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Integration policy towards the contemporary challenges of migration: an example of Frankfurt (Oder)

Polityka integracyjna wobec współczesnych wyzwań migracyjnych na przykładzie Frankfurtu nad Odrą

Streszczenie

Jednym z istotniejszych wyzwań, przed którymi stoi współczesna Europa jest wdrożenie efektywnej polityki integracyjnej wobec nowo przybyłych imigrantów. Republika Federalna Niemiec jest jednym z głównych państw docelowych dla obecnej fali uchodźców wędrujących przez Europę.

Esser (2006) analizuje w kontekście integracji społecznej cztery możliwe typy interakcji zachodzących między społeczeństwem migracyjnym a społeczeństwem przyjmującym (wielokrotną inkluzję, asymilację, segmentację oraz marginalizację), uważając za najbardziej efektywną drogę – asymilację (obejmującą cztery obszary: integrację strukturalną, kulturową, społeczną oraz identyfikacyjną).

Niniejszy referat stawia sobie za cel analizę polityki integracyjnej realizowanej wobec nowo przybyłych imigrantów we Frankfurcie nad Odrą. Frankfurt zdaje się być miastem o dualnej naturze, w którym ścierają się różne postawy wobec obcokrajowców. Z jednej strony jest to miasto peryferyjne (z punktu widzenia Niemiec zachodnich), w którym wielu mieszkańców posiada nadal resentymenty względem obcych, a ruchy nacjonalistyczne są wciąż widocznym elementem politycznego i społecznego krajobrazu. Z drugiej strony, z uwagi na bliskość położenia tak dużej i multikulturowej metropolii, jaką jest Berlin, Frankfurt zdaje dostrzegać zalety otwartości na kulturową, religijną oraz językową inność.

W niniejszym referacie omówiona zostanie zarówno koncepcja integracji, jak również kompleksowy program działań, w zakresie integracji strukturalnej oraz kulturowej (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem polityki językowej), wdrażany wobec imigrantów oraz uchodźców przez frankfurcką administrację publiczną.

Słowa kluczowe: polityka integracyjna, imigranci, płaszczyzny integracji, polityka językowa

Abstract

One of the most important tasks ahead of contemporary Europe is the introduction of an effective integration policy towards the newly arrived immigrants. Germany is one of the main receiving countries of refugees up to now.

In the context of social integration Esser (2006) analyzes four types of possible interactions between the host society and immigrants (multiple inclusion, assimilation, segmentation and marginalization), assuming that assimilation (in the structural, cultural, social and emotional dimension of integration) is the most probable and effective way to social inclusion.

The paper aims to analyze the emigrational policy towards the newly arrived migrants in Frankfurt (Oder). Due to its eastern border location Frankfurt (Oder) seems to be a town of a dual nature, where different attitudes towards foreigners clash more intensely than in the interior. On the one hand, it is a town of a highly outlying location (from the Western German's point of view), where some of its inhabitants still resent foreigners and Nazi-movements are still an element of its social and political landscape. On the other hand, through its direct location on the German-Polish border and the proximity of Berlin, it is a multicultural metropolis, where many of the inhabitants seem to recognize the advantages of living in a multiethnic society built on the respect for cultural, linguistic and religious differences.

Keywords: Integration policy, immigrants, dimensions of integration, language policy

Introduction

According to the data of the UN Refugee Agency, since 2015 over 1,360,000 people seeking asylum have reached Europe by sea (cf. UNHCR). This is an enormous number of immigrants who have come to Europe over the last two years. The main reasons for migration are contemporary wars and general instability in the Middle East Region. The primary target country for the migrants over the last two years (with over 890,000 refugees in 2015 and 280,000 in 2016) has been Germany (cf. Tagesschau.de).

One of the most important tasks ahead of the German Federal Republic is the introduction of an effective integration policy aimed at the newly arrived immigrants. The structural, social, linguistic and cultural inclusion of these people must proceed quickly to minimize the risk of building parallel societies. In the context of social integration Esser (2006) analyses four types of possible interactions between the receiving society and migrants (multiple inclusion, assimilation, segmentation and marginalization), assuming that assimilation (in the structural, cultural, social and emotional dimension of integration) is the most, albeit not the only, feasible and effective way to social inclusion¹.

The paper aims to analyze the emigrational policy towards the newly arrived migrants in Frankfurt (Oder). Due to its eastern border location Frankfurt (Oder) seems to be a town of a dual nature, where different attitudes towards foreigners clash more intensely than in the interior. On the one hand, it is a town of a highly outlying location

¹ More about the forms of integration in the chapter: Dimensions of integration by Esser.

(from the Western German's point of view), where some of its inhabitants still resent foreigners and Nazi-movements are still an element of its social and political landscape. On the other hand, through its direct location on the German-Polish border and the proximity of Berlin, it is a multicultural metropolis, where many of the inhabitants seem to recognize the advantages of living in a multiethnic society built on the respect for cultural, linguistic and religious differences.

This paper presents and analyzes the concept of integration as well as the operational integration programs implemented towards immigrants in the field of structural, social and cultural integration (particular consideration is given to language policy) by the public administration of Frankfurt.

Method

The research material for the analysis was collected during a semi-structured guided interview conducted with the Integration Commissioner of the City of Frankfurt (Oder), Ms. Laura El-Khatib, on July 20, 2016. The picture of integration emerging from this interview should be considered only as a partial one due to the fact that the analysis is based only on the statements of one of the agents of the integrational process. This should be taken into consideration whilst reading it. The main research methods are content analysis of the interview as well as examination of statistical data.

Inclusion, Integration and Assimilation

One of the oldest theories trying to define the inclusion processes of immigrants in society is the assimilation theory by Park and Burgess (1921/1969), also known as the "race-relation-cycle" model. Instead of the term integration the authors use the term assimilation. According to the assimilation theory, society is built by social interaction. Social interaction is an interaction of individuals or groups of people. One can distinguish five phases of social integration: contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Whereas contact is caused by competition, conflict is the result of the inequality in social status (pre- and subordination). Accommodation means cultural, technical adjustment, and assimilation suggests the interpenetration of experiences, traditions and history. Assimilation is a gradual and slow subconscious process that is understood as a perfect final product of social integration. The assumption that the total assimilation is the only possible final outcome of inclusion processes together with the claim of ethnic differences in the assimilation stage have led to heavy criticism of the theoretical concept (more cf. Han, 2006, pp. 9ff., 13–28). Barkan (1994, pp. 90–99) understands integration as one of the phases of assimilation in the multiethnic society. He distinguishes six stages of social inclusion: 1. contact, 2. acculturation, 3. adaptation, 4. accommodation, 5. integration and, finally, 6. assimilation.

Contact concerns newcomers who have a limited contact with the core society. This stage is also characterized by the predomination of the mother tongue of the ethnic minority. The phase of acculturation leads to the increase or reinforcement of the sense of ethnic membership. Despite the attempts at first contacts with the social majority the ethnic minority group persists in the use of their mother tongue in the everyday praxis. Adaptation is the phase of equilibrium in the number of persons being born abroad and in the country. The use of the majority language increases, especially by the group born in the country. The culture and society of the receiving country acquires relevance. Accommodation begins when the group members born abroad become a minority. The language of the host² country dominates. The next phase is an integration that relies on incorporation in the receiving society by the simultaneous existence of cultural, symbolic, linguistic and ethnic features of the culture of origin. Assimilation is the final stage of the model. It is a multidimensional and reciprocal process developed through several generations. It leads to the annihilation of the ethnical component as a distinctive feature (cf. *ibid.*).

Beger (2000, p. 10) defines integration as a unification of individuals or groups of people in a social unit with the appreciation for cultural differences. Integration presupposes an interplay of several processes.

While analyzing the integration of immigrants, Jańczak (2009, p. 134) claims that the definition of integration should include the indication of the asymmetries in the size of both integrating groups as well as the *sine qua non* existence of the structural frame conditions. Jańczak also stresses that all the agents should be engaged in the integration process. In the case of integration of immigrants there will be three agents involved in the integration process (state and/or local authorities, receiving society and immigrants) (cf. Jańczak, 2009, pp. 135ff.; 2016, p. 106). It should also be mentioned that the three parties sometimes follow completely different objectives that may in some cases be contradictory (especially for the relation ‘receiving society’ – ‘immigrants’).

Dimensions of integration by Esser

Esser (2006a, pp. 21ff.) differentiates between the social and system integration. Whereas social integration means the aggregation of individuals, system integration presupposes the cohesion of all social systems.

Esser (2006a, p. 26) distinguishes four dimensions of social integration: cultururation (*Kulturation*), placement (*Platzierung*), interaction (*Interaktion*) and identification (*Identifikation*)³.

2 The words “host” and “receiving” related to the society or country are used in the paper as synonyms.

3 Quite a similar pattern of integration fields is applied by Heckmann (2006, pp. 15–18). He differentiates between the cultural integration (correlating with Esser’s cultururation), structural integration (corresponding to Esser’s placement), interactive integration (equivalent of Esser’s interaction) and identificational integration (Esser’s identification).

Table 1. Dimensions of social integration (Esser, 2006a, p. 26)

Social integration	
Culturation (cultural dimension)	Placement (structural dimension)
Interaction (social dimension)	Identification (emotional dimension)

Culturation is an integrational dimension responsible for the acquisition and transmission of knowledge, skills, cultural ideas and norms. A specific aspect of *culturation* is language acquisition that is considered to be one of the most important factors to integrate. *Placement* secures the adoption of or inclusion in the law system, gaining positions in the social system (educational system, labor market or property market, access to the relevant institutions). *Interaction* focuses on the occurrence of social relations. It presumes the existence of mixed marriages, inclusion in family relations and networks, participation in societies and organizations. *Identification* means the development of emotional bonds (such as loyalty) with the social system and definition of one’s identity (cf. *ibid.*).

While analyzing the possible ways of social inclusion or exclusion of immigrants Esser names four alternative interrelations between the ethnic group and receiving society: *multiple inclusion*, *segmentation*, *assimilation* and *marginalization*.

Table 2. Possible ways of social integration by Esser (2006a, pp. 25)

		Inclusion in the receiving society	
		Yes	No
Inclusion in the ethnic group	Yes	Multiple Inclusion	Segmentation
	No	Assimilation	Marginalization

Multiple inclusion means inclusion in both the ethnic as well as the receiving context. It is an additional value produced when both the heritage and the new culture, laws, languages, groups should interact or even amalgamate. In the case of *assimilation* the inclusion in the host society implies the simultaneous exclusion from the ethnic group. *Segmentation* occurs when individuals network within their own ethnic group and are excluded from the receiving society. *Marginalization* means the exclusion from both the ethnic group and the host society.

All the four possible outcomes of groups’ interrelations should be analyzed in terms of each of the four dimensions of social integration (culturation, placement, interaction and identification). For example, with reference to language acquisition and use (as part of the cultural dimension), multiple inclusion would mean competent bilingualism, assimilation – acquisition and use of L2 (majority language), segmentation – use of L1 (minority language, mother tongue) and marginalization – *semilinguism* (cf. Esser 2006a, p. 8). Language is a part of cultural dimension, but it has a direct impact on other dimensions. It can be understood as human capital helping

the immigrant to integrate in the states structures (structural dimension) or a factor enabling or indisposing one's identity change (identificational dimension).

While analyzing the possible ways of social integration Esser indicates that pluralization resulting from multiple inclusion is not necessarily the best way to integrate (2009, pp. 374ff.). Placement is a dimension responsible for the distribution of vertical resources (such as rights, income, and social status), whereas the other dimensions (culturation, interaction and identification) refer to horizontal values (ibid., pp. 358ff.)⁴. Multiple inclusion implies the support of the ethnic variety by, for instance, cultivating cultural habits or religious beliefs (that are horizontal features), but relating to the structural differences as the position on the labor market or education (vertical features) often implies ethnic stratification and inequality (cf. Esser 2006a, p. 8).

Refugees and asylum in German law

The right for asylum seeking is secured by the German Constitution. All the procedures determining the right for asylum and a legal stay permit for refugees are regulated by German Basic Law (*Grundgesetz, GG*) and Asylum Law (*Asylgesetz*). German regulations differentiate between the individuals entitled to asylum (*Asylberechtigte*) and refugees (*Flüchtlinge*). The rights of the former group are secured by Article 16a of German Basic Law that stipulates that the politically persecuted are granted the right for asylum. Political persecution means repressions inflicted by the state or a third person because of religious or political beliefs or any other features specifying the person's otherness. Article 3 of German Asylum Law (*Asylgesetz*) includes the recognition of the rights of refugees (in accordance with the Refugee Convention of 1951) simultaneously securing the individuals entitled to asylum a more favorable legal status (cf. AsylG. Art. 2, subarticle 2). According to these regulations, refugees are people seeking a safe place to live due to a fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or beliefs, or membership of social groups.

Due to the requirement to implement EU-directives as well as the aggravation of emigrational crisis since 2015 the renewal of Asylum Law was needed. The new regulations came into effect in two steps. In 2015, "Asylpaket I" became applicable and in 2016 – "Asylpaket II". Both adjust the regulations to the new situation specifying, inter alia, the distribution of financial support between the federal government and

4 As mentioned before, language acquisition is considered to have a special role in the integrational process, as it is one of the features of culturation but has a direct influence on other dimensions, first and foremost on placement. Esser's research results (2009) show that only a perfect command of the majority language supports integration in the field of placement (under this assumption language assimilation might bring, according to Esser, even better integrational results than multiple inclusion). To me, the subject seems more complicated. If one presupposes that multiple inclusion in terms of language acquisition and use means competent bilingualism, then the ability of speaking both languages as mother tongues secures not only good structural integration (placement), but also the development of multiple interactional and identificational dimensions.

federal states; distribution of refugees; regulations regarding legal residence, praxis of removals, family reunifications; and safe countries of origin.

According to the new regulations, new countries have qualified as safe countries of origin (Albania, Algeria, Kosovo, Morocco, Montenegro and Tunisia). Immigrants from these destinations are considered as people not entitled to asylum (according to Art. 16a subarticle 3 GG).

Immigrants and refugees in Brandenburg and Frankfurt (Oder) – statistical data

The report about the current situation of immigrants in the Federal State of Brandenburg shows a significant increase in the number of immigrants, by 44% within only 4 years, from 49,000 immigrants in 2011 to 88,000 by the end of 2015 (cf. Bericht zu aktuellen Daten, Fakten und Entwicklungen zu Migration und Integration im Land Brandenburg, 2016: 14).

By the end of 2015, Brandenburg had almost 2.5 million inhabitants (cf. *ibid.*, p. 10). Over 3.5% of Brandenburg's inhabitants (over 88,000) were immigrants. The leading group of foreigners living in Brandenburg were Poles (over 14,000 people) significantly outnumbering Syrians and Arabic Republic immigrants (10,000 people), Russian immigrants (over 7,000 people) and Ukrainian (over 3,500 people) followed by many other nationalities (cf. *ibid.*, p. 19). According to statistical data, foreigners living in Brandenburg are young people. The two most represented groups are people between 25–35 (24%) and 35–45 years of age (20%) (cf. *ibid.*, p. 16ff.). A large group amongst all foreigners in Brandenburg encompasses refugees and people with tolerated residence status (25% of all immigrants). Within the last four years their number went up by over 400%, from almost 5,000 in 2011 to almost 22,000 by December 2015 (*ibid.*, p. 20).

At the end of 2015, Frankfurt (Oder) had 58,377 inhabitants and 4,497 of those were foreigners. A significant group of 1,016 foreigners were people with a settlement permit (*Niederlassungserlaubnis*), and a further 976 those with a residence permit (*Aufenthaltserlaubnis*). Almost half a thousand people were made refugees during the asylum procedure. The rest of that number were citizens of EU member states. In the last two years over 1,400 people settled in Frankfurt (Oder)⁵.

Due to the fact that the statistical data submitted by the local administrative authorities focus on the number of asylum claimants (under the Benefits for Asylum Seekers Act – *Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz, AsylbLG*),⁶ the number of refugees living in Frankfurt changes rapidly. On October 14, 2016, there were 405 asylum claimants receiving benefits under AsylbLG, and 227 people located in reception centers (*Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen, EAE*). Four months later, On February 3, 2017, there were

5 The data regarding the number of foreigners living in Frankfurt (Oder) was provided by the Integration Commissioner of the City of Frankfurt (Oder).

6 Asylum claimants are those refugees whose legal status regarding the residence permit remains undetermined. They are excluded from the statistics after receiving their legal status.

409 asylum claimants receiving benefits and 57 people in reception centers (cf. Integration in Frankfurt (Oder))⁷.

Dimensions of integration of refugees in Frankfurt (Oder)

Asked about the definition of integration the Integration Commissioner of the city Frankfurt (Oder), Ms. El-Khatib, stresses that the administration understands integration as a participation-oriented process:

...dass es eben darum geht, Menschen mit Zuwanderungsgeschichte, Teilhabe zu ermöglichen an gesellschaftlichen Bereichen, und das diskriminierungsfrei und gleichberechtigt⁸.

Concerning the provisions included in German Basic Law (GG) Ms. El-Khatib emphasizes the importance of the acceptance of diversity. Integration is not about the adjustment of one's own values, moral concepts or life plans. The diversity in society should be accepted and not adjusted, says Ms. El-Khatib. The leading concept of integration for the Frankfurter administration authorities seems to be multiple inclusion as indicated by the topic of acceptance of diversity which is repeatedly stressed.

Ms. El-Khatib points also to openness as an indispensable value in the integration process. This feature is needed from both parties, the receiving society and the immigrants:

Integration ist auch keine Einbahnstraße, in dem Sinne also es ist ein Verständigungsprozess, der immer wieder ausgehandelt werden muss⁹.

She also stresses dynamism as a feature of integration. As a process, integration should never be defined as a static phenomenon.

The most significant proportion of refugees in Frankfurt (Oder) comes from the Middle East. Syria and Afghanistan account for over 50% of all asylum seeking people. Other countries of origin are the Russian Federation (primarily Chechnya), Pakistan, Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Cameroon and Iran¹⁰. Due to the large sizes of newcomers' groups, their cultural diversity alongside their otherness, experience of war, displacement and violence, their integration seems to be a huge challenge not only for the local administration but also for the city inhabitants and first of all the immigrants themselves.

7 Due to the fact that new refugees are received every month, it is impossible to say how many claimants have received their legal status within the last few months, according to the data actually published.

8 This is about enabling people with a migrant background participate in social areas, and do so on a non-discriminatory and equal basis [translation, B.A.J.].

9 Integration is not a one-way street, either, in the sense that it is a process of dialogue that needs to be negotiated over and over again [translation, B.A.J.].

10 These are only the countries of origin with the highest number of refugees. The less frequent destinations were not mentioned above.

It should be stressed that some of the integrational projects, especially in the dimension of placement, interaction and cultururation, are implemented at the stage when refugees are asylum claimants without the status of asylum seekers¹¹.

Placement

The crucial task regarding placement is an inclusion of an immigrant (one of the agents in an integrational process) in a social system and the agent gaining a certain social position. This includes in particular gaining certain rights (e.g. right for citizenship), education and position on the labor market. It should be stressed that a special role in the facilitation of placement relies on the state and local administration as an agent who creates the regulations and laws enabling the immigrant to integrate into this field.

Related to the structural integration (placement) are several actions taken by the local administration in order to accelerate the integration of newcomers into Frankfurt's society. One of the most important aspects in Frankfurt (Oder) is the elaborate housing policy for asylum claimants. Most of the claimants receiving benefits under the *AsylbLG* are offered individual apartments¹². Out of 409 claimants under the *AsylbLG*, 306 people are living in 153 apartments, and only 103 people in community housing¹³. The carefully considered housing policy will surely have a positive integrational effect, decreasing the risk of ethnic marginalization through ghettoization. It also reduces the number of conflicts resulting from the accumulation of diverse groups of people. A wisely conducted housing policy helps the newcomers to be absorbed by and blend into the receiving society.

Another important activity of local authorities in the field of structural integration is, according to Ms. El-Khatib, immigration counseling. Several different institutions (Social Office, International Confederation (*Internationaler Bund*), Immigration Counseling Center, and Health Department offer counseling for refugees. The Immigration Counseling Center provides help of social attendants (*Begleiter*), who support immigrants' efforts to regulate their legal status and manage administrative formalities and solve social difficulties.

Another, equally important matter is the financial support that is defined in Art. 3 of the Benefits for Asylum Seekers Act (*AsylbLG*). According to the regulations, an adult entitled to attendance allowance and living in the reception center receives EUR 122 per person for married couples, EUR 135 for a single person whose children receive – EUR 76–83¹⁴ per child. The amount of social allowance increases for asylum claimants

11 The information about the country of origin is not insignificant. It should be stressed that asylum claimants from certain countries of origin (Syria, Eritrea, Iraq and Iran) are getting priority in the integrational process that the other refugees without legal status do not enjoy (e.g. participation in integrational courses).

12 That is according to Mrs. El-Khatib a quite exceptional situation. Unlike in many other cities in Brandenburg which lack accommodation resources, Frankfurt (Oder) disposes of many vacant buildings or apartments.

13 Additionally 57 people live in the reception centers (EAE). Statistical data from February 3, 2017.

14 The amount of monthly allowance for a child depends on its age.

living outside the reception centers, correspondingly: EUR 194 per person for married couples, EUR 216 for a single person whose children receive EUR 133–198¹⁵ per child.

One of the rights asylum claimants are not eligible for is participation in the labor market. The people without legal status regulating their residence permit are not entitled to work in Germany. The situation does not change until the claimants receive the formal status of an asylum seeker and a residence permit. As long as the legal status of the refugees is not legally confirmed, there are still regulations and privileges asylum claimants are excluded from as beneficiaries.

Culturation

Culturation means the acquisition of certain skills and knowledge, helping an individual to interact with other members of the group. These are, first of all, cognitive knowledge, cultural and language skills. Language skills seem to be the most important factor, having an enormous influence on the effectiveness of integration in other dimensions. Culturation is interdependent with placement and other dimensions. The legal status as well as securing of other living conditions (e.g. working place) (placement) is necessary in order to acquire some skills and knowledge. At the same time, however, knowledge and education, as well as language skills (culturation) are preconditions for achieving a high status on the labor market. According to Ms. El-Khatib, an immediate inclusion in the educational system and language acquisition are necessary for effective integration. Education of underage children is obligatory for each child without regard to their legal status in accordance with the School Attendance Law. The local administration is responsible for preschool education (for children attending nurseries and kindergartens). All immigrants are encouraged to start the education of children as early as possible. The city of Frankfurt (Oder) offers preschool education for refugee children in several kindergartens (amongst other also integrational ones) that are supervised by the Youth Welfare Office (*Jugendamt*). In these institutions the children may quickly establish new social contacts and learn the majority language. Primary and secondary education is supervised by federal states, with the exception of preparatory classes that are organized at both local and state level. These classes are essential for refugee children as well as other immigrant children lacking knowledge of the majority language (German). Tuition focuses primarily on acquiring language competences that are a necessary instrument for further participation in classes. Ms. El-Khatib stresses the existence of close collaboration between local administrative authorities, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of Brandenburg (*Ministerium für Bildung, Jugend und Sport*), Youth Welfare Office and the State Education Authority in Frankfurt (Oder) (*Staatliches Schulamt*) in regard to the effective inclusion of refugee children in the educational system.

Ms. El-Khatib underlines the primary role of language acquisition for effective integration. This should be secured also for adults, first of all through the participation in the integration courses (*Integrationskurse*). During the courses learners learn

¹⁵ The amount of monthly allowance for a child depends on its age.

German (600 hours for 6 months arriving at the B1 level) and are taught about the country and its culture (*Landeskunde*). The integration courses are obligatory for every person entitled to asylum. Due to the limited number of course places, however, they are optionally available only for some asylum claimants. The privileged groups, who can participate in integration courses before receiving the legal residence status, are the refugees from Eritrea, Syria, Somalia, Iraq and Iran. According to Ms. El-Khatib, there is an enormous interest in participating in these courses in Frankfurt (Oder) that makes it quite impossible to secure access to them for each asylum claimant. Yet the rest of the claimants are not left on their own. Asylum claimants from other countries can participate in language courses (“Deutsch für Flüchtlinge” – German for refugees, or “Deutsch für Asylsuchende” – German for asylum seekers), organized by six local agents. Although the number of people interested in these courses is still higher than the number of available places the local administration, in cooperation with educational and non-governmental organizations, tries to facilitate a fast inclusion of every immigrant in the educational and social system.

Interaction

In the dimension of interaction the crucial role in the implementation of a successful integrational process relies on immigrants and receiving society. Interaction presupposes a social activity of both agents that results in establishing social relations, interdependence and participation in social life. This is a difficult goal to achieve, especially for the refugees, who – as a result of forced migration – are torn out of their cultural and social context. Ms. El-Khatib names several different initiatives which should help the receiving society and the immigrants come into social interaction, get to know each other and abandon the stereotypes about each other. According to Ms. El-Khatib, an important role in creating proper relations between the receiving society and the immigrants is played by information and education of society. Before receiving refugees, meetings with the inhabitants of Frankfurt (Oder) were organized in order to make them aware of cultural and linguistic differences of the newcomers and abandon stereotypes resulting from fear or a lack of knowledge. A further step in the creation of social interaction are such initiatives as meeting cafés (*Begegnungscafés*) or special event evenings, where the inhabitants of Frankfurt (Oder) and the refugees get an opportunity to get to know each other by talking to one another and other forms of interaction. Mrs. El-Khatib finds these two forms of interaction successful and promising for the future.

Identification

Identification presupposes the perception of oneself and other society members as members of the same community, sharing common values, cultural heritage and language. The feeling of solidarity and common values is founded on an emotional basis

and, therefore, it should not be expected to emerge soon after the arrival in a foreign country. In the case of people with a quite limited influence on their migrational story, as refugees or other forced immigrants, this dimension is probably the most difficult to achieve and the least important at the beginning of their settlement. Usually it takes years or even generations to create a feeling of solidarity with the receiving society and build a new identity which also (or, in some cases, primarily) includes the new homeland. To analyze the integration in the dimension of identification of refugees and the receiving society a deepened research including the mutual relations of both of the mentioned groups would be necessary.

Table 3. Social Integration of refugees in Frankfurt (Oder) in 2016

Social integration of refugees	
<p>Placement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » carefully considered housing policy » immigration counseling led by several different administrative institutions » social allowance » but: exclusion from labor market up to receiving of a legal status 	<p>Culturation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » cooperation between local administration and federal state in regard to the education » an offer of kindergartens (also integrational ones) under the care of Youth Welfare Office » preparatory classes for refugee children of school-age » key role of language acquisition » integration courses: obligatory for persons entitled for asylum, facultative for claimants for asylum from Eritrea, Syria, Iraq and Iran: » language courses for other claimants for asylum
<p>Interaction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » meetings with inhabitants preparing them for reception of refugees » meeting cafés (Begegnungscafés) » special evening events for inhabitants and refugees 	<p>Identification¹⁶</p> <p>-----</p>

Final conclusion

Integration of immigrants occurs in four dimensions: placement, culturation, interaction and socialization. During the first period of their stay the most important matter for immigrants, and especially refugees in the receiving country, is the legalization of their residence, and social security status (inclusion in social structures, placement) as well as gaining basic human capital resources (especially language skills, culturation).

¹⁶ Missing information. Due to the short stay the integration in this field cannot be predicted at present.

For an effective integration process one should strive for assimilation in the structural field and enable the multiple inclusion in other dimensions. This will enable the plurality of life patterns with the simultaneous avoidance of ethnic stratification.

There are three agents involved in the integration process: immigrants, the receiving society and state and/or local authorities. They take different responsibilities facilitating integration depending on the type of integrational dimension. The role of the state and local authorities is much more significant in the field of structural integration (relying on the legislative and structural solutions for inclusion of immigrants into society, labor market and other systems) than in the social or emotional field. This is even more important for asylum seeking people, who need to be legally secured, first and foremost. In the field of cultural and interactive integration the state provides the legislative framework, but for integration to occur the main job has to be done by immigrants and receiving society. Supported by the receiving society immigrants should take advantage of its culture increasing their human capital by gaining education and language skills and establishing interactions with the receiving society. In the field of identification the main responsibility rests on immigrants who should redefine their identity or identities. The support of the receiving society (relying on the acceptance of minority and avoidance of exclusion) is thereby needed.

The integration of refugees in Germany is a difficult task that will take many years to achieve. The example of integrational policy in Frankfurt (Oder) shows that the local authorities are prepared to take integrational actions and try to approach the task as a whole. Not only the legislative procedures for the residential status of asylum seekers, but the deliberate housing policy guarantee a prompt inclusion of refugees in the structural field. Additionally, local authorities supervise an extensive package of measures supporting the development of social interactions between the refugees and the receiving society. Also the activities in the field of cultural integration relying on education and the support for language acquisition give a good start to the integrational process. Nonetheless, one should stress that integration is work that should be done by all the parties of the process. Without the engagement of immigrants even the best conditions for integration will not yield the desired result.

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