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Vulnerable Groups

AWO Women's Counseling Center

(Frauenberatungsstelle der Arbeiterwohlfahrt)

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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.

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1 Introduction

The AWO Women's Counseling Center (Frauenberatungsstelle der Arbeiterwohlfahrt) is a project of *AWO Kreisverband Südost*, the southeast district association of *AWO Landesverband Berlin*. The Counseling Center provides psychosocial counseling in the Neukölln district of Berlin for 500 to 600 women each year. It began in the late 1980s as a project to serve guest workers recruited from Yugoslavia in the late 1960s and then refugees seeking asylum from the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s (Kogan, 2011). At the time, there were no counseling services specifically for women. The Counseling Center offered women a sheltered place where they could speak freely, address issues of gender-based violence, and connect with other women. The recent wave of migrants offered the Counseling Center an opportunity to reinvigorate their programming and utilize their established services and resources to serve a new population of refugees who face a drastically different political context than the previous generations of Yugoslav migrants. New integration policies offer more tools and networks that Counseling Center staff can access to serve their clients. This project serves as a good model of an established project adjusting its strategy to meet the needs of emerging populations.

In the following chapter, the development of the managing organization, *AWO Kreisverband Südost*, its internal structures, general activities and relationship to other actors are briefly described. The second chapter focuses on the Women's Counseling Center in particular. To provide context for the Counseling Center's services, the chapter begins with a description of services for female refugees in Berlin and the challenges women face as a vulnerable migrant population. Then follows the activities conducted by the Counseling Center, a description of its relationship with the local government and other organizations, and an evaluation of its effectiveness. It concludes with a section that analyzes the type of government and non-profit co-operation model in evidence in this case.

2 Information on the organization

2.1 General information

The Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO) was founded in 1919 by Marie Juchacz in response to extreme poverty in Germany following the end of the First World War. It was organized as the "main committee for workers' welfare in the SPD", Social Democratic Party of Germany, with the goal to prevent and alleviate hardships through self-help strategies based on the "values of solidarity, justice, tolerance, freedom and equality" (AWO Bayern, 2017). It wasn't conceived solely as a charity; the intent was also to engage in welfare policy and train social service professionals. Early activities included sewing parlors, lunch tables, workshops and counseling centers that were financed by an AWO organized lottery and workers welfare stamps.

The AWO was recognized as the Reich's top free welfare federation (*Reichspitzenverband der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege*) in 1931. At that time, 135,000 volunteers were serving 20 million people in need "regardless of origin and denomination"¹. However, AWO's resistance to the rise of Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei—NSDAP*) quickly led to its dissolution. In 1932, the AWO Main Committee issued a binding order to all its councils to boycott the *Winterhilfe* (winter help program) coordinated by the National Socialists. Over the next year, the AWO focused on helping those persecuted by the National Socialists until the Main Committee office was raided in May 1933. All assets were confiscated and transferred to the National

¹ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/geschichte>, last accessed 02/05/2019

Socialist People's Welfare (*NS-Volkswohlfahrt*). Prior to this raid, AWO established and financed a shadow organization, Foundation of the German-Foreign Youth Work (*Gründung des Deutsch-Ausländischen Jugendwerkes*) that continued its work of supporting those persecuted by the National Socialists until it ran out of funds in 1936.² It provided financial support for families who faced occupational bans, sent children to Switzerland, and ran a kindergarten in Berlin-Reinickendorf that served predominantly Jewish children (Mikeler, 1998). Many AWO leaders were arrested or fled the country. Marie Juchacz fled to Saarland, where she worked in the Arbeiterwohlfahrt des Saarlandes providing services to refugees until Saarland was reincorporated into the German Reich. She then made her way to New York where she set up Workers' Welfare - Victims of National Socialism New York.

Within weeks of the end of the war, AWO volunteers spontaneously began organizing and providing services around the country. In 1946, the Main Committee was formally reorganized, but not as a part of the SPD (Anheier, Toepler, & List, 2010). Since the AWO was forbidden to operate in the German Democratic Republic, operations in the eastern sectors did not begin until the 1990s, after Reunification.

The Women's Counseling Center (*Frauenberatungsstelle*) is a program of *AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost*, which was founded in 1994 as *Arbeiterwohlfahrt Berlin Kreisverband Neukölln*. It merged with the Lichtenberg district association in 2011. Then in 2003, in cooperation with the *AWO Kreisverbände Nordwest* and *Treptow-Köpenick*, it expanded into the Reinickendorf and Treptow-Köpenick districts and was renamed *AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost* (*AWO Südost*).³ Today *AWO Südost* continues in the workers welfare tradition with services that include child care, youth centers, financial counseling and migration services.⁴

2.2 Internal governance structures

AWO Südost is one of seven district associations of *AWO Landesverband Berlin (AWO Berlin)*. *AWO Berlin* has 6,1000 members and employs 8,150 full-time staff and 3,800 volunteers. It in turn is one of 30 state associations of the *AWO Bundesverband* (federal association). Altogether, AWO in Germany has 333,000 members, 66,000 volunteers, 212,000 full-time staff and operates over 13,000 facilities and programs. It is also one of six free welfare organizations who are members of the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organizations (*Teil der Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege*).

AWO Südost itself has 700 members and nearly 400 employees working in 40 projects in the fields of counseling, children and family services, and migration.⁵ While it is an independent association, the higher-ranking national and federal associations have the right of supervision and examination (*AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost*, 2010). Within *AWO Südost*, there are five governing bodies - district conference, district council, district committee, departmental assemblies, and departmental chairs.

The district conference consists of delegates elected every four years by the departmental assemblies and by representatives of the corporate members. The conference elects the representative for the state conference, the district council and decides the policies and guidelines that govern the district council. The district council conducts the regular business of *AWO Südost*. The district committee is

² <https://www.awo.org/ueber-uns/awo-historie/jahr/1933>, last accessed 02/10/2019

³ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/verein>, last accessed 02/12/19

⁴ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/einrichtungen-und-projekte>, last accessed 02.06.2019

the highest decision-making body between district conferences and meets quarterly. It consists of the district council and chairs of departments. The department assemblies are an annual meeting of all dues paying members of the respective department. The assemblies serve to elect the district conference delegates and departmental chairs. In turn, the departmental chairs decide on the admission of members. (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2010)

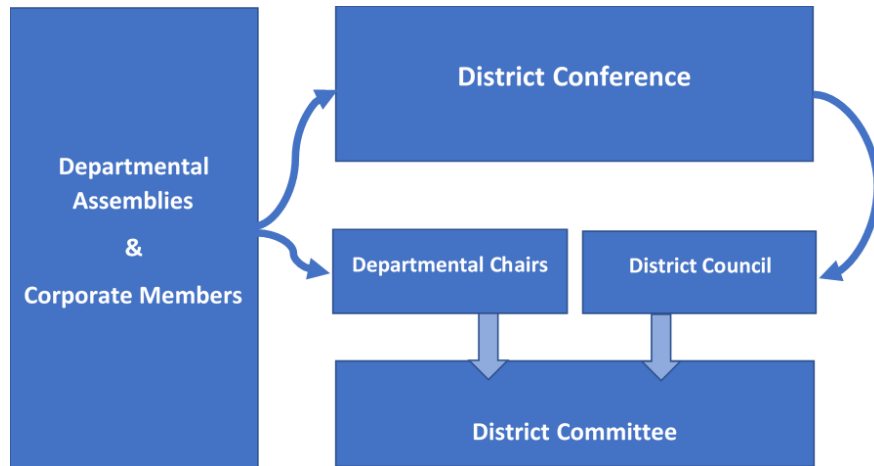


Figure 1: Structure of AWO Kreisverband Südost Governing Bodies;
Source: own representation based on (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2010)

There are two membership categories at *AWO Südost*, members and corporate members. Members are dues paying individuals who share the values and principles of Worker's Welfare. Corporate members are associations who share the values of AWO and have social and socio-educational missions. All corporate memberships must also be approved by the *AWO Berlin*. *AWO Südost* corporate members include Fusion Intercultural Projects Berlin; Youth Neukölln; Blickwinkel - meeting point of all cultures; and debtor and consumer bankruptcy councilors Julateg Finsolv Marzahn/Hellersdorf, Julateg Finsolv Lichtenberg, and Julateg Finsolv Treptow-Köpenick.⁶ In turn, *AWO Südost* is a corporate member of AWO International, the Neukölln network vocational assistance (Neuköllner Netzwerk Berufshilfe - NNB), and the Future Family Forum (Zukunftsforum Familie - ZFF).

The *AWO Südost* organizational structure includes two subsidiaries. The first, AWO Neukölln marketing and service GmbH, was founded in 2003 and offers services in the fields of home economics and graphic and Internet design. The second, AWO Society for Evaluation, offers external evaluations of the Berlin education program for children in daycare in accordance with the requirements of the QVTAG (quality agreement day care).

The majority of AWO Südost funding, 14.3 million Euros in 2017, was income from services paid by government contracts (Erträge aus Leistungen). The rest is made up of 3.7 million in donations and grants (Zuwendungen und Zuschüsse) and a tiny portion of income from sales, 23 thousand Euros. (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2017a). Consistency in funding for different areas of AWO Südost's work can be district specific. Some funding from Berlin Senate, such as Masterplan Integration funds, are allocated to the districts in Berlin. The districts have full autonomy in how to disburse these funds and each district has its own policies and processes organizations must follow to receive funds. For instance, while Neukölln district decides more consistently, e.g. by directly establishing employment positions at the Women's Counselling Center, Lichtenberg disburses funds by project-specific calls for

⁶ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/kooperationen-korporativ>, last accessed 02.12.2019

bids. The latter leads to uncertainty on the side of the providers who cannot be certain if specific activities will continue to be funded from one year to the next. (AWO_FBL).

The Women's Counseling Center, located in the Neukölln district, is fully funded by the Berlin Senate. The counseling service funds are applied for every two years and billed annually. Because the Counseling Center is sponsored by *AWO Südost*, staff can dedicate all their time to counseling work instead of efforts to raise additional funding. While there are no assurances that AWO will be funded every two years, it can be politically dependent, the program's affiliation with AWO put it at an advantage over independent organizations. AWO is a known entity that is engaged politically and has a long history of counseling service provision. Additionally, there are often delays in payment from the Senate, which are manageable for the Counseling Center because the *AWO Südost* infrastructure can absorb the expense while they wait for payment. These conditions are more challenging for smaller entities to manage.

Volunteering is a key part of AWO's mission and values.

"Social responsibility is a matter for the state. But the state cannot fix everything. Only when people volunteer, our society gets a human and social face. Every society needs people who are involved, people who give other people a small part of their time."⁷

In 2005, *AWO Südost* launched a voluntary service pilot project called AWO-Exchange. The Exchange provides volunteers to various AWO projects. As well as providing individual volunteer opportunities, it also coordinates corporate social responsibility activities with companies that host 70-100 volunteers at a time. In 2015, the program expanded to all the district associations in Berlin.⁸ (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2018)

Volunteers engagement is somewhat reduced from the time when many refugees were living in collective housing and there was more of a public perception of crisis. Most of the current volunteer placements that work directly refugees and migrants are associated with mentoring services (AWO_FBL). *AWO Südost* runs a refugee mentoring program intended to promote social integration, cultural exchange and solidarity. Mentors and refugees build relationships that support language development and provide help with necessities like finding apartments in the city and getting jobs and internships. The mentor and mentee relationships are also supported by training and networking events.

AWO Südost also seeks to involve migrants in volunteer opportunities. The project called, "Interculturality makes you strong (Interkulturalität macht stark)" is funded by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* - BAMF). It seeks to reduce the barriers to volunteering by offering training courses developed in cooperation with the department "Intercultural Opening" of the *AWO Kreisverband Jena-Weimar*. Participants learn to recognize different communication patterns and develop skills to handle intercultural challenges and conflicts. (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2018)

Due to the nature of the counseling work at the Women's Counseling Center, help from Exchange volunteers is limited to case-by-case specific needs, such as a regular companion for a someone in a nursing home or a volunteer craftsman to help someone who is disabled with a home project. With

⁷ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/exchange>, last accessed 02.15.2019

the more recent focus on bringing refugee women together through events like language cafes, there is now more occurrences of informal, spontaneous volunteering happening between counseling clients who have lived in Germany for many years and those who have newly arrived. (AWO_MA)

2.3 Activities

The goal of AWO is to fight for a socially just society through volunteer dedication and professional services. The organization is rooted in the workers' movement "values of liberal-democratic socialism: solidarity, tolerance, freedom, equality and justice". Service activities of AWO throughout Germany include child and youth welfare, disability assistance, homelessness services, senior citizens care, and migration support.

As association members, *AWO Berlin* and *AWO Südost* share these values. The goals of *AWO Südost* are to provide social work, youth welfare, health care, education and training; promote volunteerism and self-help; participate in policy discussions; and cooperate with other organizations (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2010). These goals are met through various activities spread through approximately 40 different programs. Service provision is separated into three subject areas – young children and families, residential and assisted living, and youth welfare and counseling. Young children and families are served through fourteen kindergarten facilities, two family centers and two learning workshops. *AWO Südost* manages one assisted living and three residential communities.

Youth welfare includes youth social work, leisure activities, school social work, and two nursery facilities. There are four separate counseling services that cover education and family, debt advice, health and migration, and women. (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2017b) The Women's Counseling Center provides counseling for women, especially mothers with a migration history, in order to support integration and strengthen self-help potential.

2.4 Networks

As a district association of *AWO Berlin*, *AWO Südost* has strong relationships and support throughout Berlin. Further, membership in the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organizations provides important access to a strong network of welfare providers and decisions makers.

Within *AWO Berlin*, the seven district associations share competencies and resources ranging from language services to facilities. The Women's Counseling Center utilizes a variety of formal and informal networks to support its clients. They take an individual approach to serving the needs of clients and often this includes coordinating efforts with various public agencies including the district office (*Bezirksamt*) of Neukölln, the job center (*Arbeitsamt*), social services (*Sozialamt*), medical service providers, disability office (*Behindertenbeauftragten*) and migration office (*Migrationsbeauftragte*).

AWO Südost and the Women's Counseling Center have close relationships with all the refugee homes in the vicinity. They also coordinate with similar projects designed to serve other target groups like Turkish, Vietnamese and Arab migrants. Language competencies are a key part of networking and sharing resources. Each organization knows where they can go to get appropriate language support for their clients. There are also more formal networks like Frauen Neukölln⁹, an association of 50 projects for women and girls.

⁹ <https://frauen-in-neukoelln.de/uber-uns/>, last accessed 02/15/2019

The new facilities have offered greater opportunities for networking. The previous Counseling Center facility was more isolated and difficult to find. The new location on Sonnenallee Street is close to many other groups, which makes coordinate efforts easier. Further, the new space is offered to the community for use and creates opportunities to share expertise between different other service providers both within and outside the *AWO Berlin* network. (AWO_FBL)

3 Information on the program and the co-operation with the local government

3.1 General information on the selected program and its development

3.1.1 Refugee services for women in Berlin

Berlin has a long history of migration and considers itself a “city of diversity” (“Stadt der Vielfalt”) which endeavors to center refugee and integration policy in the respect for fundamental human rights (Gluns, 2018a; Senat Berlin, 2016). This is particularly true for those who are considered vulnerable due to individual circumstances. Since the 1990s, refugee and integration policies in Germany have increasingly identified female refugees as a vulnerable group who are likely to experience gender based violence or discrimination. (Gluns, 2018b)

Berlin’s promotion of gender equality and diversity has led to an emphasis on policies that designed to serve female refugees. The Senate’s policies for vulnerable women, those who arrived alone or have been subjected to violence, include the early identification of these persons, separate accommodations when possible, the gender-sensitive qualification of staff, guidelines for crisis interventions, and the expansion of counselling and support services (Senat Berlin, 2016).

Outside of health and safety concerns, female refugees also face challenges that can make integration more difficult. The living situation of refugee women in Germany, especially those in reception centers and camps, can have disempowering effects. Asylum processes are lengthy and complicated, leaving refugees to languish in reception centers where they have little autonomy over daily activities such as cooking and washing (Dilger & Dohrn, 2016; Krause, 2017). Moreover, barriers to integration opportunities often include the need to care for children and other dependent relatives, a lack formal education and work experience, and concerns about experiencing racism and violence in German society. (Dilger, H & Dohrn, K, 2016; Gluns, 2018b; Worbs, S. & Baraulina, T., 2017).

To counter these challenges, advocacy organizations in Germany have highlighted the need to actively involve refugees in support services in order to adequately address individual needs and create a sense of empowerment. In this capacity, non-profit organizations are a critical bridge between public agencies and vulnerable groups. In partnering with non-profits to provide services, the state “is respecting the tradition of subsidiarity and corporatism, which provides for a plurality of service providers and the right of clients to select their preferred provider” (Gluns, 2018b).

3.1.2 Women’s counseling services for refugees at AWO

AWO Berlin positions itself as a leader in migration work with the goal of shaping immigration and enabling participation.

In an immigration society, every social service and social field of action must be designed in such a way that migrants feel accepted in accordance with their patterns of action and orientation. The AWO feels committed to this in its association structures, offers and services and in its work

as a leading association in cooperation with political and social actors. The aim is to sustainably improve the living conditions of migrants and to enable them to participate in all areas of social and social life.¹⁰

AWO Berlin actively participates in both policy development and service provision for migration and integration. It manages six specialized services for migrants in the central districts of Berlin, Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Tempelhof-Schöneberg, Pankow and Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf. These programs are funded by the federal Migration Advice for Adults and Youth Migration Services (Migrationsberatung für Erwachsene, Jugendmigrationsdienste), Educational Guidance Guarantee Fund University (Garantiefonds Hochschule), and the Migrant Social Services of the State of Berlin (Migrantensozialdienste des Landes Berlin).

The Women's Counseling Center operating in Neukölln is both a meeting place and a counseling center. Group events such as lectures and discussions, leisure and cultural activities and language cafes are intended to share information about offered services, provide the opportunity for social networking, and strengthen identity, self-esteem and health. Counseling services provide women migrants and refugees with advice and support for social, legal and financial problems. Three social workers advise in Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, English, Spanish, French. Additionally, the center hosts a parent companion (Elternbegleiter_innen), one of four working with *AWO Südost*, who advises parents on educational processes and establish contacts with institutions of education and promotion. The new staff member who fills this at the role at the Counseling Center also speaks Farsi.¹¹ (AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, 2018)

The project was founded to serve female refugees and guest worker from the former Yugoslavia. At the time, only joint counseling services were available for Yugoslav men and women. The project preceded the policy efforts started in the 1990s to recognize women migrants as a vulnerable group in need of specialized services. It offered women a sheltered place where they could speak freely, address issues of gender-based violence, and connect with other women. When the project began, the political climate and migration policies in Germany were very different. There was no integration policy and refugees were not allowed to work or learn German. Because there were few opportunities to integrate, many of these women still depend upon the Counseling Center's services 25-30 years later. (AWO_MA)

The recent wave of migration and new integration policies have led the Counseling Center to expand its services. It has moved away from only serving specific language speaking populations to an open concept where all women, including German women, can receive counseling (AWO_FBL).

The Counseling Center staff see their role in integration work as educating migrant women about German society and connecting them with the services and resources that encourage them to live independently and secure a livelihood (AWO_MA). In recent years, older migrants needed support with pension and health care provision. Newly arrived migrants need services like pregnancy support,

¹⁰ <https://www.awoberlin.de/Migrantinnen-843125.html>, last accessed 02/12/2019

“Dieser Maxime fühlt sich die AWO in ihren verbandlichen Strukturen, Angeboten und Diensten und in ihrem Wirken als Spitzenverband in der Zusammenarbeit mit politischen und gesellschaftlichen Akteuren verpflichtet. Ziel ist es, Lebensverhältnisse von Migrant*innen nachhaltig zu verbessern und Teilhabe in allen Bereichen des sozialen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens zu ermöglichen.“

¹¹ <https://www.xn--awo-sdost-u9a.de/frauenberatung>, last accessed 12/15/2018

childcare, divorce counseling, and housing. The staff have adjusted their programs and expanded their networks in order to address these needs

In May 2017, the Counseling Center moved to a new location in Neukölln¹². The new facility provides more secure accommodations for one-on-one consultation services and has enough space for group events like language cafes, cooking groups and lectures. These group events reduce migrant women's sense of isolation and promote solidarity. Older migrants at the center have shown great compassion for the women who have newly arrived. Group events give them the chance to share their experiences and expertise with newcomers.

3.2 Co-operation with local government

The Women's Counseling Center has a very straightforward contracting relationship with the Berlin Senate. The Senate funds all the work of the Counseling Center. This relationship creates stability in the program; however, it also results in less autonomy. Per the contract stipulations, counseling staff are required to spend 75% of their time on psychosocial counseling, with the remainder available for administrative tasks, events and committee work. As one staff member stated:

We are fully funded by the Senate and the Senate gives us a work assignment. So, there is not much room left for any other employer. (AWO_MA)

However, the Senate does not interfere with how this work is accomplished. The goal of reinvigorating the programs with the inclusion of younger, newly arrived migrants was motivated by staff interest. So, while the Senate fully supported the expansion and the move to new facilities, the strategy was designed by staff. This flexibility in designing activities that fall within their contractual obligations enabled the inclusion of new initiatives like cooking events and language cafes which staff credit with improved opportunities for integration.

Counseling staff don't feel they have much influence on decisions made at the Senate level. AWO Südost department heads are engaged at a slightly higher level but have little formal policy engagement at the level of the Senate. The Counseling Center must depend upon its embeddedness in the AWO and Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organizations networks to engage in policy that promotes the needs of their clients.

The Counseling Center has significant engagement at the neighborhood level. Counseling staff work directly with the District Office Neukölln (*Bezirksamt Neukölln*) and through them the Equal Opportunity Officer (Gleichstellungsbeauftragte), as well as participate in coordinating committees for women and migrants. Additionally, through their individual case work they are in constant engagement with various local authorities to help with issues of asylum, residency, job training, health and social services. Local politicians are aware of the Women's Counseling Center work. The opening ceremony for the new facility was attended by the former Mayor of Neukölln, Franziska Giffey, and State Secretary Barbara König.¹³

¹² http://www.richard-quartier.de/index.php?id=57&tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=160&tx_news_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=News&tx_news_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&cHash=3843a7ca479b591b67d7623d74bccde3, last accessed 02/15/2019

¹³ http://www.richard-quartier.de/index.php?id=57&tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=160&tx_news_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=News&tx_news_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&cHash=3843a7ca479b591b67d7623d74bccde3, last accessed 02/15/2019

3.3 Assessment of the effect of the program

In the first year of the Women's Counseling Center's expansion, the goal was to have at least five percent of the service population include recently arrived migrants. The result was closer to 20 percent (AWO_FBL). The new location was well received in Berlin and the Counseling Center was able to expand its cooperation with refugee accommodations and establish more local services (AWO Südost eV 2018: 183). Counseling staff report that initial worries about mixing target populations have proven not to be a problem. In fact, they have seen many examples of solidarity among older and newer migrants. The arrival of the younger women and their children has had an invigorating effect on the Counseling Center and created more opportunities for integration services rooted in AWO's core values.

However, it is not clear that the expanded focus is known throughout Berlin. In *Starting below zero: a guide by and for refugee women* (Trixiwiz, 2017) created cooperatively by Trixiwiz and International Womenspace, the AWO Women's Counseling Center is not listed as one of the many resources. This may just be due to the timing of the expansion and the publication, but also may indicate that the Counseling Center needs a better strategy to promote their services to newer refugee communities. Further, staff mentioned the intention to serve all women in Berlin, including German women. But their website describes the Counseling Center as a service for "migrant and refugee women". A clearer articulation of this goal could increase the Center's integrating effects, widen their profile in the Neukölln neighborhood and decrease the sense of competition felt by many disadvantaged Germans because many services are directly solely at refugees and migrants.

4 Conclusion

The Women's Counseling Center is primarily a case of formalized co-operation between public agencies and nonprofit organizations in the form of direct contracting. This relationship is characterized as 'extension of government' or 'co-production' in the literature (Brinkerhoff, 2002; Brown & Ryan, 2003; Pestoff, Brandsen, & Verschuere, 2012). In this case, the government sets the agenda for counseling work and provides all the financial resources. In following the principle of subsidiarity, this contract allows the government to utilize the Counseling Center's close connection to neighborhood and community to serve migrants (Zimmer et al., 2005). In turn, it provides the Counseling Center with stable income, a clear mandate and a well-developed network.

The Counseling Center is also part of AWO, which in turn is a member of the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organizations. At this level, the government and nonprofit co-operation model is more what Pestoff et al (2012) would describe as 'co-creation'. AWO, in concert with the other major welfare organizations, are deeply engaged in the development of refugee and migrant policy in Berlin¹⁴ (Gluns, 2018a). This engagement and influence in policy provide legitimacy to programs like the Counseling Center and put them at an advantage over independent organizations who are not affiliated with the Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organizations.

¹⁴ <https://www.awoberlin.de/Migrant-innen-843125.html>, last accessed 07.02.2019

Interviews:

- AWO_MA AWO Women's Counseling Center, employees (*Frauenberatungsstelle der Arbeiterwohlfahrt, Mitarbeiterinnen 1 und 2*)
- AWO_FBL AWO Berlin District Association Southeast, manager (*AWO Berlin Kreisverband Südost, Fachbereichsleitung*)

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