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Knowledge for INtegration Governance

Local Integration Policies in Stuttgart, Germany

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The KING project's objective is to elaborate a report on the **state of play** of migrant integration in Europe through an interdisciplinary approach and to provide decision- and policy-makers with **evidence-based recommendations** on the design of migrant integration-related policies and on the way they should be articulated between different policy-making levels of governance.

Migrant integration is a truly multi-faceted process. The contribution of the insights offered by different disciplines is thus essential in order better to grasp the various aspects of the presence of migrants in European societies. This is why **multidisciplinarity** is at the core of the KING research project, whose Advisory Board comprises experts of seven different disciplines:

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The project is coordinated by the **ISMU Foundation**.

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Local Integration Policies in Stuttgart, Germany¹

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE CITY

1.1 Some general structural data on the city

In September 2014, Stuttgart had 591.236 registered inhabitants (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, Statistisches Amt, 2013). Stuttgart's degree of ethnic diversity is remarkable with almost 40 percent of its population being classified as having a migration background and 22.5 percent having a foreign nationality (Maurer & Barreau, 2014). Immigrants living in Stuttgart come from 180 nations and speak 120 languages. Among children and youth, more than 50 percent have a migration background (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart Sozialamt, 2014). People with a migration background account for approximately one third of the electorate at local elections.

The city of Stuttgart enjoys a rather privileged status being at the heart of one of the economically strongest regions of Germany with a high density of industrial companies, especially in the automotive, electronics and information-technology industries (Lüken-Klaßen, 2010). With that comes a low unemployment rate of 6.3 percent which, after Munich, was the second lowest in a comparison of Germany's big cities in 2013 (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, Statistisches Amt, 2013).

1.2 Brief history of recent migration and composition of migrant population

Germany has received substantial amounts of immigration from the late 1950s until the early 1970s in the form of 'guest workers' who were recruited due to internal labour shortages and who were assumed to leave the country again after some years. Contracts of recruitment were signed with mostly Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey. Many guest workers did not leave the country as foreseen but instead, their families started to migrate to Germany in the 1970s. Since the mid-1980s, refugees started making up an increasing share of the immigration. Another wave of immigrants came after the end of the Cold War from Eastern European countries. Many of them were ethnic Germans and were granted particularly favourable conditions for immigrating to Germany and building up a new life in the country. In the 1990s, a substantial part of the immigrants also consisted of refugees from the civil war in former Yugoslavia (Borkert et al, 2007; Bade & Oltmer, 2004).

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1.3 General data on national and EU – migration and integration policies relevant for local policies

One important general feature of the German political system is the fact that Germany is a federal state. Many competences lie with state-level, instead of national-level institutions and the coordination between national- and state-level is an important factor to take into account when analyzing policy in Germany. The federal model also facilitates incoherence in integration policy. National- and state-level governments are mostly responsible for different domains, several of which, however, pertain to integration. In addition, there are policy fields where both national- and state-level governments are involved, with integration being a prominent example, as illustrated by the existence of a Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) but also a state-level Ministry for Integration in Baden-Württemberg. Particularly relevant tasks of the state-level are its responsibility for the implementation of home affairs policies and its full responsibility for the field of education. Inconsistencies between national level and state level policies are also facilitated by the possibility of different parties being in power at the state- and the national level (Borkert et al., 2007).

More specifically concerning immigrant integration policy, it has been stressed that at the national level the integration into core welfare institutions of residents without citizenship has been a core focus. This goes together with Germany's traditionally rather restrictive naturalization policies, strongly relying on *jus sanguinis*, the principle that citizenship is based on descent. With the citizenship law from the year 2000, some *jus soli* elements were introduced, making it easier for second or third generation immigrants to naturalize (Borkert et al., 2007).

The history of local integration policies in Germany has, furthermore, been coined by the long absence of integration policy at the national level as, until the early 2000s, the government did not acknowledge that Germany was an immigration country. This changed in the 2000s as represented by the statements made in the final report of the Independent Commission on Integration (informally called 'Süssmuth Kommission' after its chair Rita Süssmuth) (Bade & Oltmer, 2004). The acknowledgement that Germany is an immigration country was also expressed through the publication of a national integration plan (Nationaler Integrationsplan) in 2007. As a result of the long absence of national level integration policy, much policy developed in a bottom-up fashion, strongly coined by municipalities, welfare organizations and grass-root initiatives (Borkert et al., 2007).

2. THE CITY'S APPROACH TO MIGRATION, INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

2.1 A brief history of local integration policies

Stuttgart is not only a nation-wide role model when it comes to integration policy today, it also started to deal with the topic very early. More than 30 years ago, the city of Stuttgart already implemented measures aiming for immigrant integration (Meier-Braun, 2008). The then mayor Manfred Rommel coined the liberal position of the city when it comes to immigration, which is prominently pointed out by stakeholders in the field still today. His predecessor, Wolfgang Schuster, removed the Integration Department from the domain of social policy into his division. The Integration Department still works directly under the current mayor

Fritz Kuhn, which indicates the importance the city attributes to integration policy (Pavkovic, 2010). In 2001, an integration concept for the city of Stuttgart was drafted and the City Council decided that an 'Alliance for Integration' (Bündnis für Integration) was to be established (Pavkovic, 2010). This network has since then continuously developed and still exists today. It assembles a variety of municipal actors who are active in the field of migration and integration or whose work touches upon these fields. It is centrally coordinated by the Integration Department.

2.2 The Integration Policy as Presented in Official Documents, and Statements of Politicians, Civil Servants and Stakeholders

Before dealing with policy practice and describing concrete examples of integration measures, this report will concern itself with the way the city's integration policy is presented officially. Information on this is taken from official documents as well as statements of politicians, civil servants and other interviewed stakeholders. This report will deal with the framing of integration policy, its foci and issues that are perceived as most pertinent, as well as the target groups policies are aiming at.

2.2.1 Framing

The head of Stuttgart's Integration Department, Gari Pavkovic, defines integration as participation on equal terms of migrants in public life in the city. The aim of integration policy, consequently, is to create conditions under which this participation on equal terms is possible and, more concretely, to create a situation in which the participation of migrants in all areas of societal life is equal to that of people without a migration background. This is supposed to happen by creating equality of opportunity, first and foremost in the core areas of relevance to integration policy: pre-school, school and vocational education, access to the labour market, to public services, and to employment in the core institutions of society (including employment in the public sector) as well as civic engagement and participation in political decision making (Pavkovic, 2010). Furthermore, Pavkovic describes the general role of cities and municipalities in integration policy as that of a moderator and coordinator of the efforts of national-level and state-level governments, welfare organizations, and the civil society. Next to that, he also expects cities to take a more proactive role by setting up their own integration measures (Pavkovic, 2010).

Stuttgart's need for integration policy is frequently framed making reference to the city's privileged economic situation. It is stressed that the local industrial companies need a highly skilled workforce and that ensuring the presence of this workforce is the way to realize the city's high potential for economic success. This is thus what also measures in the fields of social policy, educational policy and cultural policy should aim at. The main foci of immigrant integration policy following from this are the educational success of young residents with a migration background, the qualification of low qualified migrants, and the smooth integration of highly qualified migrants into the labour market. Occasionally, the argument is made that the qualification and integration of residents (particularly those with a migration background) who already live in Stuttgart should be stressed more in order to decrease the need to attract additional highly skilled professionals from abroad. This is framed as 'making use of the potential of the people who already live here'. For this, educational policy offering equal chances for qualification to everyone is obviously key. Generally, equality of opportunity is a prominent theme when it comes to framing Stuttgart's integration aims.

While this is a rather stable theme, there have also been changes in the framing of integration policy in the last decades. An example comes from the field of political participation. Here, changes in the make-up of

the migrant council point to changes in integration policy framing during the past 20 years. While the old council consisted of representatives elected by Stuttgarters with a migration background, the new council since 2004 is based upon an application procedure. The members are appointed by the municipal council upon proposal of the mayor due to their expertise in the field of migration and integration. Rather than focusing on a democratic representation of migrant interests, the idea behind the council thus shifted to providing expert input to the local council policy making on integration and diversity policy issues.

Further frames that seem to have been used by the mayor Fritz Kuhn recently made reference to both the ideas of 'colorblindness' and local citizenship and identification. He stated that in his city, there are only Stuttgarters and everything the city offers is for all of these Stuttgarters, no matter whether they have a migration background or not. At the same time, he stressed that belonging to the city can be a way of overcoming national differences.

2.2.2 Foci and issues

The main issues that Stuttgart's integration policy is said to deal with comprise optimizing employment, creating affordable housing space, increasing the political participation of immigrants, raising awareness of health services (particularly for elderly migrants), making the services of the Local Immigration Office (Ausländerbehörde) more client-oriented and increasing the amount of employees with a migration background among city employees. However, some of these issues receive substantially more policy attention than others. Judged by how much effort is put into measures in the different fields, the main focus seems to be on migrants' integration into the labour market. Equal opportunities of youth with a migration background in the educational system and language promotion among children with migrant background, as well as among adult immigrants hereby seem to be perceived as the most important means. In terms of measures, this translates to special language training for youth with a migration background at school, mentoring programmes for students with a migration background, and continued education for low qualified migrants (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

Stakeholders in the field of employment stress that language deficiencies are the number one barrier to integration into the labour market. Yet, it is mentioned that problems are created due to both deficiencies that actually inhibit a potential employee to be able to practice a certain profession and exaggerated demands from the side of the employer for very high levels of language proficiency not necessarily required for the job. It is remarked that the current problems with migrant's German language deficiencies result from an omission on the side of policy makers to deal with this issue earlier on. Next to language issues, another more structural source of problems with labour market integration is described: migrants are disproportionately low qualified and low qualified people make up the group that faces increasing barriers to enter the labour market since the 1990s. Further issues prominently mentioned concern the recognition of foreign degrees, a lack of information on the side of migrants about their rights on the labour market, intercultural differences, and discrimination.

In terms of political participation, the concrete aim of integration policy is described to be that the representation of migrants in political organizations reflects their shares in the population. One stakeholder reported that civil and political involvement of migrants has increasingly been recognized and supported in the last years, and that this came with a shift in the work with immigrant associations from focusing on folk aspects to focusing on civil and political involvement.

Another important new focus of immigrant associations' work is connected to a further field of integration policy: elderly care. While the city is putting increasing efforts into raising awareness for its elderly care offers among immigrants and is starting to think of ways to adjust offers to their specific needs, also

immigrant associations become more aware of the topic and either join in the city's efforts or work on developing their own offers. The issue of elderly care is often still discussed as one that just starts to get more attention and in which stakeholders are still developing concepts and approaches. In any case, it is expected to become an important integration policy field in the near future. The demographic development of an aging society makes this inevitable.

Another important focus of the city's integration policy efforts is currently in the area of housing, specifically concerning refugee accommodation. As there are too few accommodation spots available, the city is now planning to build so called 'system buildings' (see section 3.2.3). Generally, housing is seen as one of the main issues with there being a discrepancy in Stuttgart between many employment possibilities on the one hand, and little affordable housing on the other hand.

2.2.3 Target groups

There seems to be the trend that the majority society is increasingly seen as a group targeted by integration policy. Stakeholders described this as reflecting an inclusive approach to integration. Still, naturally, integration policy is often targeted at the specific group of 'immigrants'. Only rarely do integration policies target specific subgroups of immigrants in Stuttgart nowadays. With the focus being broadened to the general population, also other dimensions of diversity are increasingly taken into account. For example, the Integration Department is closely working together with the municipal unit Equal Opportunities for Women and Men or the unit for persons with special needs on equality issues in terms of gender, for example.

In the area of education, policies are usually targeting the whole population, based on the principle of equal rights. In addition, there are offers specifically targeting immigrants, such as language promotion in kindergartens or language courses for parents ('Mama Lernt Deutsch'). Such specific offers are created by the municipality or other actors in response to concrete problems that appear, i.e. as a consequence of the observation that even though equal rights are formally present, the group of immigrants is still at a disadvantage. It is stressed that the approach to react to specific problems with specific measures has become more prominent in the past years and that such measures are often initiated by actors other than the municipality itself (for example associations or foundations) but are frequently financially supported by the city.

Just as in the field of education, in the area of employment measures are generally targeted at the population at large. The Job Centre stresses that it tries to avoid ethnicity-specific offers but rather aims to keep offers relevant to as broad a population as possible. However, it was also mentioned that there are measures that are particularly targeted towards certain demographic groups and that it is important to be conscious about which groups one will be dealing with when conceptually designing measures. Yet, the use of other demographic characteristics such as age or gender seems to be more popular as a basis for designing such specific measures than the characteristic migration background. Also in the policy field of employment, it seems that targeted policies are only considered when observed problems suggest their necessity and it is mentioned that this is not often the case. More concretely, it is stressed that even offers that are very pertinent specifically to migrants, such as offers dealing with the recognition of degrees, are open to Germans as well (they could be relevant for German students who obtained a university degree abroad, for example). In the past, the Job Centre seems to have implemented specific measures because this was requested by the city or its collaborators though it would not necessarily have been the Job Centre's own preferred approach.

Also in the field of cultural policy and migrant associations, there seems to be general agreement on the approach to try to target as general a population as possible. An important pillar of the work of Stuttgart's migrant umbrella association Forum of Cultures (Forum der Kulturen) is to make interculturality visible to everyone. Events offered by the Forum, such as discussion series and panels about topics relating to diversity and culture, are planned with this as an explicit aim. Seminars are often primarily directed at migrant associations but are still open to everyone. Ways of involving the receiving society are, for example, involving them in intercultural theatre groups or anti-racism campaigns. The Forum seems to increasingly also have contact with associations that are not based on migration background, but are local associations of the society at large. Those seem to seek the Forum's advice on how to open their organizations up to people with a migration background. The Forum seems happy about the opportunity to become an interface between very different associations in the city. The second pillar of the Forum, the empowerment of associations, pertains more to its immigrant-specific role. The Forum thus sees its most important tasks in empowering immigrant associations and bringing them and the mainstream society closer together.

One case where targeted measures seem to be more widely preferred and seen as necessary is in the case of undocumented immigrants who are particularly difficult to include within the frame of general policies. However, there are instances where this is possible. This is the case, for example, with Stuttgart's Housing Emergency Help (Wohnungsnotfallhilfe) and the associated counselling centres located within the neighbourhoods. These institutions step in and provide help in emergency situations (related to financial or health emergencies) regardless of a person's legal status.

An important measure that symbolizes the increasing focus on the general population in integration policy is the current establishment of the Welcome Centre Stuttgart for new citizens. Here, the target group is not only new citizens and skilled labour from abroad but instead this 'new citizen service' is also intended for new inhabitants coming to Stuttgart from elsewhere in Germany. The Centre is envisioned to serve as a bridge into the society of the city through creating contacts with migrant communities, with multilingual bridge builders (for example for assisting with administrative issues), but also with long-established local bridge builders (for example for assisting with accessing the housing market), as well as with traditional cultural and sports associations (<http://www.welcome.stuttgart.de/>).

2.3 Administrative organization of policies

The next section of this report deals with a specific dimension of policy implementation, namely the way policies are organized administratively. Central actors and their competences are described, and it is pointed out how these actors coordinate their efforts. Related to that, the budgets for integration measures and different kinds of financing are given consideration. An extra section is dedicated to the question to what extent the target groups themselves are participating in the policy making and implementation process.

2.3.1 Actors and competences

The city administration of Stuttgart expects its Integration Department to initiate programmes but seems to give a lot of leeway to them in choosing issues and ways they want to work on them. However, the main administrative competences in the different fields lie with the different departments of the public administration.

In the area of housing, an important actor is the Department for Real Estate and Housing (Amt für Liegenschaften und Wohnen) in connection with different housing associations (Wohnungs- und Siedlungsgesellschaften). However, also the Social Welfare Office (Sozialamt) seems to play an important role, for example, being responsible for searching possibilities for the accommodation of refugees. Also in the area of health, the Social Welfare Office is responsible for funding refugees' health checks, while the Public Health Department is responsible for conducting those health checks. For migrants other than refugees, these responsibilities are carried by the health system as such (doctors, hospitals, insurances). In the area of legal issues, the most important competences, locally, lie with the social security office and the Foreigners' Registration Office. These are local implementers of national policies but the guidelines and the political orientation of the mayor matter a great deal for the exact workings of the implementation. It was mentioned before that Stuttgart has a long legacy of liberal orientations in integration policy.

In the area of education, there are two different competence levels. On the one hand, there is the state education authority for the city of Stuttgart, namely the Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs (Kultusministerium). On the other hand, there is the Office for Education and Schooling (Schulverwaltungsamt) providing the infrastructure on the local level. In addition, there is the Regional Council (Regierungspräsidium), which works as a mediating agency between the ministries on the state level and the local administration.

In the area of employment, there is the employment promotion service (Arbeitsförderung) next to the Job Centre which carries most responsibilities.

Generally, a lot of the relevant policies are made on the state level, namely by the Ministry for Integration of Baden-Württemberg. This is unique as Baden-Württemberg is the only state that has a ministry specifically for migration and integration issues. In other states, offices for home affairs or social affairs take over these responsibilities. Capacities also change over time, due to new attributions of tasks, for example because of political changes. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees took over the responsibility for the integration courses in 2005. Before, language promotion was associated with different agencies, for example the employment administration office for 'ethnic German migrants' in the case of this specific migrant group in Germany (see introduction).

2.3.2 Coordination of actors

The city's Integration Department is the central player in the building of networks and coordination of actors and activities in integration policy and in the moderation of networks or round tables in different policy fields concerning integration.

Cooperation networks exist in different areas, such as health, education, and employment. Examples of such networks include the coordination project IQ (Integration through Training; Integration durch Qualifizierung). This consists of 16 regional, state-level networks which are advised on measures in the area of migrant qualification by five competence centres focusing on different thematic areas such as professional German language knowledge, diversity management, or recognition of foreign qualifications. The network exists since 2005 and is coordinated on the local level in Stuttgart by the Job Centre. It involves different actors on different levels, like Job Centres and educational institutions of the different municipalities, as well as, in the case of Stuttgart, the Integration Department which is responsible for the intercultural opening of the labour market actors. The network is described as a platform where different actors interact to find solutions together, aiming for the goal of granting access to as many people as possible. Collectively, actors define problems and discuss what measures could be taken by who (according to current legal bases and budget situations). Furthermore, the individual contacts created here are

described as important sources for better communication and further cooperation between individuals working in the field.

Another very important platform is the Network Language and Integration (Netzwerk Sprache und Integration) which was initiated in 2005 by the city of Stuttgart with the Integration Department calling together different actors in the field. Furthermore, there is a cooperation network concerning nursery including city actors as well as welfare associations which are the implementers of policy in this field. Moreover, a steering committee concerning the transition from school to labour has been set up with the Integration Department as one major actor. Another core working group moderated by the Integration Department works on migration and health in coordination with the public health department and diverse other actors, thematically structured around the topics: child health, health and the elderly, women and health, and improvement of preventive health offers. This platform is also mentioned as a useful forum for doctors to turn to for specific information concerning migrants, such as legal regulations for the funding of treatment of refugees.

Furthermore, religious groups are organized in (inter-religious) networks. The working group Muslims and Integration is utilized, for example, to agree on procedures in case a Muslim congregation wants to open a new locality and to prevent negative experiences that have been made in the past with neighbours. Other networks or platforms are in place for interreligious dialogue, such as the German-Jewish Dialogue or the event World Religion Day which are organized by the congregations themselves or interreligious initiatives.

As becomes clear, there are a large number of networks or working groups around different integration topics in Stuttgart and it is likely that there is quite some overlap of their members. As an example, the Special Department Migration (Fachstelle Migration, see section 3.1) indicates to participate in seven of the networks.

Generally, stakeholders stressed their positive experiences in terms of the cooperation between different actors in integration policy in Stuttgart. The Integration Department seems to be the central actor facilitating coordination between a range of other actors. Stakeholders frequently emphasized the support they receive from the Integration Department for their work, financially and through the exchange of know-how. The supportive role of the city administration to other actors in integration policy has also been described as an opportunity for the city to make use of the potential of creative policy ideas from the civil society and of the better levels of access to the target groups that civil society actors enjoy. This might be helpful for ensuring that measures are actually used by the targeted groups. The role of civil society actors is also described as that of initiators and motivators. Hence, on the one hand, they demand politicians and public sector stakeholders to take action and, on the other hand, they raise awareness in their communities about the measures taken.

But also other actors see themselves as facilitators of coordination of integration policy or at least of cooperation in integration policy. The Forum of Cultures is one example, offering platforms where migrant associations can meet potential coordination partners (for example administrative departments or cultural institutions). The idea is that this will lead to an intercultural opening on both sides. Another example is the welfare organization AWO (Arbeiterwohlfahrt Bundesverband e.V.) which works a lot in networks and also tends to initiate networks and approach other actors for this. Generally, cooperation and coordination in networks seems to be a widely spread approach in developing and implementing integration policy and is assumed to benefit all kinds of different actors, creating 'win-win situations'.

2.3.3 Budget for activities

The Integration Department gets its funding from the city but also organizes to get additional funding from a diverse set of actors including foundations as well as state-level and national-level ministries. This leads to a situation where the different measures organized by the Integration Department and its cooperation partners vary greatly in their funding structure. The budget for policies can be structural or project-specific and can come from the Integration Department, administrative agencies, ministries, or private actors. Most activities are funded by a mix of those actors. In the following, I will give some examples for possible funding structures.

The Project IQ (Integration through Training) is a nation-wide project which is funded by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and the Federal Employment Agency. The project is ending at the end of this year (2014) but it is assumed that it will be extended and that there is financial support via the state-level integration ministry. This assumption is partly based on the fact that there is a state-level and national-level Law of Recognition (LQFG Landesqualifikationsfeststellungsgesetz and BQFE Bundesqualifizierungsgesetz) stating that there should be advice centres for applicants with foreign degrees.

For other activities, the Job Centre also takes over a part of the cost while another part is taken over by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. For example, the integration courses are financed by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees but the Job Centre, at least in the beginning, financed the transportation costs to the courses for people who were living on welfare benefits.

Other examples come from the policy field of education. For an activity aimed at the political education of youth with a migration background (project 'Dialog macht Schule'), personnel to give according courses at schools was paid by the Robert Bosch Foundation and the German Federal Agency for Civic Education for four years but then the funding was taken over by the city, the state-level integration ministry and a foundation. On the other hand, one of Stuttgart's important measures in the area of integration in the last years, the programme 'Mum learns German' (Mama lernt Deutsch) is financed by the Integration Department.

In the area of health, integration policy is working a lot with mediator programmes (health mediators, parent mediators, families with children with disabilities), having mediators going into migrant communities to sensitise around the topic of health. Funding for these programmes mainly comes from the communal level but there is also financial support of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees for specific cooperation partners. Furthermore, the Turkish community was reported to be planning activities in the area of migration and disability with funding from the state-level integration ministry.

In the area of religion, another example showed how projects or programmes go through different phases of funding by different actors. It was expressed that the working group Muslims and Integration had once primarily been founded due to a certain programme in the frame of which this group was set up with national-level ministry funding.

Migrant associations seem to mostly receive their funding on a project basis. Their cultural activities are often financed by the city's Cultural Department, which has different budgets for music, visual arts, theatre, and 'interculture'. Migrant cultural activities are often automatically placed in the last category which is reported to have a more limited budget than the others. However, the existence of such a budget shows that cultural traditions and folklore are explicitly being supported by the city. The umbrella association Forum of Cultures receives structural support from the Department for Cultural Affairs and financial support from the Integration Department for individual projects. Furthermore, they receive support

through applications to funds such as the European Integration Fund, as well as through varying project- and cooperation partners. They report that structural support is now available from the national level which used to only offer project specific support. However, this offer exists only for migrant umbrella associations that get together nation-wide and can thus benefit the individual migrant associations only indirectly.

2.3.4 Participation of Target Groups

The Integration Department works in close cooperation with immigrant organizations and the International Committee. Sometimes, tasks are even delegated to the immigrant organizations. At the same time, civil society actors stress that they would wish for more involvement of migrant associations in the decision making processes of other institutions. The aim seems to be that offers should be even more strongly created with migrants closely involved instead of for migrants. To push this forward, networks of associations, such as the Forum of Cultures, are important in their role as platform for exchange and spokesperson. On the other hand, the wish is expressed that including the umbrella association in decision making processes should not prevent single associations from becoming involved in such.

In the political realm, the International Committee is an important instrument for migrant (expert) participation in political decision making. This committee acts as an advisory board to the City Council. However, migrant stakeholders in politics expressed the wish for more individuals with a migration background to get involved in party politics so that this group could substantially participate in the actual decisions made by parties.

Generally, the political participation of immigrants in the local sphere does seem to be on the rise. For example, in neighbourhood politics immigrants are now accounted for as one important group of actors to be invited to round table discussions (next to other civil society groups such as churches). This did not use to be the case.

2.4 Resources and hindrances for policies

Policies come into existence against the background of a certain context. In the case of Stuttgart's integration policies, relevant resources and hindrances stem from other policies on higher governance levels as well as horizontal cooperation and exchange between cities.

2.4.1 Horizontal exchange between cities

Stuttgart sees itself as a role model of successful integration policy but also profits from the exchange of best practices with other cities in Germany and internationally. The city coordinates the working group 'Quality Circle for local integration policy' (Kommunaler Qualitätszirkel zur lokalen Integrationspolitik), a network of 30 German cities working on actual local integration policies and on developing policy guidelines with good practices for different municipal units. This network is working closely together with research, foundations and with representatives from different governance levels such as the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the Federal Commissioner for Integration and the network of cities (Deutscher Städtetag und Landkreistag). Stuttgart is also a member of the city network of Baden-Württemberg working on local integration policies. From 2006 to 2012, the city was an active member of the European Network Cities for Local integration Policies (CLIP) working with 35 cities on local integration policies and various

European institutions to support the further development of innovative integration policy measures on the European level.

Stuttgart's Integration Department is outstandingly active in the German comparison but also the Forum of Cultures is currently gaining role model status. Its employees are increasingly invited to present their ideas and concepts nation-wide to people working in the cultural sector and cultural institutions as well as on state-level or national-level events, such as the 'Bundesfachkongress Interkultur', a nation-wide specialist convention on interculturality. The Forum of Cultures presents the exchange between German cities as specifically important. Its employees are currently working on establishing a closer cooperation with intercultural umbrella organizations from other cities. Together, several umbrella associations are applying for funding from the national level to establish a nation-wide umbrella association (see section 2.3). The cities Berlin, Dortmund, Halle, Leipzig, Hannover, and Stuttgart are already in close exchange for this. They have had first meetings where they discussed their ways of working, common issues, and local specific challenges. They are in the process of developing a concrete agenda for the nationwide umbrella association. At the same time, it is stressed that European Projects are still outside of the focus of the Forum of Cultures but are considered something exciting to work on in the future. From other stakeholders, besides the Forum, European level policy was not prominently mentioned.

Another example for cooperation of local level actors across cities and municipalities comes from the area of political participation. Here, a network of City Council members of Turkish origin (Netzwerk Türkischstämmiger MandatsträgerInnen) across party borders has been established in 2004 by the Körber Foundation in Hamburg and coordinated by the German Turkish Forum Stuttgart (Deutsch-Türkisches Forum Stuttgart e.V.). Members have used the network to exchange about the overlapping issues they are facing regardless of their different party membership and have formulated position papers, prominently about how to increase the political participation of immigrants with a Turkish background. The network convenes two times a year and also organizes political meetings to present its positions, for example to the state level parliament or the heads of national party factions.

Generally, an important platform for the policy exchange between cities is the German Associations of Cities and Towns (Deutscher Städtetag). However, this platform was not often mentioned by the stakeholders interviewed, just occasionally for as a suited platform which cities should make use of if they want to take action together.

2.4.2. National policies

National policies are often perceived as a hindrance to the kind of policies that local actors would like to implement. In some areas, national policies present more pertinent hindrances to local policies than in others as they do not leave local actors much room for manoeuvre. This is specifically so in integration policies in the legal-political dimension. Political participation rights, as opposed to other rights, are tied to formal citizenship. Hence, there is a structural barrier to some migrants' political participation imposed by national level politics.

Furthermore, legal affairs concerning migrants are actually processed by federal agencies that operate on the local level, not local level agencies. The Foreigners's Registration Office is operating directly under the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Hence, the city of Stuttgart does not have any influence on its actions. Formally formulated, the city is not responsible for the 'subject specific supervision' (Fachaufsicht) of the office but only its 'administrative supervision' (Dienstaufsicht) with the latter being merely concerned with practicalities of managing the employees.

National policies can also present a hindrance in that their policies are, naturally, not tailor-made for a specific city, or, formulated more negatively, they impose regulations which ignore the specific situation and problems 'on the ground'. However, in the interviews it was often stressed that Stuttgart deals rather well with clashes arising in this context and, through making compromises, usually manages to protect its own interests while not getting into conflict with the national- or state-level. The perception among many stakeholders seems to be that there is a consensus in Stuttgart to make integration policies not only to the benefit of immigrants but for all population groups.

Yet, at some instances, actual conflict and frustration in the face of national level policies has been expressed. In the field of education, for example, there have been special school tracks set up by national-level policy makers for the group of ethnic German immigrants offering special language promotion. When the main phase of immigration of this group was over, local policy makers asked to keep these tracks and open them up to other immigrant groups but this did not happen. The national level argued with the special rights the specific group of ethnic German immigrants had according to the Federal Law on Expellees (Bundesvertriebenengesetz) while to people working in local integration policy these differences between immigrant groups mattered little. Generally, the field of education is one where tensions between levels tend to arise as both the state and the local level are so strongly involved. The city of Stuttgart sees integration policy in the field of education and specifically German language education as key but at the same time knows that it should be the state's task to design and fund measures in this field. This is a dilemma that apparently is sometimes resolved with the city providing the support viewed as necessary anyways, but based on the assumption that the state level will take over this responsibility eventually.

In addition to potential policy conflicts, frustrations on a more personal level were described. Specifically for local social workers, it is often hard to accept that they are not allowed to provide certain services particularly to refugees, not because they do not have the means, but because national law does not attribute refugees the right to these services. An example for this arose in the context of Syrian refugees where national-level policies provide several different legal grounds on which Syrians can live as refugees (or asylum applicants) in Germany. They can go through the usual asylum procedure but, moreover, on the national level it was decided to take in a certain amount of Syrian refugees out of the ordinary. The legal basis for refugees falling under the latter regulation provides them with rather good conditions, such as decent housing and direct access to the labour market as they are directly treated as 'accepted asylum seekers'. At the same time, the state level created an additional option for more Syrian refugees to come if they have relatives living in Germany already and if those sign a declaration of commitment to cover any costs incurred (including accommodation, health insurance etc.). This resulted in a situation where refugees fled to Germany from exactly the same situation under the same conditions but were attributed to different legal categories comprising very different rights. For local policy implementers this meant they had to make a very artificial distinction between people who factually fled the same situation and without even being able to explain to the refugees properly why this was the case. This naturally led to much discontent and frustration among the refugees as well as among the local implementers of national policies. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees even initiated an evaluation study of the local situation concerning the refugees and their administration but local civil servants did not feel like their concerns were taken seriously. It was reported that local-level actors complained about this towards state-level agencies but without getting any satisfactory response.

However, there are also instances when national level integration policy presents a resource for local policies. First of all, integration measures do profit from national-level and state-level funding (see section 2.3). Furthermore, Stuttgart has in the past taken over measures that were initiated by national level policy. For example, in the case of the political education moderators (see section 3.2), the measure was first started by national level actors but after the initial funding period ended, the city of Stuttgart took over. Inspiration from national level institutions was also important for the change in the migrant council from an

ethnic group based representation to more of an expert council (see section 3.2). The idea of working with appointed experts was inspired by the example of the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration, a national level institution. Furthermore, the Job Centre indicates that its activities are inspired by national level measures frequently.

3. THE CITY'S PRACTICE OF (GENERAL AND SPECIFIC) POLICIES RELEVANT FOR INTEGRATION PROCESSES

In this section of the report, concrete examples of policy measures and initiatives will be described to give insights into Stuttgart's practice of integration policies. For this, integration policies are divided into three different domains, namely the legal-political domain, the socio-economic domain (including education, work and entrepreneurship, housing, and health), and the cultural-religious domain.

3.1 The practice of policies in the legal - political domain

3.1.1 The city and legal issues surrounding immigration

Concerning the legal domain of integration policy, the pragmatic approach of the city of Stuttgart was often stressed. Even if the local level has no influence on national laws and regulations, Stuttgart is trying to make its administrative department for foreigner's affairs (Local Immigration Office) more client-oriented where possible. Action in this field is, however, also based on feedback that the Local Immigration Office has not always been perceived to make use of its margin of manoeuvre to the benefit of the immigrants. Hence, there has been conflict in the past. As a consequence, the city has been actively involved in a process of intercultural opening of this and other administrative departments for some years. There might be structural reasons for why it is not easy to reach more service orientation, specifically in this department. It was reported that the Local Immigration Office is not one of the most attractive departments for the public employees which results in high turnover of personnel. The Integration Department has thus been lobbying for strengthening the personnel situation of this department and is aiming for its intercultural opening to reach more client orientation.

Another initiative the city is taking to improve immigrants' legal situation is to run citizenship campaigns. Those are targeting immigrants who fulfil the requirements for citizenship and aim to make them aware of their possibility to naturalize. The number of foreigners taking on citizenship across most of Germany has fallen in the last half decade. In order to tackle this situation in Stuttgart, in 2009 the city started the naturalization campaign 'PASS Auf, lass Dich einbürgern!' (Go for Naturalization!) to inform the 90.000 non-citizens eligible for naturalization about the naturalization process and to motivate them to apply. This was done through a poster campaign with portraits of naturalized migrants talking about their experiences and motivation to apply for the German citizenship and the organization of information events. Within a few months the number of applications rose up to 15%. Every year, the city organizes a naturalization ceremony in the Stuttgart Town Hall to celebrate this achievement together with the mayor, members of the municipal council, the naturalized persons and their families. This ceremony is highly appreciated by the new citizens as a sign of recognition by the city.

There are relatively many actors involved in the area of immigrant legal issues in Stuttgart. One important category of actors are the welfare organizations, working specifically in the field of refugees and asylum. Concretely, what they can do is raising awareness for flaws in legislation through information policy (lobbying) via a bottom up approach, for example concerning refugees' work permits. At the moment, nation-wide, the period for which asylum seekers are prohibited to work is lowered from nine month to only three month. In this case, the bottom up lobbying that welfare organizations (AWO, Caritas, Diakonisches Werk, AG Dritte Welt) have done for years is seen to have played a role. Furthermore, there also seems to be a great deal of volunteer involvement in Stuttgart to support refugees. Especially now that the number of refugees is increasing again, so is the number of volunteers (Flüchtlingsfreundeskreise). As new refugee accommodations are opened, about 800 Stuttgarters are now registered with the city as volunteers who want to support refugees. The city thus organized some introductory measures to prepare them for the work they will be doing.

Another important actor is the Special Department Migration (Fachstelle Migration), an office that the city of Stuttgart established twenty years ago and that is now consulting and informing all kinds of actors in the field of migration on legal issues surrounding migration and integration. The Special Department Migration is one attempt to offer a central service to the diversity of actors involved in integration policy at the municipal level. It gets most requests from the different administrative departments of the city who are asking about the specific rights and duties of immigrants with different statuses. Its four employees are also involved in proactively spreading information, for example by giving presentations about laws in the area of migration and integration and by informing about recent legal changes.

3.1.2 The practice of migrants and migrant organizations' (non-) participation in politics

Respondents have described the cooperation of the Integration Department with migrant organizations and more generally with those migrants who are active in the political sphere as good. However, it has also been expressed that Stuttgart seems to encounter problems with mobilizing individual migrants for voting, joining parties, and running as candidates in local elections. Only immigrants with German or EU citizenship have the local voting right. These groups together make up 27 percent of the electorate at local elections. However, the level of turnout among immigrants is low. For EU citizens, it is known to be below 20 percent, while the level for naturalized immigrants is above that. Immigrants also show lower numbers of party membership and passive participation. Currently, 5 of the 60 members of the City Council have a migration background, so about 10 percent. This number is expected to drop even further in the next elections.

This underrepresentation is partly attributed to immigrants not making use of their voting right but also due to the fact that migrants rarely make it to the top on the list of candidates. To counteract this problem, the city is making an effort to motivate migrants to participate in local politics. Hereby, the Integration Department focuses on dispersing this message among three groups of addressees: official departments of the city and cooperation partners that work with migrants, civil society with and without a migration background, and actors in the political sphere, especially the City Council.

To address civil society, campaigns to increase the participation among immigrants were run in the last two elections. These were organized and implemented by members of the International Committee and supported by the Forum of Cultures. The Integration Department expressed that the city as such cannot run campaigns specifically targeted at immigrants as this would represent an attempt to influence voting behaviour. The attitude of the Electoral Office on this is reported to be that for no demographic subgroups, such campaigns may be run, as this would result in bias. What the city is able to provide, however, are information events. Yet, also this task has been delegated to the immigrant communities, and is not funded by the city. Concerning the funding, it was stated that there has been no demand for this yet. Furthermore,

the city addresses immigrants associations with the advice to be in regular and constant exchange with politics and to make political participation a part of their agenda thus going beyond a mere folkloric function. Moreover, the Turkish German Forum ran a poster campaign featuring the slogan 'Go Vote' in different languages. This campaign was targeted at the general population but the special needs of immigrants (due to potential lack of German language proficiency) were at the same time accounted for. Another way the city tries to promote migrant political participation is by supporting political education. This is seen as needed, also in the face of lack of political culture and tradition in some countries of origin, especially concerning local politics. Concretely, political education programmes are conducted in different schools with a focus on lower secondary schools. They include trained dialogue moderators talking to youth about the relationship of politics with their daily lives. Partly, such classes are incorporated into the general curriculum and partly, they are offered as additional non-mandatory classes. Another way in which the city might reach out to civil society to motivate immigrants to get involved in politics is through the planned Welcome Centres. About to be established by the end of this year, stakeholders hope that the Welcome Centres will strongly focus on informing newcomers about political participation rights and sensitizing them for this issue.

An important measure that the city of Stuttgart took to improve the representation of migrants' interest in local politics is the establishment of an immigrant advisory council, here called International Committee. This is a committee of experts in the field of migration, appointed by the municipal council according to their expertise in the field of migration and integration. It exists since 2004 and it is the successor of a council containing both elected and appointed members. The expert form of the committee was eventually chosen based on the assumption that it would provide higher quality consulting to the City Council and because the danger of specifically representing the interests of certain ethnic groups was assumed to be lower. The International Committee is also seen as an entry point for immigrants into local party politics. Typical trajectories of immigrants were reported to often start with involvement in ethnic associations, then continue in the International Committee or in district councils (neighbourhood level political advisory councils), and lastly result in a party function.

Moreover, the responsibility of political parties is repeatedly mentioned. Stakeholders perceive them as not doing much to motivate migrants to join and to get on the party lists. If migrants got on party lists in the previous elections, it was mostly on the lower, little promising spots. Parties do thus not seem to make a genuine effort and the city can do little to incentivize political parties to open up more to immigrants.

3.2. The practice of policies in the socio – economic domains

Different measures to tackle the issues mentioned in section 2.2 have been initiated in the past but key problems persist, especially perpetuating disadvantage of members of certain immigrant groups. The city tries to cooperate with diverse actors to find new policy approaches and the Integration Department recognises that long-term measures are needed whose effects might only show in the long run.

3.2.1 Migrants and work and entrepreneurship

Several groups have been reported as being especially problematic to integrate into the labour market. One are young people who leave school with very low qualifications (either a degree of the lowest schooling track or no degree) and do not manage to find a vocational training placement. Another one are people beyond age 50 who become unemployed and have a low level of qualification or are trained in skills that are not demanded anymore. If people of the latter group additionally have a migration background, they

might encounter even more problems in case of low levels of German proficiency. A third problematic group are immigrants who have degrees from abroad which are not recognized in Germany. The Job Center of Stuttgart tries to intervene and help these disadvantaged groups, offering German courses and retraining measures as well as a helpdesk dealing with the recognition of foreign degrees. One important initiative was the establishment of the IQ network (Integration through Training) with the aim to qualify immigrants so that they can enter the labour market with more skills. Another problematic group are low educated women who often only gain their first work experiences after having children and then face the issue of entering the labour market without experience. The Job Centre has a labour market entry programme for these women to enable them to gain vocational qualifications also later in life. The Integration Department is cooperating with the Job Centre with the aim to set this programme up also in an immigrant specific way.

Generally, the offers of the Job Centre are less frequently used by people with a migration background which is attributed to language issues as well as lack of information. The Job Centre in Stuttgart has tried to adjust measures (including focusing more on German language learning) and is continuously working on informing migrants better about their offers. Especially in the frame of the IQ network, efforts in this have been emphasized. Project partners have been sent directly to immigrant associations to spread information in their communities. An important condition for projects in the labour market field is that the city of Stuttgart decided for a more independent working of its Job Centre by becoming a so-called 'option municipality' (Optionskommune). This means that the city's Job Centre is not working directly under the national level job agency but decisions are rather made on the local level. In Stuttgart, this gave the municipality the option to appoint certain employees to be particularly responsible for migrants in the Job Centres in different neighbourhoods, for example. But also actors other than the Job Centre are involved in measures in the labour market field. As a reaction to the higher rate of starting up new enterprises but also the higher rate of insolvency among immigrants, a cooperation network Round Table Migrant Economy has been set up. Here, trade associations of migrant entrepreneurs are trained to train their member entrepreneurs. A problem seems to be that such support programmes are not always well known, so information about them has to be spread, for example via brochures.

Another important topic in the area of employment concerns the fact that the city itself is currently employing disproportionately few migrants. Having become aware of this, the intercultural opening of the administration is now a big topic. One approach has been sensitizing migrant youth for the possibility of working in the public sector, as there seems to have been a lack of awareness among them that they were even eligible for such jobs. On the other hand, one is aware that the underrepresentation is probably also due to discrimination in application procedures and the Integration Department has been working on this topic for some years already. Specifically, the Staff Department conducted the campaign 'Your City-Your Future' to motivate young migrants to work for the city administration and run their traineeship and vocational training there. Within 3 years, the percentage of trainees with migrant background rose from 17 to 38 percent.

Generally, stakeholders active in the area of employment have described a crucial shift in the labour market situation in the last years in that skilled professionals have become more and more scarce. Stuttgart's answer to this seems to be putting effort in qualifying its (immigrant) residents but also in working on welcoming new immigrants better. Next to the general welcome centre (called Willkommenszentrum) that was inaugurated in September, there will also be another welcome centre (called welcome centre) which is an institution from the Stuttgart Region Economic Development Corporation (Wirtschaftsförderung Region Stuttgart GmbH). This is planned firstly as a project and will then potentially be continued. It will be in the same rooms as the general welcome centre and will be responsible for skilled professionals' integration into the labour market.

3.2.2 Migrants and education

Like elsewhere, children and youth from families with lower socio economic background as well as those with a migration background are, on average, disadvantaged in terms of educational attainment in the city of Stuttgart. The numbers of youth with immigrant background in Gymnasia and universities are low but there are very high numbers of them in the lower school tracks or among school dropouts. The weaknesses of the German educational system in terms of perpetuating inequality become very obvious here. This starts with the insufficient language promotion at the kindergartens. Even children who have been to kindergarten for two to three years often still have trouble with the language when entering primary school afterwards. Such disadvantages are present throughout the whole educational process of youth with a migration background. The most extreme problems, however, are encountered by those youth who immigrate and enter the German schooling system when they are already 13 to 14 years old. They are assigned to a grade where they still have only one or two years to go until they are to get their first school degree. At the same time, they have none or only little proficiency in the German language and thus often end up not graduating.

A multitude of actors is active in integration policy in the field of education, implementing a multitude of measures. The city itself is cooperating with nurseries to provide early language development support. Further examples for the city's measures are mentoring programmes and language promotion classes for mothers called 'Mum learns German' (Mama lernt Deutsch). The latter has the goal of teaching German to mothers with a migration background while, at the same time, informing them about the German school system so that they can support their kids in school related issues. This offer now seems to be available in all of Stuttgart's schools. Another important measure of the city is the Stuttgart Partnership for Education (Stuttgarter Bildungspartnerschaft), a city department with the task to create more equality of opportunity in education, not only concerning immigrants but all kinds of disadvantaged groups. The fact that the head of this department is also the head of the Integration Department is telling. The city seems to perceive these two issues as very closely linked.

Another important actor in the field of education is the migrant association German Turkish Forum (Deutsch Türkisches Forum Stuttgart e.V.). Their offers range from continued education for migrant parents to trainings for (kindergarten) teachers to mentoring programmes. For the latter, young people of Turkish origin who study at the university or visit the Gymnasium are supported with scholarships and, at the same time, are motivated to get involved as mentors in the project Abi/Abla (Turkish for: big brother/big sister). In this project, older students are supposed to take on the role of a big brother or big sister for other youth inside or outside of their school or university. The aim is to provide role models to younger students motivating them to aim for high educational achievement.

A further crucial actor in the field is the welfare organization AWO. It specifically takes care for immigrant youth coming to Stuttgart who need special (language) assistance to be able to keep up in the educational system (so called 'Seiteneinsteigerkurse'). The AWO supports youth, for example, by providing additional language support to students in international preparation classes. Students get two to three hours of German classes twice a week in addition to their school curriculum. This was initiated by the AWO in 2012 and is supported by the Integration Department, the Youth Welfare Office (Jugendamt), the local education authority (Schulamt), and the Stuttgart Partnership for Education (Bildungspartnerschaft). Today there are around 70 youth in this programme. In the morning they go to the international preparation classes in the schools and in the afternoon they make use of the additional language support. In Stuttgart, there are about 600 youth in the international preparation classes. These are currently offered at seven schools but only at the lower level tracks of the secondary schools (the two lower level tracks of the three tracks are 'Hauptschule' and 'Realschule'). Soon there will also be international preparation classes at vocational schools. Graduating from the lower tracks means the students will not be able to continue their education

at a higher level school or a university. That international preparation classes will be offered at the highest school track (Gymnasium), is seen as rather unlikely even though exactly that offer used to exist specifically for the group of resettlement immigrants (Spätaussiedler) who had already visited a Gymnasium in their country of origin. Instead of opening those classes to everyone after they were not needed anymore for this specific group, they were closed.

3.2.3 Migrants and housing

It is a general problem of the city of Stuttgart that affordable living space is scarce. Measures implemented to counter this situation include a regulation that also private housing associations are obliged to build a certain percentage of social housing based on the example of the city of Munich's policy. This might be especially relevant because more than 90 percent of Stuttgart's housing market is private. However, the city also aims to build more houses itself through the municipal housing company SWSG (Stuttgarter Wohnungs- und Städtebaugesellschaft). Creating new living space is high on the agenda of the current mayor. Moreover, programmes to upgrade the quality of socially disadvantaged parts of the city are being implemented by the city, but the Integration Department is aware that one has to watch out for this not to result in displacement of the current inhabitants. It is reported that there is a 'social mix' in the inner city, while in especially attractive parts of the outer city (uphill) this is not so much the case. Even though one could by no means speak of ghettos, immigrants are overly represented in rather bad neighbourhoods and in neighbourhoods that are coined by industrial activity.

A very specific problem in the field of housing is the accommodation of refugees. Currently, there is the particular issue that state-level regulations have been changed and the municipality has to implement the decision that the housing space per asylum seeker has to increase from 4.5 to 7 square meters within the next two years. For Stuttgart and other municipalities this is not easy, especially as the number of refugees has been increasing in the past years. The city is thus planning to build housing for refugees itself, the so-called 'system buildings'. These are similar to container buildings and are set up on green spaces in five neighbourhoods with between 78 and 250 beds each. They are planned to be there initially for five years. Other refugee accommodations are created in abandoned buildings which the city rents for this purpose.

3.2.4 Migrants and health

The issues in the field of migrants and health are twofold. Firstly, there are substantial issues of access to healthcare among refugees, and secondly, there are issues of actual use of healthcare among immigrants who have a secure legal status. For the latter category of immigrants, health care is theoretically provided. They are insured with the German health insurance companies and can thus make use of the same health services as German citizens. Practically, it is often observed that immigrants make less use of the services because they are not aware of them or because they are not used to them. To improve this situation, the city of Stuttgart works with mediator programmes to increase awareness in the migrant communities. Respondents expressed that while policy makers create access to health services, the task of raising awareness is often left to the implementing agencies. The success of awareness raising efforts seems to vary. Especially in the case of elderly care, services are not yet used equally. This is attributed to the fact that care is seen by many immigrants as something that is done at home and for which no extra funds are available. Next to the city offering counselling centres for the elderly in the neighbourhoods, there has been some interesting attempts to raise acceptance for care in elderly homes, for example by the orthodox church. One approach to do this is to get more care personnel with a migration background in order to avoid language barriers and increase religious and cultural understanding of the care personnel for the

elderly immigrants. Also immigrant associations are reported to get more and more involved with the issue of care and to develop ideas of what the communities can do for their elderly.

In the case of refugees, problems in the field of health also concern access as such instead of awareness about services. When refugees have the status 'asylum seeker' (meaning they have applied for asylum but their case has not yet been decided upon), they are only entitled to emergency services, not to intensive care and not to preventive care. As mentioned earlier, certain Syrian refugees were taken up under the condition that a relative in Germany signs a declaration of commitment to cover any costs incurred, including for health services. Yet, those relatives are not always actually able to cover all the costs but the state is not responsible for providing health care either in this case. This regulation thus seems to result in deficient health care situations.

Another issue concerning refugees is that they have often stayed in large camps where there is a special danger of contagious diseases. In Germany, refugees are firstly allocated to states and then to smaller administrative districts within the states (Landkreise). As the accommodation facilities of the state are overcrowded, refugees often do not get the first health check they should be getting there and this has to be taken care for by the local Public Health Office (Gesundheitsamt) upon arrival in Stuttgart. The health care of refugees is organized such that the city has contracts with several welfare organizations that do the counselling of refugees and are responsible for organizing the access to health care. This normally works via doctors. However, as those are not being paid by insurances but money has to be applied for from the Social Welfare Office (Sozialamt) for every single case individually and only particular services are provided, doctors are often insecure when dealing with refugees. Some doctors therefore refuse to treat refugees or feel overstrained because of the bureaucratic efforts.

3.3 The practice of handling cultural and religious diversity, intergroup relations, and social cohesion

Intergroup relations have been described as relatively unproblematic by the respondents. This is seen to also be due to the fortunate situation that no public conflicts have developed around religion in Stuttgart so far, as there have not been any incidences likely to trigger public debates. In other cities, public conflict has arisen, for example, around the planning and building of Mosques. Furthermore, the fact that the city of Stuttgart actively gets involved in immigrant cultural life is perceived as beneficial. The presence and involvement of the umbrella organization Forum of Cultures, furthermore, leads to the topic of interculturality having a strong position in the city. The Forum of Cultures is the most important association dealing with interculturality and also from their side, it is stressed that little conflict among groups has been encountered in the past. Yet, they are dealing with topics relating to conflict such as racism, namely by running anti-prejudice and anti-discrimination campaigns. Their idea is to create an interculturally mixed group that will develop an anti-racist campaign. Otherwise, the Forum of Cultures works on making interculturality visible by organising events such as a summer festival of the cultures or discussion series where speakers about topics concerning diversity and culture are invited. An important goal of the umbrella association is also to strengthen contacts between the very heterogeneous group of their member associations and to strengthen the associations' contacts to the communities at large, including administrative departments and cultural institutions.

Another important association working on interculturality in Stuttgart is the German Turkish Forum. They describe that it is very important to them to not be an association representing Turkish people in Stuttgart but to really 'live the German-Turkish aspect'. Rather than providing, for example, a Turkey-specific cultural programme, they are aiming to build bridges into the German society, in the areas of culture, education, or

social affairs. They are doing this by initiating projects concerning these topics to bring people together and create a cultural encounter among equals.

Next to these two intercultural associations, it is also mentioned that the interreligious dialogue in Stuttgart works rather well. Examples for this are that Islamic institutions take part in larger general cultural events in Stuttgart, that there are good networks granting exchange, such as the Jewish Christian Dialogue, and that the event of World Religion Day is organized by the congregations themselves and interreligious initiatives.

The city itself does not organize interreligious events because the official attitude is that civil service is religion-neutral. However, they provide indirect support, for example by making the city hall available for religious events. The city does not understand itself as an actor in interreligious work but rather as a mediator and religious groupings are seen as important partners for working on integration more generally. Yet, the Integration Department is involved in the working group Muslims and Integration that was set up in the frame of a programme with national funding and works on issues such as agreeing on procedures when a Muslim congregation wants to open a new locality. This is perceived as useful because even though no bigger intergroup conflict seems to have arisen in Stuttgart before, there have been negative experiences with neighbours complaining when a Muslim congregation bought a former industrial building to use it for religious service. However, stakeholders seemed to be content with the ways such problems are dealt with.

3.4 The practice of cultural or religious integration policies as rights for individuals and groups

The Integration Department sees the city of Stuttgart on a good track in this field, as the city is already providing many possibilities for cultural and religious practices and is currently increasing this offer, for example by establishing prayer rooms in hospitals. However, there is a state level law that restricts women in their individual practice of religion, namely prohibiting women who are wearing a headscarf to work in public crèches or schools in Baden-Württemberg. Those women are thus limited to working in confessional educational institutions. Generally, however, religious norms are respected in public institutions. For example, food without pork is provided in canteens of crèches and schools and other services are being built up these days, for example the possibility for having Muslim graves.

There is a demand from Muslim communities to introduce Islam religion classes in the school curriculum of public schools next to the Christian religion classes. Since 2006, pilot projects with Islam religion classes have been conducted in the state of Baden-Württemberg and they have recently been extended to last for four more years, until 2018, and to include more schools every year due to increasing demand. The fact that Islam religion classes are not yet part of the regular curriculum, as are Christian religion classes, also has to do with regulations requiring the official recognition of religious groups on the state level, for religion classes to be implemented. Representatives of Baden-Württemberg state that there is not yet an institution which is taking this role as official representative of the Muslim community in this state. In 2013, Islamic associations filed applications for the introduction of Islam religion classes into the regular curriculum at public schools. These applications are still being processed by the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs of Baden-Württemberg (Ministry for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Youth, and Sports Baden-Württemberg, 2014).

4. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The above report summarized the most important information that was collected during fieldwork on local integration policies in the city of Stuttgart. The main research question in the interviews conducted concerned the role the city is taking in the integration of its immigrants by means of policy efforts. To assess this, the focus in the interviews lay on policy framing, policy action and how those two relate. Looking at those two aspects, more overarching patterns of governance in Stuttgart's integration policy can be described. This is the aim of the last part of this report.

4.1 General framing of integration policy

Representatives of the city of Stuttgart framed the city's task in integration policy as that of a moderator and coordinator, thus working intensively with the input of other stakeholders. However, they do not describe their role as passive but also stress their function as an initiator of policy measures. Generally, integration policy is thus presented as a common task of many stakeholders in the city, and improving immigrant integration as a common goal catering to the interests of many. This is confirmed by the fact that integration policy is presented as one of the few fields where all political parties in the City Council frequently agree. It is furthermore suggested that, in the platforms and networks, actors are willing and able to cooperate towards common goals. City actors are proud of these well working structures and the role model function that Stuttgart enjoys nation-wide. Integration policy thus also seems to have become a prestige object of the city of Stuttgart.

4.2 Frame shifts

The city recently appears to initiate a frame shift in integration policy from 'serving the needy' to 'welcoming those we need', as expressed by their initiative of creating an immigrant welcome centre explicitly going together with the aim of wanting to establish a 'welcoming culture' towards immigrants. The underlying argument towards the public is that immigrants are needed for Stuttgart's economy. Of course, this argument is mostly referring to highly skilled labour which is commonly understood as lacking. In practice, also many low skilled immigrants will enter the country and seek entry to the labour market. Furthermore, even the highly skilled are often not yet likely to be received in a very welcoming way on the labour market, as suggested by the persistence of issues like degree recognition problems and discrimination from the side of employers. Moreover, the 'welcoming culture' desired by the city is not expected to be strong among the general public of the receiving society yet, hence the perceived need to work on it.

Another shift of framing integration policy is indicated by a shift in the make-up of the immigrant advisory council that took place in 2004. What used to be an institution of elected representatives from different immigrant groups became a policy consulting forum of experts in the field of migration and integration. This shift in the council's function from representation to expert consulting could also be observed in other cities such as Amsterdam, where it has been analysed to mark a new, 'post-multicultural' type of integration policy (Uitermark et al., 2005).

4.3 Conclusion

It becomes clear that Stuttgart's integration policy is coined by a strongly consensual governance model. The aim of policy seems to be supporting immigrants' standing in society by bringing together different stakeholders to create measures that will cater common interests. Furthermore, also the above described frame shifts show the consensual orientation of Stuttgart's integration policy. The welcome centre stands for the establishment of a welcoming culture by a general public that acknowledges that immigration is in their interest as well. The shift to having the immigrant advisory council focus on expert consulting shows the underlying assumption that an objectively well working council can facilitate good policy in the interest of all, instead of representing particular interests.

The Integration Department is the central institution in the governance of Stuttgart's integration policy. It has a high standing within the city administration (directly under the major) and also enjoys a high reputation among other actors. Stakeholders in the field seem to agree that it is working in the common interest of all. It thus seems that a variety of different stakeholders views it as a helpful platform coordinating their efforts. Hence, the high potential for contestation, which is typical for the topic of immigrant integration in recent decades, is circumvented in this local setting by the creation of a central institution representing successful local policy management and enjoying broad support. Incorporating a wide range of actors in their efforts and taking on the role of a rather neutral mediator who manages to bring different interests of all kinds of actors together in their measures, the Integration Department clearly is the engine of Stuttgart's consensual model of integration policy governance.

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