

Moving Beyond Crisis: Germany's New Approaches to Integrating Refugees into the Labor Market

By Victoria Rietig



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Table of Contents

Ex	ec	utive Summary	I
I.	h	ntroduction	3
II.	C	Challenges to the Labor Market Integration of Asylum Seekers	
	a	nd Refugees	4
	A.	Language Proficiency Challenges	5
	B.	Training and Skills	6
	C.	Qualifications Recognition	8
	D.	Employers' Attitudes	9
	E.	Coordination	11
Ш	. N	lew Approaches to Labor Market Integration	13
	A.	Legal Changes	13
	B.	Vocational and Professional German	15
	C.	Early Skills Screening	16
	D.	Improving Qualification Recognition	19
	E.	Mentoring Initiatives and Digital Platforms	20
IV		Conclusions and Recommendations	23
A	ре	endices	25
	Ар	pendix I. Overview of Labor Market Integration Initiatives	25
		pendix 2. Integration Governance in Germany	
		pendix 3. List of Individual Interviews	
W	'orl	ks Cited	31
ΔΙ	יים	ıt the Δuthor	38



Executive Summary

Around 1 million asylum seekers and refugees arrived in Germany in 2015, and many of them are likely to stay. Meanwhile, impending skills shortages and an aging population have encouraged many Germans to see the refugee crisis as an opportunity, and consider refugees a resource.

But challenges abound, among them getting these newcomers into jobs that are commensurate with their skills and experience—a goal that is not straightforward. Most newcomers speak little or no German, and language courses are vastly oversubscribed and often prioritize groups who stand a good chance of getting protection, leaving many others to wait till their claims have been decided. Many new arrivals lack the skills and qualifications in demand in the local labor market, and Germany's prestigious vocational education and training (VET) system—often described as the ticket to skilled work—is not easy for newcomers to penetrate. High dropout rates among refugees and asylum seekers suggest that the system is not meeting their needs—in part because of the relative appeal of low-skilled but better-paid work, especially among those with debts to smugglers or other financial obligations. Further, while some employers see hiring refugees as a practical and moral imperative, many others fear administrative hassle or cultural clashes that might interrupt business. The prognosis is more positive for educated asylum seekers and refugees, but processes for recognizing qualifications are patchy and often lengthy. All of these challenges are further complicated by the comprehensive but splintered integration governance in Germany. Refugees themselves are often confused by the many offices they need to interact with to get support, and agencies share information on a limited basis.

Germany has developed countless new projects and programs to live up to this historic challenge.

On the bright side, Germany has developed countless new projects and programs to live up to this historic challenge, many of which are promising. Initiatives to help the new arrivals integrate into the labor market fall broadly into five categories:

- *Legal changes.* New laws give asylum seekers access to the labor market after a few months, subject to fewer restrictions than before. A recently passed integration law further incentivizes labor market participation by linking it to asylum seekers' chances of receiving permanent residency, and their right to choose where in Germany they want to live. Critics fear that this carrot-and-stick method of "demand and support" (*fordern und fördern*) might be tilted toward the demand side, but it is too early to know the full effects of the law.
- Profession-specific German. A host of new programs teach workplace-specific vocabulary and complement language learning with internships and business contacts. For example, some new subnational programs collaborate with regional businesses to enable refugees to use their language skills as early as possible in real-life work situations. A long-established professional German course combines language instruction with an internship and employer visits to help refugees build networks and understand labor market norms and practices. However, the supply of such courses is insufficient, and while many participants continue their studies or receive further labor market integration services after graduation, few enter straight into work. Also, the courses do not help ease existing bottlenecks in basic language training.
- *Early skills screening.* Newcomers' skills are increasingly assessed soon after arrival, sometimes even while they are in reception centers. One especially promising pilot program linked a few hundred refugees in nine cities with special contacts in their local employment agencies (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, BAs) to give them individualized support to access labor market



services and connect with local employers. Though the lessons from this pilot have now been mainstreamed into employment agencies nationwide, limitations remain. Such efforts are time and resource intensive, and the numbers of beneficiaries who have taken up training or employment as a result are still small, signaling that these investments may pay off only in the long term.

- Improving qualification recognition. Recent innovations include creative ways to evaluate skills. For instance, a new pilot allows refugees who lack documentation of their credentials to prove their skills through work samples and in-depth interviews. Another project tries to validate qualifications gained through informal learning. But the recognition process is still complex, lengthy, and sometimes costly. In addition, decisions vary widely across regions and recognition bodies, which fuels frustration among applicants and the service providers who are supporting them through the opaque process.
- Providing information through mentoring and new digital platforms. Some businesses encourage their employees to mentor refugees, and universities have launched similar projects, matching asylum seekers and refugees with students who help them answer questions of daily and student life. But the quality of mentoring engagement naturally varies. Other initiatives, based on the idea that many newcomers communicate via smartphones and social networks, use digital platforms and apps to provide relevant information about arriving in German society and finding a job. But only a few of these deliver high-quality information. Also, many initiatives depend on the continued engagement of private citizens or the pro-bono measures of the private sector, raising concerns about their sustainability.

In spite of Germany's political will, large-scale investments, and burgeoning civic engagement, the goal of integrating refugees into the labor market is akin to a marathon's finish line—and most initiatives have just started the race. German policymakers should consider the following set of recommendations that might help them develop sustainable and realistic long-term integration strategies:

- *Give reforms time to take effect.* After two years of intense reforms, policymakers should take a step back to let changes take effect. Public pressure or the looming election might heighten policymakers' urge to keep reforming, but the many regulatory changes should get a chance to affect employment rates before being dabbled with prematurely.
- Continue language investments, but be realistic about outcomes. Given the amount of time it takes to acquire German proficiency, the undersupply of language courses, and the exclusion of certain groups from integration courses, it is not realistic to expect all new arrivals to become proficient in German before entering the workplace. Older arrivals without prior education, for instance, should have the chance to make a living without being fluent in German.
- Look beyond vocational training and encourage alternative pathways to work. Given existing barriers to accessing the VET system, policymakers should consider expanding support and advisory services for additional pathways to livelihoods, such as entrepreneurship, which has been shown to increase migrants' earnings and boost jobs for the foreign and native born alike. Low-skilled work opportunities are another option, and initiatives like the new integration law's creation of 100,000 low-skilled jobs are steps in the right direction.
- Create alternative methods of qualification recognition, and address costs. Recognition bodies should continue to develop flexible methods to assess skills gained formally and informally. And policymakers should experiment with cost-sharing models to incentivize participation in bridge courses to upskill migrants to the levels needed to start work.
- *Scale up initiatives to meet demand, but evaluate them first.* Many pilot initiatives serve a few hundred or thousand beneficiaries, but hundreds of thousands of newcomers need them.



Given the billions of euros the government has pledged to invest each year to meet the growing demand for integration services, successful pilot initiatives should be scaled up, but only after careful evaluation to avoid investing in high-cost programs with low pay-offs.

Successful labor market integration will depend on how able (and willing) German policymakers are to consider these recommendations. Looking to the future, it will be essential for policymakers to manage their expectations—and those of the wider public. Germans need to hear that refugees can indeed be integrated into the labor market, but that it will take a long time, involve frustrations and setbacks, and in some cases not come to pass at all. These are uncomfortable truths for policymakers to acknowledge, especially in the upcoming election year.

I. Introduction

The rapid surge of migrants and refugees entering Germany in the last three years has pushed the number of asylum seekers to an all-time high. More than 470,000 people filed for asylum in Germany in 2015, more than double the level of 2014 and nearly four times that of 2013.¹ This number excludes an additional estimated half million new arrivals, many of whom are still in line to file their claims.² Application numbers in 2016 are on track to set another record.³

German society has responded to these historic developments with two competing narratives: one of openness and one of rejection. Public expressions of a "welcoming culture," an active and outspoken civil society, and a blossoming field of innovations to support new arrivals have been competing with growing anxiety over immigration. This anxiety is evident, for instance, in the rise of populist parties such as the Alternative for Germany (AfD) and the anti-Islamic movement of the Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident (PEGIDA).⁴

A central question for policymakers in Germany has been how to integrate the hundreds of thousands of newcomers into society and the labor market. Many new arrivals are likely to receive protection and stay in the country for at least the short and medium term, and perhaps permanently. That this question is even being asked reveals a paradigm shift in the way Germany approaches the labor market access of asylum seekers and refugees. For decades, including during the last wave of asylum seekers in the early 1990s, German policies tried to actively discourage asylum seekers from working for fear that labor market access would both serve as a pull factor for asylum seekers and discourage compliance with deportation orders. In recent years, however, policies have shifted to encourage and actively promote their labor market participation at the earliest possible stage.

Reasons for this shift were both ideological and practical. German society began to portray integration more positively following the 2005 immigration law overhaul, which channeled massive financial

Data include consecutive applications. Note that first-time applications in 2015 numbered 442,000, while total applications were 477,000. Data from Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), *Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl (February 2016)* (Nuremberg: BAMF, 2016), 3, www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/Asyl/aktuelle-zahlen-zu-asyl-februar-2016.pdf? blob=publicationFile.

² Die Welt, "1,1 Millionen Flüchtlinge kamen 2015 nach Deutschland," Die Welt, January 6, 2016, www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/politik/deutschland/politik/deutschland/article150678614/1-1-Millionen-Fluechtlinge-kamen-2015-nach-Deutschland.html; Süddeutsche Zeitung, November 26, 2015, www.sueddeutsche.de/news/politik/migration-fluechtlinge-in-deutschland-dpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-151126-99-11495.

³ Bundesministerium des Inneren (BMI), "396.947 Asylanträge im ersten Halbjahr 2016" (press release, July 8, 2016), www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilungen/DE/2016/07/asylantraege-juni-2016. html:jsessionid=77F84337C83CADFCD38EA2F12987DE39.2_cid373?nn=3314802.

⁴ Victoria Rietig and Andreas Müller, "The New Reality: Germany Adapts to Its Role as a Major Migrant Magnet," *Migration Information Source*, August 31, 2016, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/new-reality-germany-adapts-its-role-major-migrant-magnet.



resources to integration. The growing financial burden of the massive refugee influx of recent years and the revised European Union (EU) rules on the treatment of asylum seekers established in 2013 encouraged Germany to open its labor market to asylum seekers. Meanwhile, against the backdrop of an aging population and growing skills shortages, Germans began to see foreign labor more positively.

This broad change in Germany's approach to migration and integration underpins the multitude of new initiatives to help integrate asylum seekers and refugees that have appeared in the last few years. Grassroots and civil society organizations are behind many of them, supplementing and sometimes collaborating with governmental initiatives. In fact, so much has been written, conceptualized, and piloted in recent years that it is hard to maintain a bird's eye view of what challenges asylum seekers and refugees face when trying to integrate into the German labor market, what approaches and new initiatives are out there to help them, and how well these are working.

Against the backdrop of an aging population and growing skills shortages, Germans began to see foreign labor more positively.

This report aims to fill this gap in three steps. First, it analyzes five sets of challenges to the successful labor market integration of recent arrivals in Germany. It covers commonly discussed issues relating to language, culture, skills, and qualifications, but also highlights areas that receive less media attention such as employer involvement and coordination hurdles. The second section maps new initiatives and approaches to integrating asylum seekers and refugees into the labor market and provides a typology to explain their common elements. The concluding section outlines five recommendations policymakers should consider when trying to shape more sustainable short- and long-term labor market integration policies in Germany.

II. Challenges to the Labor Market Integration of Asylum Seekers and Refugees

The integration of asylum seekers and refugees into the German labor market is a complex process. Some integration challenges are common to many countries, such as language barriers and qualifications recognition issues. Other obstacles are specific to the German context, such as the challenges relating to the Vocational Education and Training (VET) system and the country's multilayered integration governance.

The main hurdles newcomers face in the German labor market relate to:

Language. Language courses are oversubscribed and not sufficiently advanced, and many asylum seekers have to wait until they have full protection to be eligible.

Dietrich Thränhardt, Die Arbeitsmarketintegration von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland: Humanität, Effektivität, Selbstbestimmung (Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2015), www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/28 Einwanderung und Vielfalt/Studie IB Die Arbeitsintegration von Fluechtlingen in Deutschland 2015. pdf. For more details on the 2013 EU Reception Conditions Directive, see European Commission, Directorate General for Migration and Home Affairs, "Reception Conditions," updated June 23, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/reception-conditions/index_en.htm.



- Training and skills. Germany's prestigious VET system is difficult for newcomers to access, and may be overly onerous for refugees keen to earn a salary.
- Qualifications recognition. New arrivals face a maze of different recognition bodies and a complex system in which decision-making is decentralized and varies by profession and geography.
- **Employers.** While German businesses have become much more open to hiring refugees and asylum seekers—seeing it as a practical and moral imperative—legal and cultural barriers remain.
- *Governance*. Underpinning all of these challenges is Germany's intricate integration governance structure, which creates additional coordination challenges.

A. Language Proficiency Challenges

Like elsewhere, most jobs in Germany require solid language skills. Even unskilled positions, such as dishwashing, require applicants to be able to read and understand hygiene regulations. Although some high-skilled jobs, for instance, in the information technology (IT) sector, can be performed in English, these are in the overwhelming minority.

As a result, the German government has made the language instruction of new arrivals a top priority. Substantial resources have been channeled into this area in the last ten years. The federal government funds integration courses, which comprise a mix of 600 hours of language instruction and 60 hours of civic education. These courses train people up to B1 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, which indicates moderate fluency in everyday situations. The courses are also designed to give participants a clear understanding of the cultural and legal obligations that come with living under Germany's constitution (Grundgesetz).

However, language courses suffer from a number of problems:

- Courses are overly basic. Even if people are highly motivated and able to access language classes, the B1 level may not be sufficient for many of the jobs employers seek to fill. According to the Common European Framework, it is not until the B2 level that a learner can communicate fluently and spontaneously.
- **Demand far outstrips supply.** Language courses are often oversubscribed. Qualified language teachers are scarce, and some providers have started to fill gaps by hiring less qualified teachers who lack a degree in teaching German as a second language. While this shows a desirable flexibility in tackling the demand surge, it also raises questions about the quality of training.
- Delayed access. Only some groups (those who come from countries with a protection quota of at least 50 percent) are eligible for language courses while their asylum claims are being processed. Importantly, this includes asylum seekers from Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Eritrea, but excludes many others (such as those from Afghanistan, Somalia, and Pakistan). In particular, critics point out that Afghans have a protection quota of just below 50 percent, meaning that

⁶ Author interview with Valentina Neuwert, Integration Course Coordinator, and Malgorzata Büttner, Head of Department Languages and Integration, Euro School Dresden, April 22, 2016.



nearly half of them are likely to stay, but they have to wait more than a year on average to receive refugee status and attend an integration course.⁷

Basing access to language courses and labor market integration measures solely on origin rather than on ability or motivation is likely to bring suboptimal integration outcomes. One possible solution is to use individual screenings of asylum seekers to determine their likelihood of receiving protection, but to date, this remains controversial and might be too resource intensive at a time when asylum-screening capacity is already stretched and the administrative system is backlogged.⁸

B. Training and Skills

Multiple studies have tried to assess the skills and education levels of incoming asylum seekers and refugees. While estimates vary widely, they generally indicate that the majority of newcomers require training to fit the specific needs of Germany's labor market. The German VET system (also known as the dual system) is world renowned for creating robust education-to-work pathways and career ladders, but has been criticized for being difficult for newcomers to penetrate.

Even if newly arrived adults can get access to the VET system, it comes at an opportunity cost.

The success of the VET system is in part a reflection of the buy-in and participation of employers, who help decide on the content of curricula, how many VET positions are created, and how programs are assessed. In part because such training is costly, businesses have a vested interest in creating loyalty among their students and clearly delineating a career ladder for their graduates. However, both first- and second-generation migrants have traditionally been underrepresented in the system. For example, studies show that migrants are less likely to get an interview for a VET position they have applied for, and more likely to experience discrimination. And some employers may be resistant to hiring newly arrived adults, as they see the VET system as a youth training system.

Even if newly arrived adults can get access to the VET system, it comes at an opportunity cost. A position in the dual system represents three years of training at low pay (a typical VET student makes less than

This grouping of asylum seekers into tiers may also have other unintended consequences. For example, it may fuel a perception among the public that some (such as Syrians) are "deserving" while others (such as Afghans) are "second class." See Stefan von Borstel, "Welcher Flüchtling hat eine gute Bleibeperspektive?" *Die Welt*, November 4, 2015, www.welt.de/ print/die_welt/politik/article148456691/Welcher-Fluechtling-hat-eine-gute-Bleibeperspektive.html.

⁸ Bundesagentur für Arbeit (BA), "Einstiegskurse für Asylbewerberinnen und Asylbewerber mit guter Bleibeperspektive," updated October 26, 2015, www.arbeitsagentur.de/web/content/DE/Institutionen/Traeger/Einstiegskurse/Detail/index.htm?dfContentId=L6019022DSTBAI782320; Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR), "Frühe Integration von Flüchtlingen mit Bleibeperspektive ist richtiger Weg" (press release, September 29, 2015), www.svr-migration.de/presse/presse-svr/fruehe-integration-von-fluechtlingen-mit-bleibeperspektive-ist-richtiger-weg/.

⁹ Victoria Rietig, "Burden or Blessing? The Impact of Refugees on Germany's Labor Market," American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, April 12, 2016, www.aicgs.org/publication/burden-or-blessing-the-impact-of-refugees-on-germanys-labor-market/. See also Chris Cottrell, "Many Refugees in Germany Lack Training or Education: Report," Deutsche Welle, July 20, 2016, www.dw.com/en/many-refugees-in-germany-lack-training-or-education-report/a-19414051; Anna-Katharina Rich, Asylantragsteller in Deutschland im Jahr 2015: Sozialstruktur, Qualifikationsniveau und Berufstätigkeit (Nuremberg: BAMF, 2016), blob=publicationFile.

¹⁰ Jan Schneider, Ruta Yemane, and Martin Weinmann, *Diskriminierung am Ausbildungsmarkt: Ausmaß, Ursachen und Handlungsperspektiven* (Berlin: SVR, 2014), www.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language1/downloads/SVR-FB_Diskriminierung-am-Ausbildungsmarkt.pdf.

¹¹ Susan Fratzke and Madeleine Sumption, Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Policy Analysts, interview with Keven Heidenreich, Representative of German Industry and Trade (RGIT), Washington, DC, January 23, 2014.



1,000 euros a month, sometimes a lot less). This is an additional chunk of time out of the labor market for refugees who may already have been out of work during transit and processing. There is some anecdotal evidence of refugees quitting their VET positions in order to work in unskilled positions because of pressures to earn more money fast (including to pay off debts to smugglers and to send remittances to family members). Preliminary evidence from Munich backs this up: 70 percent of asylum seekers and refugees dropped out of their VET positions, compared to 25 percent of natives, in part because of the relative appeal of low-skilled but better-paid jobs. 13

A frequently discussed way to make the VET system more desirable to nontraditional students (such as older students with prior job experience and/or students with a migrant background) is modularization. Modularization breaks down full study and training courses into its different components to allow students to take each module independently of each other. For instance, the Federal Institute for Vocational and Professional Education (Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung, BIBB), the actor in charge of developing the VET system further, has piloted modularization in a few select professions, and modules have been used selectively in government-sponsored programs.

The rationale for modularization is that it allows newcomers to plug gaps in their existing education and experience without having to retrain from scratch. It also offers more flexible learning options (including part-time study) to a more diverse student body. But while other European countries like Austria, Denmark, Luxembourg, and Norway have introduced modular and competency-based approaches into their adult education systems, this is not likely to happen in Germany soon. Opponents of modularization fear that it risks lowering quality standards. And the VET system has proven relatively resistant to change, given that it attracts international prestige. Expert interviews conducted to inform this report¹⁶ confirmed that the refugee influx had not noticeably increased debate about the system's reform.¹⁷

These findings show that VET positions for refugees are far from being an agreed-upon goal. Although the VET system is sometimes portrayed by the media and policymakers as a magic bullet for refugees' labor market integration, the reality is murkier. Germany has to face a tough question: even if labor market integration efforts into the VET system are designed and implemented in an ideal way, how successful can they be in the long run, given that some refugees may not share the goals of VET?

Author interview with Katharina Schumann, Head of Education Consulting Unit, and Dilek Intepe, Foreign Skills Qualification Consultant, Chamber of Skilled Crafts (HWK), Berlin, April 19, 2016.

¹³ Philipp Vetter, "Sieben von zehn Flüchtlingen brechen Ausbildung ab," *Die Welt*, October 14, 2015, www.welt.de/wirtschaft/article147608982/Sieben-von-zehn-Fluechtlingen-brechen-Ausbildung-ab.html.

Germany has been discussing this modular approach to offer more diverse training paths for students for decades. The debate over whether the country's vocational education and training (VET) system should offer modules instead of only multiyear courses goes back to the 1970s, but did not gain momentum until 2006, when the Education Ministry (BMBF) launched a working group on the topic. See Bundesinstitut für Berufsbilding (BIBB), "Modularisierung der Berufsausbildung: Eine Synopse der Debatte" (working paper, May 4, 2007); Dieter Euler, Das duale System in Deutschland—Vorbild für einen Transfer ins Ausland (Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2013), www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/system/flexpaper/rsmbstpublications/download_file/3232/3232_1.pdf; Peter-Werner Kloas, "Modulare Berufsausbildung: Eine Perspective für die Benachteiligtenförderung," in Handbuch Jugendsozialarbeit, ed. Paul Fülbier and Richard Münchmeier (Münster: Votum Verlag, 2001), www.bibb.de/dokumente/pdf/pr_pr-material_2002_benachteiligte_kloas.pdf; Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung, "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Berufsbildungsforschungsnetz," accessed June 9, 2016, www.kibb.de/cps/rde/xbcr/kibb/427_Modularisierung_Antwort1r2.pdf. See also, Dieter Euler, Modernisierung_des_dualen_Systems: Problembereiche, Reformvorschläge, Konsens- und Dissenslinien (Bonn: Commission of Federal and State Level for Educational Planning, 1998), 73, www.blk-bonn.de/papers/heft62.pdf.

¹⁵ Ursula Krings, "Modularisierung in der beruflichen Bildung—Was ist das?" (presentation, Fulda, Germany, November 5, 2009); Bundestinstitut für Berufsbildung, "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Berufsbildungsforschungsnetz."

¹⁶ See Appendix 3 for a full list of experts, policymakers, and practitioners interviewed.

¹⁷ Author interview with Meike Al-Habash, Department Head for Vocational Training, Chamber of Industry and Commerce (IHK), April 19, 2016; author interview with Regina Schmidt-Rossleben, Head of European Department, bildungsmarkt e.v., and Alexander Fourestié, Project Manager, kiezküchen gmbh, April 21, 2016; author interview with Jürgen Schröder, Unit IIa6—Basic Aspects of Migration and Foreign Workers Policy, Ministry of Labor, April 21, 2016; author interview with Maja Rentrop, Unit 315—Recognition of Foreign Qualifications, Education Ministry, April 21, 2016.



C. Qualifications Recognition

Asylum seekers and refugees with educational qualifications or skills acquired abroad face the challenge of having them evaluated and recognized in Germany. The process of deciding the degree to which these qualifications and skills are equivalent to a German certificate in a similar profession is complex, despite recent legislative changes and considerable progress in this area.

The good news is that the *Recognition Act* of April 2012 gives applicants with qualifications acquired abroad a legal right to receive an evaluation—and a decision on the equivalency of these qualifications—within three months of applying. The act covers most, but not all, professions. Once applicants receive a certificate of equivalency, it is valid throughout Germany, enabling them to work anywhere in the country where they are able to find work.

Attempts to make the recognition process easier have yielded some noteworthy success:

- *IQ network.* Germany's flagship labor market integration network "Integration through Qualification" (Integration durch Qualifizierung, IQ) aims to facilitate easier recognition of foreign degrees by helping jobseekers navigate complex systems. Launched in 2005 and funded by the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales, BMAS) and the European Social Fund (ESF), the program has developed into a nationwide structure consisting of 16 state networks that coordinate and implement hundreds of projects throughout the country. The IQ network has created more than 70 counselling centers to help applicants through the recognition process. It also collaborates with employment offices and job centers, for instance, by training their staff in intercultural competencies and providing information on foreign credentials.¹⁹
- "Recognition in Germany" platform. The "Recognition in Germany" website guides visitors through the steps needed to recognize credentials and degrees acquired abroad. It helps migrants identify the recognition bodies appropriate to various sectors and professions, and provides relevant contact information.²⁰
- Efforts by chambers. The chambers for industry and trade (Industrie- und Handelskammern, IHK) have been trying to assure comparable recognition procedures and chances across its members. To this end, they introduced a competence center for foreign skills approval (IHK FOSA) that processes applications to all its members. This has made recognition decisions more consistent across geographies and professions. Similarly, the chambers of skilled crafts (Handwerkskammern, HWK) have made qualification recognition procedures and decisions more consistent across chambers. So-called guiding chambers (Leitkammern) specialize in specific countries of origin and provide individual chambers with advice on educational systems and qualifications in these countries. In their decision-making process, chambers also make use of a knowledge management portal, the "BQ Portal," administered by the Economics Ministry, which allows chambers to share information about foreign education

¹⁸ The *Recognition Act* applies to regulated and nonregulated nonacademic professions (such as nurses or cooks), and to regulated academic professions (doctors, dentists); it does not apply to nonregulated academic professions (biologists, physicists). The Central Unit for Foreign Education (Zentralstelle für ausländisches Bildungswesen, ZAB) is responsible for these fields.

¹⁹ Author interview with Kay Tröger, Regional Coordinator, Integration through Qualification (IQ) Network Saxony, April 22, 2016; IQ Network, "IQ Network: Integration through Qualification" accessed June 9, 2016, www.netzwerk-iq.de/network-iq-start-page.html.

²⁰ Anerkennung in Deutschland, "Anerkennung in Deutschland," accessed June 9, 2016, www.anerkennung-in-deutschland.de/html/de/index.php; author interview with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016.

Author interview with Katharina Schumann, April 19, 2016; author interviews with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016 and August 5, 2016.



systems or prior recognition decisions.²² Further, the umbrella organization of the skilled crafts (Zentralverband des Deutschen Handwerks, ZDH) has developed practical implementation tools for the recognition process, such as templates the chambers can use, workshops, and "reference profiles"—standards that describe what skills and knowledge are needed in a specific profession and that the chambers have to use in their assessment of foreign qualifications.²³

But problems persist, and the process is still far from smooth. First, multiple bodies are in charge of recognizing qualifications, and many of them follow different standards and procedures. Recognition of qualifications in the dual system is usually the responsibility of chambers, i.e., professional associations of German employers from a specific trade or industry. Because chambers are decentralized, a single profession can have a dozen or more different chambers, which means that recognition rules and practices vary not just by profession, but also by geography. In parallel, qualification recognition for regulated professions (including most medical professions like nurses and doctors, and professions with a public interest like teachers and lawyers) is the responsibility of *Länder* authorities (for instance, the approbation offices for doctors). These authorities conduct licensing exams that adhere to binding federal standards, but each *Land* has some flexibility when evaluating applicant performance. This tension between the standardized process at the federal level and the individualized assessment on the *Länder* level can result in different recognition decisions in each *Land*.²⁴

Critics also point out that some recognition bodies have a reputation for using higher standards and requirements than others, which can contribute to "recognition tourism," where applicants submit their applications not where they live or intend to work, but where authorities are said to make the recognition process cheaper or easier. Since the decisions and certificates of recognition bodies are portable throughout Germany, successful applicants can work where they want. Clearly, not everyone is able to game the system in this way; this information comes often from private recruiting agencies and carries a cost.²⁵

The other obstacle is the length and complexity of the process. It can take a long time for applicants to collect information about how to have their qualifications recognized, compile and translate all necessary documents (difficult or impossible when degree-granting institutions or employers who could vouch for a person are also displaced or no longer existent), and then wait the three-month period until they receive a decision. It may then turn out that their qualifications are only partly equivalent, requiring months or years of additional training. Overall, the credential recognition process has improved notably in the last years, but it remains a work in progress and a challenge for applicants.

D. Employers'Attitudes

Labor market integration initiatives can only flourish if employers are on board. German employers have historically been somewhat resistant to hiring asylum seekers and refugees, but attitudes have begun to shift.

A number of private-sector-led initiatives have sprung up in recent years, such as the platform Us Together (Wir zusammen), an initiative involving more than 30 enterprises—including car and textile manufacturers, TV and media firms, and banks—that profiles how they help integrate refugees into German businesses and society.²⁶

²² Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Energie, "BQ Portal: Über das Portal," accessed August 15, 2016, www.bq-portal.de/de/seiten/%C3%BCber-das-portal-0.

²³ Author interview with Katharina Schumann, April 19, 2016.

²⁴ Author interviews with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016 and August 5, 2016.

²⁵ Author interviews with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016 and August 5, 2016; author interview with Kay Tröger, April 22, 2016.

Wirtschaft Zusammen, "Deutsche Unternehmen engagieren sich für die Integration von Flüchtlingen," accessed June 9, 2016, www.wir-zusammen.de/ueber-die-initiative.



Most public and media attention has been on multinational enterprises with recognized brands, such as Adidas, Deutsche Bank, and Siemens, but many small and medium enterprises (SMEs) have also started to reach out to the newcomers. For instance, a metal-producing SME in Germany's southwest (Dangel-Metall) hired three refugees, two of them for VET positions; and a family business (Lapp Kabel) works with one refugee and plans to create nine more VET positions in the next three years. Similarly, an aluminum enterprise based in Berlin's south (boeba) has been working with three asylum seekers and refugees as VET trainees, interns, and employees since the spring of 2015.²⁷ While extremely small in number, these initiatives help normalize situations where refugees work side by side with Germans, which is especially valuable outside city centers in relatively homogenous towns and villages.

But despite these positive signs of change, many employers remain reticent to give jobs to asylum seekers and refugees. Some argue that labor migration needs would ideally not be filled through humanitarian migration channels but through skilled labor migration. Others find it hard to assess a person's qualifications based on his or her application materials and personal interviews, or fear language and cultural problems. The government is trying to incentivize employer engagement by cutting red tape (see Section III.A.), but some businesses want to avoid the hassle of applying for a work permit for an asylum seeker. Hiring an asylum seeker with an uncertain future legal status is widely seen as one of the biggest hurdles for employers.

In contrast to other European countries, like Sweden, the German government does not provide any direct financial incentives, such as subsidies or tax breaks, for employers hiring refugees.²⁸ Some employers and employer associations indicate that this would not be desirable, because it might lead to the abuse of the subsidies, preferential treatment, and hiring incentivized by tax breaks instead of the actual need for additional workers, which could lead to layoffs when tax breaks are later removed.²⁹

Box I. German Employers and Refugee Labor Market Integration: Why Do They Engage?

German employers engage in refugee integration for both pragmatic and cultural reasons:

Pragmatic reasons. Employers view demographic change and Germany's shrinking working-age population as a threat to their competitiveness. For years, German industry has lobbied for legal changes to make it easier to hire skilled foreign workers. Ten years ago, import of foreign labor was the subject of heated public debate, but, absent major changes in the country's birth rates, labor migration and labor market integration of humanitarian and other migrants is considered vital to ensure a sufficient supply of skilled workers in the years and decades to come. In addition, some multinationals emphasize that cultural openness and diversity are basic preconditions for their global work and for triggering innovation. Unique or complementary skills—such as Arabic proficiency—can be another utilitarian reason to hire refugees, especially in some sectors like the hotel industry, where demand for Arabic speakers is high.

Moral and cultural reasons. The idea of corporate social responsibility is strongly rooted in Germany, where the concept of the "honorable merchant" (ehrbarer Kaufmann) remains an ideal that business associations aspire to and even spell out in their foundational laws. Integrating refugees is viewed as a task for all of German society, including businesses. Employers repeatedly expressed in interviews that it is their duty to help refugees integrate.

²⁷ Author interview with Jakob Maechler, CEO, boeba Montagen- und Aluminium-Bau GmbH, April 20, 2016.

Henrik Emilsson, *No Quick Fix: Policies to Support the Labor Market Integration of New Arrivals in Sweden* (Washington, DC: MPI, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/no-quick-fix-policies-support-labor-market-integration-new-arrivals-sweden.

²⁹ Author interview with Jakob Maechler, April 20, 2016.



E. Coordination

The last challenge is that of coordinating integration policies and initiatives, which is complicated in Germany by the country's complex multilevel governance structure.

Responsibility for integration policy in Germany is split along two axes. Integration is divided by (1) governance, at the federal, *Länder*, and local levels; and (2) integration area, with different stakeholders in charge of, for example, labor market integration, academic and vocational training, and general integration tasks. Government actors work alongside and often in collaboration with nongovernmental actors, such as civil society, employers, and service providers (see Table 1).³⁰

Table 1. Germany's Division of Integration-Related Tasks across Governance Levels and Areas

	General Integration	Labor Market Integration	Educational Integration (incl. Qualification Recognition)
Federal	Interior Ministry (BMI) and its Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF); Chancellery Integration Commissioner; and Chancellery Refugee Coordinator	Labor Ministry (BMAS)	Education Ministry (BMBF) and its Federal Institute for Vocational and Professional Education (BIBB)
Länder	Immigration and integration ministries and/or designated contact points (varies by <i>Land</i>)	Labor and employment ministries of the <i>Länder</i>	Länder-level ministries, school authorities, and IQ network coordinators (governmental and nongovernmental), and qualification recognition bodies (such as approbation offices)
Local	Integration commissioners or contact points in mayors' offices (varies by community, county, and city)	Local employment agency branches (BAs) and job centers	Contact points in charge of schools and vocational training
Nongovernmental actors	Associations (Vereine), churches and religious groups, civil society, and volunteer workers (Ehrenamtler)	Employers and employer associations	Language course and other education providers, and qualification recognition bodies such as chambers

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources, including interviews conducted in Germany in April 2016.

³⁰ For an overview of the collaboration of federal, Länder, and local levels in Germany's integration regime, see Gunilla Fincke, Integration im föderalen System: Bund, Länder und die Rolle der Kommunen, Jahresgutachten 2012 mit Integrationsbarometer (Berlin: SVR, 2012), www.stiftung-mercator.de/media/downloads/3. Publikationen/SVR Jahresgutachten 2012 Integration im_foederalen_System.pdf.



Germany has instituted numerous coordination mechanisms in the past decade to facilitate exchange between its integration actors at the federal, *Länder*, and local levels. These include the integration summits convened by the Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration (Integrationsbeauftragte); the annual Conference for the State Ministers and Senators in Charge of Integration, which brings together actors at the *Länder* level; and various coordination bodies at the local level. The newest addition is the Chancellery's Refugee Coordinator, which aligns the federal ministries' work on refugees, including their integration. (For a detailed description of these actors, see Appendix 2.)

Problems persist in spite of this elaborate collaboration structure. Communication channels between federal, *Länder*, and local actors may be well developed, but even lively information exchanges do not guarantee effective or efficient coordination of efforts. The voluntary nature of many coordination mechanisms renders them only as useful as participants choose to make them. Competition and overlapping missions among actors can create counterproductive tensions, leading programs to work against, and not with, each other. After years of promoting integration coordination, the country may have reached a point of saturation. Germany has so many integration entities that one interviewee joked that "it needs a coordinator to coordinate the coordinators."³¹

Recent surges in new arrivals have exacerbated long-standing frictions and coordination problems among actors. For instance, receiving and registering newly entering asylum seekers is the responsibility of the *Länder*, but managing the inflows (and potentially decreasing them through more controls) is the responsibility of the federal police. Processing and adjudicating asylum claims is also in the realm of federal authority, that is, the Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF), whose backlogged and sluggish system negatively impacts the local levels responsible for housing, clothing, educating, and feeding asylum seekers after they are sent from the first reception centers to live in communities.

Recent surges in new arrivals have exacerbated long-standing frictions and coordination problems.

To address these coordination problems, in early 2016 an ID card linked to a central database was introduced. The goal of this card is to store all data on a given asylum seeker electronically in one database that all relevant agencies (including first reception offices, BAMF, the Federal Employment Agency [Bundesagentur für Arbeit, BA], and police forces) may access when interacting with the individual. The card aims to reduce administrative burdens; make it easier for asylum seekers to register, manage their asylum applications, and access integration courses and labor market services; and allow for better data collection and security monitoring. Broad data access, however, comes with privacy concerns, and critics warn that it might take years for all the relevant offices to be equipped with the necessary card readers. As of June 2016, the data of an estimated 150,000 newcomers were missing from the database.³²

Meanwhile, a low-tech initiative by the Employment Agency Dresden won an "overarching notable achievement" award in April 2016 for coming up with an alternative way of keeping track of asylum seekers' documents: a paper file. Asylum seekers receive the file upon registration and are encouraged to collect all the documents they receive in it and carry it with them to the appointments they have with the different agencies. The My File (Mein Ordner) project has been praised as "unique in Germany" and

³¹ Author interview with Kay Tröger, April 22, 2016.

³² *Die Zeit*, "Bamf-Chef lobt zentrale Registrierung von Flüchtlingen," *Die Zeit*, June 4, 2016, <u>www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2016-06/frank-juergen-weise-bamf-gefluechtete-registrierung</u>.



has already been copied by the city of Leipzig. This anecdote illustrates the wide gap between large-scale IT initiatives and the difficulties of implementing them on the ground.³³

Because these challenges reflect the design of Germany's integration system, solutions are not easily forthcoming. The division of integration responsibilities and areas comes with costs and benefits and creates a classic policy trade-off. On the one hand, the split between integration actors gives great flexibility to adapting to integration needs that naturally vary across the country; on the other, such complex setups naturally complicate coordination and consistency, and thereby reduce the efficiency of integration initiatives.

III. New Approaches to Labor Market Integration

German policymakers have begun to devise and implement new approaches to tackle the many challenges to the labor market integration of refugees. The last two years alone have seen the launch of dozens of new integration initiatives, underpinned by significant legal changes to facilitate access to the labor market. Federal, *Länder*, and municipal governments; employer- and foundation-driven projects; civil society; and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have together created a diverse landscape of large-scale nationwide programs interspersed with countless small-scale local projects.

A full list of projects examined in this report is available in Appendix 1, which features an overview of individual programs including their lead organizations, funders, funding levels, timelines, and other relevant observations.

The most relevant initiatives fall into the following categories:

- Legal changes. Recent changes enable earlier access to the labor market and promote labor market participation.
- Vocational and occupation-specific language courses. Such programs teach specialized vocabulary and combine language study with practical work experience.
- **Early screening initiatives.** By assessing asylum seekers' skills as early as possible, programs aim to streamline access to employment or further training.
- *Qualifications recognition.* Recent initiatives seek to improve recognition of asylum seekers' existing qualifications through innovative methods of skills evaluation.
- Mentoring initiatives and digital platforms. New programs and tools aim to help newcomers make contacts and navigate the services available to them.

A. Legal Changes

German lawmakers have made it much easier for asylum seekers to access the labor market in the last two years. The "asylum compromise," struck in November 2014, represented a watershed moment for German labor market integration policies.³⁴ The new law decreased the period asylum seekers had to

³³ Author interview and exchanges with Kay Tröger, April 22, 2016.

³⁴ For more details on the asylum compromise of September 2014, see Roland Preuß, "So sieht der Asylkompromiss aus," Süddeutsche Zeitung, September 22, 2014, www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/herkunftsstaaten-und-residenzpflicht-so-sieht-der-asylkompromiss-aus-1.2137533.



wait to gain access to the labor market from four years to 15 months for unrestricted access, and from nine to three months for restricted access. This restricted access was subject to the employment agency's preference test that determined whether any German or EU citizen could do the same job, and whether the employment conditions of the position meet German minimum wage and labor laws.³⁵ Many actors, among them the head of BA and BAMF, proposed abolishing this test completely, because the onerous waiting period and the additional human resources needed to interview other candidates acted as a powerful deterrent to hiring asylum seekers, and it often kept asylum seekers out of the labor market for over a year until they gained unrestricted access.³⁶

This criticism was partly addressed through Germany's new integration law—another fundamental change. The law temporarily suspends the preference test and makes it easier for working newcomers to stay even if their claims are unsuccessful. It also makes clear that the benefits of living in Germany depend on newcomers' integration efforts: privileges such as permanent residency and the right to move within Germany are conditional on learning German and finding work (see Box 2).

Box 2.The New Integration Law in Germany

Passed in July 2016, Germany's integration law suspended the preference test for three years in regions with less than average unemployment. It also granted secure legal status (*Duldung*) to asylum seekers undergoing vocational training for the three years of their training, independent of the outcome of their claims. If their employers want to keep them on after graduation, they receive an additional two years of legal status; otherwise they have six months to find work with another employer in their field. Businesses had lobbied for this 3-plus-2 rule for a long time, since it assures them that their trainees cannot be deported in the middle of their education, and that they can hire them after they graduate to reap the rewards of investing in their training.

The integration law's motto of "support and demand" (fördern und fordern) also promoted labor market participation by linking it with asylum seekers' freedom to choose a place of residence and their chances of receiving permanent residency. For instance, unless asylum seekers find a job that covers at least some of their expenses, they have to stay in the county to which they were originally assigned. In addition, permanent residency is awarded after five years only to those refugees who have a job and speak at least basic German (this period is shortened to three years for fluent speakers).

Importantly, the law also announced the creation of 100,000 jobs for low- and unskilled asylum seekers. These jobs pay minimal hourly wages (similar to "One Euro Jobs" for recipients of social welfare), and their main purpose is to expose people to the demands of working life and avoid periods of long-term unemployment. Refusal to participate in the program leads to a reduction of benefits.

Sources: Michael Stempfle, "Entwurf für Integrationsgesetz steht," Tagesschau, May 23, 2016, www.tagesschau.de/inland/einigung-integrationsgesetz-101.html; Nina Niebergall, "Economist Geis: 33,000 Jobs for Refugees 'a Success," Deutsche Welle, July 13, 2016, www.dw.com/en/economist-geis-33000-jobs-for-refugees-a-success/a-19397020.

Opponents of the integration law lament that keeping asylum seekers in the place of residence that Germany's internal distribution key assigns to them might hinder, rather than help, their labor market integration because they may end up being stuck in rural regions that lack relevant jobs and infrastructure.

³⁵ The test did not apply to asylum seekers who were highly skilled and/or wanted to work in an in-demand profession (*Mangelberuf*), such as health and care professions and technical professions (e.g., engineers; sanitary technology, heating, and metal workers; electricians). See Die Bundesregierung, "Erleichterungen für Asylbewerber," updated January 2, 2015, https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2014/10/2014-10-29-verbesserungen-fuer-asylbewerber-beschlossen.html.

³⁶ Preuß, "So sieht der Asylkompromiss aus;" *Der Spiegel*, "Pause bei Vorrangprüfung: Arbeitsagentur will Flüchtlingen Zugang zu Jobs erleichtern," *Der Spiegel*, September 1, 2015, www.spiegel.de/wirtschaft/soziales/asylbewerber-bundesagentur-will-vorrangpruefung-aussetzen-a-1050898.html.



Moreover, some warn that "One Euro Jobs" do not have a good track record in getting people into proper employment, and that motivated asylum seekers would benefit more from skills training. Others worry that suspending the preference test will serve as an incentive for more economic migrants to come to Germany and claim asylum.³⁷

Given how recently the integration law was passed, it is too early to fully judge its effects, but it is clear that these legal changes—to support earlier access to the labor market, cut red tape for employers, and incentivize asylum seekers to take up jobs—complement many of the other new labor market integration approaches Germany is exploring today.

B. Vocational and Professional German

General German-language courses for beginners rarely include vocational and occupation-specific vocabulary, even though this knowledge is vital for jobseekers trying to work in a foreign labor market.

Many new initiatives contain a language-learning component that is tailored to a specific professional vocabulary (*Fachsprache*) and goes beyond the basic BAMF language course. For instance, the Bavarian Labor Ministry "Integration through Education and Work" pilot project gives asylum seekers in five Bavarian cities who hold a university degree or technical education certificate the opportunity to attend language courses linked to practical experience and focus on specialized vocabulary.³⁸ In collaboration with the Association of Bavarian Enterprises and BA, the goal is to channel 20,000 participants into employment, vocational training, or internships by the end of 2016, and 60,000 by the end of 2019.³⁹ The estimated cost is around 50 million euros, with BA shouldering the bulk of the cost.⁴⁰ Similarly, the Shaping Chances project in Baden-Wuerttemberg combines language learning with direct professional experience to allow participants to gain and use their new professional vocabulary through internships and work placements.

These recent examples supplement more established programs. On a national scale, the ESF-BAMF program is the most long-standing initiative that combines vocational and job-related language training for migrants. Administered by BAMF with EU funds since its founding in 2007, the six-month full-time program targets all migrants and combines specialized language classes for professionals with skill-building, such as application or IT training and work placement components. Urrently, the ESF-BAMF program works with 124 service providers throughout the country that organize and implement the courses in collaboration with partners and employers.

³⁷ Frank Specht, "Anreize wirken besser als Sanktionen," *Handelsblatt*, April 14, 2016, www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/reaktionen-auf-das-integrationsgesetz-subventionierte-jobs-in-der-kritik/13451086-2.html; *Die Zeit*, "Integrationsbeauftragte kritisiert eigenes Integrationsgesetz," *Die Zeit*, July 7, 2016, www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2016-07/avdan-oezoguz-integrationsgesetz-verabschiedung-kritik.

³⁸ The five cities are Augsburg, Mainburg, Munich, Nuremberg, and Regensburg. See Britta Beeger, "Mohammeds weiter Weg zur Festanstellung," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 5, 2015, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/beruf-chance/arbeitswelt/projekt-in-muenchen-zeigt-wie-muehsam-es-ist-fluechtlinge-in-arbeit-zu-bringen-13838228.html.

³⁹ For the signed agreement of the program, see Bayerische Staatsregierung, "Integration durch Ausbildung und Arbeit" (program agreement, October 2015), www.bayern.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Vereinbarung_Integration-durch-Ausbildung-und-Arbeit.pdf.

⁴⁰ Gabriel Wirth, "Wirtschaft übernimmt Verantwortung für Flüchtlinge," Bayerischer Rundfunk, October 13, 2015, www.br.de/nachrichten/fluechtlinge-arbeit-arbeitsplaetze-100.html; Bayerische Staatsregierung, "Unterzeichnung der Vereinbarung 'Integration durch Ausbildung und Arbeit'—Bayern" (press release, October 13, 2015), www.br.de/nachrichten/fluechtlinge-arbeit-arbeitsplaetze-100.html; Bayerischer Staatsregierung, "Unterzeichnung der Vereinbarung 'Integration durch Ausbildung und Arbeit'—Bayern" (press release, October 13, 2015), www.bayern.de/unterzeichnung-der-vereinbarung-integration-durch-ausbildung-und-arbeit-ministerpraesident-horst-seehofer-zentraler-bestandteil-des-bayerischen-sonderprogramms-zusa/.

⁴¹ BAMF, "German for Professional Purposes: The ESF-BAMF Programme," updated December 17, 2015, www.bamf.de/EN/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/DeutschBeruf/deutschberuf.html.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ For a full list of the 124 service providers, see BAMF, "Übersicht der Träger von Sprachkursen und deren Kooperationspartner," updated August 14, 2015, https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/ESF/03_VordruckeAntraege/traegerliste-pdf.pdf?_blob=publicationFile.



The ESF-BAMF courses consist of 730 units of 45 minutes each. Most of the time is spent on regular German lessons (about 400 units) and professional language lessons (140 units), with around four weeks (160 units) spent interning at an enterprise and around 18 units spent on visits to firms and potential employers. Accessing the course requires at least an A2 level (advanced beginner) in German, which means that people often take the ESF-BAMF course after the general integration course. The cost per course varies by provider. The provider interviewed for this research estimated each course to carry a price tag of 55,000 euros, which covers teachers, classrooms, materials, and transport of participants.⁴⁴ This is a little less expensive than a vocational language program in Sweden.⁴⁵

The ESF-BAMF program suffers from two limitations. Similar to the BAMF language courses, demand for the courses exceeds supply. Second, evaluating the success of the ESF-BAMF classes is difficult because many of the effects appear to be long term. An evaluation finds that, compared to a control group, participants were slightly *less* likely to have found work 18 months after the course began. But a greater share continued on to further education, suggesting they may eventually end up with higher-quality jobs. ⁴⁶ An interview with one course provider confirms this picture: four to six weeks after ending an ESF-BAMF course, very few participants had transitioned into the labor market; instead, most graduates expressed the need to pursue more language training to be able to find a proper job. ⁴⁷

More data are needed on the long-term impact of these programs, especially given the pressure to scale up.

This raises an important question when evaluating vocational language courses: What are satisfactory success indicators? Should the ESF-BAMF program be considered successful because it improves language skills and channels people into more education? Or should it be viewed more skeptically, given that it has no measurable short-term impact on participants' employment rates? To answer these questions, more data are needed on the long-term impact of these programs, especially given the pressure to scale up these and similar professional language courses in the future.

An additional caveat is that these vocational language learning initiatives do not address the structural challenges listed above, which includes an undersupply of basic language courses and the prioritization of some asylum seeker groups over others. Investing in both basic and occupation-specific language classes at the same time would be an ideal solution, but might not be possible in light of limited resources.

C. Early Skills Screening

Early skills screening programs seek to speed up entry to the labor market or supplementary training by assessing asylum seekers' profiles when they are still in reception centers, so as to get an early picture of

⁴⁴ Author interview with Valentina Neuwert and Malgorzata Büttner, April 22, 2016.

⁴⁵ The ESF-BAMF course is estimated to cost around 400 euros per month per participant, based on a cost of 55,000 euros for a six-month course for 25 participants. In contrast, Swedish for Professionals is estimated to cost 2,000 euros per month for a truck drivers' four-month program and 515euros per month for the academic track.

⁴⁶ A quantitative evaluation of the ESF-BAMF program, based on more than 2,000 course participants and a control group of more than 20,000, found that 18 months after beginning the course only 13.9 percent of participants were in employment or training—slightly less than the 14.7 percent of the control group. Upon graduation, around 15 percent of participants took part in another labor market course, compared with 8 percent of the control group. See Meghan Benton, MPI Policy Analyst, interview with Anne Markowski, Coordinator of Swedish for Professionals, June 11, 2014; Thomas Walter et al., Evaluation "Programm zur berufsbezogenen Sprachförderung für Personen mit Migrationshintergrund (ESF-BAMF-Programm)" (Mannheim: Zentrum für Europäische Wirtschaftsforschung, 2014), www.esf.de/portal/SharedDocs/PDFs/DE/Aktuelles/2014/evaluation bamf.pdf? blob=publicationFile&v=1.

⁴⁷ Author interview with Valentina Neuwert, April 22, 2016.



their education, work experience, and skills. Initiatives have sprung up at all levels of government since 2014.

One of the flagship initiatives is the Early Intervention program, a pilot that ran for two years, until the end of 2015 (see Box 3). The program—which worked with asylum seekers who were deemed likely to receive protection—has been considered a success, and its lessons are now being rolled out across the country.

Box 3.The Early Intervention Program

The Early Intervention pilot program—launched by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (BMAS), the Federal Employment Agency (BA), and the Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and supported by the European Social Fund (ESF)—was a program in nine German cities that identified asylum seekers with a high likelihood of receiving protection, and worked with them to start the process of language learning, qualifications recognition, and job search in the early stages of their application.

Its goal was to mitigate "brain waste" among skilled asylum seekers and to help them make productive use of their time while awaiting a decision on their asylum claims. Over 700 people participated in the two-year project from January 2014 until December 2015—50 of whom had entered employment or training by June 2015. While this number is relatively low, it was in line with the project manager's expectations that the program would lead to medium-term (rather than short-term) integration success, with the numbers of participants entering employment increasing over time.

A first evaluation of the project found that language barriers made it difficult to select participants and perform a basic assessment of their skills. It also pointed to the inconsistent application of selection criteria by BA personnel, and claimed that the program was overly time intensive, in part because of how long it took to build relationships with local actors and employers open to hiring asylum seekers. On the plus side, participants were highly motivated to enter the labor market and BA personnel reported participants experienced a boost in self-esteem after talking about their qualifications and work experience in interviews.

In spite of these limitations, the project itself is considered a success and, as of early 2016, several of its approaches are in the process of being rolled out across the country. All BAs in Germany have been asked to either build special units, or to designate specially trained points of contact that are in charge of the labor market integration of asylum seekers. Interviewees during the course of this research project welcomed this new addition, which they felt would improve employers' communication with BAs and help speed early labor market orientation.

Sources: Volker Daumann, Martin Dietz, Barbara Knapp, and Karsten Strien, Early Intervention—Modellprojekt zum frühzeitigen Arbeitsmarktintegration von Asylbewerberinnen und Asylbewerbern: Ergebnisse der qualitativen Begleitforschung (Nuremberg: Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschungder, Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2015), http://doku.iab.de/forschungsbericht/2015/fb0315.
pdf; Bundesagentur für Arbeit; "Modellprojekt: Jeder Mensch hat Potenzial- Arbeitsmarktintegration von Asylbewerberinnen und Asylbewerbern" (project description, accessed June 9, 2016), https://www.arbeitsagentur.de/web/wcm/idc/groups/public/documents/webdatei/mdaw/mjy5/~edisp/l6019022dstbai752888.pdf; Susanne Koch, "Modellproject 'Early Intervention'" (presentation at a Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung conference, June 3, 2015), https://www.fes.de/wiso/pdf/integration/2015/030615/Koch.pdf; BAMF, "Integration erleichtern—Sprachliche Hürden abbauen" (press release, September 12, 2014), https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Pressemitteilung-ba-arbeitsmarktintegration-asylbewerber.html; author interview with Andreas Babuke, Leader, Integration of Asylum Seekers, and Implementer of the "Early Intervention" project, and Frank Vollgold, Press Coordinator, Employment Agency Dresden, April 22, 2016; author interview with Jakob Maechler, CEO, boeba Montagen- und Aluminium-Bau GmbH, April 20, 2016.

Pursuing a similar approach at the state level, the pilot project Shaping Chances: Opening up the Labor Market, targets asylum seekers in five cities in southwest Germany to support their integration as early as possible. The Baden-Württemberg Integration Ministry launched the two-year project with a budget



of around 1 million euros in July 2015, which allows them to conduct qualification and skills screening in reception shelters, including assessing the refugees' level and type of education, languages, work experience, diplomas, and other relevant information. Local service provider networks then help asylum seekers find language classes, continuing education opportunities, bridge training, and internship placements, in collaboration with mentors (*Integrationslotsen*).⁴⁸

At the city level, early screenings have also been conducted by BA employees, for instance in Cologne, where talent scouts have been assessing asylum seekers' qualifications and supporting them through recognition processes since early 2014. As with the Early Intervention program described above, the number of beneficiaries who found employment quickly was low—in the first 15 months of the project, only four of the 150 participants found jobs.⁴⁹

These examples show that even if skills screenings are conducted early to identify qualified workers, these individualized assessments come with high financial and administrative investments, and getting people into jobs still takes a long time. Investments in early screenings also carry the risk of spending limited resources on people who may not be granted protection in the end and have to leave Germany. On the other hand, excluding some asylum seekers from such programs based on their nationality (similar to the approach taken by general integration courses) may fuel resentment and exclude vulnerable populations.

The low short-term success rates of these initiatives are indicative of the structural challenge outlined earlier. Refugees have a hard time getting into a VET position even if their skills are screened early and even if they receive substantive support from the employment agency, as in the Early Intervention project. These challenges cast doubts on whether the VET system is always the most desirable pathway.

Alternative pathways to work include activities that might help people transition more flexibly into the labor market. For instance, refugees could (and in many cases already do) engage in small volunteer tasks or low-paid mini-jobs—even if just as a first step and not as a long-term goal. The recently created 100,000 work opportunities are a good example of this approach that might allow older refugees or those with limited professional experience to gain valuable exposure to the labor market. Activities in the Federal Volunteer Service (Bundesfreiwilligendienst) help younger arrivals build a track record of work on Germany. Self-employment or entrepreneurship programs offer another option. The entrepreneurship route might provide a fast-track to job experience without the onerous need to learn the language first. A recent study finds that self-employment among migrants in Germany has grown in recent years, contributing to job creation and higher incomes for migrant entrepreneurs, but that migrants drawn to self-employment need more information and advisory services. St

The five participating cities are Albstadt, Karslruhe, Ludwigsburg, Mannheim, and Tuebingen. Partners include job centers, employer organizations (such as IHKs and HWKs), local integration commissioners (*Integrationsbeauftragte*) and social workers, and civil society and advocacy organizations. The project also offers language classes following BAMF standards to make up for the insufficient supply of BAMF courses, and supports enrollment in ESF-BAMF courses that combine language and technical education. Social workers facilitate internships and prepare participants for the expectations of work life in Germany, including the writing of applications and interview etiquette. Seven weeks of practical work experience are book-ended by four weeks of preparation prior to and one week of evaluation after the internship. A working group led by the state's Integration Ministry that includes municipalities, BAMF, BA, and integration mentors regularly monitors the project. For further details of the project, see Baden-Württemberg Ministerium für Integration, "Integration von Flüchtlingen 'Chancen gestalten—Wege der Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt öffnen,'" accessed June 9, 2016, https://www.integrationsministerium-bw.de/pb/site/pbs-bw-new/get/documents/mfi/MFI/Abteilung3/Konzeption%20Integration%20Fl%C3%BCchtlinge%20Schlussfassung.pdf.

⁴⁹ Till-R. Stoldt, "Deutschlands erster Talentscout für Asylbewerber," *Die Welt*, March 16, 2015, https://www.welt.de/regionales/nrw/article138458203/Deutschlands-erster-Talentscout-fuer-Asylbewerber.html.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Die Bundesregierung, "Flüchtling im Bundesfreiwilligendienst: Ein Syrer packt mit an," updated May 12, 2016, www.deutschland-kann-das.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2016/05/2016-05-09-ahmed-woltersdorf-fluechtling-als-bufdi.html.

⁵¹ Bertelsmann Stiftung, "Migrantenunternehmen sind Jobmotor für Deutschland" (press release, August 11, 2016), www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/themen/aktuelle-meldungen/2016/august/migrantenunternehmen-sind-jobmotor-fuer-deutschland/.



D. Improving Qualification Recognition

A third set of initiatives seeks to address some of the structural problems in the qualification recognition system. Initiatives take the following three approaches:

- **Expanding access to information.** The Education Ministry (BMBF) added new features to the website "Recognition in Germany" in reaction to the large influx of asylum seekers. It launched a new recognition app for mobile use, and made the web page available in Arabic, bringing the total number of languages offered to nine. With more than 1 million visitors each year, BMBF considers the website a success.⁵²
- Transfer" project's goal is to allow all migrants, including asylum seekers and refugees, who do not have any written proof of their degrees, certificates, or skills to prove their qualifications through other means. Financed with 2.2 million euros, the initiative is planned for an initial three-year period, and implemented by six chambers of industry and skilled crafts (IHKs and HWKs).⁵³ The innovative aspect of the project is the so-called qualification analysis, a practical test of skills before a panel of experts, either from the chambers or elsewhere.⁵⁴ If the panel decides that applicants' skills are comparable to those expected from a member of their chamber, they receive a certificate of equivalency, which allows them to apply for work in their profession.⁵⁵ Currently, this service is only an option for nonregulated professions in the dual system and for a few regulated professions in the health sector.⁵⁶ Similarly, the project Validation of Informal and Non-Formal Competencies, known as Valikom, aims to develop methods to determine professional competencies of people who do not hold a formal degree but have gained their skills and competencies through experience and informal learning.⁵⁷
- Counseling and bridge courses. The responsibilities and services provided by the IQ Network have been expanded to help newcomers who are only given a certificate of partial equivalency. They now provide advice about bridge courses, intensive programs to help plug gaps in skills and experience, as well as information on funding these programs. The new program has also financed an expansion of bridge course offerings. Demand in 2015 was

⁵² Author interview with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016; Anerkennung in Deutschland, "Top im Job auch in Deutschland" (flyer, accessed June 9, 2016), www.anerkennung-in-deutschland.de/media/Flyer_App.pdf.

⁵³ Carolin Böse, Dinara Tusarinow, and Tom Wünsche, "Recognizing Vocational Qualifications of Refugees—Examples from 'Prototyping Transfer," BIBB, accessed August 16, 2016, www.bibb.de/en/39350.php; Sächsische Zeitung, "Anerkennung ausländischer Berufsabschlüsse soll erleichtert werden," Sächsische Zeitung, April 1, 2015, www.sz-online.de/nachrichten/anerkennung-auslaendischer-berufsabschlusse-soll-erleichtert-werden-3072789.html.

The expert panel can use tools such as in-depth interviews, a work sample (e.g., a tailor producing a blazer), a case study, or a few days of practical work in an enterprise (e.g., a dental technician at a dentist's office) to assess the skills of the jobseeker. For more information, see Anerkennung in Deutschland, "Berufsanerkennung mit Qualifikationsanalysen," accessed June 9, 2016, www.anerkennung-in-deutschland.de/html/de/qualifikationsanalyse.php; Handwerkskammer zu Leipzig, "Teilnahme an der Qualifikationsanalyse im Rahmen des Gleichwertigkeitsfeststellungsverfahrens nach dem Berufsqualifikationsfeststellungsgesetz (BQFG)," updated October 16, 2014, <a href="www.hwk-leipzig.de/artikel/teilnahme-an-der-qualifikationsanalyse-im-rahmen-des-gleichwertigkeitsfeststellungsverfahrens-nach-dem-berufsqualifikationsfeststellungsgesetz-bqfg-3,380,4023.html; author interview with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016.

⁵⁵ Note that the use of alternative ways to prove qualifications was already part of the *Recognition Act*, yet up until the launch of this project it had not been used widely. The project is a government-led attempt to incentivize recognition bodies to account for the special needs of newly arriving populations.

⁵⁶ Author interview with Maja Rentrop, April 21, 2016.

⁵⁷ Claudia Gaylor, Nicolas Schöpf, and Eckwart Severing, Wenn aus Kompetenzen berufliche Chancen werden: Wie europäische Nachbarn informelles und non-formales Lernen anerkennen und nutzen (Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2015), www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/de/publikationen/publikation/did/wenn-aus-kompetenzen-berufliche-chancenwerden/; BMBF, Bericht zum Anerkennungsgesetz 2016 (Berlin: BMBF, 2016), 61, www.bmbf.de/pub/Bericht zum Anerkennungsgesetz 2016.pdf.



high: the network conducted 4,700 counseling sessions and helped 2,400 participants enter bridge courses, mostly for doctors, health-care workers, engineers, and teachers.⁵⁸

Despite this progress, the recognition process remains expensive. The total cost can vary widely, depending on the profession in which a person would like to receive recognition, the costs of translating supporting documents, the need for bridge courses, and other factors. Who bears this cost differs from case to case. In many instances, job centers and employment agencies pay. Recognized refugees and people depending on government transfers (such as asylum seekers or, in fact, unemployed Germans) can usually count on these authorities to pay for bridge courses if they apply before taking them. But cost may be a barrier for low-income applicants who do not depend on government transfers.⁵⁹ To date, Germany does not have a federal support program to absorb the costs of the recognition process or bridge courses. Some *Länder* (such as Hamburg) offer alternative forms of financing, for instance, by paying part of the cost and providing a low-cost loan for the remainder, but the prospect of debt might discourage potential applicants.⁶⁰ Research from other EU countries shows that countries have developed different financing models for recognition processes in which governments, enterprises, and applicants share costs.⁶¹

The greatest limitation to the current recognition system, however, is systemic—and thus unlikely to be solved anytime soon. The tradition of decentralization among German professions is held in high regard: it has created the high-quality vocational training system and professions that can be held accountable. Embedded in this system, the process of recognition is also decentralized. Changing this structure fundamentally to streamline and accelerate recognition decisions is not only unlikely, but (many people would argue) undesirable. It remains questionable how much the recognition process can be sped up and streamlined without hurting quality, and how much it can be scaled up without losing buy-in from the chambers and overwhelming their human resource capacities.

E. Mentoring Initiatives and Digital Platforms

Other initiatives try to make it easier for new arrivals to identify information and services, for instance, through mentoring and digital platforms. Mentoring in some form plays a large part in many labor market integration initiatives as it helps new arrivals make contacts, learn about new opportunities, and understand the invisible and cultural aspects of different occupations. New technologies—including apps, distance-learning platforms, and job-search platforms—also seek to make it easier for newcomers to identify relevant information and navigate Germany's complex labor market and services.

Many multinational enterprises involved in the Us Together initiative, described above, encourage or promote mentoring. For instance, In Charge is a mentoring initiative supported by car manufacturer Adam Opel AG and implemented in collaboration with the state government of Hesse, BA, and a civil society initiative. Since January 2016, Opel has encouraged 100 of its employees to work with recognized refugees who already speak some German. The mentors support them for three months in identifying potential employers or training opportunities, writing applications, and gaining work experience. Bank conducts a similar initiative: its goal is to link 1,000 of its employees across Germany with mentees by the end of 2018.

⁵⁸ BMBF, *Bericht zum Anerkennungsgesetz 2016*, 2 and 54ff; author interview with Maja Rentrop, August 5, 2016. See also Die Bundesregierung, "ESF-Qualifizierung im Kontext Anerkennungsgesetz," accessed August 15, 2016, www.esf.de/ portal/DE/Foerderperiode-2014-2020/ESF-Programme/bmas/Artikel/esf_qualifizierungsprogramm.html.

⁵⁹ BMBF, Bericht zum Anerkennungsgesetz 2016, 52.

⁶⁰ Author interview with Maja Rentrop, August 5, 2016.

⁶¹ Gaylor, Schöpf, and Severing, Wenn aus Kompetenzen berufliche Chancen werden.

⁶² Wirtschaft Zusammen, "Mentorenprogramm IN CHARGE," accessed June 9, 2016, http://wir-zusammen.de/patenschaften/adam-opel-ag.

⁶³ Wirtschaft Zusammen, "1.000 Deutschbanker als Integrationspaten," accessed June 9, 2016, http://wir-zusammen.de/patenschaften/deutsche-bank-ag.



Mentoring is also an element of university-centered projects that try to channel newcomers into higher education. For instance, the Welcome@FU Berlin program, launched in November 2015, allows refugees and asylum seekers in Berlin to attend academic courses at the Freie Universität (FU), and administers a buddy program matching participants with other students to support their success. A recent survey of similar initiatives at nine universities shows that most of them provide buddy programs, along with other services such as access to certain lectures and courses, German classes, and orientation courses. 65

Some approaches combine self-study using digital platforms with in-person mentoring. For example, the NGO Kiron Open Higher Education (see Box 4) offers free university study to refugees, combining online study with in-person study at affiliated universities, while providing mentoring opportunities throughout.

Box 4. Kiron Open Higher Education

Initiated by Berlin students, Kiron Open Higher Education (Kiron) partners with more than 20 universities in and outside Germany to offer refugees access to higher education by combining online and in-person study. Participants can take two years of online classes from anywhere in the world, followed by one to two years at a partner university that agrees to accept the credit points refugees have earned through their online study and awards an accelerated degree after a shortened period of study.

Kiron's concept has a number of key selling points for refugees and universities. It allows students to begin their studies independently of their legal situation, for instance, during their protection claim's adjudication phase or even prior to arrival in their country of destination. No German-language skills are necessary in the first two years (since most courses are in English), students do not pay tuition or admission fees, and universities face a decreased financial burden because of the shortened time students physically spend at their educational institutions.

The start-up was launched in March 2015 and has grown rapidly since, working with 1,250 students by the fall of 2015. It is hard to evaluate its success at this early date, but Kiron is developing performance indicators to track its impact. In 2016, Kiron aims to increase its offerings to include some labor market integration services. It launched a career-mentoring program in collaboration with the private sector, and has started to collaborate with the Workeer platform to get students part- or full-time jobs.

Sources: Kiron, "The Kiron Team," accessed June 9, 2016, https://kiron.ngo/about/team; Markus Kreßler, "Enable a Study Program for a Refugee!" Betterplace.org, accessed June 9, 2016, https://www.betterplace.org/en/projects/36608-enable-a-study-program-for-a-refugee; Bernd Kramer, "Kiron University: Wo Flüchtlinge studieren können—gratis und auf Englisch," Der Spiegel, November 8, 2015, https://www.spiegel.de/unispiegel/studium/kiron-university-studenten-gruenden-online-uni-fuer-fluechtlinge-a-1055958.html; Laura Hofmann, "Berliner gründen Universität nur für Flüchtlinge," Berliner Zeitung, September 22, 2015, https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/berliner-gruenden-universitaet-nur-fuer-fluechtlinge-22774272; author interview with Vincent Zimmer, Founder, and Sophie Marquitan, Business Development Coordinator, Kiron University, April 19, 2016.

Other initiatives focus on digital information provision. For instance, the Workeer platform, which emerged in 2015 from a thesis by Berlin students, provides information about available jobs to refugees and asylum seekers and allows them to create a profile to inform potential employers about

⁶⁴ Author interview with Florian Kohstall, Welcome@FU Berlin Program, Freie Universität Berlin, April 21, 2016; Freie Universität Berlin, "Academic Offerings and Services for Refugees," accessed June 9, 2016, www.fu-berlin.de/en/sites/welcome/index.html; Freie Universität Berlin, "Welcome to Freie Universität Program," accessed June 9, 2016, www.fu-berlin.de/en/sites/welcome/angebote-welcome/index.html.

⁶⁵ Hannes Schammann and Christin Younso, *Studium nach der Flucht? Angebote deutscher Hochschulen für Studieninteressierte mit Fluchterfahrung* (Hildesheim, Germany: Universitätsverlag Hildesheim, 2016), www.uni-hildesheim.de/media/presse/Studium-nach-der-Flucht.pdf.



their skills. As of June 2016, Workeer had profiled around 1,700 employers and a similar number of asylum seeker and refugee applicants.⁶⁶

BMAS's online platform Fresh Start (Neustart) provides useful English-language information and first points of contact regarding a host of relevant integration questions. The platform gives newcomers comprehensive information about the asylum process, German courses, qualifications recognition, understanding the German labor market, opportunities for continuing education, legal access to the labor market, workers' rights in Germany, and other useful information to accommodate newcomers' needs and questions. In addition, the BIBB-led webpage "Qualiboxx—Portal for the school-job transition" provides information about entry into the labor market. Although it targets all German residents and is available only in German, it has introduced a section with information for refugees and asylum seekers or their German-speaking mentors. Electron of the school of the sch

Finally, a host of smartphone apps have sprung up to provide newcomers with general and sometimes labor-market-relevant information. For instance, the Welcome App, a Dresden-based initiative of two IT businesses, provides refugees with a one-stop-shop for integration information in the city of Dresden. The prototype of the app was launched in summer 2015, and—thanks to coverage in national and international media, including *The New York Times*, BBC, and Germany's Tagesschau—has been expanding to other cities since.⁶⁹ In a similar vein, the federal government launched the "Arrival App" in January 2016, which combines information about language-learning and asylum processes and answers practical questions for new arrivals. Critics say the app is not widely known, but downloads exceed 100,000 and user ratings are high.⁷⁰

Unsurprisingly, the quality of these initiatives and the information and mentorship they provide varies widely. The success of many online platforms and apps depends on them being regularly updated, connected with the relevant integration offers and actors, and plugged in with legislative changes. With many new apps being created every day, there is a risk that low-quality platforms will proliferate. For instance, the nonprofit Stiftung Warentest (Foundation for Testing Goods) tested 12 language-learning apps for Arabic speakers and found that only two merited recommendation. Also, refugees may not trust government digital platforms and may prefer to get their information through informal avenues.

Moreover, many of these initiatives rely on citizens (whether employees, students, or volunteers) to serve as a one-on-one contact point for newcomers. It goes without saying that some mentor-mentee pairings will be more successful than others, and that federally funded information platforms may turn out to have greater reach and be more sustainable than small initiatives driven by volunteers in their spare time or by businesses conducting pro-bono work.

⁶⁶ Workeer, "Was ist Workeer?" accessed June 9, 2016, www.workeer.de/.

⁶⁷ Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales (BMAS), "Fresh Start for Asylum Seekers in Germany," accessed June 9, 2016, www.bmas.de/EN/Our-Topics/Fresh-start-in-germany/fresh-start-in-germany.html.

⁶⁸ BIBB, "Flüchtlinge—Qualifizierung und Arbeitsmarktintegration," Qualiboxx, updated September 22, 2015, www.dossier-fluechtlinge.php.

⁶⁹ Author interview with Peggy Reuter-Heinrich, CEO, Heinrich & Reuter Solutions GmbH, April 22, 2016. See also Heinrich & Reuter Solutions GmbH, "Orientierungshilfe-App für Flüchtlinge in deutschen Großstädten am Beispiel der Stadt Dresden," accessed June 9, 2016, http://heires.net/welcome-app/.

⁷⁰ BMI, "Ankommen' per App für Flüchtlinge" (news release, January 13, 2016), www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Kurzmeldungen/DE/2016/01/vorstellung-bamf-app.html. See also Bayerischer Rundfunk, "Ankommen," Google Play, accessed August 19, 2016, https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=de.br.ankommen&hl=en.

⁷¹ Stiftung Warentest, "Apps zum Deutschlernen: Nur zwei von zwölf empfehlenswert," updated May 2, 2016, https://www.test.de/Apps-zum-Deutschlernen-Nur-zwei-von-zwoelf-empfehlenswert-4989440-0/?mc=kurzurl.deutschlernen.

⁷² Meghan Benton and Alex Glennie, Digital Humanitarianism: How Tech Entrepreneurs Are Supporting Refugee Integration, and What Policymakers Can Do to Help (Washington, DC: MPI, forthcoming).



IV. Conclusions and Recommendations

Germany's labor market integration initiatives are organized around a few key principles: supporting early access to the labor market; teaching new arrivals German as fast as possible; getting them into the workplace as quickly as possible and not wasting their adjudication time without meaningful activity; and rewarding and expecting overall willingness to integrate. All of these paradigms stand in stark contrast to those prevalent in the 1990s, and serve as a reminder of the great changes Germany's migration policies—and its self-image—have undergone since then.

In spite of this progress, policymakers and the German public would benefit from substantial expectation management. The view that new arrivals will easily slot into skills shortages is overly optimistic, and will certainly not happen without greater investments in the quality, speed, and coverage of labor market integration services.

German policymakers should consider the following recommendations when thinking about policies to integrate asylum seekers and refugees into the German labor market:

- 1. Give reforms time to take effect. The many legal changes Germany announced in recent months and years are a good start, but they need time to take effect. In the words of one interviewee, the best reform for Germany would be "to not reform anything for one entire year." Policymakers should take the time to carefully assess their recent attempts to cut red tape and incentivize employers to hire asylum seekers—the 3-plus-2 rule, the pausing of the preference test—before launching into another round of reforms. Effects may be delayed or smaller than expected.
- 2. Continue investments in language training, but be realistic about likely outcomes. Germany suffers from an undersupply of language courses, both basic and professional, so the recently announced large investments in language training—nearly 560 million euros in 2016 for basic language training in integration courses and 180 million euros for professional language courses—are welcome and needed. But policymakers need to consider two caveats and be realistic about the likely impact of these investments. First, as long as groups without high protection chances remain ineligible for early integration courses, tens of thousands of people will have a harder time learning German and will have to depend on volunteer teachers of varying quality. Second, given the time it takes to acquire German proficiency and that people without prior formal education will take longer to learn basic language skills (or not get there at all), older and unskilled refugees might be better served working in unskilled positions or in businesses created by fellow nationals. While it is suboptimal for migrants to enter the labor market without the language skills needed to move up a career ladder, it may be better, at least in some cases, for migrants to go down this path than to spend years dependent on transfers.
- 3. Given the barriers to accessing the vocational training system, look beyond VET and encourage alternative pathways to work. Germany's dual system is often seen as one of the main integration avenues for refugees, but the VET system is far from ideal. It does not have a good track record of integrating migrants, and the misalignment of interests between refugees, who seek to make money quickly, and employers, who want to train them to meet their needs for skilled workers, is likely to remain an obstacle to success. Policymakers should consider additional employment channels for refugees, such as entrepreneurship and start-ups, which have been successful alternative employment options for refugees in other

⁷³ Author interview with Kay Tröger, April 22, 2016.

⁷⁴ Die Bundesregierung, "Deutschland kann das," accessed August 19, 2016, www.deutschland-kann-das.de/Webs/DEKD/DE/Home/home_node.html; Die Bundesregierung, "Fluechtlingsbewegung wirkt am Arbeitsmarkt," updated August 17, 2016, www.deutschland-kann-das.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2016/08/2016-08-17-fluechtlingslage-arbeitsmarkt.html.



countries, but which have not been considered sufficiently in Germany. Other pathways beyond VET could include low-skilled work opportunities or volunteering (if only as a first step). The recent announcement of the creation of 100,000 low-skilled jobs and the inclusion of refugees in the Federal Volunteer Service are signs the government is beginning to explore this option.

- 4. Create alternative methods for the recognition of qualifications and address cost. German policies and infrastructure for recognizing foreign qualifications and skills have improved substantially in the last five years, but progress will likely continue to be slow given the inconsistent decision-making of different bodies and the decentralized structure of German professions. Progress in this area will thus hinge on the willingness and ability of recognition bodies to assess qualifications flexibly and create alternative methods of assessing skills (such as the qualification analysis piloted in the Prototyping Transfer project). Policymakers should also consider expanding cost-sharing models and programs to finance bridge courses to make sure that people motivated to reenter their profession in Germany have the support to do so.
- 5. Scale up existing initiatives to meet demand, but evaluate them first. Many initiatives that this report highlights benefit a few dozen to several tens of thousands of newcomers, compared to the hundreds of thousands that need them. But scaling up initiatives without data about long-term success rates carries the risk that even large grants of funds may have little impact. Many civil society initiatives that were part of this research acknowledge that they did not establish clear impact indicators up-front, developing them only later. And while government-funded programs generally include evaluation requirements, it is often unclear to what degree available evaluations were taken into account when shaping programs. In light of the 7 billion euros the federal government has pledged to provide to the Länder by 2018 to finance integration initiatives, the need for careful evaluation of pilots before expanding them is clearer than ever. The several tensor of the several tensor

Germany has seen copious changes in its integration laws and policies in the last two years. This is a dynamic time for Germany, in which political will and massive investments intersect to push integration to the forefront of the public's interest and engagement. At the same time, the rhetoric around refugee issues has become harsher, volunteers are fighting frustration, and some politicians are putting forward knee-jerk proposals, perhaps based on a desire to cater to populists rather than to improve integration outcomes.

The challenge for German policymakers in 2017 is to keep the integration debate balanced and not succumb to solutions that sound like quick fixes. The answers to policy riddles rarely fit on bumper stickers. While it may be politically unpopular, policymakers need to communicate to the German people the unpleasant reality that labor market integration in Germany—for all the expenditures, political will, and progressive policies that underpin it—will not be a smooth highway but a long and winding road full of potholes.

⁷⁵ For a more detailed discussion of entrepreneurship as alternative employment option for refugees, see Jutta Aumüller, *Arbeitsmarktintegration von Flüchtlingen: bestehende Praxisansätze und weiterführende Empfehlungen* (Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016), https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/publications/publication/did/arbeitsmarktintegration-von-fluechtlingen-bestehende-praxisansaetze-und-weiterfuehrende-empfehlungen-1/.

⁷⁶ Author interview with Vincent Zimmer and Sophie Marquitan, April 19, 2016; author interview with Florian Kohstall, April 21, 2016; author interview with Peggy Reuter-Heinrich, April 22, 2016.

⁷⁷ Der Tagesspiegel, "Bund zahlt 7 Milliarden Euro für Integration," Der Tagesspiegel, July 7, 2016, www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/fluechtlinge-bund-zahlt-7-milliarden-euro-fuer-integration/13847682.html.



Appendices

Appendix I. Overview of Labor Market Integration Initiatives

Type of Actor	Name of Program	Lead Organizations	Funders, Funding Amount, Duration	Number of Beneficiaries
Federal government and European Union (EU)	Early Intervention	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (BMAS), Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), and Federal Employment Agency (BA)	European Social Fund (ESF) and BMAS Funding amount N/A 2 years: January 2014 to December 2015	700 participants 50 integrated in training or employment by June 2015
Federal government and EU	Integration through Qualification (IQ) network	BAMF and 16 state networks	ESF and BMAS	N/A
Federal government and EU	ESF-BAMF program	BAMF	ESF Since 2007	31,000 (2008-10) 54 percent in training or employment
Federal government	Fresh Start (Neustart)	BMAS	BMAS Funding N/A Open-ended	Number of website users N/A
Federal government	Prototyping Transfer	Education Ministry (BMBF)/ Federal Institute for Vocational and Professional Education (BIBB), with six chambers of industry and trade and skilled crafts (IHKs and HWKs)	BMBF 2.2 million euros 3 years: January 2015 to December 2017	N/A
State government	Integration through Work	Bavarian Labor Ministry, with BA and Association of Bavarian Enterprises	BA and Bavarian Labor Ministry 50 million euros 4 years 2016-19	20,000 expected by the end of 2016, and 60,000 by the end of 2019



Appendix I. Overview of Labor Market Integration Initiatives (continued)

State government	Shaping Chances: Opening Up the Labor Market	Baden-Württemberg (BW) Integration Ministry	BW Integration Ministry 1 million euros 2 years: July 2015 to July 2017	Beneficiaries in five cities, exact numbers N/A
Business	Us Together (Wir Zusammen)	30+ enterprises from different industries and sectors	Business members and the Ralph und Judith Dommermuth Foundation Funding N/A Since 2016	Varies by enterprise
Civil society	Welcome Program	Freie Universität (FU) Berlin	Federal government funded (through the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Since 2015	70
Civil society	Civil society organization ociety Workeer (CSO) initiative, in collaboration with private enterprises		Civil society Funding N/A Since 2015	1,700
Civil society	Kiron	CSO initiative, in collaboration with universities and enterprises	Foundations (BMW, Schöpflin, Bertelsmann) plus a crowdfunding campaign Budget 2015-16: about 3 million euros Since 2015	1,250

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources, including interviews conducted in Germany in April 2016.



Appendix 2. Integration Governance in Germany

Integration governance in Germany is comprehensive, but splintered and overlapping. Tasks and responsibilities for formulating and implementing integration policies are divided by governance level and specific policy area, and they are coordinated across an intricate structure that has largely been established in the last 15 years.

Integration responsibilities are split between the three governance levels:

Federal. The Interior Ministry (Bundesministerium des Inneren, BMI) develops and oversees Germany's migration and asylum policies and coordinates federal integration measures. The BMI Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF) is the main implementing agency for these tasks. In collaboration with its more than two dozen regional branch offices, the BAMF develops integration courses for migrants, supports projects for their economic and social integration, provides counselling for the orientation of new arrivals, conducts research, and regularly publishes analyses of migration and asylum data and trends.⁷⁸

Regional. Länder also hold important powers in Germany's integration landscape. Some *Länder*, such as Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine Westphalia, have introduced integration ministries, and all 16 states have designated ministers, senators, or commissioners in charge of integration. Design of integration policies and implementation of concrete integration projects differs in each state, depending on its financial resources, its political will, and the share of migrants in its population—all of which vary widely. For instance, financial resources for integration are more plentiful in the rich southern states of Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg than in some poorer states of the north and the east. Refugee councils (*Landesflüchtlingsräte*), umbrella organizations of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in each *Land*, monitor and complement the integration work in the *Länder*.

Local. Some cities and municipalities have mayoral offices that coordinate local integration efforts, but in others, civil society or other actors such as sports or music associations (*Vereine*) are the de facto drivers of integration. Migrant and diaspora organizations, religious groups and churches, unions, language trainers, advocacy organizations, and countless often ad-hoc local initiatives, including those of volunteer workers (*Ehrenamtler*), provide additional services. ⁸¹ These are beyong the scope of this report, but various levels of government regularly acknowledge their contributions to integration as indispensable. ⁸²

⁷⁸ For more information, see BAMF, *Minas: Atlas über Migration, Integration und Asyl* (Nuremberg: BAMF, 2013), 50ff, www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Migrationsatlas/migrationsatlas-2013-08.pdf?_blob=publicationFile; BAMF, "Migrationsbericht," updated January 15, 2014, www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Projekte/DE/DasBAMF/Forschung/Migration/migrationsbericht.html;jsessionid=E56FC595E2F77CC125926DED81A0F74A.2_cid103.

⁷⁹ The five states of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) have relatively small migrant populations, below 3 percent of their total population, compared to higher shares in the states of former Western Germany (for instance, in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, and North-Rhine Westphalia) that range from 5 to more than 12 percent. See BAMF, Minas: Atlas über Migration, Integration und Asyl, 19. For a list of the 16 states' Integration Commissioners and points of contact, see Die Bundesregierung, "Integrations- und Ausländerbeauftragte der Bundesländer," accessed June 9, 2016, www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/amtPerson/laenderba/_node. html.

⁸⁰ Die Flüchtlingsräte, "Selbstverständnis der Flüchtlingsräte," accessed June 6, 2016, www.fluechtlingsrat.de/.

⁸¹ BAMF, "Bundesweites Integrationsprogramm," accessed September 16, 2016, www.bamf.de/DE/DasBAMF/Aufgaben/Integrationsprogramm/integrationsprogramm-node.html; BAMF, Bundesweites Integrationsprogramm: Angebote der Integrationsförderung in Deutschland—Empfehlungen zu ihrer Weiterentwicklung (Nuremberg: BAMF, 2010), www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Integrationsprogramm, eee BMI and BAMF, "Kurzzusammenfassung des bundesweiten Integrationsprogramms" (program description, accessed June 9, 2016), www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Integrationsprogramm/bundesweitesintegrationsprogramm kurz.pdf? blob=publicationFile.

⁸² For more information on civil society actors, the "National Network Civil Society" (Bundesnetzwerk Bürgerschaftliches Engagement) provides an overview of existing civil society engagement for refugees including their labor market integration on their webpage: Bundesnetzwerk Bürgerschaftliches Engagement, "Engagement von und für Flüchtlinge," accessed June 9, 2016, www.b-b-e.de/themen/migration-teilhabe1/engagement-fluechtlinge/.



Further, integration occurs in a number of different policy areas:

- Labor market integration. Improving migrants' integration into the labor market lies in the realm of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Bundesministerium fuer Arbeit und Soziales, BMAS). Its Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, BA) provides labor market services throughout Germany via more than 700 local offices. While BA's services of job counseling, training, and administering unemployment benefits target all jobseekers in Germany, not just migrants, many BA offices around the country are currently establishing contact points or units specifically tailored to the needs of asylum seekers and refugees. Services are coordinated with the Länder-level labor ministries, to retain the labor market priorities and idiosyncrasies of each Land. B4
- **Educational integration.** Integration in Germany's educational system is the domain of its Education Ministry (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, BMBF), which centers the bulk of its integration projects on the VET system. Since the *Länder* hold substantial power over educational standards, they also play a big role in qualification recognition, especially of regulated professions.

The task of coordinating this maze of integration initiatives and policies nationwide falls to the Commissioner for Migration, Refugees, and Integration (Integrationsbeauftragte) within the Chancellery (Bundeskanzleramt). The Commissioner's main goals are to promote immigrant integration, inform the German public about the status of integration, for instance, through the publication of a biannual report to the Bundestag, and bring together governmental and nongovernmental actors to coordinate their work at regular integration summits.⁸⁵

The newest addition to Germany's coordination structure is the Chancellery's Refugee Coordinator, a position established by Chancellor Merkel in 2015 in response to the massive refugee inflows and Germany's growing need for a central point of contact and accountability for all the ministries' policies around refugees. The coordinator is in charge of a newly established committee that brings together all federal ministries to coordinate their refugee-related work, including integration, creating some mission overlap with the Integration Commissioner. The coordinate their refugee-related work, including integration, creating some mission overlap with the Integration Commissioner.

At the *Länder* level, the main coordinating mechanism is the annual Conference for the State Ministers and Senators in Charge of Integration (Konferenz der für Integration zuständigen Ministerinnen und Minister, Senatorinnen und Senatoren der Länder, IntMK), which has been bringing together states' integration policymakers on a voluntary basis since 2007.⁸⁸ The motto of the conference, "A common goal, diverse paths" (*Einheit im Ziel - Vielfalt der Wege*), characterizes the *Länder*'s basic approach

⁸³ BA, "Welcome to the Federal Employment Agency," updated June 26, 2012, www.arbeitsagentur.de/web/content/EN/AboutUs/Detail/index.htm?dfContentId=L6019022DSTBAI525204.

⁸⁴ BA, "Organisation," updated November 11, 2015, https://www.arbeitsagentur.de/web/content/EN/AboutUs/StructureandOrganisation/Detail/index.htm?dfContentId=L6019022DSTBAI485456.

⁸⁵ For more on the mission of the Commissioner, see Die Bundesregierung, "Aufgaben und Ziele," accessed June 9, 2016, https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/amtPerson/aufgabenZiele/node.html. For an excerpt of the Aufenthaltsgesetz, see Die Bundesregierung, "Gesetzliche Grundlagen des Amtes der Integrationsbeauftragten," accessed June 9, 2016, https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/IB/gesetzliche-grundlagen.pdf? blob=publicationFile&v=1.

⁸⁶ Süddeutsche Zeitung, "Kanzleramtschef Altmaier soll Flüchtlingskoordinator werden," Süddeutsche Zeitung, October 7, 2015, www.sueddeutsche.de/news/politik/migration-kanzleramtschef-altmaier-soll-fluechtlingskoordinator-werdendpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-151006-99-11863.

⁸⁷ Author interview with Jürgen Schröder, April 21, 2016.

⁸⁸ Thüringer Ministerium für Migration, Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, "11. Integrationsministerkonferenz 2016: Aufgaben und Ziele," accessed June 9, 2016, www.thueringen.de/th4/tmmjv/IntMK/aufgaben/index.aspx. For information about the most recent IntMK Conference, held March 16–17, 2016, see Thüringer Ministerium für Migration, Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, "Herzlich willkommen bei der 11. Integrationsministerkonferenz!" accessed June 9, 2016, www.thueringen.de/th4/tmmjv/IntMK/index.aspx.



toward integration: acknowledge their different priorities and capacities for integration, while encouraging dialogue and exchange of good practices.

Exchange of integration practices in the thousands of German communities (*Kommunen*) and hundreds of counties (*Landkreise*) happens through three nationwide coordinating bodies and one umbrella association. The German City Day (Deutscher Städtetag), the German County Day (Deutscher Landkreistag), and the German City and Community Association (Deutscher Städte- und Gemeindebund) together form the Federal Association of Community Associations (Bundesvereinigung der Kommunalen Spitzenverbände). These bodies advocate for localities' interests. Among other things, they publish migration- and integration-related recommendations for federal and state governments, highlighting local interests.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ See, for instance, Deutscher Städtetag, "Kommunale Spitzenverbände fordern von Bund und Ländern mehr und schnellere Hilfe zur Flüchtlingsversorgung" (press release, September 23, 2015), www.staedtetag.de/presse/mitteilungen/075342/index.html; Deutscher Städtetag, "Bundeskanzlerin erörterte vor dem Flüchtlingsgipfel aktuelle Situation und Erwartungen der Kommunen mit den kommunalen Spitzenverbänden" (press release, September 22, 2015), www.staedtetag.de/presse/mitteilungen/075325/index.html.



Appendix 3. List of Individual Interviews

The following experts, policymakers, and practitioners were interviewed for this report:

Name	Affiliation	Interview Details
Al-Habash, Meike	Department Head for Vocational Training, Chamber of Industry and Commerce (IHK)	Interviewed by the author, April 19, 2016
Babuke, Andreas	Leader Integration of Asylum Seekers and Implementer of the "Early Intervention" project, Employment Agency Dresden	Interviewed by the author, April 22, 2016
Büttner, Malgorzata	Head of Department Languages and Integration, Euro School Dresden	Interviewed by the author, April 22, 2016
Fourestié, Alexander	Project Manager, kiezküchen gmbh	Interviewed by the author, April 21, 2016
Heidenreich, Keven	Representative of German Industry and Trade (RGIT), Washington, DC	Interviewed by Susan Fratzke and Madeleine Sumption, MPI Policy Analysts, January 23, 2014
Intepe, Dilek	Foreign Skills Qualification Consultant, Chamber of Skilled Crafts (HWK) Berlin	Interviewed by the author, April 19, 2016
Kohstall, Florian	Welcome@FU Berlin Program, Freie Universität Berlin	Interviewed by the author, April 21, 2016
Maechler, Jakob	CEO, boeba Montagen- und Aluminium- Bau GmbH	Interviewed by the author, April 20, 2016
Markowski, Anne	Coordinator of Swedish for Professionals	Interviewed by Meghan Benton, MPI Policy Analyst, June 11, 2014
Marquitan, Sophie	Business Development Coordinator, Kiron Open Higher Education	Interviewed by the author, April 19, 2016
Neuwert, Valentina	Integration Course Coordinator, Euro School Dresden	Interviewed by the author, April 22, 2016
Rentrop, Maja	Unit 315—Recognition of Foreign Qualifications, Education Ministry	Interviewed by the author, April 21, 2016 (in person) and August 5, 2016 (by phone)
Reuter-Heinrich, Peggy	CEO, Heinrich & Reuter Solutions GmbH	Interviewed by the author April 22, 2016
Schmidt-Rossleben, Regina	Head of European Department, Bildungsmarkt e.V.	Interviewed by the author, April 21, 2016
Schröder, Jürgen	Unit IIa6—Basic Aspects of Migration and Foreign Workers Policy, Labor Ministry	Interviewed by the author, April 21, 2016
Schumann, Katharina	Head of Education Consulting Unit, Chamber of Skilled Crafts (HWK) Berlin	Interviewed by the author, April 19, 2016
Tröger, Kay	Regional Coordinator, IQ Network Saxony	Interviewed by the author, April 22, 2016
Vollgold, Frank	Press Coordinator, Employment Agency Dresden	Interviewed by the author, April 22, 2016
Zimmer, Vincent	Founder, Kiron Open Higher Education	Interviewed by the author, April 19, 2016



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