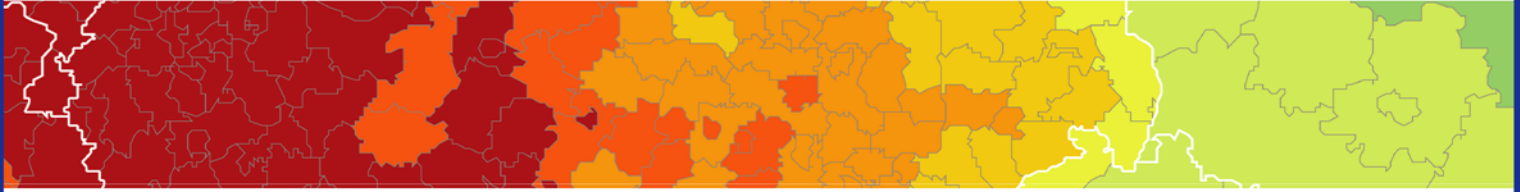


Inspire policy making by territorial evidence



Impacts of refugee flows to territorial development in Europe

Applied Research

Case study – Germany

Version 18/07/2019

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Abbreviations

BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BMI	Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat (Federal Ministry for the Interior, Construction and Home)
EC	European Commission
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
NIFO	Netzwerk zur Integration von Flüchtlingen in Ostwürttemberg (Network for the Integration of Refugees in East Württemberg)
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PFIFF	Projektstelle für Integration und Flüchtlinge (Project Office for Integration and Refugees)
R&D	Research & Development
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises

Executive summary

The town of Schwäbisch Gmünd is on its own initiative welcoming a considerable number of refugees (and people with subsidiary protection status) and has devised (and refined) a distinct approach on integrating refugees into the local fabric in an explicitly comprehensive way. This approach is known as the Gmünder Weg (Gmünden Way-of-Doing-Things), and it encompasses several main elements, namely the decentral housing in private accommodations spread across the whole municipality, language classes for asylum seekers and people with protection status, skills and job training offers, local job placements, and inclusion in local associations such as the local music society. It equally seeks to activate the long-term local residents in making various efforts to support the integration activities (e.g. as volunteers, as donors, as employers, or as landlords) as it seeks to activate the asylum-seekers and people with subsidiary protection status to engage on various levels in the integration process.

As a key element of this concerted effort, the decentral housing has emerged as a crucial element in anchoring the refugees in the respective localities and enabling further valuable steps in the integration progress. The continuity of housing is not self-evident for people seeking protection as they move through the asylum procedure. This means they face up to three relocations depending on the size of the state during that process hindering and/or disrupting certain integration efforts. The provision of stability seems crucial here, and decentral housing provides a fundamentally different experience to people with protection status than does housing in a mass accommodation of up to several hundreds of people. Furthermore, it sets the welcoming tone that is essential for the comprehensive cooperation among the multiple actors in Schwäbisch Gmünd that contribute to the integration efforts spearheaded by its first mayor.

As a medium-sized town and municipality with around 60,000 inhabitants, Schwäbisch Gmünd serves as a focal point for the efforts that can feasibly be undertaken by other municipalities of roughly similar size but also more generally as a successful example for the implementation and execution of integration measures of which the communal level is of first and foremost importance. It exemplifies the absorption and integration capacities of communes, a relevant complementary angle to the integration capacities of large cities and metropolitan regions thought to be preferred by incoming migrants themselves.

And while Schwäbisch Gmünd clearly profited from a set of beneficial contextual factors such as the intake on a voluntary basis, the high levels of civic volunteer engagement, or the particular extra funding provided by the respective state of Baden-Württemberg, its excellence and dedication to refugee integration exceeds common standards.

With a focus on the concerted efforts undertaken by Schwäbisch Gmünd to facilitate the integration process of its refugee population, this case study will shed light on the various interlinked aspect that the town has organized in the hands of one specific office to ensure an efficient handling of different integration projects.

1 Profile of the area

1.1 Socio-economic context

The city of **Schwäbisch-Gmünd** is located in the Southern state or *Bundesland* of Baden-Württemberg, and here in its Eastern part, belonging to the metropolitan region of Stuttgart (which is around 50 km further to the West). Schwäbisch Gmünd is a town of around 60.000 inhabitants, with a stable population size (being around 60T since the 1990s). Geographically, it belongs to the Eastern Alb foreland.

Figure 1 - The Location of Schwäbisch Gmünd in Germany



Source: Wikipedia

The *Bundesland* of Baden-Württemberg is known for its economic prowess, its sizeable number of small and medium-size enterprises (as a backbone of the German economy), its innovation capacities and export orientation. The gross domestic product of Baden-Württemberg for 2017 is EUR 493,265 billion, or an average of EUR 43,632 per person.¹ With 10% of the territory of Germany, and 13.3% of the population, Baden-Württemberg contains 18.1% of the producing sector and contributes 15.1% to German national GDP.²

With the economic strength also comes an understanding of the value of human capital, making it an attractive region of arrival for medium- and high-skilled workers (but in need of people across the whole skills spectrum).

¹ See: <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf>, or https://www.statistik-bw.de/GesamtwBranchen/VGR/VW_wirtschaftskraft.jsp.

² <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf> (p. 8).

The metropolitan region of Stuttgart in particular is one of the economic centres of this success story, and also the city with the largest population of the state with currently around 615,000 inhabitants (first residence, March 31, 2019).³

Despite its economic appeal, real/adjusted economic growth for the *Bundesland* of Baden-Württemberg has been steadily slowing down, from 7.7% in 2010 to 3.3% and 2.3% in the years 2015 and 2017 respectively.⁴ At the same time, the share of unemployed persons to the overall population fell from 4.1% to 3.8% and to 2.9% in these years.⁵

Main industries are the car industry – the car was invented in Baden-Württemberg – and mechanical engineering. They constitute about 50% of the producing sector (in terms of share in turnover), with the producing sectors contributing roughly 1/3 and the service sector roughly 2/3 to the state's GDP. (The role of agriculture is negligible.)⁶

Following the cluster typologies as developed in Task 5, the region of Schwäbisch-Gmünd belongs to the cluster number 2: a highly attractive region characterized by strong economic growth and innovative pulse. Together with the regions of cluster 1, the regions of cluster 2 represent the economic engines of Europe and the main immigrant destinations.⁷

Overall, this cluster appears as the second most important group for economic and labour market conditions and is a strong attractor of immigration inflows, pointing towards the absorption capacities of the region and the importance of having successful integration strategies in place.

Based on a recent ESPON study⁸, Baden-Württemberg has been clustered among the highly competitive and KE-based regions (red), which includes 35 regions, mostly Northern and Continental regions with large metropolitan areas (London, Paris-Île de France, Région de Bruxelles – Capitale, Berlin, etc.), or Scandinavian regions (Oslo and Stockholm). These

³ <https://www.stuttgart.de/item/show/55064>, an additional 6,800 people have their second residence registered in Stuttgart.

⁴ <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf> (p. 3).

⁵ <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf> (p.3).

⁶ <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf> (p. 5).

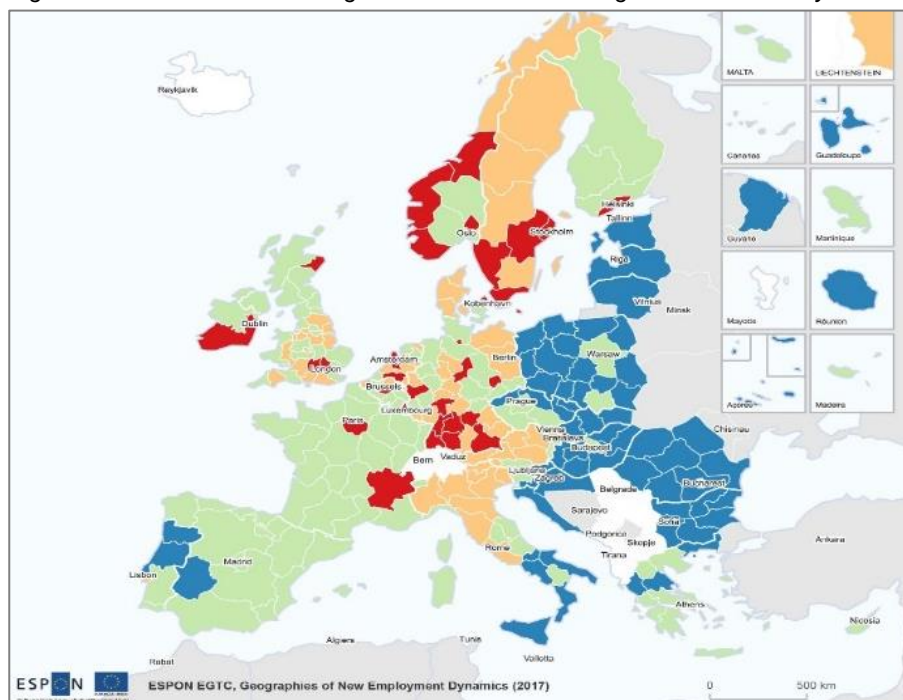
⁷ The cluster is composed of 31 regions strongly characterized by a powerful innovative pulse and productivity: R&D expenditure as percentage of total GDP is the highest registered among the considered regions (4.06%), while medium per capita income is 10 thousands EUR above the European average, although still much lower than that of Cluster 1.

Geographically this cluster includes some Scandinavian regions, Southern Germany, Austria, Belgian Flanders, the band of regions around London and the region of Helsinki. The share of 30-34 people with tertiary education is very high and over the European mean and labour market conditions are quite similar to those of the metropolitan areas of Cluster 1, see: ESPON MIGRARE Interim Report, p. 6.

⁸ ESPON, Geographies on New Employment dynamics in Europe, 2017 (p. 19-25), <https://www.espon.eu/employment>.

regions show the highest average and growing values for KE indicators, as well as the best labour market and socio-economic conditions in the EU, and include the largest cities in Europe.

Figure 2: Four clusters of EU regions in terms of knowledge-related economy



Source: IRS estimates in ESPON, *Geographies of New Employment Dynamics in Europe, 2017*

With regards to fertility, the Schwäbisch Gmünd district of *Ostalbkreis* used to fare better on fertility than it does now compared to overall Germany: In 2014, it averaged a total fertility rate of 1.5, compared to Stuttgart with 1.47 and all of Germany with 1.48 respectively. This rate increased to 1.59 and 1.57 for the years 2015 and 2016 respectively, yet, compares unfavourably with numbers for Stuttgart with 1.53 and 1.60, and with overall Germany with 1.50 and 1.60 for the respective latter years.

Equally in decline are the numbers of students – from 1,651 thousand in 2010 to 1,545 thousand in 2015, and 1,534 thousand in 2017 – and also the number of young people in the several-years long professional apprenticeship (“Ausbildung”) – they fell from 205,000 (2010), to 190,000 both in the years 2015 and 2017.⁹ These numbers can be indicative of an increasing need for (young/entry-level) workforce – something that the current German population (pyramid-shaped) cannot reasonably satisfy.¹⁰

Studies point towards the need for considerable labour immigration – from outside the EU as it cannot be satisfied from within – of annually 260,000 people from the year 2018 up to the year

⁹ <https://wm.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-wm/intern/Publikationen/Wirtschaftsstandort/Wirtschaftsdaten18deutsch.pdf> (p. 6).

¹⁰ See for example: <https://www.populationpyramid.net/germany/2017/>.

2060.¹¹ Simultaneously, the study observes a need for an overhaul of the current qualifications recognition: Immigrants do not bring the skill level needed in the German labour market and find it hard to have their qualifications from abroad recognized.¹²

The crude rates for population change look less alarming but are equally worrisome for a district (and region) that depends on a steady supply of qualified workers: Starting from the year 2006, the (crude) rate for population size has decreased from -0.3 in 2006 to -2.2 in 2012, and only slowed down to -0.9 in 2016. In contrast to the next higher NUTS level of Stuttgart, this is a negative trend. However, it looks much more favourable when compared to overall dynamics in Germany, where those rates have persistently oscillated around the value of -2 from 2005 to 2015, with only a slight easement in 2016 (with a value of -1.4).

The old-age dependency ratio paints a similar picture for the district: It fares slightly worse in comparison with the Stuttgart area but still better than the overall German average of 100 people in working age having to support 32.4 persons in retirement (2017). For both Germany in total and the district of *Ostalbkreis* itself the value of this ratio has slowly increased over the last years, from 31.6 in 2014 to 32 in the years 2015 and 2016, and to 32.4 in 2017. For the district *Ostalbkreis* these numbers are at 29.8, 30.1, 30.1, and 30.6 respectively.

The numbers and facts presented here point to the absorption capacity and appreciation of workers as an opportunity for a considerable intake of immigrants, and furthermore a valuing of skills – presenting a potential for both the satisfaction of short-term labour market needs but also long-term appreciation of immigrants as workers. At the same time, they also shed light on the challenge of reasonably matching labour supply and demand, and meeting the strong overall demand for labour. Furthermore, the challenge of socio-economic integration of those not readily participating in the labour market remains.

1.2 Current stock and flows of asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants in the area of analysis

Historically, three different phases of immigration can be distinguished for the *Bundesland* of Baden-Württemberg (and Western Germany more generally):

During the first years after WWII, it was mainly refugees and those expelled from formerly German territory (that had to be given up as a result of the war) arrived in the South-western

¹¹ “For the “minimum required potential labor force,” under which Germany’s total demand for labor would be precisely met in 2035, a net total of 260,000 non-German migrants would have to arrive every year. “ https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/Migration_fair_gestalten/IB_Studie_Zuwanderung_und_Digitalisierung_2019.pdf (p. 90). See also: <http://www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/arbeitsmarkt-studie-deutschland-braucht-260-000-zuwanderer-pro-jahr-a-1252801.html>.

¹² Ibid.

part of what was then the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) or “West Germany”. In the year 1950, this subgroup of the population constituted around 13.5% or 862,000 persons of the population of Baden-Württemberg.

In the mid-1950s and with the onset of the “Wirtschaftswunder”, the post-war ‘economic miracle’ of growth and wealth, a new generation of immigrants entered Baden-Württemberg. These were guest workers mainly from Yugoslavia, Spain and Turkey.

In a third wave and starting from the late 1980s, ‘late repatriates’ (“Spätaussiedler”) with German ancestry – mainly from Romania and Poland, later also from the former Soviet Union – but also asylum seekers and people displaced by the civil war in former Yugoslavia arrived. This third wave peaked between 1988 and 1993: in these years, Baden-Württemberg accounted for a net immigration of 370,000 people in total.

Since the mid-1990s, immigration to Baden-Württemberg significantly decreased; fewer and fewer ‘late repatriates’ continued to arrive while many Yugoslav refugees returned to their countries of origin; net migration totalled 3,400 people in 2009. From then on, immigration increased again. For the year 2015, a record-breaking 317,000 people immigrated (and 151,000 people emigrated, resulting in a net migration of 166,000 persons for that year alone).¹³

Considering the overall immigrant population, the primary country of origin remains Turkey, the second-largest group originates from countries of former Yugoslavia, followed by Italy, Greece, and the former Soviet Union. Around 40% of all residents with a foreign passport originate from one of the other 27 EU member states.¹⁴

Figure 3: First Asylum Applications since 1990, in Baden-Württemberg



Source: Ministry for Integration, Baden-Württemberg, 2016

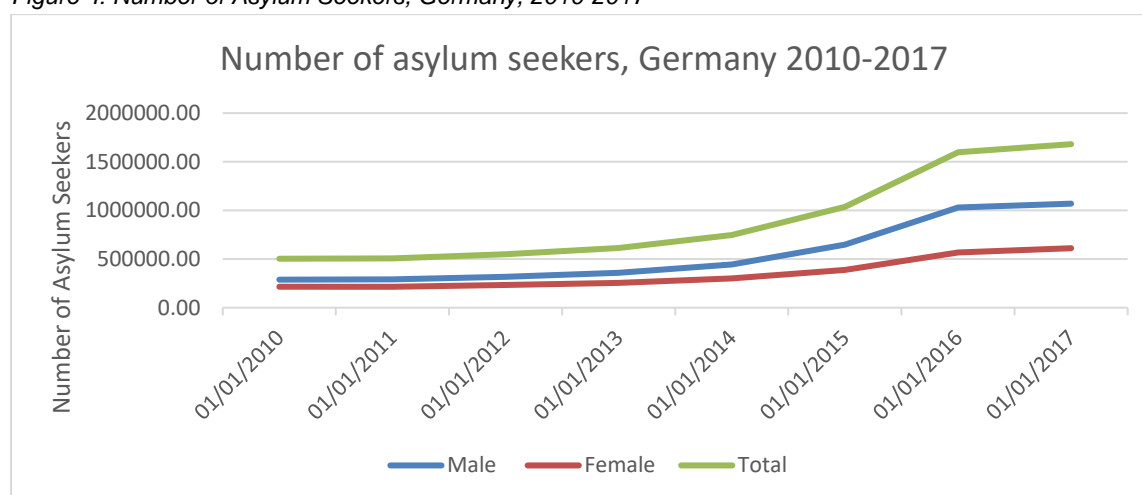
¹³ https://www.landeskunde-baden-wuerttemberg.de/bev_integrations.html

¹⁴ https://www.landeskunde-baden-wuerttemberg.de/bev_integrations.html.

Like for the rest of the country, asylum applications have increased significantly in recent years in Baden-Württemberg, with 97,800 person in 2015 persons lodging an application and 31,200 persons in 2016. For comparison, in Germany there were a total of 722,370 applications in 2016.¹⁵

Most of these asylum seekers originated from Syria (28%), Iraq (12%) and Afghanistan (11%) and Gambia (10%). About half of the applicants were between 18 and 34 year old, and the proportion of male applicants clearly dominates with 65.6%.¹⁶ This is in line with the overall trend for Germany, with numbers of asylum seekers significantly increasing over the last years (but stalling since 2017¹⁷) (see figure below).

Figure 4: Number of Asylum Seekers, Germany, 2010-2017



Source: German Statistical office destatis, <https://www-genesis.destatis.de/genesis/online/data>

Baden-Württemberg is the state or *Bundesland* with the highest proportion of people with a so-called 'migrant background' in employment, and the least difference of employment between people with and without such a 'migrant background' (9% difference). This is partially due to the overrepresentation of working age people with migrant background in the overall population (1.4 million out of a total of 3.8 million).

We see that from the year 2011 onwards, the number of the population holding a German passport has been steadily around 9,300,000 people, while those residents with a passport other than German has increased from 1,250,000 to 1,650,000 people.¹⁸

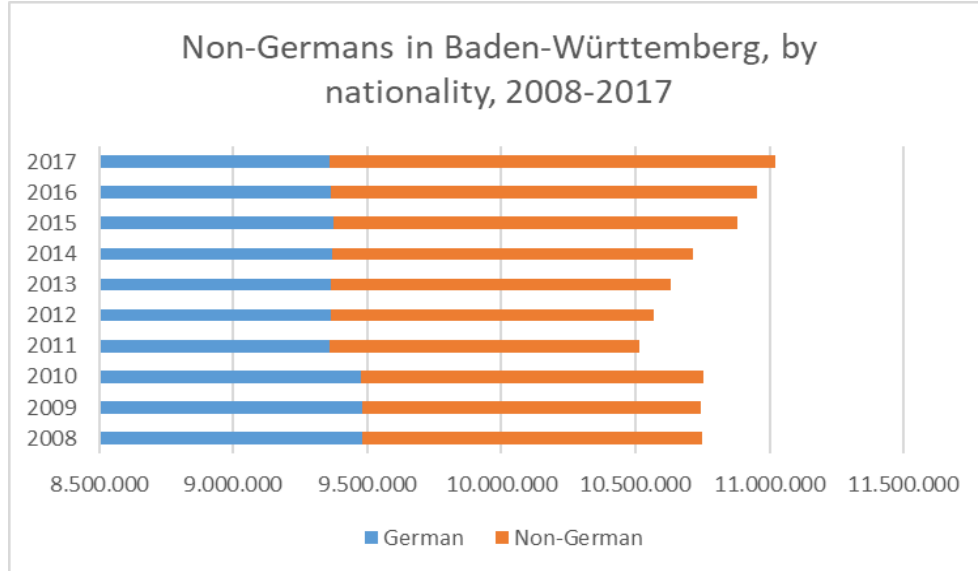
¹⁵ <http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2016-2017.html?nn=1663558>.

¹⁶ https://www.landeskunde-baden-wuerttemberg.de/bev_integrations.html.

¹⁷ Between January and November 2018, 174,040 persons applied for asylum in Germany – a decrease of 16 % compared to the same period in 2017, according to the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-migration-bulletin-1_en.pdf (p. 11).

¹⁸ <https://www.statistik-bw.de/BevoelkGebiet/MigrNation/01035010.tab?R=LA>.

Figure 5: Non-Germans in Baden-Württemberg, 2008-2017

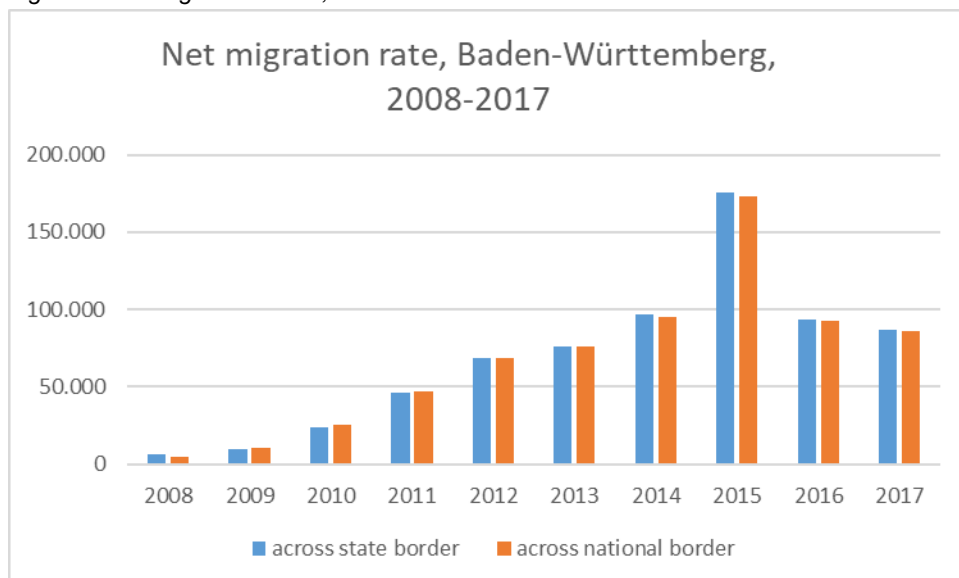


Source: Statistical Office Baden-Württemberg

This however does not fully capture the “migrant background” as people can naturalize, their origins thus becoming ‘invisible’. The notion of “migrant background” in itself is highly contentious in Germany – with critics noting that it does not capture the socio-economic integration of certain groups but still relies too heavily on a native-foreigner distinction.

The majority of immigrants in Baden-Württemberg lives in the industrial conurbations of the *Bundesland*; and of all of these, the regional capital Stuttgart counts the highest rate of inhabitants with a ‘migrant background’, namely 43%. It is thus surpassing many large cities such as Hamburg (32%), Bremen (29%), or Berlin (29%). Schwäbisch Gmünd itself has a rate of 38% of persons with ‘migrant background’.

Figure 6: Net Migration Rates, 2008-2017



Source: Statistical Office Baden-Württemberg

The net migration rate for Baden-Württemberg has consistently been positive since 1999. Mobility across national borders has peaked unsurprisingly in the year 2015 with a net immigration of 172,800 persons.¹⁹ We can further see that the dominant way of population growth is not via *internal* mobility but via *cross-border* mobility, i.e. immigration.

The number of irregular migrants currently residing in Germany, and their share in the different *Bundesländer* respectively, can only be guesses based on various estimates. For example, Vogel (2015) estimates that between 180,000 and 520,000 irregular migrants resided in Germany in 2014, based on an academic expert estimate with multiplier method based on police apprehension data.²⁰

This number includes three different types of 'irregularity', namely:

- Persons who are living without any knowledge of immigration authorities in a country;
- Persons whose seemingly legal residence depends on false papers or identities; and
- Persons under the obligation to leave who are known to the authorities.²¹

"The estimated irregular foreign residents account for only a small share of the total population of Germany. Even the maximum estimates constitute less than a half percent of the total population and less than 5% of the foreign national population. However, it can be expected that shares may vary largely according to nationalities and regions".²²

It is furthermore estimated, that the changes in residency law and stricter police enforcements will subsequently lead to people from certain countries – particularly those regarded safe-third-countries such as the Western Balkans or others²³, with little chance of a positive asylum decision – opting to stay illegally instead of lodging an asylum application. In how far stricter enforcements on the one hand and the deterrence effect on the other even each other out, is not known at this moment.²⁴ The German *Federal Office for Migration and Refugees* (BAMF) relies on Vogel (2015) for its migration report 2016/2017 (published 29.01.2019).²⁵

¹⁹ <https://www.statistik-bw.de/BevoelkGebiet/MigrNation/MN-Auslaender-WA.jsp?path=/BevoelkGebiet/ZuFortzuege/>.

²⁰ Vogel, Dita (2015) Update report Germany: Estimated number of irregular foreign residents in Germany (2014), Database on Irregular Migration, http://irregular-migration.net/fileadmin/irregular-migration/dateien/4.Background_Information/4.5.Update_Reports/Vogel_2015_Update_report_Germany_2014_fin-.pdf.

²¹ Ibid: 2.

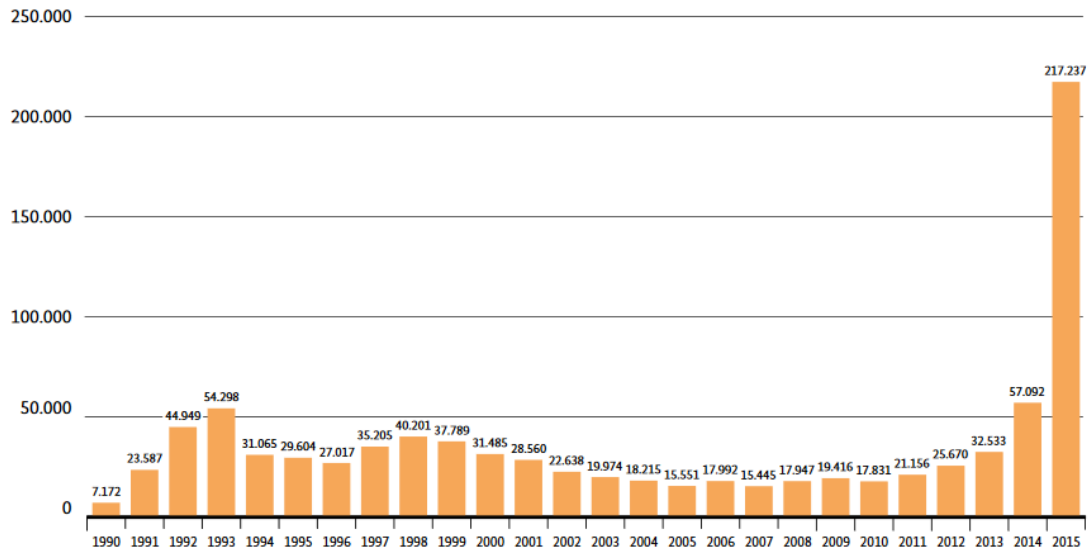
²² Ibid: 4.

²³ UNHCR raised concerns in an interview about the proposed legislation of Germany to include Algeria, Georgia, Morocco and Tunisia on a list of safe countries of origin. In particular, they consider problematic the criterion "no systematic human rights violations" to establish whether a country is safe, as the EU Asylum Procedures Directive does not require violations to be "systematic", https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-migration-bulletin-1_en.pdf (p. 12.).

²⁴ Vogel, Dita (2015): 4-5.

²⁵ http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2016-2017.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (p. 219).

Figure 7: Apprehensions of Unauthorized Foreigners at Federal Borders, 1990-2015



Source: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, *Migrationsbericht (2015)*

The Federal Police (*Bundespolizei*) has published the following data for apprehension at the border of persons with unauthorized status, 1990-2015 (see Figure 7).

From the graph, it becomes apparent how significantly numbers increased during the so-called refugee crisis or European migration crisis of 2015.

1.3 Challenges, opportunities and impacts

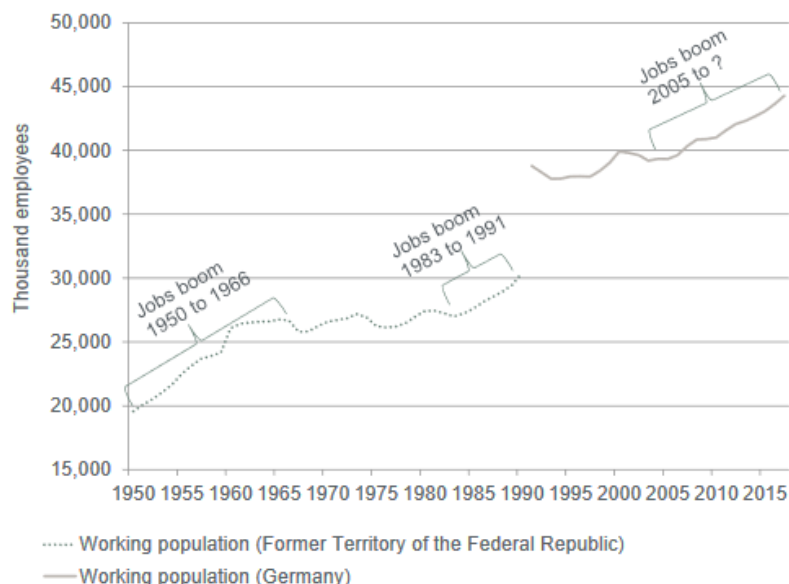
One of the main challenges for the whole country lies in the integration of its roughly 1 million refugees and people with subsidiary protection status while at the same time filling the 1.6 million vacant positions in the labour market.²⁶ *Labour market matching* remains hence one of the major challenges of the German economy, alongside the need for successful in-depth integration of the newly arrived in order to ensure *social stability*.

Due to demographics, the increasing skills shortage plays into hands here: Employers become increasingly aware that they may have to alter their recruitment by opening up to foreign qualifications and lower levels of language proficiency than they used to. In combination with the declining unemployment rates in Germany, this is an overall very favourable starting point/situation for the above-described challenge. While it remains to be expected that when the “high number of refugees in search of work have completed their language courses and

²⁶ https://medium.com/@yermibrenner/a-day-at-the-fair-a-syrians-journey-to-employment-in-germany-e548225adcb5?fbclid=IwAR1yYntLT8V1c4z8-HWvzrtH9JV9WNJonvCsnbEJmriyvCDEkl_m1YluUo

qualifications” an increase in the unemployment rate will temporarily occur, the current trends point to full employment in ten years’ time.²⁷

Figure 8: The Longest Job Boom since 1966. How Long Will it Last?



Source: KfW Research, 2019

The challenge of labour market matching and skills shortage is somewhat modified/amplified in Baden-Württemberg and particularly in the Stuttgart metropolitan region (to which also Schwäbisch Gmünd belongs) because of its extremely low unemployment rates: Absorption capacities are even higher than in other parts of the country. At the same time, particular skills are in demand that the refugees and people with subsidiary protection status do not necessarily bring with them. Additionally, even higher professional skills do not necessarily translate directly into employment when language skills are missing.

Investing in refugees, so that they learn the necessary language and technical skills for the strong producing and service sectors of Baden-Württemberg is hence a prerogative of the integration efforts of that region; This type of in-depth integration both needed and favoured is resource- and time-intensive with little instant gratifications.

More importantly though is the conflicting trend of the region’s needs and national economic development: The job boom of the German economy – the largest one since 1966 according to the government-owned development bank KfW²⁸ – means there is a large demand also for

²⁷ <https://www.kfw.de/PDF/Download-Center/Konzernthemen/Research/PDF-Dokumente-Fokus-Volkswirtschaft/Fokus-englische-Dateien/Fokus-2018-EN/Fokus-No.-216-July-2018-Jobs-boom.pdf> (p. 7).

²⁸ Ibid.

low-skilled workers. This situation creates a competition for workers who may opt for short-time gains (immediate insertion into the labour market, with immediate remunerations and thus means to support a family) over long-term gains (higher wage after a lengthier labour market insertion process, potentially involving reskilling, need for higher language proficiency, etc.).

In addition, the pending question of family reunification²⁹ as impediment to long-term residence of those laboriously integrated into the local fabric remains a major issue when it comes to the question of costly and lengthy integration efforts by both the receiving community and the immigrant.^{30 31} Along these lines, also businesses in Baden-Württemberg have hence voiced the need for a clear 'perspective to stay' ("Bleibeperspektive") as an incentive for those integrating well.³²

An aggravating problem for the municipality of Schwäbisch Gmünd and the whole district of Ostalbkreis lies in the fact that the composition of newly arriving asylum-seekers has changed: While in 2015/2016 those with Syrian nationality had a high recognition rate, later cohorts coming from different countries and continents have a much lower chance to have their application approved positively. With little prospect for even medium-term stay (as with subsidiary protection) there is little incentive neither for the asylum-seekers nor the local volunteers to go through prolonged efforts in the integration process.

The competition for workers on the one hand and insecurities around long-term stay on the other are hence the double-challenge for attracting (and keeping) refugees around.

A further point of contention may be the gender imbalance within the immigrant population – composed of 2/3 male immigrants. But again, this may be remedied by relaxing the current

²⁹ Even for people from Syria, asylum seekers often do not receive full protection status according to the Geneva Convention but only subsidiary protection. Since August 1, 2018, the German government has capped the number of persons eligible for family reunification to 1,000 persons a month, see: <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/neue-regeln-fuer-den-familiennachzug-1008342>.

This means that there is a considerable waiting list for those seeking to be reunited with their family, sometimes resulting in the withdrawal of the asylum application altogether. It has also been criticized on humanitarian and child-benefit grounds, see: <https://www.proasyl.de/news/gluecksrad-familiennachzug-konsequenzen-der-neuregelung-fuer-subsidiaer-schutzberechtigte/>.

³⁰ "By the end of 2018, only 3,500 persons were able to reunite with their family members under subsidiary protection in Germany, compared to 5,000 who would have been allowed according to the quota system, ZEIT ONLINE reports. The provisions on family reunification for persons under subsidiary protection, which came into force in August 2018, foresee a quota of 1,000 persons per month to be reunited with their family members who have subsidiary protection. The Migration Commission of the German Bishops Conference, the Jesuit Refugee Service, staff of the City of Chemnitz, the Federal Association for Unaccompanied Minors and UNHCR raised concerns about plans to stop the practice that if the monthly quota was not met, the difference would be transferred to the next month. Staff of the City of Chemnitz reported that a great number of reunifications of unaccompanied children with a relative other than a parent living in Germany did not succeed because municipalities could not agree on who covers the costs", https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-migration-bulletin-1_en.pdf (p. 20).

³¹ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/commissioner/-/ending-restrictions-on-family-reunification-good-for-refugees-good-for-host-societies?desktop=true>.

³² <https://www.baden-wuerttemberg.de/de/unser-land/wirtschaftsstandort/>.

family reunification policy which is particularly restrictive both for persons with subsidiary and humanitarian protection status.

A different challenge may be the smaller size and geographical location of Schwäbisch Gmünd vis-à-vis the regional capital of Stuttgart that offers significantly more diverse living conditions. If Stuttgart is considerably more attractive to those immigrants and refugees who only recently settled in Schwäbisch Gmünd, integration efforts may not pay off in the medium- or long-term because immigrants/refugees may resettle elsewhere. Globally, around 60% of the refugee population lives in cities (and not in rural areas and/or camps)³³ and refugees “disproportionately settle in large cities, where they have better job prospects and existing social connections”³⁴. Yet, lower costs of living and lower competition for jobs may be an advantage of small and medium-sized towns in attracting foreign workers including refugees.

As a major opportunity, Baden-Württemberg is regarded as a ‘region of arrival’ and immigrants can be presumed to bring the motivation to stay and integrate well. In terms of their demographic, the majority of immigrants is in a favourable age bracket, making them potentially valuable human capital worth investing in, also setting a counterweight to the ageing German population. Businesses have voiced their need for immigrant labour and are willing to pick up (at least parts of) the costs; it surely seems to be regarded a worthwhile path to counter the current slowing-down of the economic growth of the region.

Another favourable point that shall not be underestimated is the welcoming attitude, which is not solely based on economic interests but also on conservative community-oriented values. The local engagement in Schwäbisch Gmünd for example, builds upon a history of societal civic engagement that the city chronicles date back to the 13th century³⁵, a narrative and a self-understanding that seems outstanding but may also not be easily reproducible in other parts of the region, country, or even less EU-wide. This particularly welcoming attitude has been reinforced in recent years by a series of events unrelated to migration challenges but rather concerning large-scale tourism. For example in 2014, Schwäbisch Gmünd has been host to the state’s main horticultural event (“Landesgartenschau”)³⁶ attracting the sizeable number of around 2 million tourists and incentivising an improvement of local transport and infrastructure while, importantly, establishing a network of volunteers on which the city was able to draw and build upon during the following years.

On a side note, this horticultural event also saw the Gmünden approach of activating also asylum seekers and refugees in local activities in action: around 65 asylum seekers volunteered

³³ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/metropolitan-revolution/2017/11/03/the-refugee-crisis-is-a-city-crisis/>.

³⁴ <https://www.brookings.edu/research/cities-and-refugees-the-german-experience/>.

³⁵ https://www.lpb-bw.de/fileadmin/Abteilung_III/jugend/pdf/ws_beteiligung_dings/ws9/gemuender_weg_fluechtlinge.pdf (p. 16).

³⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landesgartenschau_Schw%C3%A4bisch_Gm%C3%BCnd_2014.

to take on various responsibilities during the horticultural show such as admission control to the garden show areas.³⁷

These favourable conditions and concerted efforts for integration give reason to hope that long-term integration will be successful and prosperous, appeasing critical and/or xenophobic voices on immigration. Currently, there is still rising tension as manifest in hate crimes and open display of racism³⁸, paradoxically alongside increasingly sophisticated and comprehensive integration measures.

The investment in attracting and keeping workers in the region is backed by a regional support: Baden-Württemberg has a pact for integration with the municipalities. The pact regulates how EUR 320 million – half of which is provided by the federal government and the other half by the state government – are transferred to municipalities of Baden-Württemberg for integration projects. This state programme is called „Gemeinsam in Vielfalt – Lokale Bündnisse für Flüchtlingshilfe“ (‘together in diversity – local alliances for refugee support’).³⁹ While previous funding rounds were aimed at strengthening the “welcome culture” and encourage local volunteer engagement, the current and third round of the funding aims to secure the newly established structures and further support civic processes of integration with a focus on civic/volunteer engagement.⁴⁰

During the first funding period of “Gemeinsam in Vielfalt” in 2016 for example, the district of *Ostalbkreis* received funding for the establishment and consolidation of a network of volunteers, active both at the reception centre in the town of Ellwangen and also in the various municipalities.⁴¹ The initiative also included supervision and special training for volunteers, or targeted public and media relations activities to acquire both donations and new volunteers.

In addition, there are many other integration projects and initiatives on the regional and local level that contribute to the integration of the numerous asylum seekers and refugees.

Another considerable source of funding (and also civic engagement/volunteering) and linked to the conservative community-oriented values mentioned above, are the positions of the Catholic and Protestant Church in Baden-Württemberg. Both have funded integration efforts at the local level, provided networks within and across state borders for exchange of innovative approaches

³⁷ <https://remszeitung.de/2014/4/26/eroeffnungs-pressekonferenz-zur-landesgartenschau/>.

³⁸ “The Amadeu Antonio Foundation and Pro Asyl registered a total of 756 attacks on asylum seekers and their homes in 2018 in Germany; 199 of these resulted in bodily injuries on the part of the asylum seeker. A government’s response to a parliamentary question revealed that 17 demonstrations of right-wing extremists took place in Germany between August and October 2018, with up to 3,500 participants per demonstration, and including violent attacks against migrants”, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-migration-bulletin-1_en.pdf (p. 31).

³⁹ <https://www.fluechtlingshilfe-bw.de/projekte/begleitung/foerderprogramm-gemeinsam-in-vielfalt>.

⁴⁰ <https://www.fluechtlingshilfe-bw.de/projekte/begleitung/foerderprogramm-gemeinsam-in-vielfalt>.

⁴¹ https://sozialministerium.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-sm/intern/downloads/Publikationen/Gemeinsam_in_Vielfalt_Projektuebersicht-2016.pdf (p. 51).

and best-practice examples and provide a community that can both activate volunteers and accommodate new members to the community for successful integration.

For the state of Baden-Württemberg, the two churches have coordinated closely in their efforts so as not to duplicate programmes and spend their funds most efficiently. But they have also collaborated where appropriate, for example in the district of Ostalbkreis at the *University for Education Schwäbisch Gmünd* where the two university chaplains have initiated a course on refugee integration for both local students and local volunteers and drawing upon the varied expertise from the region.⁴²

All this being a strong indicator that the initial approach of “welcome culture” (“Willkommenskultur”) even if it may not be as apparent as in the year 2015, still finds wide and strong repercussions at the state, regional, and local level.

According to a study on the national level, the investment into language classes and education of refugees of EUR 3.3 billion (for those refugees that arrived in 2015) can reduce fiscal costs by EUR 11 billion by 2030, and as a result of both decreasing social security costs and higher tax revenues.⁴³ This is an effect of higher labour market participation and higher earnings at the individual level, hence directly benefitting the refugees and the society as a whole.

In light of these findings, the authors of the study argue hence for accelerated access to language and education classes and an enlargement of the circle for whom these are made available – under the current regulations (of the immigration act of 2005) only those with a positive asylum application decision are eligible.⁴⁴

An earlier study (2015) found that even in the pessimistic scenario, investment in refugee integration will pay off after approximately 10 years.⁴⁵

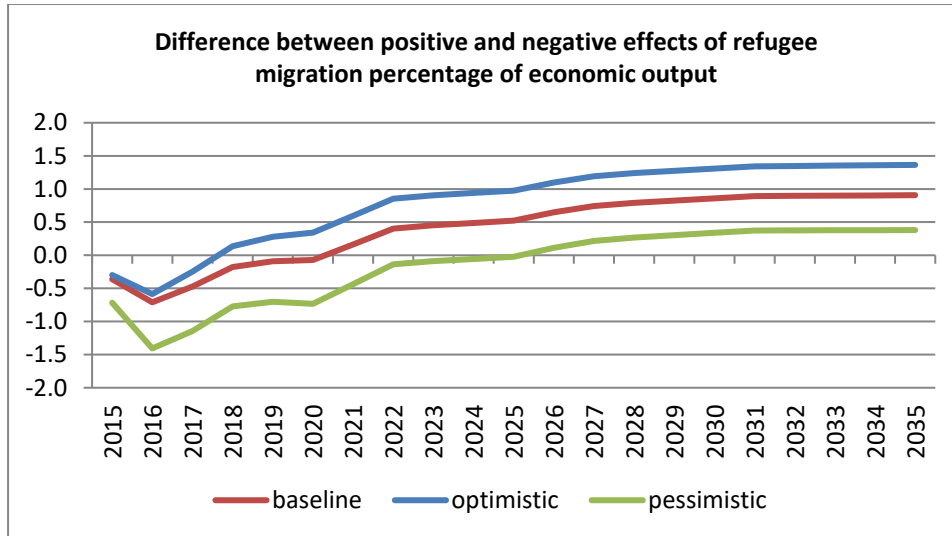
⁴² The university is also strong on migrant studies and bilingual language learning, see: <http://www.ph-gmuend.de/en/ph-gmuend>.

⁴³ <https://www.iab.de/de/informationsservice/presse/presseinformationen/kb0217.aspx> and <http://doku.iab.de/kurzber/2017/kb0217.pdf>, see also: https://www.diw.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=diw_01.c.550534.de.

⁴⁴ <http://doku.iab.de/kurzber/2017/kb0217.pdf> (p. 2).

⁴⁵ https://www.diw.de/de/diw_01.c.518472.de/themen_nachrichten/integration_von_fluechtlingen_fuehrt_langfristig_zu_positiven_wirtschaftlichen_effekten.html.

Figure 9: Difference between Positive and Negative Effects of Refugee Migration



Source: DIW Berlin

In the national media coverage on refugee integration, Schwäbisch Gmünd gained prominence for its “Gmünder Weg” (Gmünden way of doing things), which took a decisive integration-oriented approach towards dealing with asylum-seekers and refugees assigned to the city. They have shown to be critical of both the tight bureaucratic regulations set forward on housing refugees (e.g. in terms of m²/person) and the trend for short-term container housing. Their main argument against both being that the costs surpass the benefits if they were to follow these, and that they are able to offer housing that is longer-lived, more adaptable to different needs and also much more cost effective by doing it their own way.⁴⁶ Beyond the current need for finding housing for refugees, investing into social housing, long neglected on all levels, is regarded as a strategy worth pursuing on the city level.⁴⁷ Social housing in Germany generally refers to “publicly subsidized housing” and “housing promotion” and constitutes only 5% of the national housing stock; it is entirely (and since 2006) a competence of the states (*Bundesländer*).⁴⁸ As with other assistance programmes, the scarcity of social housing has been linked by right-wing politicians to the issue of immigration and particularly the large-scale immigration of the years 2015 and 2016.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ <https://www1.wdr.de/daserste/monitor/sendungen/was-kostet-die-integration-100.html>

⁴⁷ <https://www1.wdr.de/daserste/monitor/sendungen/was-kostet-die-integration-100.html>

⁴⁸ <http://www.housingeurope.eu/resource-107/social-housing-in-europe>.

⁴⁹ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-housing/germany-sets-out-measures-to-tackle-affordable-housing-shortage-idUSKCN1M11YA>.

Upon arrival, all persons seeking protection are accommodated in reception centres. Even after the initial obligation to stay in the reception centres, some geographical restrictions apply where asylum seekers are not allowed to leave the district to which they are formally allocated.⁵⁰

It is the competence of the states (Bundesländer) to organise the distribution and the accommodation of asylum seekers within their territories. In many cases, they defer this responsibility to the municipalities. Depending on the absolute numbers of asylum-seekers in Germany, accommodation in collective residences has fluctuated over the years, and was particularly low from the mid-1990s onwards and between 2002 and 2007. In these years, there was an increasing turn to private apartments for housing asylum-seekers.

As a rule, asylum-seekers should be housed in collective accommodation⁵¹, yet, housing varies considerably between states. In some of the federal states such as Rhineland-Westphalia, Hamburg, Lower Saxony, or Bavaria, the majority of asylum-seekers is actually accommodated privately. Others, such as North Rhine-Westphalia or Baden-Württemberg have the majority of asylum-seekers accommodated in collective accommodations.⁵²

Concerning the regulation of accommodation standards, these can also vary between states. For example with regards to living space, the Refugee Reception Act of Baden-Württemberg provides that asylum-seekers should have 4.5m² of living space, while other states' regulations provide for 6 or 7m² per person.⁵³ Subsequently, also Baden-Württemberg raised the number of m²/person to 7 to be provided by January 1, 2016.⁵⁴

Based on the European Social Survey, round 1 (2002/03) and round 8 (2016/2017), Germany displays an above-average attitude towards immigration with only a minor difference between these two rounds of the survey. Taking into consideration the specific moment in time of the round 8, the authors stress that “[...], in most countries the overall changes were rather small. So the *headline finding is one of stability* rather than of change in overall assessments of immigration.”⁵⁵

⁵⁰ http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_de_2018update.pdf (p. 74-77).

⁵¹ Section 53 of the Asylum Act.

⁵² http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_de_2018update.pdf (p. 77-78).

⁵³ http://www.asylumineurope.org/sites/default/files/report-download/aida_de_2018update.pdf (p. 79, taken from: European Migration Network, The Organisation of Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers in Germany, 2013, p. 26).

⁵⁴ Refugee Reception Act, §8 and §23 (Gesetz über die Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen [Flüchtlingsaufnahmegesetz – FlüAG] §8 und §23, <http://www.landesrecht-bw.de/jportal/?quelle=jlink&query=Fl%C3%BCAG+BW&psml=bsbawueprod.psml&max=true&aiz=true#jr-Fl%C3%BCAGBW2014pP8>).

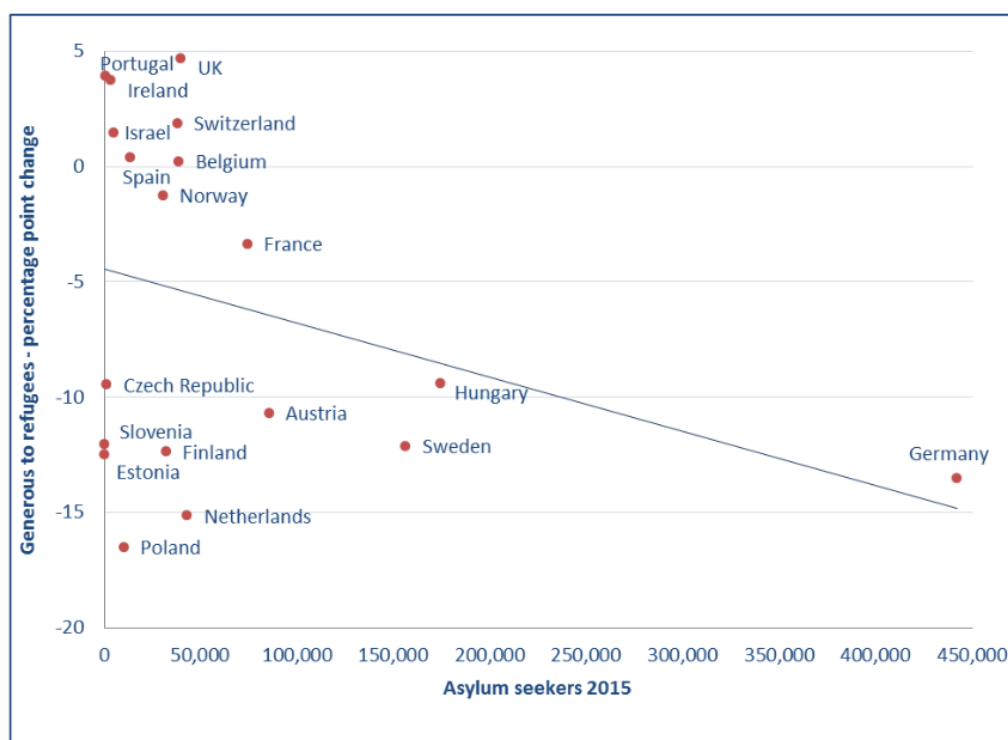
⁵⁵ Heath, A. and L. Richards (2019), “How do Europeans differ in their attitudes to immigration?: Findings from the European Social Survey 2002/03 – 2016/17”, OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 222, OECD Publishing, Paris. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/0adf9e55-en> (p.13).

However, there is a group of countries where a negative trend can clearly be pointed out – Austria, Czech Republic, Italy, Hungary, and Russia – but Germany is unmistakably not part of it (see the Annex 1 for the ESS graph comparing the attitudes in round 1 and round 8).

Narrowing the focus from migration generally to refugees in particular, the authors note that:

“Figure 4 suggests that larger flows of asylum seekers in 2015 were associated with declining support for generous policy towards refugees, most clearly in the case of Germany, Hungary and Sweden, *although the overall association is a weak one and largely driven by Germany (and is not statistically significant)*”⁵⁶.

Figure 10: Relationship between Number of Asylum Seekers and Change in Public Attitudes to Refugee Policy



Source: OECD 2017

Notable for Germany is the very high value ascribed to work skills and the very low value ascribed to the religious background both as criteria for the acceptance of migrants. Concerning the importance of work skills, 64% of Germans agree that these are important while only 10% of respondents agree that the religious background is important. In both values, Germany comes second only to the Netherlands concerning both, absolute values and their ratio.

⁵⁶ <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/0adf9e55-en.pdf?expires=1552509630&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=887F39CFE9F5C53BE71EA7A9CE43D11F> (pp. 18-19).

Figure 11: Comparison of Work Skills and Religious Background as Criteria for Accepting Migrants

	Percentage agreeing that work skills are important	Percentage agreeing that religious background is important	Ratio of the percentages (work skills: religious background)
Netherlands	65%	9%	7.11
Germany	64%	10%	6.37
Belgium	71%	15%	4.90
UK	83%	18%	4.74
Sweden	32%	7%	4.42
Norway	50%	13%	4.02
France	61%	16%	3.90
Slovenia	74%	19%	3.88
Switzerland	69%	19%	3.67
Finland	64%	19%	3.29
Ireland	79%	24%	3.29
Denmark	60%	18%	3.28
Austria	75%	23%	3.20
Spain	69%	22%	3.10
Average	69%	26%	2.65
Portugal	73%	29%	2.48
Estonia	83%	35%	2.38
Hungary	81%	41%	1.95
Czech Republic	75%	40%	1.85
Lithuania	81%	51%	1.58
Poland	67%	43%	1.56
Israel	72%	71%	1.02

Source: European Social Survey Round 7, 2014/2015

As mentioned before, this appreciation for work skills is both an opportunity and a challenge for refugee integration in Germany. An opportunity because it seems to provide a clear path for acceptance into German society, and a challenge for the various issues that precede successful labour market integration such as recognition of qualifications, labour market participation of women, skills match, or language difficulties, among others.

1.4 Institutional and policy framework dealing with asylum seekers and refugees

The legal framework for dealing with asylum seekers and refugees is set by the German basic law (German Constitution) which grants the right to asylum (predating the Geneva Convention), and the Geneva Convention; Together these are the two most important legislations for granting refugee status in Germany.⁵⁷

In terms of national legislation, this is complemented by the Asylum Act, the main legal act on asylum policy, the Asylum Seekers' Benefit Act, on the provisions and services for asylum seekers, the Residence Act, and the Integration Act.

⁵⁷ <https://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/themen/migration/asyl-fluechtlingsschutz/asyl-fluechtlingpolitik/asyl-fluechtlingpolitik-node.html>.

The institutional framework for dealing with asylum seekers and refugees spans across the federal and state level down to the communal/local level, depending on the stage of the asylum procedure and the size of the state (*Bundesland*).

In a first step, asylum-seekers are distributed across the states (*Bundesländer*) according to a certain key, where they are accommodated in first reception facilities (*Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen*). Then, depending on the size of the state there are zero to two more moves as the asylum-seekers passage through the procedure. While city states like Hamburg directly place the asylum-seeker in different places across the city boundaries, larger states like Baden-Württemberg move asylum-seekers to the districts (when the asylum-application has been lodged), and then further to the municipality (upon a positive decision).⁵⁸

On the federal level, the *Ministry of Interior (BMI)* and its agency, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*BAMF*) set the rules for processing asylum seekers, while the Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs (*BMAS*) is in charge of regulating the provisions. The Federal Employment Agency and the Federal Police are also relevant here.

Given the federal structure, it is the state government who are handed the responsibilities for the asylum seekers. They in turn, often pass it on to the districts in exchange for financial compensation (and depending on the 1-3 steps of passage for the asylum seekers as explained above). For the year 2014 and the state of Baden-Württemberg, a lump sum of EUR 13,972 was given to the district for each asylum-seeker and person with protection status as compensation for all incurred costs.⁵⁹

As has been the case in other countries, special funds were made available to the states, districts, and communes, following the events of 2015. In the state of Baden-Württemberg for example, special funding for the employment of so-called integration managers was made available. For the district “Ostalbkreis” a total of six integration managers was hired via this specific fund, 3 of them for the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd alone.

Overall, in the budget from the state of Baden-Württemberg we see the following budget lines for reception centres for the years 2017 to 2019 (see Table 1). As we can see, actual spending remained well below the planned amount set aside in the budget – by over EUR 60 million in 2017 and roughly EUR 90 million in 2018. The actual costs for the first reception of asylum-seekers thus remained clearly below the anticipated costs.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/EN/Publikationen/Broschueren/das-deutsche-asylverfahren.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

⁵⁹ Refugee Reception Act of Baden-Württemberg, §15, <http://www.landesrecht-bw.de/jportal/?quelle=jlink&query=FI%C3%BCAG+BW&psml=bsbawueprod.psml&max=true&aiz=true#jr-FI%C3%BCAGBW2014pP23>.

⁶⁰ See: <https://www.statistik-bw.de/shp/> for the planned budget and <https://www.statistik-bw.de/lhr/> for the budget actually spent (The following title is relevant for the reception centers of Baden-Württemberg here: Einzelplan 03, Kapitel 0331 Migration, Titelgruppe 75 „Landeserstaufnahmeeinrichtungen für Flüchtlinge“ relevant.)

Table 1: State Budget for Reception Centres, 2017-2019

Year	Budget, planned (Einzelplan 03, Kapitel 0331 Migration, Titelgruppe 75)	Budget, spent (Einzelplan 03, Kapitel 0331 Migration, Titelgruppe 75)
2017	EUR 273,5 million	EUR 210,8 million
2018	EUR 250,7 million	EUR 159,4 million
2019	EUR 199,7 million	n.n.

While the reception centres are financed and run by the state of Baden-Württemberg, there are no direct integration efforts being made in these facilities yet. At this point, the asylum application has not been decided, so only a limited selection of courses will be offered in reception centres, e.g. on the government and rule of law, or for orientation in Germany. (And children will participate in school, in special preparatory classes, after 6 months of residence in Germany when school attendance becomes compulsory.)

During the fall of 2015, the average stay in a reception centre was around 30 days, which has grown to around 4 months now⁶¹. This is due mainly to the fact that people with a smaller chance for a positive decision on their asylum application remain in these centres. In contrast to other states, Baden-Württemberg does not have so-called anchor centre that accommodate asylum seekers with a small chance of recognition or those who have already received a negative decision.

In later stages of the three-step process of asylum seeker accommodation, the districts and municipalities oversee the management of accommodation facilities and also the integration counselling. Once the responsibility is handed over to the districts, the state pays a certain lump sum for the direct costs related to the housing of asylum seekers and refugees. For the state of Baden-Württemberg this lump sum averages EUR 13.000 per person per year. (As mentioned before, additional funds are available, e.g. for the employment of special “integration managers”.)

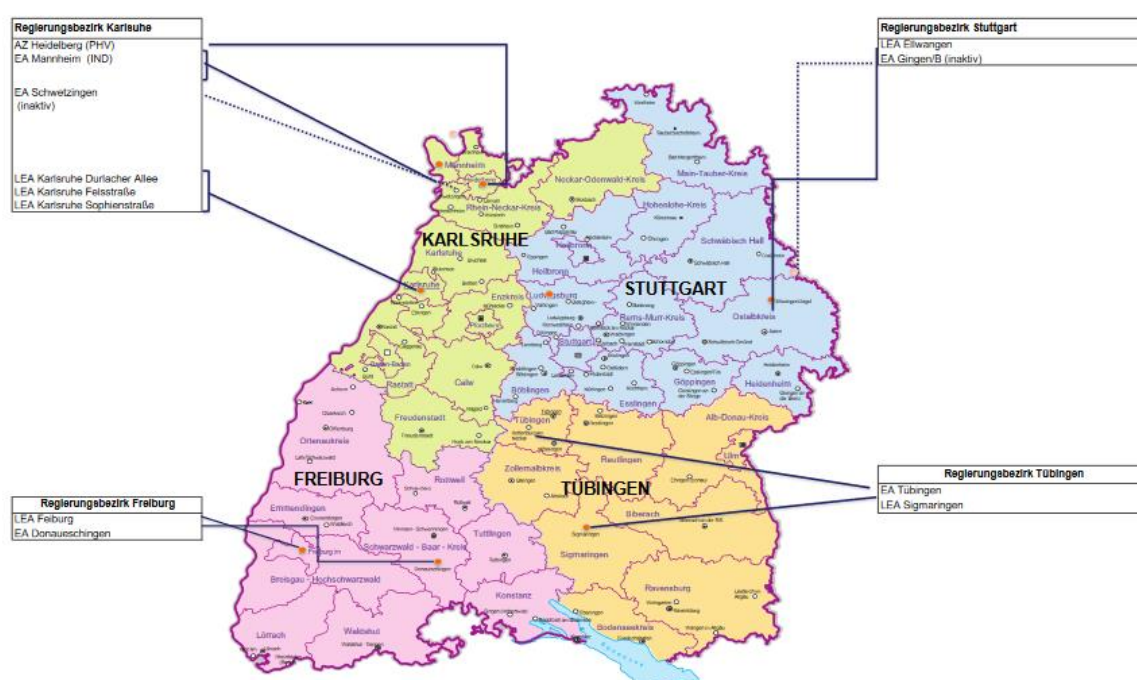
Due to the principle of subsidiarity, the local communes have a certain margin of manoeuvre when it comes to the implementation of integration policies. The local framework is hence worth taking a closer look at. From the point of view of district, we find a particular situation here: Due to the fact that the district houses one of only four large reception centres of Baden-Württemberg, it is exempt from further obligations of accommodating asylum-seekers or refugees (after their first reception). Yet, it decided to act in solidarity with the other districts and share the burden regarding the responsibility of providing. This meant that in some aspects existing capacities were simply used: Up to 1,000 places were subsequently filled during the years of 2015 to 2017. These were not necessarily rented for asylum-seekers and refugees before, but were not specifically built to accommodate asylum-seekers and refugees either.

⁶¹ Estimates by an expert from the state government of Baden-Württemberg (2019).

In other instances, the filling of existing places was unsuccessful, for example concerning housing in very rural areas. While certain villages in the district of Ostalbkreis demonstrated willingness to accommodate asylum-seekers, this was not followed-up due to a lack of local infrastructure (availability of a doctor, pharmacy, supermarket, language classes, etc.)⁶².

The map below⁶³ details the location of the main four reception centres in the state of Baden-Württemberg. The upper right corner, in blue colour, is the region of Stuttgart where we also find the district of Ostalbkreis and the municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd.

Figure 12: Location of Reception Centres in Baden-Württemberg, 2018



Source: Ministry of Interior, Digitalisation and Migration, Baden-Württemberg

Schwäbisch Gmünd itself has all the necessary infrastructure for accommodating asylum-seekers and refugees in place.

The city prides itself as extremely diverse and appealing to people of different age, education, and with different cultural, social, religious, familial and professional backgrounds (inclusive picture). At the same time, it propagates a form of support and demand-policy, supporting integration of all its citizens into the local fabric while simultaneously demanding efforts from the inhabitants/citizens too.⁶⁴

⁶² Mentioned by an interviewee (from the local protestant church).

⁶³ https://im.baden-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/redaktion/m-im/intern/dateien/pdf/20190204_Erstaufnahmeinrichtungen_Uebersicht.pdf

⁶⁴ <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/leben-in-gmuend.html>

Schwäbisch Gmünd has its own function or executive office (“Stabsbereich”) for integration, as part of the local administration/city council; this function is the result of a merger of the once separate “Stabsstelle” Integration” (function for integration)⁶⁵ and the “Stabsstelle Flüchtlinge” (function for refugees); comprising a total of 7 employees and indicating a recognition of the certain sensitivity to the need for integration of refugees/asylum-seekers.

Concerted efforts by the city council to develop and implement a progressive well-rounded integration policy⁶⁶: They are striving to become a “welcoming administration” [sic!]. The “Gmünder Weg” (Gmünden-way-of-doing-things) is an example of successful, coherent, and comprehensive integration policy at the local level with broadest participation of all stakeholders (local and regional government, NGOs, business, church, volunteers, local residents, different immigrant populations, etc.) and includes comprehensive language courses, an education, a professional training, adequate housing and societal integration.^{67 68}

It should be noted that this is not a new development (or at least, not triggered by the events of 2014/2015), Schwäbisch-Gmünd started the development of a specific integration concept already in 2008 when numbers of immigrants increased tenfold.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/zuwanderung-integration.html>

⁶⁶For characteristics of these efforts, see: <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/zuwanderung-integration.html>.

⁶⁷ <https://nordwuerttemberg.dgb.de/++co++4d004abc-0c24-11e8-a2ab-52540088cada>.

⁶⁸ https://www.lpb-bw.de/fileadmin/Abteilung_III/jugend/pdf/ws_beteiligung_dings/ws9/gemuender_weg_fluechtlinge.pdf (p. 5).

⁶⁹ <http://www.efms.uni-bamberg.de/prinkond.htm>

2 Analysis of selected policies/challenges

2.1 Topic and motivation

The particular focus of this case study will be the so-called “Gmünder Weg” – a particular cooperation between actors at the local community level but involving different actors of all three of the three-tiered processing system for asylum-seekers (Bundesland, Kreis, Gemeinde – state, district, local community) that is specific for the state of Baden-Württemberg. However, it is not unique within Germany, other states (Bundesländer) with large areas (such as North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria) have also adopted this three-tier system while smaller states can functionally operate on a two-tier system. The particular focus of the Gmünder Weg lies in the decentral housing of asylum-seekers (second stage of the process) and of people with protection status (third stage of the process) and the objective to facilitate integration already at the second stage: Asylum-seekers with a positive perspective to stay (“positive Bleibeperspektive”) are allocated to decentral and private accommodations. Once their asylum application has received a positive decision, they will be able to continue to stay in that accommodation providing stability and continuity. In contrast, and because of the three-tier system in Baden-Württemberg, the “normal” procedure for people as they transition through the system involves moving between housing facilities as their status changes:

- Upon arrival and until the successful lodging of an asylum application, asylum seekers are housed in larger reception facilities;
- Upon the submission of an asylum application, the asylum seeker is transferred to a district;
- Upon positive decision of an asylum application, the person with protection status can choose his/her own accommodation.

This “normal” three-step system means that asylum seekers are by default accommodated in group housing where there is a higher likelihood of them staying among themselves. The moving across accommodations means the breaking up of the social bonds forged in the previous accommodation, but also hinders (maybe even prevents) the getting in contact with the local population and the social integration into the local fabric. Even if a person has arrived at the third step, the reception of a protection status and the possibility to find his/her own accommodation there may be various factors at play that may aggravate housing integration, such as discrimination on the housing market due to language, nationality, or others, and the financial restrictions, i.e. the problem of finding affordable housing.

For Baden-Württemberg, the majority of asylum-seekers is housed in collective accommodations. In a marked contrast, Schwäbisch Gmünd solely relies on private accommodation for the people allocated to the municipality.

The Gmünder Weg combines two salient issues, namely (social) housing and (refugee) integration in a way that it yields positive outcomes. While in the aftermath of 2015 all over Germany, districts and local communities were struggling to provide adequate accommodations and promote integration in cost-efficient way, Schwäbisch-Gmünd seems to have found an effective way of dealing with these challenges.

2.2 Objectives and logic of intervention

The decentral housing and the continuity of housing, and the continuity of access to other services that comes with it, is part of a larger effort – that characterizes the *Gmünder Weg* – to *facilitate* integration and also to *accelerate* the integration progress. Providing continuity from the second to the third stage of the asylum process is regarded as a worth-while objective, and while the focus is put on housing it comes with a continuity of supervision and care by the social workers and case workers (so-called integration managers) and access to other services and offers (such as language classes run by volunteers). Once the asylum seeker receives protection status, and the responsibility for housing etc. are handed over to the local district, he/she will not have to re-start certain integration efforts (and start some other altogether, such as language classes which are not generally offered at the second stage) but will be able to build upon the relations already forged at the second stage of the procedure. This means that once a person receives protection status, he/she will be able to integrate into the local community earlier (not necessarily faster, as the process was simply started earlier).

However, this can mean a crucial advantage in comparison to municipalities where the integration process is only facilitated starting from the third step of the procedure; the time s/he can enter the labor market also depends upon the moment a person receives his/her protection status. And an earlier learning of necessary language and skill competencies may be starting off a positive spiral of motivation, learning, and accomplishments.

The search for decentral housing encounters two main obstacles from the point of view of the local council, namely a general shortage of affordable housing and the bureaucratic regulations for the housing of asylum-seekers: affordable housing continues to be a challenge in many German communities, particularly in such affluent ones as Schwäbisch Gmünd. The once sizeable public social housing sectors has been increasingly privatized over the last decade or so, diminishing the overall amount of available affordable housing. This trend is further aggravated by international capital investment in higher-class housing. Finding adequate accommodation, as the fundamental prerequisite for any further integration into the local fabric, may hence be problematic for persons without knowledge of the local housing market and potentially further hampered by language barriers, experiences of discrimination on the housing market, competition for affordable housing with locals, etc.

In context, housing (the non-affordability of certain accommodations) can serve as a form of social segregation, further underlining the difficulties asylum-seekers and people with protection status face in the integration process.

The second point of contention, the federal and state guidelines for the housing of asylum-seekers and people with protection status give clear guidance for example on the number of square meters per person that can be financed with public funds. They have been amended by Baden-Württemberg to be in line with other federal states' provisions.

Complementary to its aim of decentral housing (the *Gmünder Weg*) the local council follows an approach of long-term planning and seems to have clear calculations in mind about the cost-benefit relations of decentral housing vs. one-purpose asylum accommodations.

In a clear rebuke of the quite basic mass housing of asylum-seekers in defunct storehouses or the erection of “container villages” for the short-term provision of shelters (quite common particularly after 2014/2015), the local council of Schwäbisch Gmünd seeks to build/is building sustainable affordable housing. For the moment, this may serve to house asylum-seekers and refugees but in the medium- and long-term will also benefit other non-affluent groups in need of affordable housing.⁷⁰ By widening the perspective on housing in such a way, investment in refugee accommodation becomes less contentious.

The erection of smaller housing units is echoed at the district level, where a large barrack from the French occupation of that part of then-Western Germany (after WWII) had become derelict and needed replacement. The district of Ostalbkreis opted for *not* rebuilding the old large-scale accommodation but for smaller accommodation instead, thus defusing concentration and potential for conflict, taking up the positive learnings of decentralized housing.

Focusing back on the *Gmünder Weg*, the extra effort to enable decentral living for asylum seekers at the second stage also comes with extra benefits: Decentral housing in Schwäbisch Gmünd often comes with the extra benefit of living next to or near the actual property owner of the accommodation, meaning that a personal contact to the neighbourhood is already established. Other than for group accommodations, this personal contact can serve as a link to the local community in a *digestable size*. It enables both the wider engagement of the local population and the wider interface between asylum-seekers/refugees and the locals. Aggregated, it fosters the interaction between the long-term residents and the newly arrived on a larger scale than a mass accommodation could.

Decentral housing does not necessarily come with advantages only. If people are too dispersed, they may feel socially isolated (particularly, if they are not even with their immediate family) and withdraw. At the same time, in collective accommodations people can motivate each other to strive for better integration outcomes (via language learning, training and job placement, civic and volunteer engagement, etc.). This depends both on the situation of the individual asylum-seeker/refugee as well as on the people in his/her direct environment.⁷¹ Furthermore, also the overall size of the allocated municipality is relevant – if affordable housing, availability of employment, decent infrastructure, and satisfying social contacts can be found in rural areas, the likelihood of successful integration may be equally high as in urban

⁷⁰ See: Monitor report on Schwäbisch-Gmünd.

⁷¹ Mentioned by an interviewee (expert on integration measures).

centres.⁷² Also, specific characteristics of the municipality play a role - for example, if a well-integrated community of the person's country-of-origin already exists it may have beneficial effects also for him/her. Overall, these considerations underline the importance of housing and the direct living environment that depends on it, for the integration process. (And the *Gmünder Weg* recognizes all of these aspects.)

When comparing larger with small- and medium-sized municipalities, the latter may provide better conditions for individual refugees: Due to the scarcity of qualified workers, SMEs show a lot of engagement in creating favourable infrastructure and offer decent living conditions (compared to high-priced housing and job competition in larger cities) in order to attract workers.⁷³

Not all asylum-seekers and people with protection status can be placed in decentral accommodations, so a selection is made for those who have a clear positive perspective to stay and who fit the specific local interests (meaning that certain nationalities are favoured over others, depending on their recognition quota). Also, for those who do not have a chance benefit from the decentralized housing, a continuity of the care of social workers, case workers, etc. is emphasized.

2.3 The actors

There are a few main actors involved in the intervention under analysis and a set of secondary actors that are necessary for its implementation or funding (see Table 1, Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4 in Annex 2). The three main levels for analysis here are the state level (state of Baden-Württemberg) with its Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration. Here, the resources are dispatched for both the general provisions of asylum-seekers and refugees as well as the special funds for the so-called integration managers or the "pact for integration with the municipalities".

The second important level is that of the district of Ostalbkreis, particularly their office for integration. Here, main tasks include the handing out of financial aid for refugees, the integration of migrants, the counselling and care for refugees, or the reception and accommodation of refugees (among other groups).⁷⁴

The third and most important level is that of the municipality of Schwäbisch Gmünd. Here, we find as most decisive figures the first mayor (Mr. Richard Arnold), but also the director of the executive office for integration and refugee (Mrs. Franka Zaneck). Also, the traditional

⁷² Spellerberg, A.; Eichholz, L. (2018): Vielfalt Leben Kaiserslautern – Studie gefördert durch die Nationale Stadtentwicklungspolitik, Kaiserslautern.http://www.projekt-bik.de/images/Aktuelles/Vielfalt_leben_in_Kaiserslautern_MQ-_Letzte_Version_2.pdf

⁷³ Mentioned by an interviewee (expert on integration measures).





⁷⁴






https://www.ostalbkreis.de/sixcms/detail.php?_topnav=36&_sub1=31788&_sub2=32162&id=2151&template_id=1209&ansprechpartner_id=11612.

association for asylum (Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V.) is located here. Further important actors or groups include the various volunteers (e.g. offering language courses or skills training) and volunteer association (e.g. the local music association), but also local businesses (training/employing refugees) or local homeowners (housing refugees).

The European level is also somewhat important as a source of funding, particularly via the European Social Fund (ESF). For the reason that Schwäbisch Gmünd taps into a variety of funding sources at the EU level, the state level, and others, this level is not of primary importance though.

Table 2: Actors and Roles

Roles	Actors
Setting Legal Framework 	Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration (Director for Structural Integration, Resource Management)
Political Responsible 	Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration (Director for Structural Integration, Resource Management), PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd - First Mayor
Technical Responsible 	Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), District Integration Managers, District Social Workers, District Reception Facility Directors, PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd , Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd - First Mayor
Financing 	EU (ESF Fund), Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration (Director for Structural Integration, Resource Management) , Protestant and Catholic Church, Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), District Volunteers, Local Businesses, Local Volunteers

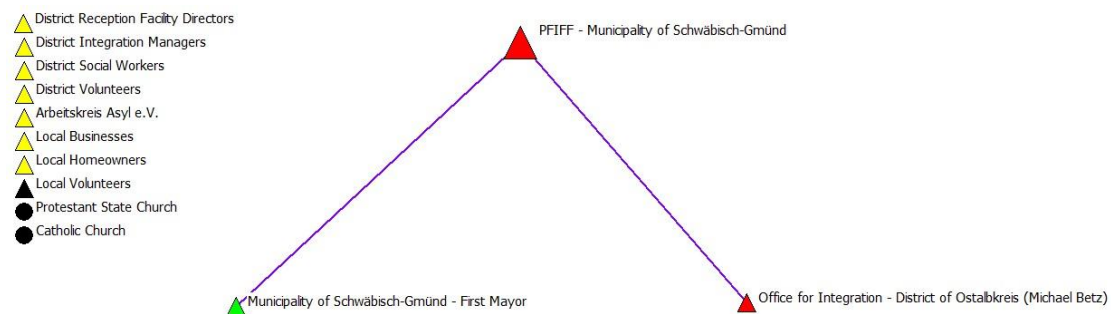
<p>Programming the intervention</p> 	<p>Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd - First Mayor</p>
<p>Coordinator in the implement.</p> 	<p>Protestant State Church, Catholic Church, Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), District Integration Managers, District Social Workers, District Reception Facility Directors, PFIFF-Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V.</p>
<p>Policy implementer</p> 	<p>Protestant and Catholic Church, District Integration Managers, District Social Workers, District Reception Facility Directors, District Volunteers, PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd - First Mayor, Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V., Local Volunteers, Local Businesses and homeowners</p>
<p>Monitoring and data</p> 	<p>Sandra Kostner (Evaluation of Integr. Projects), Associations of Cities and Towns, Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd</p>
<p>Resources mobilization</p> 	<p>Associations of Cities and Towns, Protestant and Catholic Church, Office for Integration - District of Ostalbkreis (Michael Betz), District Volunteers, PFIFF - Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Municipality of Schwäbisch-Gmünd - First Mayor, Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V., Local Businesses and homeowners, Local Volunteers</p>

With network figures (Figures 13+14), we are looking at the specific roles and activities of the set of actors outlined above. We can observe a clear distinction between those actors who

initiate and drive the *Gmünder Weg*, concentrated around the *PFIFF* (the mayor and the *PFIFF*), and those who are involved in its implementation (*PFIFF* and local actors).

Given the comprehensive architecture of the *Gmünder Weg*, it is particularly relevant who mobilizes additional relevant resources. While in principle, all actors can mobilize it is particularly the first mayor who seems to have a crucial role here in mobilizing human resources. At the same time, also the volunteers are credited here for mobilizing their time and other resources.

Figure 13: Programming Phase



Some actors mentioned among this comprehensive list of actors will not appear in the following relationship matrixes. While they may be relevant to some particular aspects (as mentioned in the table above), they neither play a role in the programming nor the implementation aspect of the *Gmünder Weg*. Accordingly, their values in the columns detailing the programming or implementation process of this particular case study focus are *zero*. (This holds for the EU funds, the state ministries, the Association of Cities and Towns, and Mrs. Sandra Kostner.)

The social workers and volunteers at the district level play a complementary role to the efforts directly undertaken in the city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd. They are, as detailed earlier, instrumental in facilitating the smooth passage from step 2 to step 3 of the asylum procedure. For many asylum seekers and people with protection status, they continue to supervise/counsel them as the responsibilities of supervision/counselling pass from the district to the municipality – this is one aspect of facilitating the integration process.

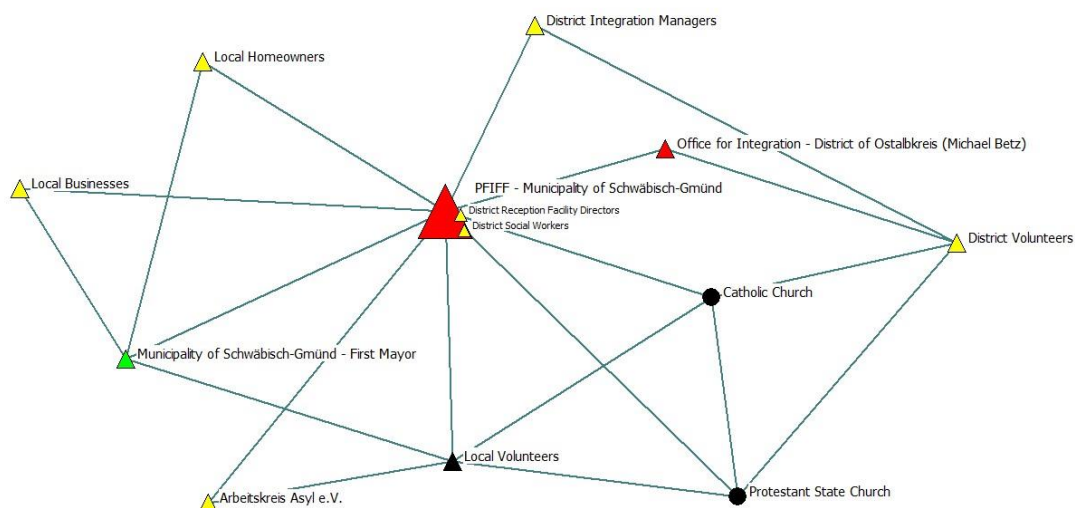
While the integration managers are financed by the state (of Baden-Württemberg) and allocated across districts according to the number of refugees (who have arrived in a certain window of time), they are then further allocated to municipalities if a certain threshold of refugees in that particular municipality is met. This is the case for Schwäbisch-Gmünd, and they have some integration managers “at their disposal” in their executive office for integration and refugees (*PFIFF*). Thanks to the very closely interlinked workings of the staff in that office, the *PFIFF* is handled as one actor, while in principle it consists of the director, social workers, integration managers, and administrative staff.

(NB: There is only ONE SET of integration managers. Depending on the absolute size of the refugee population in each municipality and district, they are either located at the district or the municipal level.)

The engagement of the PFIFF in the Association of Cities and Towns has neither been instrumental in the programming nor the implementation phase of the Gmünder Weg. Yet, the engagement of PFIFF (for Schwäbisch Gmünd) in this round speaks to the motivation of the municipality to devise an effective integration strategy, stay up-to-date on latest developments, and also share their learnings with the community of cities and towns in the state. It also allows the town of Schwäbisch Gmünd (with its rather modest size of around 60,000 inhabitants) to join in a larger association with direct links to the state government. (Meaning a potential communication link or even leverage when it comes to setting the legal framework and/or the regulations for certain funds.)

At the district level, social workers and directors of reception facilities technically belong to the district office for refugees (this is where they are employed) and are hence subsumed in that category. The volunteers that work with asylum seekers at step 2 of the asylum procedure (when they are placed in the responsibility of the district) are in a strict sense not part of the Gmünder Weg, simply because they are not the local Schwäbisch Gmünder volunteers. Yet, they are included in the list of actors because of the very good working relationships between the district (of Ostalb) and the municipality (of Schwäbisch Gmünd) and the striving of the district to emulate the Gmünder Weg where possible. The engagement of volunteers at the district level can be regarded as a preparation to what awaits refugees in Schwäbisch Gmünd themselves, further facilitating their integration process.

Figure 14: Implementation Phases



2.4 Implementation

There are a number of prerequisites for the development and implementation of the *Gmünder Weg* that need to be elaborated here in order to grasp the full picture of the current approach:

The developments that led to the *Gmünder Weg* are by no means a result of the events of 2014/2015 but have started long before that, namely in 2008/2009 when numbers of asylum seekers in Schwäbisch Gmünd increased tenfold and the city council had to find ways to deal with these increased numbers of people. This coincides with the first election of the current mayor in 2009.

Several factors unrelated to migration and refugee issues have propelled the development of a broad volunteer basis in Schwäbisch Gmünd – both historically the city prides itself of its broad civic engagement dating back centuries, but also directly in 2014 the national horticultural show took place in Schwäbisch Gmünd, activating a large local volunteer base, installing a newfound sense of pride in their city, and fostering a welcoming attitude towards non-locals.

A volunteer association called “Arbeitskreis Asyl” (working group on asylum) had been active in the city for around 20 years before the events of 2014/2015. Both of this meaning that basic structures of local engagement were in place for a long time already.

Importantly, the mayor of the city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd is described as an exceptional force and a convincing personality who has made it his personal “mission” to foster the successful integration of people with protection status (from housing to social and economic integration) with a component of “activating” people⁷⁵. Being a native of Schwäbisch Gmünd, he was elected first mayor in 2009, and re-elected in 2016. (His vita demonstrates a deep understanding of European affairs – having been seconded to Brussels for the state of Baden-Württemberg before returning to his native city – and a practical approach to the challenges he has faced in his positions.)

The district of Ostalb (“Landkreis Ostalb”) to which the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd belongs is home to one of the large four reception centres of the state of Baden-Württemberg. (We remember, reception centres accommodate those at the first stage of their asylum procedure.) As such, it has no further obligation to accommodate any further people at stage two and even less so at stage three of the asylum procedure. Any housing of asylum-seekers/refugees was hence completely on a voluntary basis and motivated by solidarity with adjacent communities and the state/larger society in general. Thanks to this circumstance, it was quite evident that Schwäbisch Gmünd would only host as many people as their capacities and also good-will would allow.

Furthermore, the old army barracks of the district Ostalb, which had been used for housing asylum applicants for years, had become defunct and needed to be demolished. This created

⁷⁵ Emphasized by different interviewees from the municipality and the district.

a window of opportunity to rethink the objectives for housing people in need – and the districts opted for a more welcoming housing structure and one that will be beneficial also in the long-term thus echoing the considerations of Schwäbisch Gmünd at the city level.

Considering all these aspects, Schwäbisch Gmünd was in an extremely favourable situation. It decided on the number of people it was about to take it, based on its available capacities, there was a strong moral support base as well as a strong volunteer base, plus a well-functioning cooperation between the city and the district. It also had a set of stakeholder/politicians in place that cooperated well, and was/got engaged in various support networks.

Then, there is a second set of beneficial factors. Although not directly related to the establishment of the *Gmünder Weg*, these factors were also mentioned during the interviews and should be mentioned at least as a favourable environment to the specific steps undertaken in Schwäbisch Gmünd:

- The state government of Baden-Württemberg made extra funding for integration managers available. These funds depend on the actual population size of the hosting communities and are given in addition to the lump sum per asylum-seeker/refugee that each district or city receives for providing the basic provisions for each person (housing, food, etc.)
- The protestant state church and the Catholic Church are cooperating throughout the state with regards to integration projects and services to avoid unnecessary duplicates. They also make specific funding available in a coordinated manner.
- The collaboration between the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd and the district Ostalb with regards to the continuity of support provided by the integration managers. This continuity was not prescribed by the state government but is regarded as positive for the integration progress of the asylum-seekers/refugees.

Additionally, the nearby private institute of higher education offered a particular course on integration aspects, starting (coincidentally) in the fall of 2015 and running until the end of this year (2019). The course welcomes both students from the university as well as volunteers from the adjacent communities. The course instructors estimate that near 100% of all relevant actors of Schwäbisch Gmünd (e.g. leaders and members of volunteer organizations but also people from the city administration, etc.) have participated in this class/course over the course of the last 5 years.

Ultimately, this set of positive and beneficial factors resulted in the *Gmünder Weg*, with a strong comprehensive component of involving and “activating” different groups of stakeholders. It is demonstrated by the establishment of a round-table on integration matters [PFIFF] and more recently (and partially due to a declining need for these services) the joining of forces between the staff position for integration (“Stabstelle Integration”) and the staff position for migration (“Stabstelle Migration”) for the more efficient delivery of integration services.

The *Gmünder Weg* was a very effective answer to the particular needs of 2015/2016, even if it had been developed already in the years before. It was able to build upon years of experience, motivation and networking, and came to fruition in a crucial moment (namely 2015/2016) when

there was no systematic or systematized approach on handling the process from first arrival to long-term integration from a holistic perspective.

Therefore, the *Gmünder Weg* actually entails more facets than “simply” the approach of decentralized housing, although this may be regarded as its key component. However, it also encompassed

- the arrival of asylum seekers – as we have learned there is a focus away from separated and mass housing and on continuity of provision of services and care, so an emphasis on individual support over bureaucratic treatment;
- the language learning of asylum-seekers and refugees – back in 2015/2016 it was not a given standard that German language courses were offered (although there is more political will to do so now, those programmes remain underfunded). The comprehensive provision of language courses is possible only thanks to large volunteer engagement⁷⁶;
- the training of refugees – the German three-year long on-the-job training (with schooling intervals) is the main path towards employment in the producing industries, but other more low-key offers exist, too, such as the “Lehnwerkstatt” (training workshop), financed by donations from the citizens of Schwäbisch Gmünd. With a focus on activating female refugees, special projects are equally on offer for women only to train for “women professions” (such as hairdressing or tailoring);
- involvement in volunteering activities for asylum-seekers and refugees – as a non-paid (or symbolically paid) activity, it encourages interaction with the local setting and local residents and, crucially, can be an “integrative” activity even when asylum-seekers are not (yet) allowed to enter the labour market;
- placement in (private) housing arrangement. There is no central housing facility in Schwäbisch Gmünd and all of the around 400 refugees residing there are housed in small units (private accommodations).⁷⁷

With regards to the placement in private housing arrangements, this is driven by the engagement of several people in the local administration. They are well connected with locals and prefer an unbureaucratic approach. This means that for example in a 140m² apartment, the city council will not insist on allocating 20 refugees (following the rule of 7m²/person) but will agree on renting that apartment for 7 persons.⁷⁸

This also means that there is a personal involvement in place, even the first mayor himself encourages local residents to shed their hesitations (e.g. against renting to young single men)⁷⁹ – the mayor himself also housed refugees in his family home. One interviewee from the district estimates that also roughly 30 families (at the district level) have found a new home in such a

⁷⁶ <https://www.3sat.de/mediathek/?mode=play&obj=56476> (around minute 01:50).

⁷⁷ <https://www.3sat.de/mediathek/?mode=play&obj=56476> (around minute 02:05).

⁷⁸ <https://www1.wdr.de/daserste/monitor/sendungen/was-kostet-die-integration-100.html>.

⁷⁹ Mentioned by an interviewee (expert on integration measures), see also: https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/richard-arnold-ueber-die-willkommenskultur-buergermeister.694.de.html?dram:article_id=333267.

way. Media coverage of the housing approach in Schwäbisch Gmünd indicates that it is not only families that benefit but also single persons with a positive perspective to stay.⁸⁰

The decentral housing can be regarded as the key element of the concerted approach on refugee integration, particularly as it is neither foreseen by the legislator nor is it standard practice in Baden-Württemberg where the majority of asylum-seekers and refugees is housed in collective accommodations. Thanks to decentral housing an early entry to the integration process is enabled; it provides continuity in terms of counselling by integration managers and social workers as well as an early entry into other activities conducive to integration – something that would not be possible, or only in a limited way, if the asylum-seekers were to stay in the collective accommodation. It also seeks to bestow upon the asylum-seekers a new sense of belonging, of having a place where they can rebuild their lives.

Furthermore, it sets the welcoming tone that is essential for the comprehensive cooperation among the multiple actors in Schwäbisch-Gmünd that contribute to the integration efforts spearheaded by its first mayor.

As discussed above, these measures facilitate the integration of asylum-seekers and refugees/people with protection status by giving assistance but also by “activating” the asylum-seekers and refugees themselves. In the medium and long-term this propels their self-sufficiency (in the sense of non-reliance on social benefits) and their socio-economic integration into the wider society.

According to interviewees, these aspects of the *Gmünder Weg* mentioned above where “gaps” or “shortcomings” in the existing official system of receiving and processing asylum seekers – and the *Gmünder Weg* filled this gap by own initiative⁸¹.

The *Gmünder Weg* also entails some specific administrative arrangements at the local level, namely the establishment of *PFIFF* (Projektstelle für Integration und für Flüchtlinge – Project Office for Integration and for Refugees).⁸² The establishment of the *PFIFF* itself is an expression of an ongoing professionalization and continued efforts of Schwäbisch Gmünd in handling the issue of refugee integration.

The *PFIFF* was originally established in February 2016 as a so-called “Stabstelle” (executive department) directly linked to the mayor’s office as a reaction to the large number of arrivals of 2015. The first person to take the position was still in direct contact with the refugees. With a new leader in the executive office of *PFIFF*, the focus shifted from immediate assistance to

⁸⁰ For example: <https://www.swr.de/betrifft/betrifft-fluechtling-integration/-/id=98466/did=19394114/nid=98466/1d6glvl/index.html>, or <https://www.fluechtlingshilfe-bw.de/projekte/erfahrungsberichte/interview-ob-arnold>.

⁸¹ Mentioned by an interviewee from the local administration of Schwäbisch Gmünd.

⁸² <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/pfiff.html>.

putting sustainable structures in place. Coordination among all different stakeholders and moderation of the network of stakeholders are among the main tasks of the office's director.

Currently the *PFIFF* counts 7 staff under the leadership of Mrs. Franka Zaneck. They offer services to the more than 1,000 registered refugees in Schwäbisch-Gmünd. Of these, 250 persons receive individual consultations and support, around 400 persons receive immigration support, and for another 1,500 persons the *PFIFF* serves as a first contact point from where they will be directed towards other service points.

The direct connection of the *PFIFF* to the mayor's office underlines the importance attributed to their work and the support it receives from the highest administrative levels of the city.

Beyond being a first contact point and providing (individual) consultancy and support, the *PFIFF* also oversees the spatial anchoring of all network partners. It has opened an office next to the central train station where different service office will be represented (such as the IQ, offering coaching for job interviews, the BBQ⁸³, a charitable education support, NIFO⁸⁴, the regional network for the integration of refugees, but also the BAMF (the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees), which will offer return migration and re-integration counselling.

The *PFIFF* project office itself is part of other networks at different levels for the promotion of refugee integration, such as *Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V.* (local association for the improvement of living conditions of refugees)⁸⁵, *NIFO* (the regional network for the integration of refugees)⁸⁶, *AWO* (the national workers' welfare organisation, here their Stuttgart office and with special focus on the recognition of foreign qualifications of immigrants)⁸⁷, and the German Red Cross (offering support in refugee coordination, integration, intercultural understanding, among others)⁸⁸.

Additionally, the *PFIFF* is in direct contact with the state government. They regularly participate in the working group of the Association of Cities and Towns of Baden-Württemberg, which allows them to place their issues directly with the (state) government.

As for the *Gmünder Weg*, the foundation for the work of *PFIFF* had been laid out by the mayor starting from around 2012, so it predated the actual European migration crisis of 2015.

In the meantime, i.e. since 2015/2016 a variety of effective initiatives across different levels and across the state has developed. The *Gmünder Weg* was progressive initially but with the onset

⁸³ <https://www.biwe-bbq.de/>.

⁸⁴ <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/nifo-fluechtlinge.html>.

⁸⁵ <http://www.asyl-gd.de/home-ak-asyl-schwaebisch-gmuend/>.

⁸⁶ <https://www.schwaebisch-gmuend.de/nifo-fluechtlinge.html>.

⁸⁷ <https://www.awo-stuttgart.de/index.php/ueber-uns>.

⁸⁸ <https://www.drk-gd.de/>.

of various similar initiatives (actually all over Germany) this may not be the case so much anymore.

However, looking at the current efforts of Schwäbisch Gmünd in establishing long-term sustainable support structures, the question arises whether this *Gmünder Weg 2.0* is as progressive as the original initiative and may also serve as a best-practice example for other municipalities. A regional expert on integration measures pointed out that the strategy followed by Schwäbisch Gmünd

The PFIFF is also aware that they have certain strength (such as their efforts on employment) but also have areas for further improvement such as language training for illiterate people or psychological support for traumatized persons. Currently, the

In terms of the actual size of this approach, it needs to be remembered that the district of *Ostalbkreis* has the “privilege” of not having to accommodate any refugees based on the distribution key because of the reception centre that is already located in the district. However, it opted to take in around 650 persons in 2015/2016, and around 120-130 persons in 2017/2018. Comparing the size of Schwäbisch-Gmünd with around 60,000 inhabitants to the size of *Ostalbkreis* with around 300,000 inhabitants, this translates to a key of Schwäbisch Gmünd being assigned roughly 1/5 of these persons.

In total, the district of *Ostalbkreis* had around 1,000 places available. Partially, these capacities were newly established to meet the needs in 2015. The district is currently dismantling these capacities, as they are no longer needed.

When the asylum-seekers arrive at the district (second step of the asylum application procedure), they are placed in one of the collective housing options. There is a certain number of staff present at the housing, namely social workers, the director and staff of the residential facilities, integration managers, and others.

The district increased their total staff to 40 people, for example to run the collective housing facilities, increasing their previous capacities by 10 people. Based on the intake of asylum-seekers, the district has also been allocated 7.5 positions of integration managers, 3 of these for Schwäbisch-Gmünd, 1.5 for the city of Aalen, and 3 for the rest of the district.

The funding for integration managers comes from a different fund from the state of Baden-Württemberg as additional support for the integration efforts in the districts and municipalities⁸⁹.

The needed “investment” into the asylum-seekers varies according to the interviewees. Some asylum-seekers have already received very good schooling in their countries of origin some

⁸⁹ The focus group for the integration managers is those asylum-seekers that arrived in Germany between 01.01.2015 to 28.02.2016. They work with a ratio of one integration manager per 80 persons. In practice, however, it has emerged that a) also people seeking protection who have not arrived within that timeframe and are hence in a strict sense not eligible, turn to integration managers for various demands of support (and will not be turned down) and b) that the ratio is (Interview with an expert on integration measures in Baden-Württemberg),

have not. The need for additional support diverges hence considerably. However, the declared goal of all activities is to enable the refugees to lead a self-determined life. This is voiced strongly both at the municipal and the district level (by interviewees). At the district level, they can already assess the skill level of the asylum-seekers. Once their status has been granted, there are efforts to match them with local businesses. This further testifies to the productive collaboration between the district and the municipalities.

In this sense, there is an interweaving of levels in terms of services and care, but also in terms of offers and opportunities for the refugees. While specifically for the *Gmünder Weg* this comprehensiveness is already a defining feature, it can equally be observed with relations to the connections to other levels of government.

2.5 Outcomes, impacts, and results of the specific policy

As for the outcome of the *Gmünder Weg*, only few but still certain numbers are available. We know that all of the 400 refugees in Schwäbisch-Gmünd are accommodated in a decentral way. For a town the size of around 60,000 inhabitants this itself seems impressive.

Schwäbisch Gmünd also seems to be able to meet the general challenge of *not* housing refugees in “socially disadvantaged” neighbourhoods. With its high absorption and integration capacities, it does not suffer from the usual trade-off between urban centres and smaller towns or municipalities where housing is scarce in the first and jobs in the latter (Franke et al., 2017).

One of the interviewees also point to the fact that of those that have arrived in 2015/2016 (from Syria) roughly half of that number (50%) is on a very good way of integrating in the local fabric. The interviewee estimates that another $\frac{1}{4}$ (25%) will need another 2-3 years but is also on a good path of integrating. The remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ (25%) will need further additional support such as alphabetisation and trauma therapy that yields trained personnel and hence specific resources. In contrast to “regular” language classes or skills trainings these services cannot be administered by volunteers.

The interviewee points to the fact that the last time there was a comprehensive need for war trauma therapists in Germany was after WWII. Currently, these would be needed with special language knowledge of Arabic, and such personnel is simply not available. The closest such offer exists in the city of Stuttgart.

Notable for the *Gmünder Weg* is that it has *not* put a sizeable extra financial burden on the city:

- Funding for the basic needs of the refugees comes from the state budget, so does the money for the integration managers
- Additional positions were created at the district and city level, but with regards to the successful integration of asylum-seekers/refugees these costs were regarded as minor by the interviewees
- And where possible, services and offers were provided by/via volunteers, private donations, or other private sources, helping to keep costs down
- Where investments were made (e.g. erection of affordable housing), a clear narrative was put forward on how this investment benefits the whole city in the short- and long-run.

However, there is a lack of systematic analysis of the *Gmünder Weg*, and/or a systematic follow-up of its different components. Reporting/evaluation is undertaken for certain components of the *Gmünder Weg*, for example the work of the integration managers. Also, a current internal review of integration projects is under way. Yet, none of these capture the impact of the city's approach to the integration of refugees.

Regarding future local development, interviewees were somewhat reluctant to make any prognosis on long-term impact. However, interviewees were positive on the current model and the very small number of refugees who move away really seems to confirm this. Interviewees said that only "a few" moved out of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, once they were eligible to do so. Also, the proximity to Stuttgart does not seem to be a pull-factor for moving away, making the continuation of integration efforts even more likely. So the size of Schwäbisch Gmünd or its proximity to the seemingly more attractive city of Stuttgart does not seem to pose a problem for/in the long-term integration of refugees.

The availability of affordable housing, however, will continue to be a challenge:

- The general population move towards urban centers also seems to hold for the state of Baden-Württemberg, and along with this trend comes a set of challenges that affect the allocation of asylum-seekers/refugees in rural areas.
- With declining populations in rural areas, infrastructure (such as public transport, availability of grocery shops, pharmacies, schools, etc.) also decreased, making it impossible to allocate asylum-seekers to certain areas.
- Asylum-seekers are for example not allowed to own a car and hence need to be placed in areas where a basic infrastructure is directly in place. The city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd fulfils this prerogative, but smaller adjacent towns and villages who were willing to also take in asylum-seekers/refugees were literally not given any due to these infrastructural considerations.

It may not come as a surprise that the mayor of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Richard Arnold, has been active in the housing sector, too, for which he received the special prize "Otto-Borst-Preis" for successful city renewal.^{90 91}

Given the strong role of the mayor and his decisive pro-integration approach of asylum-seekers and refugees, his re-election in the year 2017 with 85% of the votes can be interpreted as a clear vote of confidence for these measures. This indicates that one of the main ideas of the mayor (that eventually led to the *Gmünder Weg*), namely that efforts for integration will result in social stability seems to receive widespread confirmation by voters.

⁹⁰ <https://www.bundesstiftung-baukultur.de/preiseintrag/otto-borst-preis>.

⁹¹ http://www.forum-stadt.eu/site/Esslingen-Forum/get/params_E487570664/12142174/Bekanntgabe%20der%20Preistr%C3%A4ger%20des%20Otto-Borst-Preis%202016.pdf.

3 Conclusions and lessons learnt

The objective of this case study has been the evaluation of the *Gmünder Weg* – what makes it a positive example for the integration of refugees and can it be transferred to other contexts with similar results?

The city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, where the *Gmünder Weg* originates, belongs to the cluster type 2, a region with economic force and receiver of sizeable number of refugees. Learnings from this example will hence be particular relevant to other cities, municipalities, or districts that also belong to this cluster type and generally for regions that are destination areas of migratory dynamics.

As we have learned, the *Gmünder Weg* is not one specific action or programme but rather a comprehensive approach on the full integration of refugees. It has been developed over several years, coming into fruition particularly during the challenging years of 2015 and 2016. However, the main point of the *Gmünder Weg* has not been any kind of emergency response but quite the opposite, namely building durable structure to follow up on the goal of long-term integration.

The clear focus on long-term goals instead of short-term remedies makes the *Gmünder Weg* not unique but provides a clear roadmap for actions on the grounds. This does not mean that the *Gmünder Weg* is not flexible to newly occurring demands. It can respond flexibly on demands on the ground, yet without losing focus on this specific long-term goal.

The *Gmünder Weg* particularly combines two salient issues, namely (social) housing and (refugee) integration in a way that it yields positive outcomes. Yet, it goes beyond the approach of decentral accommodation across the city – however, the thorough push for decentral housing for all refugees in the city may be regarded as its key component.

While in the aftermath of 2015 all over Germany, districts and local communities were struggling to provide adequate accommodations and promote integration in cost-efficient way, Schwäbisch-Gmünd seems to have found an effective way of dealing with these challenges.

The logic of this particular approach is straightforward, namely to enable the refugees to lead a self-determined life by being properly integrated socially and economically. While the focus is on the integration in the local fabric, the importance of language proficiency and employment, and their linkages to each other and social integration are acknowledged and duly taken into account in the concerted efforts of the city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd. The decentral housing serves as the anchor for all these activities that follow.

The approach of the city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd only faced minor opposition while it benefitted from a set of very favourable factors. To grasp the extend of the impact of the *Gmünder Weg* and to ultimately understand its effects, one needs to see the:

- Proactive approach and the drive to find practicable and cost-effective solutions, be it around the offer of language course, skills training, or activities in the local associations;

- Involvement of local residents in volunteering activities has been a continuous effort to strengthen the local fabric and was not premeditated for refugee integration “only” – other events include historical and horticultural events in the city;
- Involvement of local residents in volunteering activities is regarded as a benefit for both the locals and the newly arrived – they have various opportunities to meet and to get to know each other. This fosters mutual understanding, and decreases the potential for social conflict;
- The activation of the asylum-seekers and refugees at the earliest possible moment in time – for example their comprehensive access to language courses, their training for a job, but also their inclusion in local associations;
- The clear understanding of integration as a multi-faceted and long-term process;
- A clear message towards all stakeholders that their involvement is valuable with a clear focus on the individual efforts and achievements;
- Creating a broad base for support beyond volunteers, namely also including local businesses (as a source of donations as well as potential employers), local homeowners (in order to continuously implement the goal of decentral housing), or local initiatives (in order to foster a networked structure of support);
- Finding cost-effective solutions to the various challenges, e.g. the offering of courses on volunteer basis, private donations, etc.;
- Evaluating the mid- and long-term effects of public investment, while making sure that any spending is benefiting the wider community – for example with regards to public housing, calculating the costs carefully and making sure that it yields long-term benefits;
- A clear message towards the public that investments are beneficial for the whole community and that every individual is worth the effort (including the appreciation of human capital for the local labour demand);
- A clear prioritization of migration and refugee issues at the top of the local administration, including direct support from the first mayor and the mayor’s office, both inward with the administrative structures as well as outward in public messaging and efforts – especially in smaller communities and municipalities this is an important signal to the local community not to be underestimated;
- Understanding of integration as a continuous and sometimes lengthy process, with an understanding that any effort is worth it;
- Involvement in networks at various levels, such as between cities (for example in the Association of Cities and Towns in Baden-Württemberg, or the association of cities across Europe), at the state level and nation-wide.

The success of the *Gmünder Weg* is an concurrence of these different components – and any explanation of the success story of the approach of the city of Schwäbisch Gmünd and the particular credit it received in German media, but also with the local population, as a pioneer approach on refugee integration needs to take into account this multi-faceted characteristic of the *Gmünder Weg*.

It also needs to take into account that while certain components are certainly driven by some specific people, the overall outcome involves such a large number of people that any attribution of the success of the *Gmünder Weg* is hardly feasible.

However, for the sake of testing transferability of the *Gmünder Weg*, looking at the chronology of its development, including its current transformation towards long-term durable structures and professionalization, may prove useful.

Looking back, the first steps for the development of the *Gmünder Weg* were put forward by the then newly elected first mayor Richard Arnold.

From the very beginning, and for different project, he encouraged local volunteering. When a large number of volunteers was needed in 2015/2016, there was already a broad support base in place.

Another clear initiative put forward by the first mayor was the individual and comprehensive support of every asylum-seeker and refugee (and person with subsidiary protection status) in combination with their equal “activation” as full members of the local community (including volunteering on their side).

In the year 2016, the mayor’s office realized a first step towards professionalization by installing the executive office for integration and refugees with direct rapport. With the support of the mayor’s office, this executive office is now working on creating durable linkages across stakeholder groups and different levels of government.

The (first) mayor has been vocal in his objective to creating a vivid local community and that the engagement of all people involved is needed for reaching this objective – he has been equally active in his municipality as well as standing in for his approach in the public. His re-election in 2017 can be regarded as a litmus test for this particular approach; And with 85% of the votes won, it should be regarded a clear success.

Transferability is a major issue, precisely because of the various beneficial factors already in place for Schwäbisch Gmünd. It may be a major challenge to try to recreate these. Yet, as the first major of Schwäbisch Gmünd stresses, it is not primarily matter of money but of the way the issue is approached; In this case with a great portion of motivation, and an inclusive perspective.⁹²

As a way of providing a safe fundament for further integration efforts, decentral housing has been demonstrated as being crucial. When considering transferability, it is clear that decentral housing itself cannot simply be built. However, the strategy behind sourcing the various accommodations from private landlords may well be copied: It involves a clear dedication and motivation to engage in various interactions with the local population, motivating them to overcome possible hesitations of renting to non-locals/non-Germans, and being flexible in responding to the regulations as set forth by the law vis-à-vis the needs of the landlords and the neighbourhood. (For towns and cities with a very tight housing market and high rental prices, this may be harder to achieve.)

⁹² https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/richard-arnold-ueber-die-willkommenskultur-buergermeister.694.de.html?dram:article_id=333267.

The very position of the first mayor and his dedication to the topic has been identified as a major force behind the success story of the *Gmünder Weg*. The at times symbolic at other times very hands-on support given by the mayor for the cause of refugee integration has been consistent and citizen-centric over the years. Also, the mayor makes sure to bring forward a very specific narrative of the benefit of actions or measures not only to the refugee population but the whole population of Schwäbisch Gmünd.

While there is already a set of benefits that comes with decentral housing, it becomes particularly potent when embedded in a set of programmes that touch upon the different areas relevant for further integration (e.g. language course, technical and skill training, social interactions). The concerted approach of the *Gmünder Weg* takes this fully into account and links decentral housing with other projects; on an administrative level, the concerted effort is exemplified by the PFIFF.

Another point that seems somewhat straightforward to recreate is the sending out of a clear and supportive message of refugee integration. Without shying away from the challenges this entails, and without pretending that integration is one-directional and self-evident process, yet underlining the benefits for the whole community in its social as well as economic dimension.

As a medium-sized town and municipality with around 60,000 inhabitants, Schwäbisch Gmünd serves as a focal point for the efforts that can feasibly be undertaken by other municipalities of roughly similar size but also more generally as a successful example for the implementation and execution of integration measures of which the communal level is of first and foremost importance. It exemplifies the absorption and integration capacities of communes, a relevant complementary angle to the integration capacities of large cities and metropolitan regions thought to be preferred by incoming migrants themselves.

This case study has also shed some light on the role of the commune in integration policy⁹³ more generally, having to deal with the multi-level character of integration policy:

We observe conflicting trends between the federal and the state and local level. While there is a tightening of policies and laws at the national level, the states and communes of Baden-Württemberg display a strong welcoming attitude. This touches upon the question of self-government and also the principle of subsidiarity important particularly for smaller cities and towns who need to engage with various challenges both nationally and internationally.

⁹³ https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/der-weg-ueber-die-kommunen.pdf?fbclid=IwAR1n-_j8R40OdC1flgnwbUw05HF_bcc_Posh9i30bHQ9AqfamnzpgC1b8pl.

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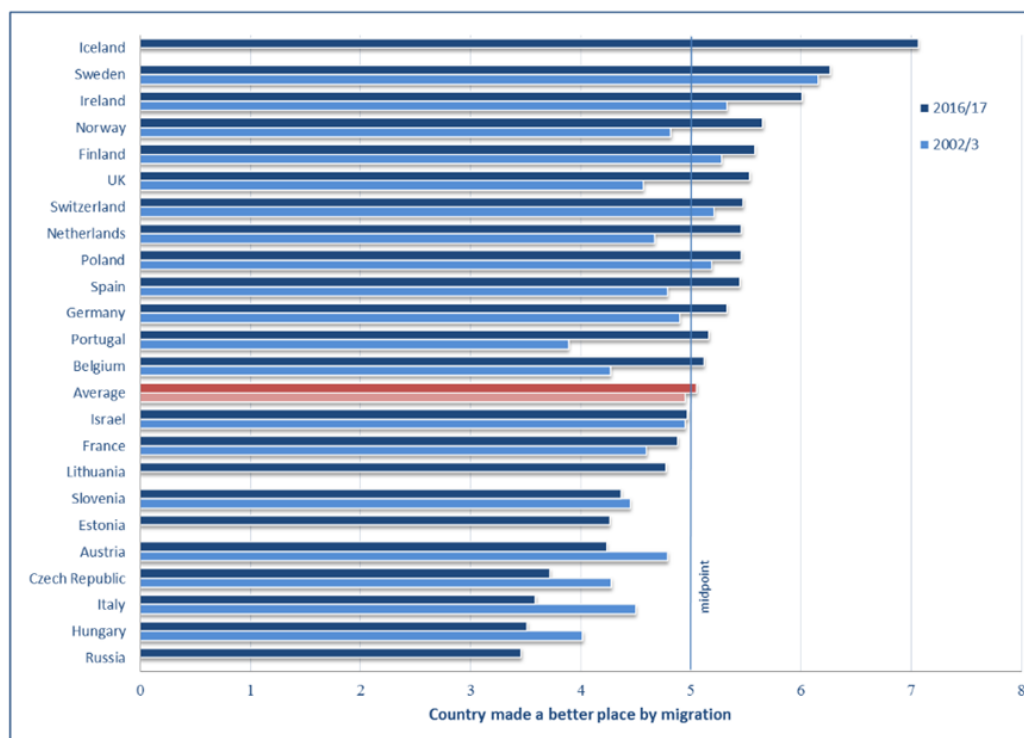
List of interviewees

Type of organisation	Organisation
Local authority	Municipality of Schwäbisch Gmünd
University	University of Education Schwäbisch Gmünd
Local authority	District Office Ostalbkreis, Integration and Supply
Regional authority	Ministry for Interior, Digitalisation, and Migration, Baden-Württemberg
Research organisation	DIW Berlin (German Institute for Economic Research)

Annex I Change in Attitudes towards Immigrants according to the European Social Survey

OECD findings on the change in attitudes towards immigrants in 2002/2003 (round 1 of the European Social Survey) compared to 2016/2017 (round 8 of the European Social Survey).⁹⁴

Figure 15: Country differences in whether one's country is made a better or worse place to live as a result of immigration (mean scores on 0 to 10 scale) 2002/03 and 2016/17



Source: European Social Survey Round 1, 2002/3 and Round 8, 2016/17 (all countries participating in round 8). Average on the 19 countries present in both rounds.

⁹⁴ <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/0adf9e55-en.pdf?expires=1552509630&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=887F39CFE9F5C53BE71EA7A9CE43D11F>, (p. 12)

Annex II Network analysis

Table 3: Actors classification: A picture of the actors involved in the Gmünder Weg and Refugee Integration in Schwäbisch Gmünd

Levels	Bureaucrats*	Politicians*	Experts*	Special interest*	Diffused interest*
International	EU (funds)	/	/	/	/
National	/	/	/	/	/
State (of Baden-Württemberg)	Ministry of Interior; Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration: Ivo Fischer, Director of Department for „Structural Integration, Resource Management“ (Ministry for Social Affairs and Integration, Baden-Württemberg)		Dr. Sandra Kostner (Evaluation of Integration Projects for the state of Baden-Württemberg)	Association of Cities and Towns, Baden-Württemberg	Protestant state church, Catholic Church
District (of Ostalbkreis)	District Administration – Office for Integration: Michael Betz, Division Manager for Integration	/		“Integration Managers”; social workers/caseworkers; volunteers	
Municipality (of Schwäbisch-Gmünd)	PFIFF (Project Office for Integration and for Refugees): Franka Zaneck, Director of Executive Office for Integration and Refugees	First Mayor Richard Arnold	/	Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V. (Working Group for Refugees); volunteers;	Local Businesses; local homeowners; Local associations; volunteers; local community

Table 4: Mapping the actors and the roles

Actors (please specify the name of the actor as in the previous table)	Role in the network								
	Setting the legal framework	Political responsible	Technical responsible	Financing	Programming the intervention	Coordinator in the implementation phase	Policy implementer	Monitoring and data collection	Actors mobilizing relevant resources (legal, political, knowledge, human resources)
European Institutions (ESF)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
State institution (Ministry of Interior)	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State institution (Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration)	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
State expert (Dr. Sandra Kostner)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
State Special Interest Group (Association of Towns and Cities)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Other state public institution (Protestant State Church)	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
Other state public institution (Catholic Church)	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
District institution (District Administration – Office for Integration)	0	0	2	2	2	2	0	2	2
District (Integration Managers)	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
District (social workers)	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
District (Reception Facility Directors)	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
District (volunteers)	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1
Municipality (of Schwäbisch-Gmünd) (PFIFF (Project Office for Integration and for Refugees))	0	2	1	0	1	1	2	2	1
Mayor (of Schwäbisch-Gmünd, Richard Arnold)	0	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	1

Actors (please specify the name of the actor as in the previous table)	Role in the network								
	Setting the legal framework	Political responsible	Technical responsible	Financing	Programming the intervention	Coordinator in the implementation phase	Policy implementer	Monitoring and data collection	Actors mobilizing relevant resources (legal, political, knowledge, human resources)
Local NGO (Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V. (Working Group for Refugees)	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2
Other local actor (volunteers)	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	1
Other local actor (businesses)	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2
Other local actor (homeowners)	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2

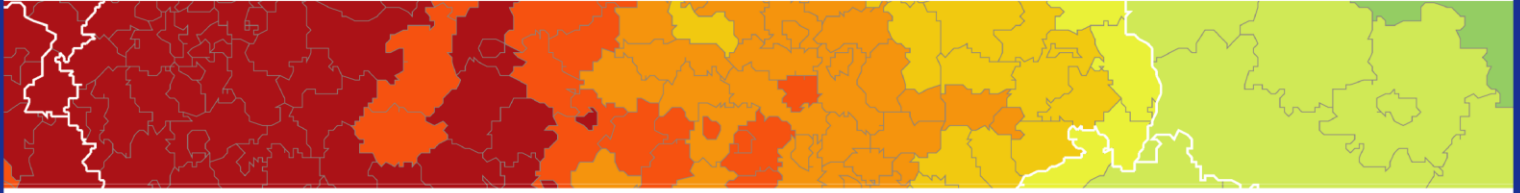
Table 5: Relationship matrix - PROGRAMMING PHASE

	Mayor of Schwäbisch Gmünd	PFIFF (executive office for integration and refugees)	District Ostalbkreis (Office for Integration)
Mayor of Schwäbisch Gmünd			
PFIFF (executive office for integration and refugees)	x		
District Ostalbkreis (Office for Integration)		x	

Table 6: Relationship matrix - IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

	PFIFF (executive office for integration and refugees)	Mayor of Schwäbisch Gmünd	Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V.	Local volunteers	Local Businesses	Local Homeowners	District Administration – Office for Integration	District (Integration managers)	Protestant State Church	Catholic Church	District Volunteer
PFIFF (executive office for integration and refugees)											
Mayor of Schwäbisch Gmünd	x										
Arbeitskreis Asyl e.V.	x										
Local Volunteers	x	x	x								
Local Businesses	x	x									

Local Homeowners	x	x													
District Administration – Office for Integration	x														
District (Integration managers)	x														
Protestant State Church	x			x											
Catholic Church	x			x										x	
District (volunteers)														x	x



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