



Integration at the municipal level

Recommendations for successful on-site integration

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Key Points

- Integration, particularly the integration of the refugees who have migrated to Germany in the last few years, is a task that primarily has to be dealt with by the municipalities.
- Municipalities are particularly involved in finding living space, promoting the regional economy and education and coordinating the commitments of citizens and the “intercultural openness” of the administration.
- Insufficient integration at the municipal level can contribute to long-term dependency of the refugees on social services, the majority of which has to be provided by the cities and municipalities themselves.
- Integration must be considered as a whole: language development, finding employment and social integration have to start in the reception camps and resources must be intelligently distributed.
- In order to activate civil society in a sustainable way, the potential of willing individuals must be addressed and coordinated, e.g. in the form of a survey of individual capacities using standard questionnaires.

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Integration: a scientific analysis category and a political war cry

Foreword

Integration, particularly the integration of the refugees that have migrated to Germany in the last few years, is a task that is primarily dealt with by the municipalities, i.e. “on-site”. Despite loud criticism of the German government’s migration and asylum policies by the citizens, a great deal of voluntary commitment and solidarity towards refugees exists in municipal everyday life. Local integration work is marked by the close proximity to refugees and the need to organise living together “on-site”.

Building on the results of the “On-site Integration” study carried out by the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation which was published in the spring of 2017, the question of how real integration can succeed in city and municipal life “on-site” is dealt with in the following paper. With regard to the challenges faced by the municipalities in the area of integration policy, the analysis is oriented towards the following criteria: (1) The criterion of distribution, supply and accommodation, (2) the criterion of language teaching and integration in the education system, (3) the criterion of integration in the job market and (4) the criterion of social integration in civil society. In light of these results, the “On-site Integration” study summarised here formulates specific action recommendations for integration policy in the municipalities. In order to provide a better overview, the action recommendations are subdivided into three areas: Recommendations for the administration area of the municipalities (A); recommendations for the area of language, education and the job market (B) and recommendations for the area of voluntary commitment (C).

Definition of “integration”

The term “integration” has always been controversial, because it has often been a term that has not been used in a uniform way in political dialogue. Furthermore, it is also used as a scientific analysis category and also in the sense of a political battle cry.¹ The fact that it includes a descriptive and a normative dimension is not unusual as such, but contributes to it often being understood and used in a vague way in political discussions. If you start with the Latin root, integration initially means “restoring the whole”. According to the definition of sociologist Hartmut Esser which was developed from a system-theoretical perspective, integration consists of the “cohesion of parts in a systemic whole”.² Few idea constructs which are purely assimilative can be found in the modern integration discussion, and are also no longer considered to be expedient by politicians. However, according to social scientist Berthold Löffler, it is becoming increasingly clear that an integration policy that only specifies the German language and the abstract constitution as a rough framework is insufficient for having an effect that is community-forming and binding for society.³

An integration term is therefore being taken as a basis that essentially starts from a cultural pluralism that requires acceptance, appreciation and respect for cultural and religious diversity in accordance with the “unity in diversity” principle. Integration must be understood as the interaction between the majority and minority society with duties on both sides. Integration focuses on a double “obligation to provide”: that of the immigrants in the sense of their indispensable willingness to integrate, and that of the German state in the sense of appropriate proposals for integration. Politically speaking, the principle of encouragement and demand applies. Integration does not take place in a valueless space. In this way, the German language and the values of the liberal democratic constitutional order⁴ form the framework within which integration can develop.⁵

Integration focussed on a double “obligation to provide”

A basic distinction must be made between the two dimensions of integration: structural-functional integration and cultural-identificational integration. Structural-functional integration means political, legal and socio-economic participation in all institutions and social areas of majority society. Cultural integration includes emotive, identificatory bonding to the community.⁶ Whereas the former should be the minimum requirement for successful integration, the achievement of the latter would already be a significantly more demanding benchmark for successful integration.

Determinants of municipal integration politics

Based on the results of previous studies of municipal integration politics and the situation of the current municipal challenges, the list of challenges for the local authorities must include the following four main criteria:

- (1) the criterion of distribution, supply and accommodation;
- (2) the criterion of language teaching and integration in the education system;
- (3) the criterion of integration in the job market;
- (4) the criterion of social integration in civil society.

Incorporation in civil society can be encouraged by the state but not forced.

Whereas the first three criteria constitute the underlying structural-functional understanding of integration, the latter criterion is a part of cultural-identificational integration. All four are based on the previously described basic principle of encouragement and demand: distribution, supply and accommodation, the provision of language and integration courses and the provision of structural framework conditions for job market integration refer to the “collectable debt” of the state; on the other hand, the willingness to participate in language and integration courses, acquire appropriate work and integrate into civil-social life lies with migrants as an “obligation to fulfil”. The incorporation into civil society can be encouraged by the state but not forced, which is why this criterion is not given a dedicated chapter. It must be pointed out that these four criteria are closely interwoven in practice in municipalities, but are examined separately for systematic reasons.

The challenges of integration in the municipalities.

The municipalities are *the* decisive players in the integration of refugees. They are the ones who can and must be the relevant players. The challenges that arise when doing this go far beyond the “classic” tasks of social services and self-management.

A wide range of tasks, some of which are completely new, must be dealt with simultaneously within an extremely short period of time: whereas central municipal organisations negotiate with representatives from the government and the federal states about load distribution concepts, the immigration and social authorities must develop integration strategies, broaden integration offers, acquire accommodation and explain things to the local population at the same time and include them in the integration process. However, there is no fixed recipe for successful municipal refugee work and integration of asylum seekers, as stated by the German Institute for Urban Studies:

“[...] Integration cannot be taken for granted, and is not the result of a justified distribution key. On the contrary, it is the result of a municipal attitude and the endeavours that are derived from this.”⁷

The institutional framework of on-site refugee integration

The responsibilities in refugee politics are divided between the government, the federal states and the municipalities.

The refugee policy in Germany is a field of work that is divided between the government, the federal states and the municipalities. From a purely formal point of view, the areas of responsibility are clear. While the government is responsible for processing the asylum requests, it is up to the federal state governments to provide accommodation and supplies to the asylum seekers together with the cities and the municipalities. However, if you examine the responsibilities of the individual levels in the practical implementation of the refugee policy, you at least partially get the impression that the federal task distribution looks more like a "patchwork quilt"⁸ – whereby refugee and integration politics in Germany is a "complex interaction of many different agents at the level of government, federal states and municipalities"⁹.

The specifications with regard to the distribution and supply of the refugees after their stay in the initial reception institutions differ depending on the federal state. Whereas the municipalities are directly responsible for organising the accommodation in the majority of federal states, for example, in Bavaria the respective government districts are responsible for this task.¹⁰ The way in which costs are reimbursed also differs between municipalities. However, refugees are being supplied and integrated in cities and municipalities over the medium to long term throughout Germany.

Municipalities are the actual "integration moderators".

Furthermore, the immigration authorities of the municipalities are responsible for implementing the right of residence. They impose so-called tolerations for asylum seekers whose applications have been refused and evaluate the extent to which asylum seekers fulfil their involvement obligation, e.g. in obtaining a passport.¹¹ As well as enforcing immigration law and looking after the refugees, the subject area of integration represents another main task for the cities and municipalities. For integration researcher Michael Bommers they are the actual "integration moderators",¹² since they implement the integration-political specifications of the government and the federal states looking to the local reality. This particularly applies to the areas of finding living space, promoting the regional economy and education and coordinating the commitment of citizens and the "intercultural openness" of the administration.¹³

Perception of the tasks of refugee policy depends on the financial options and political willingness.

Insufficient integration at local authority level ultimately leads to long-term dependence of refugees on social services, the majority of which have to be provided by the cities and municipalities themselves.¹⁴ The extent to which municipalities perceive voluntary tasks of refugee politics depends on their financial capabilities on the one hand.¹⁵ On the other hand the perception of such tasks is also an expression of political willingness, which emerges against the background of the charged relationship between migration control and welfare politics that is transmitted from the federal level. This charged relationship can also be found at state level in the parallel department responsibility of the ministry of the interior and ministry for social affairs, and continues at municipal level within the scope of the task distribution of immigration authorities and social authorities. According to this, Hannes Schamann sees the varying implementation practice of municipal refugee policy as a local specific interpretation of this relationship: "Interpretation of the AsylbLG as a welfare law by the state and the municipality encourages a welfare state-liberal interpretation; understanding of the regulation as a migration-political control element legitimises regulative restrictive implementation thereof."¹⁶

The responsibility of taking over costs in refugee policy is initially also tied to the distribution of responsibilities: The government finances the carrying out of the asylum procedures, whereas the states and the municipalities are responsible for the cost of accommodation and care for the refugees.

Three challenges: Accommodation, language/education, job market

One major challenge is the financing of municipal costs for food and accommodation, whereby the municipal job centres usually have to be put in a position to integrate the new arrivals into the job market from a financial point of view.¹⁷ There are also additional costs for medical supplies for the asylum seekers.¹⁸

However, the financial aspects only represent a part of the challenges that the municipalities are facing. The structures and procedural routines of authorities and administration at municipal level have come up against their limits in many places with regard to the situation since the beginning of the "refugee crisis".¹⁹ One of the new areas of responsibility of municipal administrations is the networking of the authority work with the many different non-governmental participants who have taken over the practical supply and particularly the integration of the refugees since the summer of 2015.²⁰ Many voluntary initiatives and non-governmental participants such as NGOs, trade chambers and unions make a valuable and indispensable contribution "on-site".

The accommodation challenge

The distribution of people seeking asylum runs between the German Federal States in accordance with a quota procedure in accordance with § 45 of the German Asylum Act. The asylum seekers are distributed on the basis of this "Königstein Key" which was newly defined this year, which is calculated based on two thirds of the respective tax income of a state and one third of the population.²¹

It is then up to the states themselves to decide how the asylum seekers are accommodated in the various districts and in the municipalities.²² The states use different methods. Baden-Württemberg exclusively uses the criterion of the respective population, Hesse takes factors such as the proportion of immigrants and the number of residents into account, and in North Rhine-Westphalia the state-internal distribution takes place based on a code in accordance with § 3 of the refugee admission law of the state, which is based on 90 percent of the number of residents and ten percent of the area of a municipality. Special regulations apply to cities with initial reception centres. Keeping families together is also taken in consideration.

Because of the sharp increase in the number of refugees in 2015, the German distribution system for asylum seekers has frequently broken down. Munich alone received up to 10,000 or more migrants per day in September 2015.²³ For this reason, many refugees try to circumvent this process and initially travel onward within Germany unregistered, even now. As was the case of Munich, this sometimes took place with the permission of the authorities if insufficient accommodation capacity was available on-site. In 2015 it frequently occurred that "not computer programs but bus and train capacity decided where the refugees spent the next four to six weeks."²⁴

Good cooperation between public offices and civil-social participants was decisive for successfully accommodating the refugees in the municipalities. Without the involvement of the latter, it would hardly have been possible to control the challenges of 2015. The support of the refugees by volunteers takes the pressure off the persons responsible in the municipalities. The extent to which you can commit yourself is extremely broad when doing this: it ranges from simple orientation aid in the new location to help with shopping and doctor's visits to jointly organised leisure activities. The municipalities are encountering these new types of challenges during a period in which accommodation is lacking in many (major) cities. There are also considerable

Networking of
authority work with
non-governmental
participants

The states use com-
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the asylum seekers.

Good cooperation between administration and civil society is a necessity.

regional differences in the quality of living space. In many cities it is difficult to find affordable living space that also meets requirements regarding fire protection, sound-proofing, climate protection, energy and accessibility. Bureaucratic and building standards should not be watered down, but should be able to be flexibly interpreted and applied in the event of serious obstacles to action. The law has already taken action in this respect with the "Law concerning measures in building planning law for facilitating the accommodation of refugees" in November 2014.²⁵ All of these are problems and connections which have not newly arisen with the arrival of the surge in refugees, but which the municipalities have been dealing with for years. It is therefore also important that people with a migration background in Germany before the intensification that took place in 2015 are not played off against the "new" refugees.

Language Lessons and Integration in the Education System

Many municipalities are supplementing the mandatory tasks involved in looking after asylum seekers with other voluntary measures such as language courses for asylum seekers who are (still) not recognised. Access to the integration courses organised by the Federal Government is refused to these people until their status is recognised (§ 44 AufenthG). Many towns and communities have also developed their own local integration concepts.²⁶

Urgent need for nurseries, adult education centres and universities.

Despite varying framework conditions which arise in education due to state sovereignty, the demands made of the municipalities in Germany are similar in nature. For example, at the beginning of 2016 the Association of Cities and Municipalities of North Rhine-Westphalia clearly stated that the "integration of refugee children in schools will pose challenges to the municipalities which will be near-impossible to tackle without additional support."²⁷ From the point of view of the municipalities, who are usually only responsible for buildings and equipment in the school area, urgent requirements have now arisen in the areas of nurseries, room schedules, building laws, adult education centres and universities against the background that has been described.²⁸ Targeted development of this area is strictly advisable, since they are important requirements for integration in the German job market - a topic that is dealt with in with the following section.

Integration in the job market

Whereas integration in the job market is possibly the biggest challenge for successful integration, it is also the most important and essential hurdle on the road to permanent integration in German society. Little reliable information exists about the educational level of the refugees arriving in Germany.²⁹ For this reason it is difficult to realistically estimate their chances in the job market. On the one hand, there is a relatively large group of people with higher school or university education, and on the other hand many asylum applicants are under 16 years of age; according to estimates mid-level qualifications and technical professions are thus hardly represented.³⁰

Refugee and work migration as separate spheres.

Refugee and work migration must be regarded as separate spheres of immigration politics with regard to admission reasons and the choice of migration-political instruments. However, it is indisputable that humanitarian migration also has an influence on the domestic job market - and no later than the point in time when asylum seekers drop out of the Asylum Seekers Act and obtain benefits and support in accordance with SGB II.³¹

In particular the municipalities want faster integration of asylum seekers into the job market, since it is they who have to shoulder the majority of the welfare costs.

For this reason, the cities and municipalities have been demanding for years that the federal government should implement measures to make integration into the job market easier.³²

Action Recommendations

In 2007, the central municipal organisations formulated six action areas for municipal integration policy: (1) Integration as a municipal cross-departmental task; (2) Supporting local networks; (3) Intercultural opening of administration; (4) Social integration through participation and civic commitment; (5) Language and education; (6) Professional integration.³³ These are all starting points which are unwaveringly important in light of the current challenges. The municipal experiences from district management dealing with socio-structurally disadvantaged city districts can and should be sensibly incorporated into the challenges of refugee integration. In order to avoid new social segregation processes, ghettoisation and the formation of parallel societies, attention must be paid in this respect to the decentralised accommodation of refugees in parts of the city, while taking the existing social structure into consideration.

In the beginning, the criteria of distribution, care and accommodation, language teaching and integration in the education system, integration in the job market and social incorporation in civil society were defined as central to successful integration on-site. Specific action recommendations for the municipalities can be divided into the following three areas: recommendations for the administration area of the municipalities (A); recommendations for the area of language, education and the job market (B) and recommendations for the area of voluntary commitment (C). In the following the specific "on-site" themes are summarised and explained in a special way from these action recommendations.

A. Recommendations for the administration area of the municipalities

Integrated thinking about integration

Even though the three criteria that have been mentioned have been dealt with separately in this study for analytical and systematic reasons, they relate to each other and must be viewed as a whole and addressed in conjunction with municipal practice. More specifically this means that language development, job market placement and social integration must start in the initial reception facilities. All three aspects should not be postponed until the accommodation problem has been solved, but must be tackled at the same time.

Improving coordination within the administrations

The municipalities have defined integration as a cross-sectional task in local integration politics for about a decade, and have created the relevant structures for it. Cross-departmental agencies for the integration department have existed in cities such as Bielefeld and Duisburg since the mid-2000s. There are many arguments in favour of following this model in refugee policy, and of anchoring the topic in administration across the various departments. The coordination of all participants on-site is a fundamental prerequisite for successful integration. This begins with the formulation of conceptual papers and guidelines for the integration and refugee concepts of a municipality, and extends to the set-up of regular steering groups and the establishment of a specific, appropriately staffed function location which is managed by a refugee manager / coordinator. In some cities such as Stuttgart or Heidelberg, there is even a position of "Integration Mayor".

Using Community
Experiences in District
Management.

Integrated thinking
about integration,
and stabilising finan-
cial resources.

Intelligently stabilising financial resources

It is an undeniable fact that the challenges of integrating refugees will remain a constant task for the municipalities in the medium term. From start-up funding to deal with the associated tasks, it will now be a case of creating long-term structures with fewer means. Because beyond ad-hoc programmes, integration will determine everyday life in many municipalities far beyond 2018.

Implementing administrative interculturality and involving immigrant associations

Particularly in many urban big city regions with a high proportion of migrants, it is essential for the persons responsible in the municipalities to know and understand the social and cultural context of the migrants and refugees and be trained in how to deal with these. On the one hand, an appreciation of cultural diversity can take place in this way. Furthermore, this knowledge also helps to classify and defuse conflict situations.

Associations for representing the interests of migrants should also be consciously and actively involved in integration on-site. They are in a better position to respond to the respective audience and understand their problems and challenges in a more comprehensive way. They also have a high degree of acceptance and credibility, which can make it easier to access the admission society for new arrivals.

Utilising the potential of rural spaces

Up to this point, rural areas have been less affected by the challenges of refugees and migration than urban areas such as small and medium-sized cities. However, accommodation in rural areas could also be an advantage. There is considerably more free living space here which can be made available for accommodation than in many cities, which have been at their limit in this respect for quite some time. Furthermore, segregation and ghetto formation can be more easily avoided in rural areas than in large cities and urban areas. The fact that there is less anonymity and that the bonds between employees and employers are usually closer in rural areas are also conducive to making integration work. The club and volunteer networks that are more pronounced in rural areas (sport, fire brigades etc.) appear to represent major obstacles for new arrivals at first glance, but once they have been overcome they can lead to stable social integration.

B. Recommendations for the areas of language, education and the job market

Encouraging integration at all levels of education

It is important for all areas of the educational system from nurseries to universities to be considered in order to achieve comprehensive and long-lasting development of language acquisition and integration in the German education system. Ultimately the area of political education is also required to offer integration courses and education in the political and cultural development of Germany. The portfolio of challenges extends across all educational sectors in Germany. Particular emphasis is placed on value education, which has grown in importance since 2015 and particularly since the events of New Year's Eve in Cologne.

Round tables in the municipalities for networking with the local economy

Contact and cooperation with representatives of local companies is important for integration in the job market. Integration by means of internships, training and employment can be expedited via companies which show interest in this form of integration. Round tables with local companies who are open to make their contribution already exist in many municipalities.

Including immigrant associations and utilising the potential of rural spaces.

An overview of such formats and approaches can be found in the list of best practice examples in municipal refugee work from the municipal joint office for administration management (KGSt).³⁴

Access to job market via low-threshold offers

Since access to regular employment is usually difficult, low-threshold employment opportunities should initially be created. The municipalities have already gained a great deal of experience in the area of bicycle repair workshops or municipal garden work for other young people with socio-structural disadvantages, for example. In employment relationships of this kind, the refugees could also get a foot in the door of the job market, which could then result in employment that regularly pays national insurance.

Municipalities as important intermediaries

Municipalities can only act indirectly through putting refugees in touch with companies. They must concentrate on advice, coordination and creating networks. In this way, structures that already exist such as business development or contacts with chambers of commerce and industry and chambers of handicrafts can be used to define suitable strategies for labour market integration in the local municipality.

C. Recommendations for the areas of civil society and volunteering

Activating civil society and promoting voluntary engagement

A basic attitude of openness and acceptance is indispensable for successful social integration into civil society. In order to promote this basic attitude, relevant information should be made available to assuage worries and fears as good as possible.

Recognising and addressing individual willingness potential in a better way

For the willingness and also the capability of committing oneself voluntarily, personal tendencies, dispositions and motivation play as big a role as physical and psychological resilience and the amount of time that is available, which itself is dependent upon age, employment and one's family and life situation in general. Here it would be feasible to inquire about the capacity that can be individually provided using standard questionnaires in order to be able to make efficient use of the voluntary resources available. The possibility of playing a meaningful part with your individual abilities and being able to work in accordance with your own ideas will have a major effect on the motivation of the volunteer.

The mentoring principle as an important basis of voluntary supervision

The basic principle of the mentoring idea is one-on-one supervision between the "mentor" and "mentee". This principle is also significant in refugee politics, since personal trust can only be created, and a long-term and lasting bond developed by means of individual supervision between volunteer and refugee. This individual relationship can be encouraged and controlled from the municipal side by means of patronage certificates, regardless of how flexibly this can be arranged with regard to its legally binding nature.

Better coordination of civil society and voluntary activities

The municipalities regard the networking and coordination of the voluntary commitment of local participants as a cornerstone of the community's task of refugee integration. Two thirds of all cities and municipalities therefore already promote refugee and welcoming initiatives, or are promoting pilot, mentoring and sponsorship projects.³⁵ This could be further upgraded by the declaration to promote civic commitment as a compulsory municipal task³⁶.

Community as intermediary for networking between local economy and job market.

Addressing and coordinating individual willingness potential

Networking and coordination of voluntary commitment as a cornerstone of integration

The approach of the "Open Coordination Method" (OMK) originates from the area of the politics of the European Union and could be the inspiration, provided that it is formulated very carefully. As far as the OMK is concerned, it is a case of information and communication between the sovereign participants (nation states) in non-communitarised areas of politics in order to learn from each other by means of innovative approaches ("best practice"). Regular reports from the acting participants, which are collected and evaluated by the EU commission, create a systematic overview of the contents and the procedures. Precisely this approach could show at municipal level ("on-site") what, where, how and by whom things are done and where synergies can be achieved.

However, the following is also clear: stimulating and encouraging well and extensively assembled voluntary personnel can only support the endeavours. The main responsibility for the refugee work and successful integration still lies with the municipal administration institutions on-site.

Outlook

In German cities and communities, integration takes place immediately and directly, measures are therefore designed and carried out "specifically on-site" and evaluated taking the particular conditions of the respective location into consideration. However, how should these action recommendations be arranged in the "big picture" and put into context with the potential objectives of integration politics? On the one hand there is the creation of a socio-cultural pluralism which stands out against both popular multiculturalism and forced assimilation in a positive way in its ideal case. However, on the other hand it is clear that it is necessary to maintain the commitment and strength of validity of the existing legal order and values of the community.

Particularly because of its local orientation and because of its importance for the personal proximity of the residents, the municipal area is both a "test laboratory" for successful integration and also the principal location for meetings and mutual communication which must first and foremost be used in a positive way. The above-mentioned action recommendations do not claim to be complete by any means, but the intention is to formulate suggestions on the basis of the preceding analysis for developing and establishing successful and lasting integration measures at the municipal level.

- 1] See Ohlert, Martin: *Between Multiculturalism and Defining Culture. Integration defining principle and politics of the parties represented in the 17th German Bundestag, Wiesbaden 2015*, pg. 18–67.
- 2] See Esser, Hartmut: *Assimilation, Integration and Ethnic conflicts. Can they be influenced by "communication"?*, in: Heribert Schatz et al. (publisher): *Migrants and media. New challenges for the integration function of press and radio, Wiesbaden 2000*, pg. 26.
- 3] See Löffler, Berthold: *Integration between multiculturalism and assimilation. Plea for a culturally relatively homogeneous society*, in: *The Political Opinion 500/501 (2011)*, pg. 59. – See also: Volker Kronenberg: *Interim balance of a German debate which is necessary: Defining culture, constitution and patriotism – what unites us?*, in: Bernhard Vogel (publisher): *What unites us?*, Freiburg 2008, pg. 188–209.
- 4] *The Federal Constitutional Court defines the free democratic basic order in Art. 21 II GG as "An order which represents a constitutional system of rule on the basis of the self-determination of the people according to the will of the respective majority and freedom and equality, excluding violence and tyranny."* quote according to: Bethge, Herbert: *Perception, waiver and forfeiture of constitutional rights*, in: Isensee, Josef / Kirchhof, Paul: *Manual of the constitutional law of the Federal Republic of Germany vol. IX, 3., completely revised and extended edition, Heidelberg 2011*, pg. 1192.
- 5] Kronenberg, Volker / Jelic, Marco: *"Successful integration. Debate, Definition and Practical Politics"*, in: *How much does Islam belong to Germany? Integration experience of young and old people in a secular society on the example of the Ruhr area, Bonn 2015*, pg. 18.
- 6] See Löffler, Berthold: *Integration in Germany. Between multiculturalism and assimilation, Munich 2011*, pg. 18.
- 7] *Difu report 2/2015: Change in perspectives when dealing with refugees: From special situation to municipal everyday*, in: <http://www.difu.de/publikationen/difu-berichte-2015/perspektivenwechsel-im-umgang-mit-fluechtlingen-von-der.html> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 8] See. Schamann, Hannes: *Every man for himself? Refugee policy in federalism*, in: *From politics and contemporary history 25 (2015)*, pg. 26.
- 9] *Council of experts of German Foundations for Integration and Migration: Integration in the federal system. Government, states and the role of the municipality, Berlin 2012*, pg. 58.
- 10] See Jutta Aumüller: *Framework conditions for taking in refugees and their transfer into the municipalities*, in: Jutta Aumüller/Priska Daphi/Celine Biesenkamp (publisher): *Intake of refugees in the federal states and the municipalities, authority practice and civil-social commitment, Stuttgart 2015*, pg. 19–120, pg. 30.
- 11] See Aumüller: *Framework conditions*, pg. 22.
- 12] Bommers, Michael: *Municipalities: Moderators in the process of social integration?*, in: *From politics and contemporary history 46-47 (2010)*, pg. 40.
- 13] See Bommers, Michael: *Municipalities: Moderators in the process of social integration?*, in: *From politics and contemporary history 46-47 (2010)*, pg. 40.
- 14] Aumüller: *Framework conditions*, pg. 30.
- 15] See Schader Foundation: *Framework conditions of municipal integration policy, Darmstadt 2011*, in: <https://www.schader-stiftung.de/themen/vielfalt-und-integration/fokus/sozialraeumliche-integration/artikel/rahmenbedingungen-kommunaler-integrationspolitik/> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 16] Schamann, Hannes: *When variations determine everyday life Differences in local policy-making in service provision for asylum seekers. In: Magazine for comparative political science 9 (2015)*, pg. 161–182, pg. 178.
- 17] See German Association of Cities and Municipalities: *Position paper of the DStGB from 18th June 2015*.
- 18] See German Association of Cities and Municipalities: *Position paper of the DStGB from 18th June 2015*.
- 19] See Junk, Oliver, quotation according to Federal Centre for Political Education: *Debate. Municipal refugee politics, Bonn 2015*, in: <http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/207401/vier-stimmen-zum-handlungsspielraum-der-kommunen-in-der-fluechtlingspolitik> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 20] See IMAF Institute: *Participants in municipal refugee work. Integrating refugees into the municipality - No. 2/2015*, in: [http://www.imaf-institut.de/no_cache/unternehmen/newsletter/newsletter-archiv/newsletter-detail/?tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=293&cHash=a4923f4d774ac48bef726e0c0e929bb1](http://www.imaf-institut.de/no_cache/unternehmen/newsletter/newsletter-archiv/newsletter-detail/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=293&cHash=a4923f4d774ac48bef726e0c0e929bb1) (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 21] *Federal Insurance Office: Königstein Key*, in: <http://www.bundesversicherungsamt.de/ausgleichsfonds/foerdergelder/koenigsteiner-schlüssel.html> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 22] *For a tabular overview of the state-specific distribution of asylum seekers, see Müller, Andreas: The organisation of the admission and accommodation of asylum seekers in Germany*, pg. 21 ff.
- 23] *Die Welt: Munich close to collapse – 12,300 refugees in one day. Online article of 13th September 2015*, in: <http://www.welt.de/politik/article146343695/Muenchen-nah-am-Kollaps-12-300-Fluechtlinge-an-einem-Tag.html> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
- 24] *Die Welt: Munich close to collapse – 12,300 refugees in one day. Online article of 13th September 2015*, in: <http://www.welt.de/politik/article146343695/Muenchen-nah-am-Kollaps-12-300-Fluechtlinge-an-einem-Tag.html> (accessed on 4 September 2017).
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