soziale-situation-in-deutschland/61646/migrationshintergrund-i> and

⁵⁵ Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, „Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund in den Hamburger Stadtteilen Ende Januar 2012," Statistik informiert ... Nr. III/2012 SPEZIAL, August 6, 2012. <https://www.statistik-nord.de/daten/bevoelkerung-und-gebiet/familienstand-ehe-einbuengerungen/dokumentenansicht/bevoelkerung-mit-migrationshintergrund-in-den-hamburger-stadtteilen-ende-januar-2012-4/>

A. Building a social fabric: Diversity and inclusion matters

When it became evident that about three million of the 1960s and 70s labor migrants would stay in Germany and not return to their home country, civil society and public administration slowly started to react. This happened mostly in the cultural realm but efforts were also made to establish ways for political influence. In the cultural sector, civil society actors such as NGOs, churches, and intercultural associations embraced diversity through festivities or outings. For example, the Intercultural Week, an initiative of the Christian churches to sensitize Germans about the situation of migrants and refugees, began over 40 years ago, with activities throughout Germany, and is widely supported by unions, welfare organizations, migrant organizations, and integration commissioners.⁵⁶ Inclusion into the political sphere of Germany and representation of migrants was also seen as important. "Foreigner councils" (in some states now also called integration councils or migration councils) began to be established in 1971, giving immigrants a voice in local politics.⁵⁷

As the second and third generations came of age in Germany, matters of diversity management and inclusion gained more traction, particularly in the last five to ten years.

Those activities continued through the 1980s and 90s, but mostly on the sidelines. However, as the second and third generations came of age in Germany, matters of diversity management and inclusion gained more traction, particularly in the last five to ten years. Diversity management and inclusion are very much entwined with: a) the demand to have German public institutions and decision making bodies such as school staff and administrations, ministries, or the army adequately reflect the growing diversity of the German society and open up interculturally⁵⁸; and b) the business sector needs to attract and recruit diverse

personnel in times of growing labor shortages, as well as to put together more diverse teams, which are said to be more economically productive in the long run.

In 2006, the business sector launched the Diversity Charta in Germany under the patronage of Chancellor Merkel and with the support of Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration. As part of the initiative, businesses pledge to create a prejudice-free work environment that embraces diversity, including gender and religious diversity. More than 2,300 companies as well as public sector institutions have signed the charta. While the charta does not stipulate binding action, it raises awareness within institutions and companies.

In order to have more binding action, public institutions and businesses would have to regularly measure how many members of an ethnic minority or people with migration background are employed in their institutions and companies, how well they are doing in their career development, and how hiring process impacts representation. Companies and also public institutions do not yet always gather data on the ethnic background of employees because of sensitivity to the collecting of ethnic data that happened during the Nazi era. This makes any evaluation of diversity promotion more difficult. However, adhering to the statement "what gets

⁵⁶ About the event: Interkulturelle Woche, 2016. <http://www.interkulturellewoche.de>

⁵⁷ In those migration councils, non-citizens can vote for the representatives who are also non-citizens. Among the tasks of these councils are the representation of interests of migrants or non-citizens vis-à-vis local public institutions or welfare organizations. Many of these councils face challenges though due to lack of time of representatives who are often volunteers, lack of funds but also low voter turnout for the councils. <http://kommunalwiki.boell.de/index.php/Aus%C3%A4nderbeirat>

⁵⁸ Public administrations are aware that matters of diversity need to be addressed, as they also often provide services to people with migration background such as in job centers. Having staff that are interculturally trained and sensitive or are from minority groups themselves is key to better understand the needs and situations of those served. Hence, public administrations have been undergoing the so-called process of "intercultural opening" in the past years. <http://www.netzwerk-iq.de/fachstelle-interkultur-und-antidiskriminierung.html>

measured gets done,” clearer benchmarks and the collection of more data would be helpful to see where businesses and public sector organizations stand in terms of opening up to minorities. Some public administrations and businesses have started to collect such figures. Also, hiring practice is one crucial area for ensuring diversity. As mentioned earlier, discriminatory practices prevail in the hiring process, such as weeding out applicants with migration background. To address this, some companies have started anonymous application processes. Proponents of affirmative action for the recruitment of minorities, however, have pointed out that knowing ethnic or migration family background is crucial to ensure that applicants with equal qualifications can be selected to offset representation gaps.

Unfortunately, hiring practices are not the only opportunities for unequal treatment and discrimination. In order to address this, in 2006 Germany adopted the General Equal Treatment Act (AGG) and created the federal anti-discrimination agency the same year. Building a social fabric of a diverse society also means that those who are or feel discriminated can do something about it. This is of vital importance to strengthen the mandate of the agency and support anti-racism work.

Lastly, reflecting the new understanding that Germany is a diverse country, new actors have also emerged in civil society. People with migration background, many of them children of guest workers, underscored the rightful demand of minorities to be included in decision-making processes and mainstream domains such as the media. In the past five years, several NGOs such as the Neue deutsche Medienmacher (New German Mediamakers), DeutschPlus, Deutscher Soldat (German Soldier), or Typisch Deutsch (Typical German), have formed to represent the “new Germany.” Unlike migrant organizations that were created during the guest-worker era, the new German organizations promote a self-understanding that they, too, are Germans and full members of German society.

Lastly, one main area of contention for social cohesion remains religious pluralism, in particular for religious minorities such as Muslims. It has to be noted that not all Muslims in Germany are immigrants and the general relationship between integration and religion- and whether it help or hinders integration is mostly ambivalent.⁵⁹ However, with the arrival of many refugees from Muslim societies, questions concerning the cultural compatibility of Islam with values such as democratic values, gender equality, and gay rights are again dominating the societal debate on integration. Heightened security concerns in times of Islamic fundamentalism and recent terrorist attacks are often conflated in the discussion on how to deal with religious pluralism as the recent discourse on a possible burqa ban demonstrated. In terms of legal and institutional equality of Islam, Germany, however, has advanced considerably in recent years by establishing Islamic theology at universities and introducing Islamic religious instructions in schools with teachers educated in Germany. This has helped to weave Islam into the institutional fabric of Germany. The negotiation of these issues in the social and cultural realm will be a testing ground for social cohesion in the years to come.

Adhering to the statement “what gets measured gets done,” clearer benchmarks and the collection of more data would be helpful to see where businesses and public sector organizations stand in terms of opening up to minorities.

⁵⁹ Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR), “Many Gods, One State: Religious Diversity and Participation in Germany as an Immigration Country,” 2016 Annual Report with Integration Barometer. <http://www.svr-migration.de/en/annual-report/>
For a dissenting opinion, arguing that religion indeed can be a limiting factor for integration, see the work of Ruud Koopmans, e.g. Koopmans, Ruud (2016): „Does Assimilation Work? Sociocultural Determinants of Labour Market Participation of European Muslims“. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 42, No. 2, S. 197–216.

B. Let's talk: Communicating with the receiving society

One aspect to a large extent neglected in debates about integration in the past is how to involve the receiving society in determining what it actually means to be or become a society of immigration. It is here that Germany has little experience itself and can look at good practices and impulses from other countries. More than a few policymakers have repeated that "integration is not a one-way street" (*Integration ist keine Einbahnstraße*). Generally, they mean that it should not just be German society that bends to accept newcomers, but that newcomers themselves also must be willing to make adjustments to be part of German society. Here, a middle ground is important. While it is clear what services the German state provides, it is less clear how much Germans are willing to open up their minds and day-to-day lives to embrace living together and what can be asked of newcomers in a new migration society.

This means that everyone, not just newcomers to a society, should work on integration and find ways and spaces for dialogue to discuss this new reality and what it implies for social change. However, there was little guidance from policy-makers and civil society regarding what this actually means for the resident population, which also includes migrants and their children long settled in Germany. This often results in unaddressed concerns, myths and anxiety, or in the worst case in violence and xenophobia- even in regions where migration is comparatively low.⁶⁰ It is imperative to address the topic in a way that does not further contribute to the polarization of society but seeks to promote understanding and social cohesion.

Three tasks in particular stand out for Germany for the coming years:

First, for any country dealing with high levels of migration, the question of how to gain and maintain public trust on migration and integration is crucial. As the topic of migration is often highly disputed and polarizing, it requires responsible governance that evenly addresses and communicates the benefits and challenges of migration. If the public feels that there is a functioning control element, it is more at ease with migrants inside the country as they are seen as having a rightful place and social cohesion can be maintained more easily.⁶¹ Canada can serve as a good example, as it lays out clear guidelines and policies for migration and integration. Even though Canada's entry system is not perfect, it can be easily explained to the public, and the public generally perceives it as a functioning system. The sudden rise of large numbers of asylum seekers and refugees coming to Germany in fall 2015 raised precisely the concern that the German government had lost control. And while Germany does have guidelines for foreign nationals entering the country, the perception that it does not persists. This is why there are calls to bundle the current flurry of immigration rules and regulations into one succinct and comprehensible immigration statute.

Second, policies should focus on addressing the concerns of the "anxious middle" in Germany. As the NGO British Future points out,⁶² a public can generally be categorized into three main groups: rejectionists who are against migrants and migration and make up about 25 to 30% of a population; the migration liberals who are very open about migration and integration and make up about 15 to

⁶⁰ According to figures of the Federal Criminal Police Office, there were over 1000 registered attacks on asylum homes, a fivefold increase to 2014. The total number of criminal acts committed by politically motivated right wing perpetrators rose 35% in 2015, and perhaps even more troubling is the number of right-wing acts of violence which rose 44% to nearly 1500 cases. Source: Bundesministerium des Innern, Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 2015. http://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Broschueren/2016/pks-2015.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

⁶¹ Demetrios G. Papademetriou, and Natalia Banulescu-Bogdan, *Understanding and addressing Public Anxiety About Immigration* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2016), p. 28.

⁶² British Future, "How to talk about immigration," November 19, 2014. <http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/how-to-talk-about-immigration/>

25% of a population, varying according to the country, and the largest group of the “anxious middle” that has concerns regarding migration management and control, availability of jobs or housing or cultural impacts of migration, while at the same time recognizing the benefits migrants bring. It is especially this last group that should be of concern for policymakers and civil society when working on social cohesion. This is not to say that the other groups should not be addressed, but so far the anxious middle has been underestimated. It has to be prevented that their often nuanced views slide toward solid rejection. The public opinion survey “Transatlantic Trends: Immigration” detected these nuanced views of the anxious middle for Germany, with a majority that is generally open toward migration but that also wants to know and control who is coming in.⁶³ The task for Germany hence will be to develop messages and outreach strategies to engage the anxious middle without preaching or simply reciting facts about the positive benefits about migration. Gatekeepers for some parts of the anxious middle, such as sports trainers, priests and imams, and business owners could carry these messages. For sure, this will not be an easy task, and must involve countering racist opinions and attitudes where they occur, but anxieties should not be generally dismissed as racist or irrational.

Third, civil society engagement and contact between the receiving society and newcomers should be promoted. The unexpected rise in the number of asylum seekers in Germany in 2015 has also shown the willingness and openness of the German public to help and support asylum seekers and refugees – it ushered in a rebirth of civil society in Germany. Government measures must build upon this willingness and continue to support civil society organizations and volunteerism. Promisingly, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) has recognized this need and supports the professionalization of NGOs through a grant-making scheme.⁶⁴ One very important strand of work of these civil society actors is to bring people of the receiving society – with or without migration history in the family – in meaningful contact with newcomers. Public opinion research, including “Transatlantic Trends: Immigration,” has shown that people who have friends or are in touch with newcomers tend to have more favorable opinions about migration. Getting to know a person who arrives with his or her individual story and aspirations turns the abstract concept of migration into a personal relationship, and helps to reduce anxiety and build up social cohesion.

The task for Germany hence will be to develop messages and outreach strategies to engage the anxious middle without preaching or simply reciting facts about the positive benefits about migration.

LESSONS LEARNED

- Creating a social fabric requires the active participation of all: the public and private sector and civil society.
- Create clear and strong anti-discrimination measures.

HOMEWORK

- Increase collection of data about representation of minorities in public institutions and businesses to close representation gaps.
- Develop better measures and ways of communication with the receiving society about anxieties
- Provide more support to civil society organizations that bring together newcomers and receiving society.

⁶³ Astrid Ziebarth, Tanja Wunderlich and Joshua Raisher, “Transatlantic Trends: Mobility, Migration, and Integration,” The German Marshall Fund of the United States, September 10, 2014. <http://www.gmfus.org/publications/transatlantic-trends-mobility-migration-and-integration>

⁶⁴ <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1082903>

Conclusion

In the fall of 2015, Chancellor Angela Merkel called integration the highest priority for Germany. The arrival of over one million refugees and asylum seekers in the span of one year has created a new sense of urgency and impetus for integration measures. It has also spurred a new debate on what integration means for migrants and the receiving society, how it can be achieved and what investment in financial and social resources it requires and by whom. Germany is, however, not starting from scratch. It has its own experience to draw upon, both in terms of mistakes and missed opportunities but also from more recent policy shifts of the past ten to 15 years that have laid a decent groundwork from which to build new and improved integration policies. In four core areas Germany has valuable lessons that it can continue to draw on, as well as areas where the room for improvement is vast.

In terms of (1) the labor market, it is widely accepted that access itself is a crucial enabler of integration. **Easy and fast access to the labor market** should be a key target of policies, and **language and recognition of qualifications** are crucial for equal participation of migrants in the labor market.

While not yet perfect in implementation, Germany has attempted to achieve and improve these key lessons through its current policies. However, the country will need to **lessen both implicit and explicit** forms of discrimination that have proved hurdles to equal employment, and can seize the opportunity **to promote migrant entrepreneurship** by creating a friendlier overall entrepreneurial environment.

The issue of (2) education as a factor of integration will continue to be one of the most important and most complex construction sites. The **fast integration for newcomers in regular schools but with special support** in particular regarding language training should continue to be a priority. In general, providing equal opportunity for all children with migration backgrounds will also require **early language and other support measures, specifically geared toward the needs of families of children with a migration background, but also individually tailored according to school.**

Regarding the role that (3) urban planning can play in fostering an environment conducive to integration, early experience in Germany points to the fact that **an integrated approach has the most potential for success**, and that city officials need to practice **inclusive planning, involving migrants or people with migration history** in their family into neighborhood management planning. The challenge, in particular for urban areas, is to tackle the issue of scarce housing, as to avoid integration hurdles, and to **make the most of new migration in urban areas and the arrival city.**

Finally, the road ahead in Germany will far more prominently feature the topics of (4) social cohesion, diversity, and the receiving society. Actively fostering diversity in public and private institutions, viewing it as an asset and encouraging the voices of different voices in a more visibly diverse society is an opportunity to be embraced by politics and the public at large. At the same time, addressing integration in a changing Germany, will also require policy makers to **develop better measures and ways of communication with the receiving society about anxieties, provide more support to civil society organizations that bring together newcomers and receiving society, and increase data on the representation of minorities in public institutions and businesses in order to close representation gaps.**

Integration is a transformative process rather than an end goal, and will continue to be rife with potential friction, as all change processes are. Countries across the globe, both those with longer history of immigration and those who have only more recently turned into countries of destination and transit, will face the integrating of newcomers. The German experience may provide some guidance and also a few cautionary tales.

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