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Refugee Integration Policy and Public Administration in Berlin

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The Research Project

Models of Co-operation between Local Governments and Social Organizations in Germany and China- Migration: Challenges and Solutions (LoGoSO Germany China) is a comparative research project of the Freie Universität Berlin, the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster and the Chinese Academy of Governance, funded by Stiftung Mercator.

This comparative research project looks at the co-operation between state and social organizations (SOs) in China and Germany. It focusses on social service delivery in the area of integration of migrating populations with special attention to the fields of education, employment, vulnerable groups and social assistance (incl. legal aid) as a crosscutting issue to all of the fields. Within this subject area, the project wants to identify different models of state-SO co-operation and analyze which models are successful and why and where this co-operation is problematic. It aims to capture the different models of co-operation in Germany and China, to analyze and compare the underlying structures and to show potentialities for development.

Contents

1		Intro	roduction1					
2		Hist	ory (of migration	3			
3		Act	ors a	and administrative structures	4			
	3	.1	Trac	dition and organization of the administration	4			
	3	.2	Res	ponsible departments for the relevant policy fields	6			
		3.2.	1	Employment	7			
		3.2.	2	Education	8			
		3.2.	3	Social assistance	8			
		3.2.	4	Vulnerable groups	8			
	3	.3	Hist	ory of local philanthropy	9			
4		Inte	grati	on policy of the city1	0			
5		Organization of refugee integration in the policy fields						
	5	5.1 Em		ployment1	1			
	5	5.2 Edu		cation1	2			
	5	.3	Soc	ial Assistance1	3			
	5	.4	Vulr	nerable groups1	4			
		5.4.	1	(Unaccompanied) minors	5			
		5.4.	2	Female and LGBTI refugees	6			
		5.4.	3	Health care and trauma1	6			
		5.4.	4	Seniors and persons with disabilities	7			
6		Invo	lven	nent of NPOs and volunteers in refugee integration1	7			
	6	.1	Emp	ployment policy1	8			
	6	.2	Edu	cation1	8			
	6	.3	Soc	ial assistance1	9			
	6	.4	Vulr	nerable groups1	9			
7		Con	clus	ion2	0			

Introduction

Berlin is a particular case of a German city, as it is both a land and a city, i.e. a city-state. As such, its internal structure differs from other German cities. This refers in particular to the distribution of responsibilities, which formally remain with the level of the land in Berlin, even if the districts take up many of the tasks that are fulfilled by the municipalities in area states. Moreover, current activities and structures in Berlin cannot be understood without its historical background as a divided city. For decades, the Iron Wall had separated neighbours and had submitted the eastern and western parts of the city to two widely differing regimes and policies. Since 1990, the two parts are growing back together, but this process has not been concluded yet. Differences between eastern and western districts - e.g. in terms of incomes or population structure - remain, even if they are constantly decreasing.

This report will provide the necessary information for understanding the structures of refugee integration in Berlin and thereby lay the groundwork for the case studies to be conducted in the project. The report starts by presenting some general data on the city of Berlin, its inhabitants, economy, public administration and recent refugee migration (see Table 1). Secondly, the city's experiences with migration are briefly depicted (section 2). Thirdly, the administrative structures in the city-state and the competences of the central city and the districts are outlined (section 3). This section includes a short discussion of the role of philanthropy in Berlin. Section 4 summarizes the general integration policy of the city as it is stated in integration concepts and plans. In the following, a more detailed look is taken at the areas under study, notably the policy fields of employment and education, as well as social assistance to refugees and the integration of vulnerable groups (section 5). Consequently, the involvement of NPOs in these structures will be outlined (section 6). A concluding section recapitulates the findings.

General data about the city							
Size	892,00 square km/ 89.169 ha						
Administrative structure	Divided into 12 districts (until 2001: 23 districts) of various sizes						
	and densities						
Position within Germany	Northeast						
Economy							
Economic strength	Economic growth 2005-2014: 18.1 percent (highest economic growth of all länder)						
Sectors	Public and private services: 29.4 percent of all employed persons Public administration: 7.5 percent Real estate and economic services: 17.7 percent Finance and insurance: 2.2 percent Traffic and communication: 11.2 percent Commerce/trade, hotel and restaurants: 17.9 percent Construction: 5.3 percent Processing trade: 7.9 percent						
Unemployment	9.4 percent of the labour force are unemployed (ILO definition) Differences between the Districts: • 14.6 percent in Berlin-Mitte • 5.0 percent in Steglitz-Zehlendorf Differences by nationality: • 7.8 percent among German nationals • 18.4 percent among foreign nationals						
Demography and social structure							

Tatal namelation	2.674.000 (and of 2040)
Total population	3,671,000 (end of 2016)
Average age	Male population: 1,696,218 (48.9%) Ø 42.80 years
Average age	
Cabaal and university	 678,135 persons > 65 years of age 171,263 students in higher education (2015)
School and university students	• 330,232 school students
students	
	D
Average household size	Private schools: 32,924 students 1.7 persons per household
Socio-economic data	1.7 persons per nousenoid
Income ranges	25 percent of all inhabitants have net incomes of >1,700€ per
income ranges	month, 8.8 percent have incomes <500€; 14.7 percent have no income
Public transfers	Welfare benefits (chapters 3-9 SGB XII): 159,980 persons (4.6
Tublic transfers	percent of the population)
	175,000 unemployed persons as of January 2017 (seasonally adjusted), of whom
	• 42,000 receiving UB I (2.4 percent of the labour force)
	• 133,000 receiving UB II (7.3 percent of the labour force) (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2017: 1-6)
Educational achievement	University degree (incl. Universities of Applied Sciences): 22.3
Zadodional domovement	percent of the population
	24.0 percent of foreign nationals
	21.9 percent of German nationals
	Vocational school (Fachschule): 6.4 percent
	2.4 percent of foreign nationals
	7 percent of German nationals
	Not completed higher education or vocational training: 22.8 percent
	46.4 percent of foreign nationals
	18.7 percent of German nationals
	No school leaving certificate (excluding currently enrolled school
	students): 4.8 percent
	20 percent of foreign nationals
	2.2 percent of German nationals
City and administration	<u></u>
Public employees	98,240 in main state administration
	28,800 in the District administrations
	65,905 in other facilities under public law (incl.
	universities)
Fiscal situation	Public debt of the main budget (<i>Kernhaushalt</i>): 60 billion Euro
	16,819€ per inhabitant (see also Senatsverwaltung für 5,22222 2016, 17,24)
	Finanzen 2016: 17-24)
	Tax income: 13.6 billion Euros (9.8bn Euros in shares of combined
	federal and länder taxes; 3.8bn Euros own tax income)
	Budget: Planned expenditures 2017
	 Internal affairs and sport: 12 percent of total expenditures
	 Education, youth and science: 29 percent Urban development and environment: 12 percent
	Economy, technology and research: 4 percent
	Health and social affairs: 5 percent
	Work, integration and women: 1 percent
	(Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2016: 29)
Refugee migration	1 (55576) Traitioning (at 1 mail2011 2010)
Reception of refugees	• 2015: 55,001 new asylum seekers
or roragood	2010. 00/00 : now doylain bookers

•	2016: 16,889 new asylum seekers
•	2017: 8,285 new asylum seekers ¹

Table 1: Key data on Berlin.

Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2017, unless otherwise indicated.

History of migration

The city of Berlin has a long history of migration and integration, e.g. admitting Calvinist refugees as early as 1571. When the city, devastated after the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), searched for ways to incite a new upswing, its elector decided to invite highly educated Huguenots from France, but also Jews, Protestants from Vienna and religious refugees from Bohemia by offering religious tolerance and partly material benefits (Rollmann 2016; Stratenschulte 2013: 10f). With the rising significance of Prussia in the 19th century, Berlin as its capital also gained importance. More and more businesses settled in the city, increasing the need for foreign workers. They mainly came from the east and settled in dense and poor neighbourhoods. Conflicts in Russia in the late 19th century and the onset of World War I further increased immigration to Berlin, e.g. by ethnic Germans from the areas lost in the war and by Jews fleeing from Eastern Europe. Many of these inhabitants were later expulsed or deported and killed by the Nazis (Rollmann 2016: 9-12).

In the last months of the Second World War, many people flew from the oncoming Russian army, with more than 40,000 persons arriving in Berlin every day in January 1945. Emigration from the east to Berlin was reinforced by the capitulation of the Nazi regime, and until 1961, 1.65 million persons had migrated to West Berlin (Rollmann 2016: 13f). The creation of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1949 perpetuated the division of Berlin into an eastern and a western half. This also led to a divided immigration policy. Reconstruction of the western parts of the devastated city was strongly supported by public subsidies, resulting in a high demand for labour that was initially met by commuters from the eastern half until the construction of the wall. Afterwards, immigrant labourers were recruited, primarily from Turkey. They usually lived in segregated areas, mainly spoke their language of origin and did not have many contacts to German citizens. The expectation of a speedy return to Turkey that had initially been anticipated by both the city government and the immigrants was dropped with the stop of labour recruitment in 1973 (Stratenschulte 2013: 12-14). Instead, many immigrants chose to send for their families and settled permanently in West Berlin (Gesemann et al. 2011: 28). In contrast, immigration to the GDR was more strongly controlled. Even if labourers from e.g. Vietnam or Cuba were recruited, they lived strictly segregated from German citizens; had few rights and return policies were more rigorously enforced (Hoerder 2010: 110f).

Both East and West Berlin were the destination of refugee migration, e.g. for Communists from Greece and Spain (East Berlin) or Vietnamese 'boat people' and Polish opposition members (West Berlin). Refugee migration increased strongly and diversified in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Rollmann 2016: 15-21). A number of demonstrations in 2012

See https://www.berlin.de/fluechtlinge/infos-zu-fluechtlingen/fakten/artikel.436797.php (last accessed 25 May 2018).

aimed at raising awareness for the death of refugees in the Mediterranean and the problematic situation of their reception in Germany, leading to renewed public attention. The immigration of unexpectedly large numbers of asylum seekers in 2015 further boosted public debates, making refugee policy a highly prominent topic in the media and politics (Rollmann 2016: 23).

Actors and administrative structures

This section outlines the basic responsibilities of public agencies, firstly describing general government structures and secondly delineating responsibilities regarding the integration of refugees, in particular in the fields of labour market integration, education, social assistance and vulnerable groups. In addition, the role of philanthropy in the city will be briefly outlined.

3.1 Tradition and organization of the administration

In Berlin, state and non-state (i.e. municipal) tasks are not legally assigned to different levels of government. Instead, the central city government is formally accountable for all tasks, whereas all levels of the administration are responsible for their implementation as a unitary field of activity. In practice, however, the districts are usually implementing the policies unless they concern the city as a whole and thus "imperatively" require governmental administration (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 58-60; §§2-3 Allgemeines Zuständigkeitsgesetz - AZG). The districts thus have an ambiguous position: They fulfil most of the tasks normally taken up by autonomous municipalities and are granted a lump sum payment (Globalsumme) to fulfill their tasks according to Art. 85(II) Verfassung von Berlin (VvB). Even so, the city's legislative body retains ultimate authority and the districts do not have legal personality. They remain subordinate to the city level that can govern by administrative directives (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 19-32). The employer of district personnel is the city, not the individual district, even if each district has its own administrative structure (Speth/Becker 2016: 21).

The main political and administrative actors are the following (see Figure 1): The legislative body of the city and land Berlin is the House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus), whose members are elected for five years. It has 160 members for the 18th elective period (2016-2021): the SPD (Social Democrats) holds 38 seats, CDU (Christian Democrats) 31, Die Linke (Left Party) and Die Grünen (Green Party) each hold 27 seats, AfD (Alternative for Germany) 23, and the FDP (Liberals) 12 seats, plus two seats by non-attached members. Legislative work is mainly conducted in committees for certain topics such as the Committee for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs.² The House of Representatives elects the Governing Mayor (Regierender Bürgermeister) who represents the land and establishes the guidelines of government policy (Richtlinien der Regierungspolitik) that need to be confirmed by the House of Representatives. Moreover, the Governing Mayor decides on the structure of the Senate Administrations (Senatsverwaltungen), appoints the senators, and supervises their compliance with the policy guidelines (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 49-51).

² For more information on the current House of Representatives see https://www.parlamentberlin.de (last accessed 28 May 2018).

The Senate is the government of the land and head of the executive (Landesregierung). It consists of the Governing Mayor and a maximum of ten additional senators. Each of them is autonomously leading a Senate Administration (Senatsverwaltung), e.g. the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 44). The current government (since 2016) is a coalition of the SPD, the Left and the Green Parties. The Senators are responsible for the central and district administrations as well as the indirect state administration (i.e. public corporations and entities with legal capacity such as the universities) under their purview. Two of the Senators are called mayors and act as deputies for the Governing Mayor if needed, supporting him mainly with representative tasks (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 48f).3 Subordinate agencies of the departments (such as LAGeSo and LAF, see 3.2) are state authorities that are installed to relieve the departments of executive functions that concern the entire city. They do not have supervising authority over the districts, thereby adding to the complexity of the administrative structures (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 44f). In addition, entities without legal capacity (e.g. museums) and municipal corporations (e.g. the transit authority Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe) pertain to the central administration.

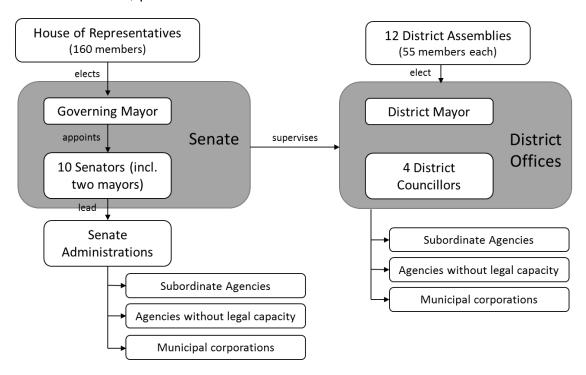


Figure 1: Structure of government and administration in Berlin.

In parallel to the House of Representatives, the districts have their own democratically elected District Assemblies (Bezirksverordnetenversammlung) that are responsible e.g. for the district budgets. They also elect the District Offices (Bezirksämter) that are the districts' main administrative bodies and consist of the District Mayor (Bezirksbürgermeister) and four District Councillors (Bezirksstadträte) (Musil/Kirchner

³http://www.berlin.de/rbmskzl/regierenderbuergermeister/senat/geschaeftsverteilung/#buergermeister (last accessed 28 May 2018).

2017: 33).4 In addition, some entities without legal capacity such as schools or the adult education facilities (Volkshochschulen) and municipal enterprises that are responsible e.g. for municipal childcare facilities fall under the purview of the District Offices (Musil/Kirchner 2017: 46).

After reunification, high expenses and low tax income affected the city, leading to an extremely high level of public debts. In order to consolidate public finances, many formerly public tasks were privatized, including gas and electricity provision as well as housing and real estate corporations (Mäding 2002: 84-93). Berlin has started a financial restructuring process in 2012 to reduce public debts further. Since then, it has generated surpluses in each consecutive year. Parts of these surpluses were paid into a separate fund for infrastructural investments for the growing city (Sondervermögen Infrastruktur für die Wachsende Stadt, SIWA). In 2016, the fund disposed of nearly 700 million Euros and the city has nearly concluded the consolidation process, even if the per capita debt is still high (17,000 Euros per inhabitant) (Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2016: 17-24).

Expenses for refugee reception and integration are difficult to quantify because they concern a crosscutting issue of the public administration, i.e. costs are encountered in various fields and are not always exclusively spent on refugees/migrants. Even so, the Senate Administration for Finance calculates expenses for refugee integration to amount to three percent of the total budget, including costs for accommodation, education, health care, labour market integration etc. (Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2017). The Federal Government reimburses some of these expenses, in particular regarding accommodation for recognized refugees. This is due to legal changes in 2015 and 2016. They were agreed following massive complaints of the federal states and municipalities regarding the costs of refugee reception, many of which felt overburdened by the costs they encountered (cf. Task 13: Social Assistance for Refugees in Germany). Berlin, even though in fiscal difficulties until 2012, has quickly recovered and now promotes integration also with voluntary programs in addition to legally mandated integration services. For example, it is promoting integration by supporting social and cultural projects according to the Master Plan for Integration with 60 million Euro per year together with the Districts (Senatsverwaltung für Finanzen 2017).

3.2 Responsible departments for the relevant policy fields

The Senate is the central authority for the reception and integration of asylum seekers, and is generally responsible for a person throughout the asylum procedure (Speth und Becker 2016: 17). Tasks are assigned to the Senate Administrations according to their respective competences.⁵ In practice, however, the division of responsibilities between the city and the districts is complex. While the central administration is generally taking care of the reception and services to asylum seekers during the asylum procedure, the

⁴ See https://www.berlin.de/sen/inneres/buerger-und-staat/verfassungs-undverwaltungsrecht/berliner-bezirke/bezirksorganisation-und-verwaltung/artikel.29993.php (last accessed 28 May 2018).

⁵ The structure and responsibilities of the Senate Administrations have changed after the change of government in 2016. This report will use the names of the administrations under the former administration as most reports and programmes still refer to them, unless it explicitly refers to the current legislative period.

districts are in charge of the accommodation and social benefits for recognized or rejected asylum seekers. Moreover, they are involved in the implementation of a number of other services such as housing or child care (Amadeu Antonio-Stiftung 2016: 17-21).6

The Senate appoints a Representative for Integration and Migration (Beauftragter für Integration und Migration) for the "strategic coordination" (strategische Steuerung) of integration as a crosscutting task. He shall also collaborate with and support NPOs, in particular migrants' organizations (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen 2015: 16). Moreover, an Advisory Council of the Land (Landesbeirat) for Migration and Integration has been established to provide recommendations for the integration policy of the Senate. The Advisory Council is elected by representatives of migrants' organizations and other NPOs according to §6 of the Law on Participation and Integration (PartIntG). In parallel to the city-wide representative, the District Offices are required to appoint District Representatives for Integration and Migration (§7 PartIntG). In 2015, an interdepartmental cooperation staff (Landesweiter Koordinierungsstab Flüchtlinge, LKF) was created to improve inter-departmental collaboration between the various agencies involved in the reception and integration of refugees. It should allow for a speedy "return to an orderly system of reception and integration" after the significant overload of public agencies with the tasks arising from the increase in refugee migration in 2015 (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 2).

3.2.1 Employment

The Regional Directory Berlin-Brandenburg of the Employment Agency and the three Employment Agencies in Berlin are the main provider of labour market services, together with the local job centres (one per district). The Employment Agencies organize active and activating labour market policies for unemployed persons in general and are responsible for asylum seekers during the asylum procedure. Once the asylum application has been granted or rejected, responsibility is transferred from the Employment Agencies to the districts and the local job centres. Both the Employment Agencies and the job centres are employing specialized staff for asylum-related tasks. Their offers are supplemented by services and projects of the land that are under the responsibility of the Senate Administration for Labour, Integration and Women (now the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs). It is in charge of the labour market integration of refugees in Berlin, providing additional support, and is also involved in efforts combating the discrimination of women and minorities (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 3; Senat Berlin 2016: 83).

⁶ See also Allgemeiner Zuständigkeitskatalog, Anlage zu § 4 Abs. 1 Satz 1 des Allgemeinen Zuständigkeitsgesetzes in der Fassung vom 22. Juli 1996 (GVBI. S. 302, 472), zuletzt geändert durch Artikel 2 des Gesetzes vom 07. Juli 2016 (GVBI 423) http://www.berlin.de/sen/soziales/themen/berliner-sozialrecht/kategorie/ausfuehrungsvorschriften/ av zustasylblg-571932.php (last accessed 28 May 2018).

⁷ Berlin has been the first land to establish the post of a Commissioner for Foreigners (Ausländerbeauftragter) who coordinated the sectoral efforts for the integration of immigrants. See also https://www.berlin.de/lb/intmig/service/ueber-uns/ (last accessed 08 Aug. 2017).

3.2.2 Education

The Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Research (now the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Families) is ultimately responsible for all questions regarding education from child care to university studies, since the legal responsibility rests with the city level (Senat Berlin 2016: 83). However, educational schools, facilities, particular child care, and adult education (Volkshochschulen/VHS) are under the purview of the District Offices, making them important stakeholders in education policy in Berlin (Musil und Kirchner 2017: 46).

3.2.3 Social assistance

The Senate Administration for Health and Social Affairs has been the main responsible body for the arrival, registration and social (financial) assistance, health care, and accommodation of refugees. (These fields are now covered by the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour and Social Affairs, apart from health care, which belongs to a separate Administration for Health, Care and Equalization.) Regarding the accommodation of refugees, it is supported by the Senate Administrations for Urban Development and Housing. Moreover, the Senate Administration for Social Affairs supports voluntary engagement, together with the Representative for Voluntary Engagement of the Senate Chancellery and the District Administrations (Senat Berlin 2016: 83; Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 2f).

Everyday provision of social assistance has been implemented by the State Office for Health and Social Assistance (LAGeSO, Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales) for many years. It was responsible for the reception, distribution, accommodation and integration of refugees, in addition to a number of other social policies. After having been unable to cope with the quick increase in new arrivals in 2015, it was dubbed the "worst public agency in Germany" ("schlechteste Behörde Deutschlands") by a German newspaper (Speth und Becker 2016: 18; see also Muy 2016, who is talking about a "politically induced administrative crisis", p. 241). In reaction, its structures were adapted several times, until finally a new agency was created in August 2016, called State Office for Refugee Matters (Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten, LAF) (Senat Berlin 2016: 11). Even so, the accommodation of refugees is still organized in collaboration between the Senate and the Districts. This creates a number of problems and a further simplification of the structures is envisaged in the current coalition agreement (SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 119). After recognition or rejection of the asylum application, the local job centres or social welfare offices are responsible for granting financial assistance to refugees, who should move into their own apartments.8

3.2.4 Vulnerable groups

The responsibilities for the needs of particularly vulnerable persons depend on the group addressed as well as on the respective field of activity. The responsibility for (unaccompanied) minors lies with the Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Research (now the Administration for Education, Youth and Families) (Senat Berlin 2016: 83). Each district has a local Youth Office (Jugendamt) that is responsible for taking

⁸ Cf. https://www.berlin.de/fluechtlinge/infos-fuer-fluechtlinge/leistungen/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

unaccompanied minors into custody and ensuring their wellbeing and development by providing any support that might be required. Moreover, the Youth Offices aim at the protection of accompanied children's rights by preventative offers such as providing support to families e.g. in terms of counselling.9

There are 52 hospitals in Berlin, four of them public (including university hospitals), which provide health care services. 10 They are within the competence of the Senate Administration for Health, Care and Equalization, which is also responsible for services to persons with disabilities and senior refugees. In 2016, it was furthermore assigned the task of supporting female refugees and preventing discrimination that had formerly been taken up by the Senate Administration for Labour, Integration and Women. Moreover, the Senate Administration for Justice, Consumer Protection and Anti-Discrimination is working to combat discrimination based on nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc. 11

3.3 History of local philanthropy

Foundations have been active in Germany since in the 19th century, e.g. in the establishment of hospitals. 12 The state began to restrict the autonomy of foundations in the early 20th century. During the Nazi regime, foundations – in particular those of Jewish founders - were expropriated, leading to a discontinuation of philanthropic activities (Campenhausen 2003: 37f). After the Second World War, a lack of funds and independent structures inhibited the recovery of philanthropic activity (Strachwitz 2007: 103f). The division of Berlin between the GDR and the FRG further hampered the re-establishment of foundations in the city. Real estate ownership was fully expropriated in the Soviet occupation zone, and all "foundation-like" organizations were required to register and defacto taken over by the state, with only a few religious foundations surviving until reunification in 1990 (Campenhausen 2003: 39). However, the government of the GDR attempted to revive the philanthropic sector in its late years by passing a foundation law and establishing own foundations (Strachwitz 2007: 122).

In the Western half of the city, foundations were strongly dependent on funding and support by public bodies. Moreover, foreign - in particular US American - foundations engaged in the reconstruction process, shaping the German foundation structures (Strachwitz 2007). Based on the particularities of the city, the foundation sector is not yet strongly developed in Berlin. It is in the lowest quartile regarding the density of foundations compared to the number of inhabitants (Wigand et al. 2011: 24). Due to the lack of a constitutional municipal level, there are no municipal foundations, which are important local stakeholders in a number of other cities (Leseberg und Timmer 2015: 13). Even so, over 900 foundations are registered in Berlin (Senatsverwaltung für Justiz, Verbraucherschutz und Antidiskriminierung 2017), and app. 30 new ones are founded

⁹ See also http://www.unterstuetzung-die-ankommt.de/de/ (last accessed 25 May 2018) and https://www.berlin.de/sen/bjf/service/presse/pressearchiv-2017/pressemitteilung.619195.php (last accessed 25 May 2018).

¹⁰ Cf. https://www.vdek.com/LVen/BERBRA/Vertragspartner/Krankenhaeuser/Berlin.html (last accessed 25 May 2018).

¹¹ See also https://www.berlin.de/sen/lads/ueber-uns/aufgaben-ziele/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

¹² For an example see http://kaiserswerther-verband.de/mitgliedshaeuser/7-ev-diakoniewerkkoenigin-elisabeth (last accessed 25 May 2018).

every year. 13 Support for foundations, which has historically been low in Berlin, is currently catching up in comparison with other German länder.14

Integration policy of the city

Berlin portrays itself as a "city of diversity" ("Stadt der Vielfalt"). This image is linked to the long history of migration that has given the city and its population the structures it has today (Senat Berlin 2016: 8; SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 7). Respect for the fundamental and human rights of every individual shall be the basis of public policy in the city, including refugee and integration policy. According to the new coalition agreement, federal law shall always be interpreted in a way that fulfils humanitarian standards and uses legal room to manoeuvre for granting residence rights and family reunification as far as possible. The integration of refugees is now understood as a core task of the senate and a crosscutting issue touching upon the responsibilities of various departments (SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 113f, 118).

In 2007, the Senate developed an integration concept (Senatsverwaltung für Integration, Arbeit und Soziales 2007). As indicated by its title "Promoting Diversity - Strengthening Cohesion" ("Vielfalt fördern – Zusammenhalt stärken"), it understands diversity as an asset that shall be fostered by public policy. This includes the goal of equal participation by migrants in the urban society, most notably regarding education and employment, which are understood as a prerequisite for integration. Refugees are explicitly included in this goal, apparently also encompassing asylum seekers and persons with exceptional leave to remain. Moreover, the concept calls for the "interference" of civil society to promote the development of integration measures. In addition, the Law Regulating Participation and Integration (Gesetz zur Regelung von Partizipation und Integration, PartIntG) in Berlin was passed in 2010, outlining some basic structures of integration policy (e.g. by the Representatives for Integration and Migration of the Senate and the Districts) and political participation of migrants through the Advisory Council of the Land for Migration and Integration. The Senate Administration for Integration shall implement the law by a Programme for Participation and Integration (Partizipations- und Integrationsprogramm) (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 13f).

In response to the increase in the number of immigrants and, most notably, refugees, the city passed a Master Plan for Integration and Security in 2016 (Senat Berlin 2016). It understands the integration of refugees as a task for both the urban society and politics. The plan outlines goals and measures for the spheres of 1) Arrival, registration and social benefits (incl. health care); 2) Accommodation and creation of housing options; 3) Comprehensive and tailored education measures; 4) Integration into the labour market; 5) Strong sense of security for both refugees and the local society: 6) Joint efforts of the administration and an open and integrative society; 7) Participation of refugees in societal and cultural life. Gender-related aspects shall be considered in each of these spheres. The measures and interventions pursued by the plan will be explained in more detail below

¹³ https://www.stiftungen.org/stiftungen/zahlen-und-daten/stiftungen-regional/stiftungen-inberlin.html (last accessed 25 May 2018).

¹⁴ Birgit Radow, Stellvertretende Generalsekretärin des Bundesverbandes Deutscher Stiftungen, cited in http://landesfreiwilligenagentur.berlin/stiftungstag/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

according to the fields of interest for the research project. The plan is currently revised in a participatory process.

Organization of refugee integration in the policy fields

5.1 Employment

The Senate sees employment as a key field of integration and supports integration into the labour market by early information and counselling as well as by qualification, training and coaching (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 49). Due to shared responsibilities, this requires coordination of the Senate, the Employment Agencies, job centres and the Districts, as well as cooperation with businesses and the social partners (Senat Berlin 2016: 50). A steering group was established at the Senate Administration for Labour that involves all relevant actors including the welfare associations (Senat Berlin 2016: 60). In addition, a joint framework plan for the labour market integration of various groups (such as youth, women, or migrants) has been passed by the Senate and the Regional Directory of the Employment Agency, defining joint goals and policies (cf. Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016).

A key aspect of integration into the labour market is the assessment of formal and informal skills to adequately tailor support offers. The Senate strives to ensure that they are evaluated as early as possible after arrival and has therefore established so-called "Welcome in Work" offices in the large accommodation centres. 15 They combine skills assessments with the provision of various counselling services (Senat Berlin 2016: 50-For example, the programmes Mobile Education Counselling Bildungsberatung) and Mobile Jobcounselling (Mobile Jobberation) provide outreach, counselling and referral services for refugees (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 49-52). If formal qualifications have been acquired abroad, they need to need to be recognized to be valid in Germany. Counselling, assistance and funding are provided for the often rather complex and expensive recognition procedures (Integrationsbeauftragter Berlin 2017: 9; Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 40f).

Moreover, policies to enhance the employability of refugees have been established for the period preceding legal access to the labour market. 16 They include so-called "charitable additional work opportunities" ("Gemeinnützige zusätzliche Arbeitsgelegenheiten", GzA) according §5 AsylbLG as well as Refugee Integration (Flüchtlingsintegrationsmaßnahmen, FIM) according to §5a AsylbLG (Senat Berlin 2016: 60). 17 Both provide work opportunities for refugees that shall help to prepare them for the

¹⁵ Similarly, Integration Offices have been established in smaller accommodations with a slightly more limited range of services. Moreover, specialized staff of the BAMF assesses the skills of asylum seekers and provides counselling on internship, education and employment immediately after registration (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 38f).

¹⁶ As explained in Task 11 of this project, the access of refugees to the labour market differs according to the respective residence title, duration of the stay, and - partly - country of origin. ¹⁷ The former are a programme of the land, the latter are a federal programme. In addition, the Federal Voluntary Service (Bundesfreiwilligendienst) has been expanded.

regular labour market in terms of e.g. enhancing language capacities and knowledge of structures and processes of employment in Germany (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 54).

After conclusion of the asylum procedure, the job centres provide services fostering employment integration – as part of the regular services available to German nationals – for those refugees who have legal access to the labour market. In addition, it is acknowledged that some refugees might face significant barriers (e.g. in terms of lacking German language capacities or qualifications, or the prevalence of psychic stresses) that require additional long-term support (Senat Berlin 2016: 54). In particular, German language tuition shall be organized as a chain of services from basic language knowledge to employment-related competences that includes federally and locally funded courses (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 42-44). Apart from support for employment, self-employed work of refugees shall also be supported. Berlin disposes of a wide variety of support and counselling services for founders by both public and private actors and makes these available to refugees (Senat Berlin 2016: 61f; Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 56 - 58).

The participation of young refugees in vocational training shall be enhanced by providing counselling in schools and welcome classes (see 5.2 below). Regular support programmes e.g. for the occupational orientation of young persons or for publicly assisted vocational training are open to refugees. They have been adapted and supplemented to better tailor the programmes to the particular needs of refugee youth (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 48f). They are usually combining information on the system of vocational training in Germany – which is different from the systems in many other states - with qualification, counselling and assistance. In addition, they are establishing networks with employers (e.g. ARRIVO or Bridge) to facilitate the access to vocational training (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 48-50; Senat Berlin 2016: 55-60).

5.2 Education

A number of educational reforms have been implemented in Berlin in the early 2000s. They include a new school law, a programme for "integration through education", the introduction of a unified secondary school and continuous language instruction, a stronger involvement of migrant parents as well as an expansion of the networks between educational facilities with other facilities in their neighbourhoods (Gesemann et al. 2011: 94-111).

Refugee children and youth shall be enabled to participate in regular schooling as early as possible. In order to ensure educational success, all refugee children receive compulsory language tuition from the age of 4.5 years. In order to enhance the - currently low participation in child care, "springboard activities" are undertaken to increase knowledge and acceptance of child care facilities among refugee parents (Senat Berlin 2016: 36-39). Children entering Germany at a higher age are usually first taught in separate classes. For children and youth in reception centres, short-term "Fit for School" measures provide basic language tuition, support in everyday matters and shall strengthen the students'

self-concept. Afterwards, refugee children are assigned to "Welcome Classes" that focus on German language skills and are provided at various levels of proficiency. After approximately one year, refugee children enter regular classes.

Nearly all schools are full-time schools, i.e. refugee children and youth benefit from allday education. They can include offers directed at refugees in particular, such as additional language courses (Senat Berlin 2016: 41-43). After secondary education, young people can enter either vocational training or higher education at a university or university of applied sciences (Fachhochschule). It is estimated that 10-20 percent of all refugees might be willing and able to study at a university. Some of them require a oneyear preparatory course, which is provided by the Studienkollegs or the language centres of the universities. These structured offers are supplemented by various individual counselling and mentoring offers (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 44-46).

Adult refugees shall have access to language tuition as early as possible. As access to federal integration courses is restricted to refugees with a positive "perspective of remaining", additional courses are provided by the land Berlin for refugees from other countries of origin (SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 88). Moreover, courses for particular target groups such as mothers with small children - where language tuition is supplemented by child care services – or illiterate refugees are offered (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 37f). Separate courses for occupational language skills are provided both by the federal and länder level (Senat Berlin 2016: 37f; Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen und Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Regionaldirektion Berlin-Brandenburg 2016: 42-44).

5.3 Social Assistance

As mentioned before, the structures of reception and social assistance in Berlin have been altered following the widespread perception of failure in 2015. New arrival centres (Ankunftszentren) were established for an integrated process of initial registration, identity check, health care and accommodation. For these tasks, the LAF is collaborating with the Federal Agency for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF), as well as the police and other public and private bodies (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 8). Benefits such as accommodation and nutrition are mainly provided in kind during the asylum procedure, in particular in the large reception facilities. Refugees receive "pocket money" and some allowances for clothes. After having moved to smaller group accommodations or private housing units - which is legally possible after three months they receive higher financial benefits for housing and food-related expenses.¹⁸

In practice, group accommodations still make up a large share of housing options, with the share of decentral accommodations decreasing during the peak of immigration in 2015/16 and the share of emergency accommodations soaring (Schammann und Kühn 2016: 12; Speth und Becker 2016: 16-20; SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 25). A number of these still exist, even if they are gradually closed or transformed into regular 2017: 26f). ¹⁹ As accommodation facilities (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin

¹⁸ Cf. https://www.berlin.de/fluechtlinge/infos-fuer-fluechtlinge/leistungen/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

¹⁹ See also

https://www.berlin.de/laf/service/pressemitteilungen/2017/pressemitteilung.614625.php;

accommodations can be a source of conflict and have been repeatedly rejected by neighbours, community-oriented programmes have been established that shall enhance social cohesion. For these programmes, the Senate supplements regular area management funds with own funding that is allocated to the districts for autonomous deployment (Senat Berlin 2016: 84; Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 79-83). The stated goal of accommodation policy for refugees in Berlin is to make decentral accommodation, i.e. private housing units, the rule. As the housing market in Berlin has been tightening for years and the number of affordable housing units has waned, (public) investment in new housing options is required. They comprise both regular social housing programmes as well as plans for so-called "Tempohomes" and "Modular Construction" particularly directed at housing for refugees. They are implemented in collaboration by the Senate, the municipal housing companies, the LAF as well as private and non-profit housing providers (Senat Berlin 2016: 25-29; Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 29-32).

Social assistance in terms of counselling in Berlin is provided by a variety of public and nonprofit organizations, which focus on different topics and target groups. To facilitate the uptake of these services, a Welcome Centre was created in 2016 under the purview of the Senate Representative for Integration. It shall serve as a contact point for all newcomers to Berlin, irrespective of nationality, residence title or migration motives. It provides counselling on various matters related to the arrival in Berlin, together with partner organizations and interpreters, and shall refer migrants to the respective agencies for e.g. labour market integration, health care or language tuition (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 15). Thus, the centre shall help to guide migrants through the variety of counselling providers that have been active in the city for years. One of the focus areas of public policy regarding counselling is labour rights, which shall contribute to combating and preventing discrimination and exploitation in the labour market (Senat Berlin 2016: 54f, 79f). In addition, counselling on values and norms, including the basic features of the rule of law and gender equality shall be provided (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 61f).

Regarding security and rights protection, the Senate is employing a double strategy that shall ensure both the security of the refugees and of the local population. The former includes efforts at combating racism and xenophobic crime, the latter includes the prevention of Islamist radicalization (Senat Berlin 2016: 64-67; Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 67-69).

5.4 Vulnerable groups

The following paragraphs will outline the integration measures that are directed in particular at (unaccompanied) minors, women or lesbian, gay, trans- or intersexual persons (LGBTI), traumatized persons, as well as persons with disabilities and senior refugees. While the EU Directive prescribing a screening procedure for vulnerabilities has not yet been implemented into federal law in Germany, Berlin has developed a procedure together with the Berlin Network for Particularly Vulnerable Persons (Berliner Netzwerk

https://www.berlin.de/laf/service/pressemitteilungen/2017/pressemitteilung.608344.php (last accessed 25 May 2018).

für besonders Schutzbedürftige, BNS) 20 that shall support the (self-)identification of vulnerabilities. In 2016, a questionnaire was developed to further improve the process. The main problem is that self-identification requires trust by the refugees who need to disclose information e.g. on experienced human rights violations or sexual identity in order to receive support. Therefore, trainings for employees shall increase sensitivity of the staff and facilitate the process (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 9f).

5.4.1 (Unaccompanied) minors

Children and youth who arrive in Berlin without a parent or legal guardian are taken into custody by the local youth office that undertakes a clearing procedure to identify their support needs. In general, they should be placed with a foster family or in one of the regular facilities of the youth welfare system. However, due to the fourfold increase in cases between 2014 and 2015, the authorities were unable to maintain regular standards. Special facilities and emergency accommodations were established²¹ and the duration of clearing procedures prolonged (Senat Berlin 2016: 34). After clearing, responsibility for the minor refugees is handed over to the districts and the respective youth offices that took care of more than 2,200 unaccompanied minors (UM) in August 2017 (Integrationsbeauftragter Berlin 2017: 21).

The situation of children who arrive with their families is different. They are housed in regular reception and accommodation facilities together with their parents. These facilities do not need to comply with the stricter standards for youth welfare facilities, e.g. in terms of recreational facilities and privacy. However, the city seeks to improve the standard of accommodations by imposing regulations on providers, and by informing employees about children's rights by information leaflets as well as by a mobile team working across district boundaries (Senat Berlin 2016: 39; SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 110).

Minor refugees generally have access to the range of youth welfare services available to German children and youth. Some of these are provided in schools, e.g. including leisure activities, social work or school psychologists, and are generally open to all children. Other services are provided by private or non-profit providers commissioned by the local youth offices based on individual needs. Additional offers primarily directed at refugee children supplement these services, e.g. regarding counselling, sports or cultural activities. The long-term goal of these offers is to achieve integration into mainstream activities and fostering contacts between refugee and other children (Senat Berlin 2016: 39; SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 18). An additional programme seeks to prevent criminal activities by young

²⁰ The BNS is a network of different agencies that strive for a coordinated approach to assessing vulnerability and support needs, collaborating with the social security office since 2009 (cf. http://www.berlin.de/sen/soziales/themen/berliner-sozialrecht/kategorie/rundschreiben/2015 02-598948.php#p2017-05-08 1 23 0, last accessed 25 May 2018). The screening procedure was developed in a model project funded by the European Refugee Fund, the Senate of Berlin, the Berlin, and UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe (cf. https://www.ueberleben.org/unserearbeit/projekte/schutzbeduerftige-fluechtlinge-bns-iii/, last accessed 25 May 2018).

²¹ See https://www.berlin.de/sen/bjf/service/presse/pressearchiv-2017/pressemitteilung.619195.php (last accessed 25 May 2018). Places in regular support facilities have been expanded since then and the last emergency accommodation for unaccompanied youth has been vacated in August 2017 (Integrationsbeauftragter Berlin 2017: 20f).

refugees who shall be involved in various pastimes to avoid negative effects of inactivity and psychological stresses of large group accommodations (Integrationsbeauftragter Berlin 2017: 14f).

5.4.2 Female and LGBTI refugees

The city of Berlin aims at promoting a city of gender equality and diversity, which are understood as crosscutting tasks of all administrative agencies. Policies explicitly target female and "queer" refugees who are understood as particularly vulnerable to discrimination and assaults. Many of them have already experienced violence and intolerance before, during or after the flight. Therefore, the Senate has developed a sevenpoints-plan for the protection of women who flee alone or have been subject to violence, as well as for LGBTI refugees. The plan includes the early identification of these persons, separate accommodations as far as possible, the gender-sensitive qualification of staff, guidelines for crisis interventions as well as the expansion of counselling and support (Senat Berlin 2016: 68). Places in battered women's shelters as well as separate accommodations for women and children have been expanded over the last two years to provide better protection (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 33f, 65). Moreover, various projects to support women have been provided by different organizations and on different topics such as employment, education, counselling or empowerment (Gesemann et al. 2011: 138-140).

The policy focus on the rights and protection of LGBTI refugees is connected to the selfconcept of Berlin as a "rainbow city". The Anti-Discrimination Agency of the land has established a specalist unit for LGBTI refugees to assess their special needs and to issue statements to improve their situation (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 21). A special accommodation has been established, and public funds are provided for counselling, psychological and health care, empowerment and development of self-help groups, coordination of voluntary engagement, protection from violence and discrimination, and and qualification sensibilization measures for employees in accommodations (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 66f).

5.4.3 Health care and trauma

In 2016, Berlin has implemented the "Bremen model" for providing health care to refugees, i.e. providing a general health insurance card for all asylum seekers. This system replaces the former system where LAGeSo or the responsible district office had to issue individual health insurance certificates for each case of medical assistance. Costs of health care are reimbursed by the city to the health insurance companies, plus a charge for the administration of the process (Wächter-Raquet 2016: 14).

Public authorities in Berlin assume up to 40 percent of all refugees arriving in the city to be victims of torture, severe human rights violations or to be traumatized. Early counselling by social workers shall assess support needs and prevent a deterioration or chronification of their situation. Moreover, access to psychotherapy shall be provided if needed. This is based on the perception that psychological strains or illnesses are a major obstacle to integration, including for integration into the labour market (Senat Berlin 2016: 19-21). The social psychiatric services (Sozialpsychiatrische Dienste) of the District Offices are responsible for coordinating and organizing support (Senat Berlin 2016: 21).

Specialized child and youth psychiatric services (Kinder- und Jugendpsychiatrische Dienste) supplement these amenities (SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 172). Health care and counselling for vulnerable persons includes services to persons at risk of or already involved in substance abuse, the prevalence of which has increased recently (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 24f; Senat Berlin 2016: 21f).

However, access to the target groups is difficult and so far not judged as entirely successful (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 22). Another obstacle regarding the provision of health care, in particular concerning psychotherapy, is language capacity and the lack of (qualified) interpreters for such sensitive issues. Whereas the costs for professional interpreters can be covered by the Asylum Seekers Benefit Act (AsylbLG) (i.e. for persons during the asylum procedure), they are excluded by Book V of the German Social Code (i.e. after recognition of the asylum application). Therefore, the Senate Administration for Health is providing local funds and is qualifying additional interpreters, which are however not yet sufficient to cover translation needs (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 19f).

5.4.4 Seniors and persons with disabilities

Persons with disabilities, chronical diseases as well as elderly refugees can receive counselling by the Berlin Centre for a Self-Determined Life (Berliner Zentrum für ein Selbstbestimmtes Leben behinderter Menschen e.V., BZSL) (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 20f). While the new coalition agreement envisages that the health care of persons with disabilities or with special needs is a human right that shall be fully covered, there are a number of obstacles concerning the implementation of this goal. In particular, the provisions of the AsylbLG are unclear regarding expenses for devices such as wheelchairs etc. While the costs for such expenses can be covered according to the law, this is not always implemented in practice and often requires long and complicated application procedures (Amadeu Antonio-Stiftung 2016).

Involvement of NPOs and volunteers in refugee integration

In many of its integration policies, Berlin draws on the large community of non-profit organizations, many of which have been active in the city for years. The city is supporting them with public funds, qualification measures, coordination and networking activities etc. The goal is to utilize and enhance the available expertise as well as to perpetuate more spontaneous or recent initiatives (Senat Berlin 2016: 72-76; Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen 2015). The welfare associations with their large infrastructure are at an advantage regarding the participation in public contracts vis-à-vis more recently founded and less structured initiatives (Speth und Becker 2016: 19-21). However, also more informal volunteering activities are valued by the city and supported by qualification for volunteers, networking and coordination (Senat Berlin 2016: 70-72). In addition, Berlin has a long history of promoting the self-organization of migrants since the 1980s, supporting the foundation and activities of migrants' organizations which fulfil a range of functions such as social self-help, peer help and mentoring, as well as political articulation of interests (Gesemann et al. 2011). These organizations are perceived as important partners also concerning the integration of refugees (Senat Berlin 2016: 8).

6.1 Employment policy

In the field of employment policy, NPOs are particularly involved in training, qualification, counselling, and placement. For example, the IQ Network (Integration durch Qualifizierung) is funded by the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Federal Government. It provides assistance with the recognition of foreign qualifications as well as orientation, referral and supplementary qualification services in collaboration with various other organizations, including the Employment Agencies (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen 2015: 17; Integrationsbeauftragter Berlin 2017: 9; Senat Berlin 2016: 53). While this network is open to various categories of migrants, the Bridge network focuses on the labour market integration of refugees by offering qualification and training, counselling, support and networking between different actors as well as public relations activities to inform potential employers and the public about the situation of refugees. The Bridge network is also funded by the ESF and the Federal Government and collaborates with the Job Centres, Employment Agencies, chambers, trade associations (Unternehmerverbände) and businesses.²²

Furthermore, the Senate has established a programme called ARRIVO Berlin in 2014 together with business partners to reduce structural barriers for the vocational training of refugees. It is providing internship opportunities in particular sectors, together with language tuition and counselling. Many of the participants have been able to secure vocational training contracts as a result of their internships. The perpetuation of the project and the expansion to additional fields are envisaged (Senat Berlin 2016: 54; SPD Berlin et al. 2016: 115f). It is supplemented by the project ARRIVED that provides ongoing support for those refugees that have been successfully placed in vocational training (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 49).

6.2 Education

As education is mainly a public activity in Germany, NPOs are involved predominantly as a supplement to regular educational facilities. Moreover, nonprofit organizations including the welfare associations - are active as providers of child care facilities. Many NPOs focus on low-threshold educational services, on particular target groups or on language tuition. The latter task is mainly taken up by the adult education centers (Volkshochschulen/VHS) in Berlin that receive funding by the Senate to provide German courses. Their curricula are similar to the federal integration courses to allow for an easy transition upon recognition of the asylum application, i.e. when eligibility for federal courses is obtained. The VHS collaborate with nonprofit organizations for the provision of child care during the courses to reduce the barriers for (female) refugees' participation (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 38). Preparatory language courses for children in reception centres ("Fit for school") are also provided by NPOs on behalf of the city. They combine language tuition with leisure activities, fostering contacts between refugee and non-refugee children and youth (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 42). Moreover, sports associations and cultural facilities conduct projects for young refugees to promote integration and personal development. Some of these offers are provided in schools and/or are funded by the city (Senat Berlin 2016: 41–47).

²² Cf. http://www.bridge-bleiberecht.de/unsere-ziele/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

6.3 Social assistance

Counselling for refugees is one of the major tasks of NPOs in Berlin, in addition to language tuition. It is provided by a broad range of organizations. Some offers are directed at particular target groups such as parents, youth or LGBTI refugees, whereas others focus on particular topics such as legal and procedural matters - e.g. the asylum procedure and possibilities for legal remedies - or psychosocial counselling and support (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen 2015). The variety of organizations corresponds to the range of refugees' needs regarding information and support in their new environment and to the diversity of living situations within the broad category of "refugees" or "migrants". At the same time, the variety of offers can in itself become confusing. Therefore, the city funds so-called "integration pilots" ("Integrationslotsen") and "neighbourhood mothers" ("Stadtteilmütter") that are employed by NPOs such as the welfare associations and provide outreach and orientation for migrants (Ewert und Evers 2014). Their numbers have been increased in response to the rising numbers of asylum seekers and they are understood as "closing a gap in the integration process" by providing language and culture mediation, referrals to responsible public and private institutions, agencies and cooperating with refugee accommodations accompaniment to (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 10–12).²³

Moreover, non-profit and for-profit organizations provide accommodation facilities for refugees under contract with the LAF. Regulations regarding standards (e.g. for the size of rooms, leisure facilities, social support, collaboration with volunteers etc.) are agreed in the contracts. Following a number of conflicts between providers and LAGeSo on the conditions in accommodations (cf. Muy 2016), these requirements have been tightened and shall now be more closely monitored by the LAF. Moreover, NPOs are involved in assisting refugees to access units on the regular housing market (Senat Berlin 2016: 24-31).

Public attention for the political participation of migrants and refugees has traditionally received less attention, even if a number of activities exist. They can be either selforganized or take place upon invitation of the government, e.g. in the form of round tables. An example of self-organized protest - of refugees together with German initiatives and volunteers - is the occupation of Oranienplatz in Berlin-Kreuzberg and squatting in a school (2012-2014). Refugees were protesting against the regulations of compulsory residence, and calling for a better treatment and individual assessment of their refugee claims. Finally, they reached agreement with a representative of the Senate and abandoned the occupation. Even if no clear outcomes were achieved, the protest triggered a general debate about the social conditions of refugee reception (Lanz 2016; Speth und Becker 2016: 18; Rollmann 2016: 23).

6.4 Vulnerable groups

A broad range of NPOs provides assistance to various target groups including women who have experienced violence, support for binational families, queer groups, persons with disabilities, and minors (Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen 2015). Counselling and assistance are provided in different languages and financially supported

²³ A similar orienting function is provided by the newly created welcome centre (see 5.3 above).

by the city. However, need for additional support derives from the high prevalence of somatic, social and psychological strains as well as high shares of pregnant women among refugees recently coming to Berlin. Therefore, public funding for new and existing offers has been expanded. Moreover, public qualification programmes have been set up to ensure a high quality of counselling (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 23f). Six voluntary teams of professionals directly provide psychosocial support in reception and accommodation centres, supplementing regular health care offers (Senat Berlin 2016: 20).

For unaccompanied minors, the city has stepped up efforts to engage voluntary legal guardians by advertisement campaigns, both in general and by legal professionals, together with the associations of legal guardians (Vormundschaftsvereine) that provide counselling, chaperonage and qualification of voluntary guardians (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin 2017: 35f). Moreover, a competence centre was founded by two welfare associations in 2007 and funded by the Senate to promote the intercultural opening of elderly care in Berlin by collaborating with various public and private entities (Gesemann et al. 2011: 141).24

7 Conclusion

The size of the city and its history of immigration and integration of various groups together with the tradition of subsidiarity - have led to the establishment of a number of public and non-profit actors in Berlin that dispose of long-term experience. Even so, the quick increase in the numbers of new arrivals in the last years has overstrained the existing capacities of reception.²⁵ Structural changes within the administration, in particular the creation of LAF as a unified agency for reception, accommodation and social assistance to asylum seekers were undertaken to improve the system. The general orientation of the city is to foster early integration of all refugees, expecting most of them to remain in Berlin for a long time. Therefore, the limitations of federally funded services such as language tuition or employment are supplemented by own activities for asylum seekers directly after arrival. In these offers, the city recognizes the heterogeneity of refugees and strives to ensure a city of diversity that provides a space for each inhabitant irrespective of nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or age.

Networks and agencies managing the interfaces between various participating actors have been created to improve collaboration across sectoral boundaries. In addition, ties to and support for non-profit organizations have been strengthened to equip them with the necessary resources - in terms of funding and skills - to assist the variety of persons entering Berlin. Both established non-profit organizations with their strong infrastructures and new, often less formalized initiatives contribute to the integration of refugees in Berlin. Some of them work mainly on a voluntary basis, while others receive public funding based on projects or contracts for the provision of services. The strength of the variety of nonprofit providers is their ability to cater to highly heterogeneous needs. Its downside consists of the complexity of organizations that make it difficult for refugees to navigate

²⁴ See also http://kom-zen.de/ueber-uns/netzwerk/ (last accessed 25 May 2018).

²⁵ This strain must be seen in conjunction with the former scaling back of reception facilities, the privatization of large parts of the social housing stock and the budget cuts that have been imposed in the years prior to the increase in refugee numbers.

to the services best matching their needs. Outreach by the organizations themselves, as well as networking activities and the installation of "one-stop shops" such as the Welcome Centre or the Welcome in Work offices by the city shall improve the matching of services and needs.

While the review of literature and policy documents has provided first insights into the collaboration between the city and non-profit organizations in Berlin, a number of open questions remains that shall be addressed in the case studies of the project. They regard in particular the models of co-operation in practice:

- How have structural changes in the public administration altered cooperation with non-profit organizations?
- How are public funds allocated? Are there differences between cooperation initiated during the "emergency" of high numbers of new arrivals and at times of lower numbers?
- Does cooperation differ in the case of long-established organizations and new initiatives (e.g. in terms of a trust base of collaboration)?
- Are there any differences in the cooperation with organizations that participate in policy-making compared to those participating exclusively in policy implementation through service provision?
- How do conflicts arise and how are they solved?
- How do non-profit organizations collaborate with each other and with the private sector?
- Which role is played by informal rules and mechanisms of interaction?

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