

WP4 Case studies

D4.2 Evaluation report on each case study

Case Study:

MAMBA – labour market integration for refugees and asylum seekers in the city of Muenster (NRW)

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List of abbreviations

BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge
BMAS	Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales
CCI	Complex Community Initiative
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands
ESF	European Social Fund
FEA	Federal Employment Agency
GEBA	Gesellschaft für Berufsförderung und Ausbildung
GGUA	Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft zur Unterstützung Asylsuchender
GI EQUAL	Gemeinschaftsinitiative EQUAL
HBZ	Handwerkskammer-Bildungszentrum
JAZ	Jugendausbildungszentrum
MAMBA	Münsters Aktionsprogramm für MigrantInnen & Bleibeberechtigte in Münster & im Münsterland
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
UKM	Universitätsklinikum Münster

Executive Summary

Plenty of projects for labour market integration in Germany already exist and currently a great many new initiatives are arising especially for the integration of refugees. However, the MAMBA network for the regional labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees merits a closer look, not only because of its organizational and operational features but also because of the relationship between the underlying programme theory and the practical network implementation.

The presented case rests on a *federal funding programme*, covered by the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS). In fact, the elaborated guidelines of the funding programme shape a major part of the network's innovative setup. The logic of the federal framework is based on the assumption that the labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees is impeded by individual and structural causes. The strategy is to level those obstacles, to match individual needs and talents with regional labour markets. To this end, the programme combines the popular paradigms of labour market activation and social investment. On the one hand it promotes tailored, intensive support and activation to tackle individual placement obstacles and on the other hand it suggests measures to enhance the boundary conditions to tackle structural problems. As an organizational feature an innovative way of public-private cooperation is promoted: Networks consisting of regional companies and local administration, possibly supported by social enterprises and non-profit NGOs, are meant to pool their specific expertise and resources to facilitate an efficient goal-achievement. What is more, the programme presupposes the participation at cooperation meetings of all networks funded within this framework on the state and particularly on the federal level. This coordination of the funded networks enhances the cooperation of all organizations involved and enables the development of common instruments, positions and strategies. But a good idea does not necessarily create a successful policy and certainly does not guarantee the desired outcomes, as this depends on the specific realization.

The implementation in the shape of the MAMBA network, however, represents the favourable case of a detailed programme prescription that ends up in the successful realization of a sound plan. It comprises five very different types of actors, as it is

coordinated by a local refugee aid organization, and additionally includes a catholic organization for the vocational education of young people, a vocational training and placement company, a training centre of the local Chamber of Crafts, and the employment office of the city of Muenster. These cooperating organizations of course have diverging institutional agendas but the efficient and sustainable labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers is in the best interest of every single operative partner. The underlying reasons may be differing, but the complementarity and correspondence of the diverging interests and competencies render MAMBA a win-win network not only for the target group, but for all actors involved.

There are numerous *innovative features* that make this network unique. Firstly, beside the case-oriented operational efforts, the partners also contribute to awareness-rising activities and offer trainings to the staff of aid organizations, to volunteers, as to public administrators and employers. The main goal of these activities is to sensitize the public, officials and employers to the often precarious situation of refugees and seeks to overcome prejudices by providing robust information. The structural activities also include the communication and coordination with institutions and public bodies to achieve a common interpretation of legal and administrative regulations, procedures and margins of discretion.

On the *operative level*, it is important to consider the special situation of asylum seekers and to take the various challenges on their way to a regular employment into account. For many members of the target group it is for example quite difficult to find an appropriate accommodation. This is even more true in the case of Muenster, as the city is rapidly growing. There is a great demand for housing and the rents are quite high and still increasing. Another common problem is the variety of public authorities and administrative bodies. In many cases asylum seekers or refugees fail to meet statutory obligations like registrations, due to this confusing complexity of offices and changing responsibilities. This frequently causes conflicts with the responsible authorities, but also results in an insufficient supply with the regular public services and benefits. Besides housing, many essential personal needs and obligations are affected by this situation, as e.g. in the areas of social assistance, childcare and education, health, and of course also in labour market integration.

Against this background, the specific contribution of the MAMBA network becomes comprehensible. Each partner organisation in the network provides individual support in its particular field of expertise by specially trained staff members. The counsellors give advice, help to communicate with authorities and even accompany the participants if necessary. The support usually begins with a psycho-social stabilization and support in issues of the legal status and accommodation. Consequently, the policy primarily aims at labour market integration, but is also cross-cutting the fields of social assistance, housing, education, health and of course asylum and immigration policies alike. Aid organizations well-known for their trustworthy support serve as *low-threshold access* points. The partners are responsible for their specific field of action. Subsequently the network facilitates access to language and vocational trainings. The consecutive support stages constitute a continuous career of improvement and integration. Overlapping hand-to-hand assistance maintains a trustful relationship and ensures a successful transition of the participants. The final support stage consists in the activities to find an adequate employment or apprenticeship and offers further support to minimize the drop-out risk.

Owing to the *reputation* as a reliable partner of public authorities, the network facilitates the access to voluntary measures and optional public funding. So, the MAMBA participation itself is considered as an indicator for good prospects. And by coordinating a *continuous hand-in-hand case-management* the partners offer a 360-degree assistance for a fairly long period of time. This kind of *intense personal support* is quite effortful and time-consuming, but for many members of the target group this is the most effective way to facilitate a sustainable integration. Thus, comprehensive case management, intensive personal assistance, and the fruitful cooperation of this very different organizations renders the presented case a success story of innovative social investment.

Finally, the *economic evaluation* rests on limited information and may not be robust in every detail, but the tendency is obvious enough to end up in a clear conclusion. If only ten asylum seekers achieve sustainable labour market integration and long-term financial independence due to the network's engagement, the savings and returns outweigh the expenses. Considering the 340 placements already facilitated by the network during the second period of funding (MAMBA 2), long-term outcomes apparently justify the investment.

1 Introduction

Plenty of projects for labour market integration in Germany already exist and currently a great many new initiatives are arising especially for the integration of refugees. However, the MAMBA network for the regional labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees is characterized by unique features and merits a closer look. At first glance, the policy obviously is located in the field of labour market policies. However, a closer look reveals that the network activities substantially are also cross-cutting the fields of social assistance, housing, education, health and of course asylum and immigration policies alike.

1.1 The case of the MAMBA network

At the core of the network there are five operative partners, encompassing:

- a refugee aid organization (GGUA),
- a catholic organization for the vocational education of young people (JAZ),
- a vocational training and placement company (GEBA),
- a training centre of the local Chamber of Crafts (HBZ),
- and the employment office of the city of Muenster (JobCenter).

Sponsored by the European Social Fund (ESF) and the *Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS)*, each partner provides support in his particular field of action by trained staff members. These counsellors give advice, help to communicate with authorities and even accompany the participants if necessary. The support usually begins with a psycho-social stabilization, facilitates access to language and vocational trainings and is completed by labour market placement assistance.

For reasons of efficacy, there is one operative partner in charge for a single participant at a time. This way, the participant ideally receives a continuous support, always assisted by the network partner responsible for each consecutive stage. In periods of transition, whenever one partner completed his specific task and the participant enters the area of responsibility of another partner, a hand-to-hand cooperation of the involved partners ensures a successful passage. This kind of intense personal support is quite effortful and time-consuming, but for many members of the target group this is the most effective way

to facilitate a sustainable integration. Thus, comprehensive case management, intensive personal assistance, and the fruitful cooperation of these very different organizations render the presented case a success story of innovative social investment.

1.2 The MAMBA network within the federal funding programme

The MAMBA network was designed and initiated by the already mentioned local refugee aid organization named GGUA in the city of Muenster. The first network layout started to offer its services in 2008 within the federal framework of *Xenos Bleiberecht 1 (right of abode 1)*. Due to the successful implementation of the network the follow-up called MAMBA 2 also won the tender for the second round of funding (*Xenos Bleiberecht 2*) in 2011. Currently MAMBA 3 is at the delivery stage and some organizational adjustments took place based on the experience gained, but also because of changed requirements in the course of the three federal funding programmes.

The MAMBA network presents an intriguing case, not only because of its organizational and operational features but also because of the relationship between the underlying programme theory and the practical network implementation. In fact, the guidelines of the federal funding programme are quite detailed and anticipate a major part of the networks innovative setup. But a good idea does not necessarily make a successful policy and certainly does not guarantee the desired outcomes. Implementation problems, diverging interests and side-effects often ruin all efforts. A classic contribution to implementation research is not by chance titled “why it’s amazing that federal programs work at all” (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). However, the MAMBA network represents the favourable case of a detailed programme prescription that ends up in the successful implementation of a sound plan (see chapter 5).

1.3 The context of the city and region of Muenster

The case study of MAMBA has been carried out in Muenster, a German city not associated with a county of about 300,000 inhabitants. It is located close to the Dutch border in the northern part of North Rhine-Westphalia, one of the largest German states and by far the most populous. Muenster is the cultural center of the historical Westphalia region and also capital of the local government region *Münsterland*. It is best known as the location

of the Anabaptist rebellion during the Protestant Reformation and as the site of the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia ending the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Due to its function today as an administrative center and location of one of the biggest German universities and eight smaller universities of applied sciences with more than 50,000 students, Muenster is a comparatively rich city. Although it is also suffering from the lasting financial crises of German municipalities, the city is still not under budgetary supervision of the state's government. This means, that the city has a certain financial scope and is able to develop own priorities and extra services for the population in the so called non-obligatory tasks of municipalities (such as sports, culture and specific social services).

As a university city, Muenster is constantly growing: From 2000 to 2013, the number of inhabitants grew by 8.9 percent, which presents the biggest gain of German cities in those years (Focus online 2015). Figure 1 shows that the city has a big proportion of younger inhabitants, whereas the age pyramid for Germany as a whole leans more towards older people.¹

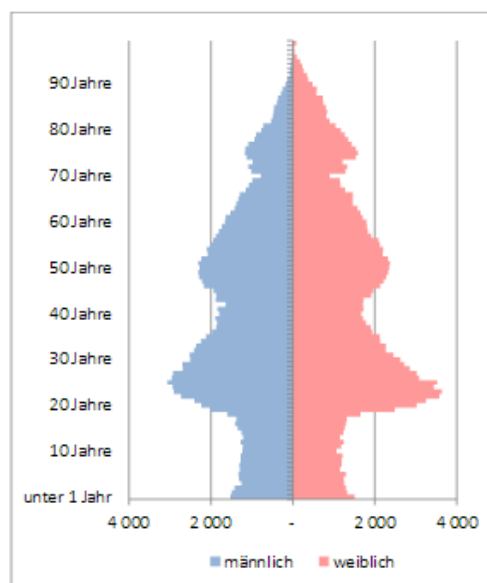


Figure 1: Age pyramid for Muenster on 31.12.2015.
From: *Münster im Spiegel der Zahlen* (Stadt Münster 2016b).

¹ See for example: <http://www.bib-demografie.de/SharedDocs/Bilder/DE/Zahlen_und_Fakten/02_Bevoelkerungsbilanz_und_Alterstruktur/Abbildungen/a_02_07_pyr_d_2014_tsd.jpg?__blob=normal&v=7>. [12.10.2016].

Muenster is governed by the City Council and the Lord Mayor. Municipalities have their own district representatives. They are elected every five years by the citizens of Muenster. At present, the Lord Mayor is a member of the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), which holds also the majority in the City Council, followed by the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen).²

Muenster is seat of a catholic diocese and is strongly shaped by its catholic history. The Muensterland region has still one of the highest believer's rates in the whole country. However, due to strong migration and the high number of students the affiliation to the catholic church in the city itself is lower than in the surrounding area with 48.4% in 2015 (Stadt Münster 2016a). Nevertheless, catholic and protestant initiatives are of great importance for the local refugee aid.

In country wide comparison, the city hosts a relatively strong civil society with hundreds of associations, foundations, citizens' committees and other voluntary organizations. Among the voluntary associations (the most important form of civil society organizations) sports and leisure clubs absorb the biggest share (as elsewhere in the country). Cultural and social associations play also an important role for the city's civil society (Zimmer/Hallmann 2005). This became obvious after the beginning of the great migration wave in summer 2015 when numerous refugee aid associations have been founded in Muenster which are active on a voluntary basis.

The unemployment rate in percent of the civilian working population on average was 6 percent in 2014. Women were slightly less often unemployed (5.3%) than men (6.6%). Of the people in paid work, 89 percent work in the service sector, 10.4 percent in manufacturing industry/trades and 0.6 percent in agriculture and forestry (Stadt Münster 2016a). The poverty rate has increased within the recent 10 years from 11.5% to 15.1% (which is two percentage points lower than in whole North Rhine-Westphalia). In Germany, a person is defined as poor if he or she is having less of 60 percent of the average income (Benning 2016). The average gross salary in Muenster was 3,116 € per month in 2014. This was about 230 € more than the national average (Westfalen heute 2014).

² For further information, see Muenster's official internet presence: <https://www.muenster.de/stadt/parteien_im_rat.php>. [12.10.2016].

In regards of unemployment assistance, Muenster is a special case. At the local level in Germany, service structures in place are characterised by a quite complex system of shared responsibilities. Usually, local branches of the federal employment agencies (FEA) provide services for short-term jobseekers that are entitled to receive (at least for one year) wage compensations (up to 67% of the last salary) financed by the federal unemployment insurance. In addition, FEA's services for the long-term unemployed are implemented in cooperation with the municipalities. New established JobCenters – a joint venture (so-called *Arbeitsgemeinschaften*) of FEA branches and local social security offices – are taking care of the "hard-to-place" unemployed.

However, within slightly more than 100 so-called opting out municipalities (*Optionskommunen*) this task has remained in local responsibility (in Muenster since 2012) (Deutscher Landkreistag 2016). Aim of this experiment was to test whether municipalities are more efficient in fighting long-term unemployment when they are independent in developing programs. Muenster is one of these opting out municipalities. Hence, its local JobCenter is responsible for the payment, profiling and case managing of the unemployed as well as for helping them to access additional services such as child minding or debt counselling. For special services, that ought to increase people's employability, the JobCenter has own budgets at their disposal in order to engage placement-oriented providers as it is done in the MAMBA project.

The considerably growing number of asylum seekers and refugees in Germany can also be observed in Muenster, though other regions are much more affected. However, in Muenster exist municipal accommodations spread across 70 locations. Additionally, there are three registration centres run by the state. In the latter case, former schools and military barracks serve as temporary emergency shelters for about 1500 Persons. Currently, the capacities are expanded by construction measures to house more than 2000 Persons (Stadt Münster 2016c). It should be noted, that the MAMBA initiative is not a direct reaction to the recent increase, as MAMBA 1 started already in 2007. However, the network is currently facing an enormous challenge and the city of Muenster on the other hand is lucky to have this kind of support.

1.4 Report structure

The developments of the federal funding programmes, starting with *Xenos Bleiberecht 1* up to the ongoing *Integrationsrichtlinie Bund* will be presented on the basis of a thorough analysis of the programme documents in the second chapter. This Literature review will also include a discussion of already existing evaluations and will give an overview of the legislative framework (chapter 2). The identified challenges the policy is meant to respond to, will be specified in the third chapter, referring to already existing needs assessments and the information provided by the conducted interviews. The topic of the fourth section is the theory of change, which underpins the federal funding programmes. The reconstruction is based on the implicit or explicit relations presented in the programme documents and results in an evaluation of the logic model.

The following chapter (5) outlines the implementation of the policy. This section provides an insight into the organizational structure, division of labour and the operational mode of the MAMBA network, based on our empirical study. Particular attention is paid to the operative network partners who are at the heart of all activities, as to their distinct role within the network structure and contribution for the goal-achievement. To make the innovative character and operation mode of the MAMBA network palpable, the sixth section presents the ideal MAMBA-careers of Leyla and Marin. The two fictional cases are based on our interviews and illustrate a wide range of the network's support activities, the hand-in-hand case management and the cooperation with other partners and authorities. Corresponding to the respective cases distinctive features are indicated by Info-boxes to sketch the qualitative impact.

The last chapter (6) discusses the possibilities and limits of an economic evaluation of the social investment. For this reason, we refer to relevant studies to estimate public savings and even returns, facilitated by the mid- and long-term labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees. These potential benefits are contrasted with the expenses caused by the MAMBA network. Considering both sides, we give a glimpse at the complex trade-off of investments and financial advantages. This estimation may not be robust in every detail, but the tendency is obvious enough to end up in a clear conclusion.

2 Literature review

2.1 Policy analysis

The main aspect to highlight in this section is the continuous development of the ESF funded federal framework for enabling networks such as MAMBA. After the initial programme *GI Equal*, the lessons learned were integrated into the programme *XENOS – Arbeitsmarktliche Unterstützung für Bleibeberechtigte und Flüchtlinge*. The MAMBA network started in the first Xenos funding round (Bleiberecht 1) and a slightly changed setup called MAMBA 2 continued in the second round of the XENOS programme (Bleiberecht 2). After the conclusion of this programme and a short pause, the *Integrationsrichtlinie Bund* was implemented as a successor to the outdated XENOS programme in 2014 and will run until 2020. The ongoing MAMBA 3 network operates within this new programme.

2.1.1 Development of the policy

Historically in Germany the policy towards immigration in general was marked by a defensive stance. The integral aim was to discourage immigrants from settling long-term in Germany. This applied to the *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers with only temporary working permits) and even more for refugees (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2015). Only starting in 1998, the newly elected social democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder introduced the so-called “era of acceptance”. In his first government declaration he stressed that Germany has to accept the reality of irreversible immigration having taken place in the past decades. So an enabling and inclusive policy towards integration had to become mandatory. His successor, Angela Merkel, followed this policy in many aspects though as representative of the conservative party in a cautious manner (Geissler 2014).

New approaches in effectively enabling integration were explored. The aim was an activating and sustainable policy that would identify and strengthen the potentials of the in-migrants rather than focusing on their gaps in skills (Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung 2007). As a necessity for this kind of approach a local network composed of heterogeneous partners with the ability to adapt to the needs of the individuals was identified. These heterogeneous local actors have to be specialists in the

fields of counselling and mediation (for refugees) and they aim on increasing the chances of employment, securing existing employment relationships and sensitize relevant actors in the employment market and public sector (BMAS 2012a).

The ESF-funded program GI EQUAL (2002-2007) was the first to promote networks with the aim of providing need-oriented, local support for refugees. Although very limited in scope (seven networks in different states), the results of evaluations were positive and because of these experiences the federal government decided to fund the local networks in a special programme called the *Bleiberechtsprogramm* (programme concerning the right of residence) (ibid.). This itself was part of the superordinate *XENOS* programme in the ESF grant period of 2007 – 2013 (BMAS 2008a). The programme was subdivided in funding phase *Beiberecht I* (2008-2010) and funding phase *Bleiberecht II* (2010- end of 2013).

The stated policy goal was to create and support networks with which instruments for the integration of refugees into the job market could be further tested and evaluated (Das Nationale Thematische Netzwerk 2015). The target group consists of refugees eligible to reside in Germany and refugees with a subordinate admission to the job market. The importance for inter-sectoral active labour market policy has been taken into account with the implementation of the policy of enabling the *Bleiberechtsprogramm*. Starting with January 2012 ESF-BAMF-language courses were made accessible for participants of the programme, further enhancing integration measures and supporting the policy (BMAS 2012a).

Demands made by actors involved in the implementation of the policy, e.g. the welfare associations include the flexibilization of promotional tools within the Code of Social Law so as to increase the chances of employability for insufficiently skilled foreigners. The second advice for policy change regarded the suspension of restrictions limiting the access to promotional tools for asylum seekers and refugees regardless of their residence status (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege e.V. 2012, p. 10). This was complementary with the policy of local networks such as MAMBA which works need-oriented with the individual job-seekers.

In 2012, despite the positive results until then, the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs that oversaw the *XENOS* project communicated its plan to cut funding and

discontinue the programme. This led to a debate in Parliament and the public sector in which the majority of actors expressed their support for the continuation of the *Bleiberechtsprogramm*. As an example an inquiry by the opposition leftist party *Die Linke* questioned why a discontinuation was considered (Deutscher Bundestag 2013b).

Possibly because of this criticism and vocal concern about the looming abandonment of the *Bleiberechtsprogramm*, the follow-up program ESF-Integrationsrichtlinie Bund with a guaranteed funding period from 2014-2020 was initiated. Here the „lessons learned“ from the preceding programmes are being applied and further developed (BMAS 2014b).

Nevertheless, in the German labour market especially refugees are still confronted with a rather restrictive legislation regarding residence and working permissions. Not having a residence permit is a huge obstacle for finding employment and many employers have reservations towards hiring refugees because of bureaucratic hurdles and uncertain future perspectives. There has been awareness about this problem and the discussion about easing restrictions while at the same time increasing support for refugees has led to some changes in the policy.

2.1.2 Legislative framework

Description of the current legislative framework

As the network's objective is primarily to offer counselling for refugees with regard to German legislation, the most important regulatory framework is the *Asylgesetz* (Asylum Procedure Act), defining the status of the refugee and the *Aufenthaltsgesetz* (Residence Act) that defines the rules regarding entry, residence and departure.

Another relevant part of legislation is the *Sozialgesetzbuch* (Code of Social Law) that regulates the conditions for access to the employment market (amongst others). As the *JobCenter* or the local *Agentur für Arbeit* (Employment Agency) is partner in the integration efforts of the local networks, relevant regulation encompasses *Eingliederungsleistungen* (tools for the integration into the employment market) from the *Sozialgesetzbuch* I and II (BMAS 2012b).

Brief reference to recent changes in the legislation

It needs to be considered that the political and legislative framework shaping this project has changed substantially in recent years. An example is the reduction of the waiting period in which an asylum seeker is banned from working for three months. Prior it was 15 months and not uncommonly even several years (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2015). At the same time the discontinuation of the *Vorrangprüfung* (priority check for residents and EU-foreigners) has greatly decreased the legislative burdens for refugees and facilitates the search for employment (IAB 2015).

The most recent changes in legislation have been introduced with the *Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz* (Law to accelerate the asylum proceedings) that was implemented in October 2015. The access to integration courses and language classes for groups of people that have good chances of being granted to stay in Germany will be facilitated (Bundesgesetzblatt 2015).

Brief reference to planned changes to the legislation

It is important to keep in mind that the pace of changes in legislation covering the field of migration has increased rapidly within the last year or so. This is due to the rising number of refugees and the response by the government to cope with this influx. Therefore, it is difficult to keep track of the discussed and proposed changes for the near future. However, one proposed law has already been adopted in Parliament and is waiting for approval in the Bundesrat (upper house of the German parliament). The “law concerning the introduction of accelerated asylum procedures, also called *Asylpaket II*, will mainly tighten the regulatory framework. If passed, with this law several groups of people would be forced to stay in so-called “reception centres”, especially if their chances for being granted asylum are very low (e.g. if they come from Balkan countries).

A very recent push comes from Andrea Nahles, the Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs. In an interview she disclosed her plan to create low-threshold job opportunities for at least 100,000 refugees with a new *Integrationsförderungsgesetz* (law to promote integration) (Tagesschau.de 2015).

2.1.3 Academic analysis

There is heterogeneous literature covering the ESF/XENOS-programmes, which the *Bleiberechtsprogramm* is part of. Ranging from official evaluations and final reports summarizing the various rounds of funding to assessments by independent foundations. At the same time, it has to be stressed that literature by uncommitted scientific actors is scarce. The main source of information stems from (research) institutions that were appointed to evaluate the projects. Among those, special attention should be given to a whole set of progress reports and follow-up reports analysing and evaluating the ESF funded programmes that were drafted by a foundation called Johann Daniel Lawaetz Stiftung in Hamburg. Together with the Univation Institute for Evaluation they were mandated by the BMAS with evaluating the ESF/XENOS-programmes.³ With a total of five evaluation reports, it can without a doubt be considered the most important source of information. The Lawaetz Stiftung was founded by the city of Hamburg with the intent of connecting political/administrative actors with local projects/actors mainly in the field of social- and labour market policy. It provides advice, transfer of knowledge and evaluations for public-sector institutions as well as private associations when mandated (Lawaetz Stiftung 2016). It has to be taken into consideration that the evaluations were produced as contract research. Nevertheless, lacking further insight, we consider the results the Lawaetz foundation published as reliable for our purpose because of the comprehensible design of the evaluations.

2.2 Previous evaluations

2.2.1 Search strategy

There were two different strategies used to identify existing evaluations. At first the available and provided information regarding the selected case study (MAMBA-network) was screened and promising literature was looked at closely. At the same time the contact person at MAMBA was requested to state his knowledge about existing evaluations. As he has in-depth knowledge about the state of the art in this specific policy area, his

³ For the first round of funding, Lawaetz is explicitly mentioned as evaluator whereas in the second round only the general legal requirements for conducting an evaluation are mentioned. Available at: <http://www.esf.de/portal/DE/Ueber-den-ESF/Geschichte-des-ESF/Foerderperiode-2007-2013/ESF-Programme/Programme/programm_bleiberecht.html#doc35338bodyText2>. [12.10.2016].

recommendations for existing evaluations were helpful. The suggested literature primarily consisted of official evaluation reports (by the government or government funded).

Following this, an independent research was conducted to inquire if the recommended literature was sufficient. Indeed, several non-official studies and evaluations were found. This is important for a more balanced assessment of the programmes, as there is the possibility of a bias by government-assigned evaluation studies.

Electronic databases searched and search terms used

A basic database for the author is the University of Muenster library catalogue. It offers access to the local inventory as well as more than 200 million E-papers and E-books. Additionally, google scholar (German and English version) was used. To a smaller extent research was conducted on jstor.org, SpringerLink, sagepub and web of knowledge. On several occasions the official database of the German parliament was used for finding inquiries and government statements.

The searched terms were mainly in German, as most of the programme descriptions and policy papers as well government regulation and evaluations were published in German.

Search terms included: Bleiberecht; Bleiberechtsnetzwerk; XENOS; XENOS evaluation; EFS; EFS Programme; ESF regulation; MAMBA; MAMBA evaluation; Integration von Flüchtlingen; Asylpolitik; Arbeitsmarktpolitik; local networks refugee integration; Nationales Thematisches Netzwerk; Asylpaket II; ESF Integrationsrichtlinie Bund; Aufenthaltsgesetz (Residence Act); Asylgesetz (Asylum Procedure Act); Asylverfahrenbeschleunigungsgesetz (Law to accelerate the asylum procedure);

Journals hand searched

- IZA Journal of Migration
- Journal of International Migration and Integration
- Oxford Journal of Migration Studies

Websites searched

- <http://www.arbeitsagentur.de>
(official representation of the German employment agency)
- <http://www.netzwerk-iq.de/>
(network to support qualified migrants' integration into the workforce)
- <http://www.perspektive-arbeit-nrw.de/>
(umbrella organization for the ESF/XENOS- financed networks)
- <http://www.frnrw.de/>
(state-wide network in North Rhine-Westphalia for the support of refugees)
- <http://www.bamf.de>
(Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in Germany)
- <http://www.ggua.de>
(Local network in Muenster for the support of refugees)
- <http://www.bundestag.de>
(official representation of the German Parliament)
- <http://www.esf.de>
(official representation of the European Social Funds)
- <http://www.mamba-muenster.de>
(network that is object of this case study)

Experts contacted

- Ralf Bierstedt, chief officer of the JobCenter in Muenster
- Joachim Bothe, Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft zur Unterstützung Asylsuchender e.V. (GGUA), network coordination for the MAMBA project. Personal meeting and interview about the existing literature conducted.

Assessment of methodological rigour

For the evaluation reports conducted by the Lawaetz foundation, the data collection was mainly pursued through surveys with the project partners and participants (Lawaetz Stiftung 2010). An important aspect about the assessment is the aforementioned possibility of a bias, as the evaluations were commissioned by local members of the Bleiberechtsnetzwerk or the Nationale Thematische Netzwerk (the umbrella association

for the networks). There are no evaluations published by scientists in peer-reviewed journals, or even any other journal. Two publications (issued by the Robert-Bosch-Stiftung) mentioned the Bleiberechtsprogramm and praised its success that was verified by evaluations. At the same time there was no innate assessment.

Nevertheless, the methodological rigour of the Lawaetz evaluations can at least be considered robust for the continuity. The designed surveys were pre-tested and checked for its plausibility by the national thematic network. Follow-up surveys were conducted to measure progress. Parallel to the implementation of the program, eight case studies, as well as complimentary interviews, were conducted in line with the theoretical sampling approach.

2.2.2 What do previous evaluations tell us?

First of all, since 2008, more than 37 500 refugees have been reached by the Xenos Bleiberechtsprogramm nationwide. With about 25 000 the number of participants of Bleiberecht 2 doubled compared to the first round of funding (Lawaetz Stiftung 2014a, p. 73). More than 19 600 participants benefitted from the placement activities altogether. Also the interdisciplinary approach led to improvements in communication between sectors and more specialized and innovative ways of problem-solving. This can in many ways be attributed to the high commitment of the network partners and their professional background. With its approach, the Bleiberechtsprogramm clearly has helped closing a previously existing gap regarding the vocational and to some lesser extent social integration of refugees.

The first programme evaluation was conducted in 2010 with a questionnaire for the participants of the Bleiberechtsnetzwerke. The data showed varying needs of assistance according to sex, legal status and residence (West- or East Germany) (Lawaetz Stiftung 2010, p. 18). Another finding was that especially people who had completed a study programme faced the problem of not finding a job that was adequate to their level of knowledge in this field. In this study only 11 out of 255 with a completed diploma could find an adequate job. This of course can lead to frustration (ibid.). In the follow-up study

in 2014 the ratio increased slightly (23 out of 344 could find a job adequate to their skills), but still stayed at a very marginal level (Lawaetz Stiftung 2014b, p. 23).

During the period from 2008-2010, around 27% of the participants have a right of residence or a suspension of deportation. Holders of other (unspecified) residence permits make up 37% and permissions 8%. When analysing the different target indicators, it becomes clear that at the end of the first funding period the implementation can be considered a success. The programme is especially successful with regard to the indicators that display the integration into the employment- and educational system. In total, for about 54% the intervention for employment or an apprenticeship was successful. Among those approx. 3 800 could be placed in jobs that are subject to social insurance contributions. 400 persons could be placed in a dual apprenticeship. 35% of the total participated in some sort of qualification or further education measures and 300 could be placed to attend school and obtain a diploma (Lawaetz Stiftung 2011, p. 64). In December of 2011 the ratio of placements according to the questionnaires was at 48.9% (Lawaetz Stiftung 2013, p. 46).

According to the evaluation by the Lawaetz foundation, the Bleiberechtsprogramm fills a much required need with its tailored approach towards refugees eligible to reside in Germany and refugees with an admission to the job market. Due to the often complex legal circumstances and uncertain living condition an individual support with experts from different fields (i.e. legal experts and experts in the employment sector) is expedient. It also shows a higher effectiveness than similar programmes within the XENOS frame as well as unconnected programmes for the integration of refugees into employment (Lawaetz Stiftung 2011, p. 59).

In the first round significant learning effects especially with regard to efficient coordination between network partners could be achieved. The network partners established (with the support of the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs) the umbrella association Das Nationale Thematische Netzwerk, in which the interchange of ideas, accumulation of recommendations towards changes in policy and a stronger and rather unified representation for the public can flourish. The programme can also be considered a successful example for “policy-learning” because in this case the lessons from previous programmes were applied in a systematic manner between the actors from the civil society sphere and the administrative sphere. (ibid. p. 66f.). Aumüller

states, that as refugees increasingly enter the regular employment market, it becomes ever more important for all the involved actors (companies, job centres, non-profit organizations, etc.) to adapt to the special living conditions, potentials and circumstances of this group (Aumüller 2015, p. 80). The Bleiberechtsnetzwerke appear to be a useful way to accumulate and share knowledge about these individualized needs and receive positive feedback from all actors involved.

Summary of the results

The aim of the *Bleiberechtsprogramm* (Xenos Bleiberecht 1 and 2) is to permanently integrate refugees into the job market. This is achieved through counselling, job application trainings, coaching, support in language learning and job qualification, as well as support in job placement. Mainly relying on the evaluations of the Lawaetz foundation, the results point to a success of the programme in several dimensions. It combines measures of labour market integration and activities combating discrimination and xenophobia, and promotes the cooperation of public bodies and civil society (Lawaetz Stiftung 2014a, p. 72). Additionally, the dissemination of information for potential employers is an important contribution. With it, the awareness for the potential of refugees as employees is raised (Das Nationale Thematische Netzwerk 2015, p. 61).

For the ongoing third round of funding within the *ESF-Integrationsrichtlinie Bund* there is no evaluation yet as of October 2016. But essentially it is continuing the successful framework of the XENOS programmes. Therefore, if the achieved goals can be sustained, the projected outlook stays positive (Europäischer Sozialfonds 2014). Since the focus of the evaluations was not specifically aimed at MAMBA, but generally about the entire Bleiberechtsprogramm, we consider our evaluation of MAMBA as necessary and useful.

3 Needs assessment

3.1 Introduction

Before describing the general approach to the needs assessment, the author wants to point out the latest information concerning the number and employability of registered refugees. According to the Federal Employment Agency almost seventy-five percent out of the 297,000 refugees eligible to work have not received any job training prior to their registration in Germany and many of those are currently only fit for unskilled work. Merely four percent are considered fit for high-skilled jobs (Deutsche Welle 2016). This underlines the pressing importance of support for the (long-term) integration of refugees into the labour market, which this needs assessment will focus on. It is important to investigate, if sufficient individualized counselling possibilities for refugees exist. Preliminary research showed a variety of evaluations and data at the federal level, which is increasing particularly in the field of the employment market. Significant variables to obtain will be the transition rate of the target group into the job market. Furthermore, the duration of this intervention-process as well as the permanency is of particular interest. Another indicator will be the improvement in qualification of the participants during the counselling process and if it was of help for the integration in the job market. An integral part of the initiatives are evaluations, which are mostly publicly available, i.e. for the programmes EQUAL, XENOS, early intervention and ESF Integration Policy BUND. These programs also claim different monitoring from the networks they support, measuring individual data or problems and success of integration measures. In the application call for the XENOS programme in 2007, the projects were instructed to follow a guideline to assess the specific needs of the target group and the local conditions. The documents examined thoroughly will be the guidelines set out by the enabling and funding actor which in the case of the *Bleiberechtsprogramme* is the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs with the financial backing of the European Union through ESF funds. Since the results of these assessments or the application are only partly available online and it had to be clarified which monitoring data the case study actors could provide for scientific use, a first interview with the MAMBA network coordinator in the GGUA has been conducted. Our interest here lied mainly on the reasons for implementing the programme and the estimations, if these reasons have justified the efforts and if the

programme can be considered a success. Also, the specific needs of the target group have been taken into account.

3.2 Existing needs assessment

This section refers to two existing guidelines published for the programme actors which serve as needs assessments. So far there have been three different rounds of funding for the so called *Bleiberechtsnetzwerke*, as already explained in the introduction. Nevertheless, only two different guidelines for the funding rounds are available (the second round implied no substantial changes and therefore no new guideline were published). They will be used as the basis for the needs assessment. To take the recent increased number of refugees into account, we also refer to publications of the Federal Employment Agency.

3.2.1 Target population

In the beginning the programme was mainly designed for the group of Bleibeberechtigte (refugees with a right to stay) who were tolerated to stay for many years but had difficulties entering the job market, mainly due to legal barriers (BMAS 2008a, p. 1f.). Although research regularly showed potential and a high motivation within members of this group, numerous formal and legal obstacles (such as prohibition of work or subordinated labour market access, residence obligation, collective living quarters, fear of deportation, etc.) hindered their efforts for education and employment. These long periods of forced inactivity regularly lead(s) to a process of “disqualification” (Deutscher Bundestag 2013a, p. 1). Finally, in 2007, these barriers were eased due to guidelines issued by the European Union and were therefore forced upon the German government. The programme was established in order to support the integration of this especially vulnerable group (BMAS 2008a, p. 1f.). In the first and second round the federal ESF programme was aimed at supporting at least 3,000 beneficiaries with the integration into the employment market. The beneficiaries were to be enabled to find a long-term job in order to obtain a permanent right of residence. At the same time the aim was to eliminate or at least decrease claiming of social benefits. The main goal was to avoid a backslide into the previous status of solely being tolerated (ibid., p. 2).

The main difference between funding rounds one and two as compared to three is that for the recent round, the reach of the target group has been increased. Because, as it has become clear, not only Bleibeberechtigte face specific difficulties regarding the access to employment or job training. People without a consolidated status and subordinate access to employment face no less pressure and obstacles (BMAS 2014b, p. 1).

3.2.2 Population need

The focal point of action for the project activities from the onset was the integrated counselling of the Bleibeberechtigte in order to enhance their capacity to act in the competitive job market (BMAS 2008b, p. 2). An individualized competent and goal-oriented guidance and counselling is mentioned as highly critical because even if the legal preconditions for seeking employment are met, the target group could not be reached in its entirety with the existing measures such as basic social security promotion for people seeking employment (BMAS 2008a, p. 2; BMAS 2014b, p. 1). Therefore, the target group needs:

- local networks with trustworthy contact persons that offer low-threshold services for guidance and intervention
- straightforward access to further training and the safeguarding of regular employment relationships (BMAS 2008a, p. 3).

These needs further include educational advertising and assistance regarding their legal situation and options for employment, the utilization of the well-connected network for an enhanced access to the labour market as well as follow-up guidance once they are provided a job (BMAS 2014b, p. 1).

The extent of the need using concepts such as incidence and prevalence has not been described thoroughly in the descriptions of the programme(s). In the guideline for the first round of funding it is simply stated that the distribution of the supported individual projects in all 16 states is managed according to a publication by Deutscher Bundestag regarding the numbers and distribution of refugees within Germany (BMAS 2008b).

3.2.3 Evaluation of previous needs assessment

The existing needs assessment must be considered with lacking detail and depth, because there was no information concerning the limitations in knowledge, differing interpretations or the recognition of a needs assessment as a political process available. Therefore, to enhance the previous needs assessment, the interview with the coordinator had to be conducted.

3.3 New needs assessment

3.3.1 Methodology

After the examination of existing data sources such as the programme guidelines, available evaluations and general research on the Bleiberechtsnetzwerke, we developed an outline for the set of questions to ask in a semi-structured interview. The InnoSI team then conducted a two-hour interview with the MAMBA project coordinator Joachim Bothe in order to obtain information required for a new needs assessment. We only conducted one interview for the new needs assessment because some information was already available beforehand, as can be seen in chapter 3.2. Therefore, we decided it would be sufficient to gather primary data from the network coordinator who had been participating in the project from the onset. Due to his essential position and intimate knowledge of the network and its processes he was considered the most important expert to interview.

Concerning the assessment of rigour of the methods used and the recognition of a needs assessment as a political process: These issues were covered in the interview. The resulting answers by the coordinator verified that not only the needs assessment, but most conditions of this programme must be seen within the frame of a political negotiation process. This resulted in the initially particular project being merged with other funding programmes (p. 3). A basic conflict is identified as being between national security policy, which is rather restrictive, and the labour market policy, or more broadly social policy, that aims at integrating migrants swiftly and is therefore less restrictive (p. 18).

3.3.2 Target population

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, the funding for the creation of the network was provided to help end the ever continuing *Kettenduldung* (continuous delay of deportation) of a distinct group of asylum seekers. The funding was accompanied by a change in law which allowed asylum seekers with several years of stay in Germany to find employment, which was prohibited before. Reaching this group with the traditional measures of support proved to be difficult because many group members had been living on the fringes of society with very little contact to the local population and many with a ban on employment. To specifically be able to support and reach this group, the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs established the Bleiberechtsprogramm (p. 5). The distinct focus has changed with the new round of funding and has been broadened to asylum seekers with difficulties in accessing the labour market. This also applies to a great share of the refugees who arrived in Germany during the last month. The programme's aim is to bring them gradually and sustainably into long-term employment (p. 3).

So, there are significant shifts of the target group observable. In the beginning, the programme primarily aimed at people, who already lived in Germany for quite a long time. On the basis of our expert interviews we know that many of them are from the Balkans. Their German language skills vary but often are sufficient for everyday issues, while the level of education, especially in terms of degrees and recognized certificates, mostly is quite low. Beside this original target group another group is getting more and more important over the course of the programme. About a million refugees and asylum seekers arrived in Germany in 2015 and, according to a distribution formula, about 233 000 are accommodated in the state of NRW. Most of them are from Syria, Iraq, and Iran. Men outnumber women and about 75% are of working age. Hardly any of them speak German, but a considerable share is educated, has professional skills or even higher education degrees (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2016). For this group, the chances of sustainable skilled labour market integration might be significant. However, they are in special need for assistance as they cannot speak the language and are not familiar with the situation in Germany. Advice, language training, and the recognition of documents and certificates apparently are crucial prerequisites for this target group.

3.3.3 Population need

Next to the traditional and regular support measures such as employment services (internships, training, etc.), which are undoubtedly the core activity of the network, the target group requires an integrated web of care that spans into different aspects of their lives. For example, legal regulations are constantly changing, so a skilled and up to-date knowledge on the part of the network representatives is of utmost importance (p. 5). Additional and flexibly handled services might not directly lead to employment, but help facilitate the individuals' lives. Examples of these additional services would be a support in finding housing, general financial aspects or getting access to a language course, because at least a basic command of the German language is deemed necessary to find employment (p. 9; p. 12). These aspects should be considered prerequisites for a successful integration into work and the host society. For the target group it is very beneficial that the network consists of heterogeneous partners, some of which are well connected with employers. The direct and most uncomplicated path towards a job position can save time and prevent stress (p. 7). For the coordinator it is important to point out that the MAMBA network – or generally the Bleiberechtsnetzwerke – fills a gap for the target group. Without it, most members of this particular group would not receive sufficient support (p. 29).

With regard to the extent of the need, following information could be obtained from the interviewee: With its local orientation, MAMBA covers the Muenster urban area (for a short time the whole county as well) and therefore all Bleibeberechtigte and people with a subordinate access to the employment market within this area. In the interview it was not clear how many persons this group consists of, due to constant changes especially in the last year or so (with the huge influx of asylum seekers). We received the information that during the second period of funding (from 2010 – 2015), MAMBA II had around 1,000 participants. Which share of the eligible population this represents is not clear at the moment.

As a final note it should be considered including the target group itself more intensely in order to obtain a better first-hand account of their (perceived) needs. Therefore, on a small scale, interviews with the target group will be conducted.

4 Theories of change

4.1 Introduction

The evaluation of Complex Community Initiatives (CCIs) is a challenging task due to the variety of interacting factors which are even flexible in the course of time (Kubisch et al. 1998). This applies to the organizational structure and to the actions of the initiatives themselves as complex actors. Even more decisive, complexity is increased by external interventions from different political levels, such as reforms of relevant legal frameworks, but also by the alteration of boundary conditions such as labour market changes.

Facing this variety of factors any assessment relies on a proper understanding of an initiatives rationale of action. This rationale and the resulting agenda rests on an explicit or implicit logic model serving as basis for the conceptualisation of goals and obstacles, purposes and means, causes and effects. Therefore, it is imperative to reconstruct this Theory of Change (TOC) which underlies the presented programme. As suggested by the work package leaders the following sections refer to the notion of TOC presented in the InnoSI WP4 case study research and evaluation guidance by Baines, Fox, and Grimm.

4.2 Existing theories of change

As an interesting finding of the analysis we can state that there is an entire series of TOCs underlying the present case. As a matter of fact, the MAMBA-network and the participating institutions have their own slightly different ideas, interests and agendas. However, the conceptual ideas of the *Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS)* are of paramount relevance, as the MAMBA-network is decisively shaped by the requirements of the funding programme *Federal ESF Integration Directive* (BMAS 2014c). This is due to both, strong financial dependence and the detailed layout of the programme guidelines. Not only the main goals of the networks' activities but also the organizational structure and operational mode are to a large extent prescribed by the programmes regulatory guidelines of the federal funding programme.

For this reason, the report mainly focuses on the TOC presented in the documents of the federal programme. However, information regarding the implicit TOCs on the network level and on the level of the participating operational partners, where appropriate, are added.

Situational perception and Problem definition

Despite the positive development of the German labour market, groups of persons are significantly underrepresented and, consequently, relying on public income support. Notably, this refers to young adults fending for themselves and migrants. At the same time the labour market suffers a lack of specialists, especially in the care and several craft sectors.

Identified causes and goals

The federal programme identifies multiple individual and structural causes, which hamper the access to the labour market, to apprenticeship and even to public services. “These include long-term unemployment, a lack of or few skills learned at school or during training, poor language skills, health issues, a precarious financial situation or problematic living conditions” (BMAS 2014c, p. 1). The multiple reasons often exist simultaneously and even tend to aggravate each other. To support the matching of unused labour force and existing labour demand the programme aims to overcome these individual and structural obstacles for the labour market access and sustainable integration.

Solution Approach: the Federal ESF Integration Directive

As a consequence of the problem definition the directive promotes projects “dedicated to gradually and sustainably integrating [the respective] groups of people into the labour and apprenticeship market or to projects that are designed to help people (re)-enter school to acquire a school leaving certificate” (BMAS 2014c, p. 2) in three priority areas:

- *Integration Instead of Exclusion (IsA)*
- *Integration Through Exchange (IdA)*
- *Integration of Asylum Seekers and Refugees (IvAF)*

The MAMBA-network is funded within the latter priority area, so the following sections will refer to this framework only. The target group is defined as asylum seekers and refugees without a secure residence status who at least have secondary access to the labour market. Thus, the programme focuses on persons who normally are not or not yet entitled to the statutory social assistance under Social Code Book II. Asylum Seekers without valid work permit are also officially not included, as their legal status makes any kind of labour market integration at least temporarily impossible.

Removing individual and structural obstacles

To overcome *individual* obstacles, the programme promotes “tailored, participant-focused measures” (BMAS 2014c, p. 5) as a central element. Because of the often cumulative placement obstacles the existing standard services and support schemes for integration seem to be unsuited and in fact do not reach the target group sufficiently. The programme suggests to tackle these problems by intensive and individualized support, guidance and activation. This includes measures of the following characteristics:

- An early and active recruitment of suitable participants, “such as outgoing assistance to make the first contact as a pre-condition for further activities, individualized labour market counselling keeping in mind the special situation of asylum seekers and refugees” (p. 12)
- Support with accessing eligible services and benefits of the standard assistance schemes and other relevant support including other relevant ESF programmes
- Measures to ensure and develop the individual employability, qualification measures when appropriate including language skills
- “company-focused activation preparing the participants for in-company training, preparing the company, and if necessary, coaching for the participants during the company-focused activation stage” (p. 12)
- “placement in work or training: preparing the participants for working in a company, preparing the company, coaching of the participants during their first weeks of training or employment to prevent them from quitting their vocational training/work, skills development during training”
- “individualized measures for young refugees aimed at helping them to (re-) enter school or vocational training, if necessary with coaching during the initial stage of school attendance or vocational training” (p. 12)

Besides the individual problems the programme documents also explicitly mention the reduction of *structural* obstacles as an important goal. However, there is only little information about the specific nature of these obstacles and about their causes; likewise the guidelines do not suggest much in the way of concrete measures. This may indicate that the underlying idea of structural barriers to labour market integration is less elaborated. What is more, the structural component seems to be of minor importance as it is introduced as an optional supplement, while participant-focused measures are obligatory (BMAS 2014c, p. 2, p. 6). However notably, the BMAS recently reported that 3,414 trainings on the special situation of refugees have been realized within the IvAF framework in 2015. This training addressed the staff of the local JobCenters and the employment agencies and shall even be extended in 2016 and 2017 (BMAS 2016, p. 2).

Organisational strategy: cooperation and synergies

The programme guidelines explicitly promote the cooperation of public and private, profit and non-profit institutions. The participation of a local public administration institution for labour market integration – *JobCenter, Agentur für Arbeit* (employment agency) and/or ARGE (local consortium of both) – is mandatory. What is more, also regional companies have to be included in the cooperation networks to be entitled to grants. The involvement of “refugee aid organizations, counselling centres for migrants, migrant organizations, independent welfare organizations, providers of educational services”, however, is optional only if necessary for the successful implementation (BMAS 2014c, p. 12f.). This design indicates that fostering the communication and cooperation of the local institutions for labour market integration and companies or other potential employers take centre stage. The integration of NGOs such as refugee aid organizations seems to represent a merely additional feature, probably meant to enhance the access to the target group.

The programme envisages an intense communication of the operative partners on the local level, and also regular meetings on the regional and federal level. The communication and coordination on the federal level is organized by the so called *Nationales Thematisches Netzwerk* (national thematic network). This network was established within the first funding period (Bleiberecht I) in 2008 and still remains active as platform to share knowledge and best practice examples.

Fundamental TOC: Social Investment and activation

The federal programme implicitly reflects two major paradigms, which increasingly gained importance for the European and the German labour market policies and other socio-political measures of the last few years: The guiding idea of *labour market activation* and *social investment* as an overarching strategy.

The reorientation towards an activating labour market policy is based on a redefinition of unemployment. Unemployment was previously understood as a structural problem and now the attention has shifted to the unemployed themselves. Earlier it was defined as a problem of insufficient demand for labour, now the idea caught on, that the problem consists of the qualitative deficits in the supply side. These are seen on the one hand in the lack of formal qualifications, but also in a lack of motivation and discipline of the unemployed (Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al. 2008, p. 299). These individual employment barriers are to be countered by measures which are aimed at qualification and behaviour modification.

The activating character generally shows itself at three levels: Passive wage replacement benefits are reduced in terms of duration of the remuneration, whereby the beneficiaries are motivated to take over the low paid occupation. At the same qualification, counselling and placement offers are expanded. In the German public the perception of activating labour market policy is coined in particular by its *coercive* context (Bartelheimer 2008, p. 32). This manifests itself on the one hand in the emphatic calls for individual initiative and concessions, but especially in the conditionality of benefits and sanctioning of lack of cooperation.

In the context of a broader welfare state paradigm, which takes shape since the late 1990s, at the level of political ideas and models, this "activating turn" is taking place (Lessenich 2012, p. 42; Bartelheimer 2008, p. 11). After a period of social dismantling in the late 1990s, various OECD countries are working on concepts in which a series of conceptual creations such as 'social development', 'enabling state', 'inclusive liberalism' and 'social investment state' are expressed (Giddens 1998; Esping-Andersen et al. 2002). Although the resulting paradigm is not yet selectively contoured, a common core idea can be identified which all these approaches are based on: "Central to this new thinking is the

emphasis that is placed on developing policies that aim at 'preparing' rather than 'repairing'" (Morel et al. 2012, p. 1; Borosch et al. 2016, p. 771).

The social investment idea understands welfare state services as a production factor, which investments in the medium and long term pay off in the form of economic growth and employment rates. The political impact of this new perspective is for example reflected in the Lisbon Strategy of 2010, within which social investment was enshrined as a central socio-political objective of European coordination (Morel et al. 2012, p. 2). The new strategy is thereby based on the analysis that the economic growth potential of highly developed (post) industrial nations is based on a knowledge-based economy. The central task of the state is considered to be to maximize the supply of highly skilled and flexible workforce by investing in human capital. "While the traditional welfare state is trying to protect the social situation of its citizens from the market through passive social transfers, the social investment state is trying to convert its citizens to strong players in the market and emphasizes personal responsibility of individuals" (Allmendinger and Nikolai 2010, p. 107).

Accordingly, an early and lifelong qualification is proposed from the perspective of social investment approaches (early childhood education, lifelong learning, education, training and retraining). In addition, social investment is aimed at a more efficient utilization of previously unused labour potential through activating policies and extending them to new parts of the population, "notably by facilitating access to the labour market for groups that have traditionally been excluded" (Morel et al. 2012, p. 2). Examples of such a group traditionally excluded from the labour market are asylum seekers and refugees in the case of Germany.

Theory of Change – a brief summary

The federal programmes' TOC is based on the assumption that the labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees is impeded by individual and structural causes. The strategy is to level those obstacles, to match individual needs and talents with regional labour markets. To this end, the programme on the one hand promotes tailored, intensive support and activation to tackle individual placement obstacles and on the other hand measures to enhance boundary conditions to tackle structural problems. As

an organizational feature an innovative way of public-private cooperation is suggested: Networks consisting of regional companies and local administration, possibly supported by social enterprises and non-profit NGOs, are meant to pool their specific expertise and resources to facilitate an efficient goal-achievement.

The TOC on the programme level is based on many years of experience funding programmes to promote the labour market integration for groups with special needs and almost fifteen years of funding experience for the particular group of asylum seekers and refugees without secure status of residence (see section 3). Many of those federal programmes and projects subsequently based on one another and were accompanied by monitoring and evaluation components, so it can be assumed that scientific expertise had a considerable impact on the programmes development.

On the level of MAMBA itself it can be stated that the foundation of the network and its development during all three funding lines were initiated by the GGUA (local non-profit organization for the support of asylum seekers) and thereby stakeholder-led. But, as mentioned before, the main goals, measures and organizational features were to a large extent prescribed by the federal BMAS funding guidelines.

The programme documents provide instructive insights into the underlying TOC, though without explicating the complex relations of individual and structural problems in detail. Individual factors such as a precarious housing and financial situation, a low level of professional qualification and the lack of functional language skills obviously represent relevant obstacles to the labour market integration. However, the relation and mutual interdependence of the factors are not elaborated systematically. This also applies to the relation of the respective structural obstacles hampering the target group's access to both, the labour market and public support services. Finally, a mutual reinforcement of individual and structural deficits seems to be self-evident and is implied in the programme documents, but also remains on an implicit level.

Plausible and doable but hardly testable

Nevertheless, the main assumptions are reasonable even without any detailed explication of the interdependencies of the particular factors. Most of the identified individual reasons for the insufficient labour market integration seem to be self-evident and are sufficiently underpinned by national and international research. The strategy to tackle these problems by intense and individualised support, coaching and training is convincing and in line with the relevant capability oriented human resource approaches. What is more, the envisaged network partners unquestionably have quite different but nonetheless relevant focuses regarding access, connections, expertise and resources. It is plausible to assume that the promoted network structure has a high potential of synergies which might help to overcome structural obstacles. And finally, the suggested measures and operational structure are based on the lessons-learned from a number of previous projects.

The cooperating network partners should have the expertise, resources and last not least the motivation to use the funding reasonably and goal-oriented. There is no reason to assume that the funding will fail its purpose. It can be also assumed that the target group will be highly motivated and engaged as a successful labour market integration, financial independence and secured living conditions are in the essential interest of most refugees and asylum seekers. Albeit, misunderstandings and communicational problems are possible. That applies to the relation between network and target group, but also for the internal relation of the respective network partners. Institutional, motivational and even 'cultural' differences between administration, economy and non-profit organization should not be underestimated.

The logic underlying the federal programme includes a whole range of assumptions and possible measures. As mentioned before, many of those assumptions have elsewhere been validated sufficiently, as well as the effectiveness of the promoted measures. Thus, a recent verification would not seem to be necessary. On the other hand it seems to be hardly possible to test and verify the whole conceptual framework, as there are too many interacting factors, no data of adequate control groups and quite a limited access to the target group (mostly dark field).

5 Implementation Analysis – How does it work?

5.1 Introduction

Evaluative case studies often face the problem of predicting developments which are still in the flux and thereby struggle to estimate outcomes which are still uncertain. At first glance the MAMBA-Network represents a more favourable case, as it was established already in 2008 and two periods of funding have been completed until 2016. Thus, for MAMBA-1 and -2 an ex-post evaluation is possible while any evaluation of MAMBA-3 is still accompanying. But even in the ongoing funding period MAMBA-3 is already at a delivery stage of the programme cycle, as it provides services for the target group.

However, it has to be considered that the network in most cases offers and supports access to apprenticeship, language and vocational trainings, or even to school. This educational and vocational careers take quite a long time to result – at best – in regular employment and financial independency. So, while the total amount of invested funding is transparent, the results can hardly be estimated. This refers to both, the saving of public benefits and services and potential public revenue in form of taxes and other contributions. Accordingly, a reliable summative evaluation of the long-term outcomes is hardly possible.

For this reasons, a *formative* evaluation is the more appropriate choice, especially since a sound programme theory serving as a basis exists. Consequently, the main research question is, if the implementation is able to live up to the promising outline of the programme. This question is even more relevant, as the programme design includes some predictable challenges or even risks, we will keep under close examination:

First, there is a risk of deadweight or windfall effects as the operative network partners are funded for services similar to those their institutions already provide. The evaluation has to check if the partners' network contribution represents a real surplus value added to their original activity.

Secondly, is the network partners' cooperation as intense as envisaged in the guidelines? The organisational structure is to a large extend prescribed, so the partners are urged to establish the network to gain funding. Therefore, the evaluation has to assess, if there is

a real synergy generating cooperation as intended by the programme or a mere co-existence of activities and a rather loose and sporadic coordination. For this reason, the operational structure and the division of labour within the network are crucial aspects of the evaluation.

Thirdly, are the synergies and the value added by this innovative organisational features outweighing the considerable efforts and expenses to establish and maintain the network? The implementation success in this regard heavily relies on the commitment of all participating partners. So it will be essential to find out pros and cons of the network cooperation activities as perceived from the street-level perspective of operative partners and participants.

5.2 Methodology

For the reasons stated above it is considered to be the most appropriate evaluation strategy to focus on qualitative implementation analysis. This approach will have the advantage of identifying relevant implementation problems. If the underlying concept is implemented expediently and efficiently there is no reason to question the networks contribution to the regional labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees.

Qualitative methods

The preliminary group discussion with the network-coordinator and operative partners provided a starting point for the reconstruction of the networks' structure, the modes of operation mode and the particular role of each operational partner. The analysis implied the assumption of a variety of slightly diverging ideas, depending on the network partner's institutional agenda. This hypothesis subsequently could be validated on the basis of the in-depth interviews with the street level consultants of the operative network partners and the interview with the network's coordinator. The next step was to contrast this mostly implicit ideas and perceptions of the practitioners on the operational level with the rather abstract and conceptual perspective presented in the various programme documents by the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS).

Data collection on the operative level

- Preliminary group discussion with the network-coordinator and representatives of the operative partner institutions
- 5 in-depth guided interviews with street-level consultants of all participating operative partners

Data collection on the overall network level

- Preliminary group discussion with the network-coordinator and operative partners
- In-depth guided interview with the network coordinator

Data collection on the global programme level (federal level)

Review of the programme documentation including:

- Funding guideline *Xenos Bleiberecht I* (BMAS 2008b)
- Funding guideline *Xenos Bleiberecht II* (BMAS 2010)
- Programme documents *ESF Integration Guidelines of the Federal Government* (BMAS 2014a, b, c)
- Mid-term and final evaluation reports of all programmes / funding phases
- Additional programme documents such as presentations, FAQs, etc.

5.3 MAMBA – The successful implementation of a sound plan

The name *MAMBA* is an acronym of the rather long German name “Münsters Aktionsprogramm für MigrantInnen und Bleibeberechtigte zur Arbeitsmarktintegration in Münster und im Münsterland” which can be translated as: *Programme of Action for the Labour Market Integration of Migrants in the City and Region of Muenster*. The following section will portray the organisational structure and operating mode of the network and the particular role of each operative partner organization. MAMBA was designed and initiated by a local refugee aid association named GGUA. Funded by the *European Social Fund (ESF)* and the *Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS)* within the federal funding framework *Xenos Bleiberecht 1* (see chapter 2) the network *MAMBA 1* was established in 2008. In the beginning the network consisted of four operative project

partners, subsequently accompanied by the local JobCenter at the beginning of the second funding period (MAMBA 2) in 2011.

Beside the operative partners there is a *Steering Committee* in charge for strategic decisions, representation and supervision of the networks activities. It consists of high-level representatives of all operative partners and the network coordinator (see below). What is more, there are regular cooperation meetings of all networks funded within this framework on the state and particularly on the federal level called *Das Nationale Thematische Netzwerk* (National Thematic Network). The cooperation on the federal and state level enhances the cooperation of all organizations involved and enables the development of common instruments, positions and strategies. To reduce the confusing variety of actors and committees involved at different levels, we decided to focus on the operative partners on the local level who are at the heart of all MAMBA activities. Their particular institutional background, focus of expertise, activities and their role within the network will be outlined below.

5.3.1 GGUA – The non-profit refugee aid association

The organization has a long tradition in the support of asylum seekers, as it was already founded in 1979 in the city of Muenster. The principal objective of the GGUA is to advice refugees and asylum seekers regarding all issues related to their legal status and the German residence law. So, the headquarters are not by chance located right opposite to the local immigration authorities. Additional to this engagement to enforce the rights of asylum seekers, the GGUA engages in a wide range of projects to improve the living conditions of refugees and migrants in the city of Muenster. The association provides counsel in virtually all social matters, such as issues of housing and accommodation, communication with the administration and authorities, job search assistance, even help with everyday problems. One of those projects, for example, provides psychosocial counselling and care for traumatized refugees and the clearing of therapeutic needs. Another one matches volunteer learning mentors and suitable pupils with a migrant background. The association also runs a simple kind of a café as a meeting place for refugees and migrants, which also offers low-threshold services and contact to volunteers and GGUA-interns.

Beyond activities aimed at the target group, the GGUA generally engages to enhance the local inclusion of refugees and migrants in the city of Muenster and the region. For this purpose, the association does public relations and contributes to awareness-raising events. The main goal of these activities is to sensitize the public, officials and employers on the often precarious situation of refugees and seeks to overcome prejudices by providing robust information.

Currently about 160 persons are affiliated to the association and beside of interns and 28 full-time employees the GGUA is supported by about 200 volunteers. The activities are financed by private donations and membership fees, but to a major extent also by public grants, for particular projects and services. Beside the federal and the EU-level, also the city of Muenster and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia are important donors. The GGUA is a member of an independent major welfare association (“Der Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband”) and officially recognized as a charitable non-profit association and accordingly enjoys tax advantages.

In almost 40 years of continuous refugee aid work, the GGUA-association not only gained invaluable experience but also a good reputation and nowadays is renowned even beyond the region for its particular expertise. The GGUA is well included and linked within the local civil society, forged fruitful connections to the local community and is backed by holders of public authority.

The role of the GGUA within the network

As mentioned before, the GGUA designed and initiated the MAMBA-programme in the first place in 2008. It is therefore not surprising that the GGUA, as the main applicant, is in charge of the *central coordination*. There is one GGUA employee coordinating the MAMBA network supported by a clerical employee for the back office duties. The primary task of the coordinator is to keep the network going, which includes the distribution of information and the organization of regular network meetings. He is the representative of the entire MAMBA-network and responsible for press and public relation activities. Beside this, he is engaged in the steering committee of the *National Thematic Network* on the federal level and in the *Steering Committee* of the local MAMBA network and performs as an interface for the exchange and coordination between the levels. On the local level he is the contact person for all problems and issues within the network. The coordinator

is also responsible for the reporting obligation and other programme requirements. What is more, even the coordinator is involved in substantive tasks as e.g. staff trainings. These trainings are conducted in cooperation with the local and regional JobCenters and employment agencies to sensitize their street-level employees for the particular situation and needs of asylum seekers and refugees. The training also provides robust legal information, what is quite relevant as the legal framework related to immigration and asylum is complex and changed substantially in the past few years. These training activities are a central part of the so called *structural* objectives of the MAMBA-programme and are also offered to the staff of other refugee aid organizations, to volunteers, as to public administrators and employers. The structural activities also include the communication and coordination with institutions and public bodies to achieve a common interpretation of legal and administrative regulations and margins of discretion.

For the target-group oriented activities three staff members of the GGUA are working for the MAMBA network as counsellors (roughly summing-up to 1.5 full-time equivalent). The first crucial task for those street-level counsellors is to establish a trustful relationship to the people who are seeking help. That is imperative due to both, the fact that the GGUA often represents one of the very first contacts in Muenster or even in Germany. It is also substantive because of the understandable caution and scepticism among this particularly vulnerable group. In this regard, the network substantially benefits from the reputation of the GGUA as a trustworthy supporter of asylum seekers. Actually, no active efforts are needed to gain access to the target group, as the GGUA is often recommended by volunteers, social workers, local authorities and notably within the group of asylum seekers. So, in the vast majority of the cases the target population in need establishes the contact on own initiative.

During the counselling process the GGUA-staff has to decide if a person meets the requirements to join the MAMBA programme. Persons who are legally permitted to work and seeking a future employment in Germany are officially included as participants. Due to the division of labour within the network, the target group of the GGUA encompasses only asylum seekers and refugees aged 25 or older, while younger people in need of support are referred to another network partner called JAZ (see below).

The support provided by the GGUA as a first contact institution within the MAMBA programme aims at a financial, social and even mental stabilisation. The consultation is target-group oriented, as the counsellors are familiar with the particular situation and problems many refugees and asylum seekers are facing in the city of Muenster. This usually involves issues of accommodation, residence permit, and social assistance. Beyond this group-specific orientation, the consultation is needs-based and therefore taking the individual status, resources, demands, and aspiration to develop a realistic prospect into account. Notably, the GGUA itself does not provide grants or vocational trainings. But where it seems appropriate, the MAMBA counsellor is for example authorised to register a refugee for a tailored language training⁴ within a public framework entirely free of charge. The overall strategy is to encourage and to inform the asylum seekers and to open access to already existing means, such as subsidies or training and coaching measures to develop a long-term prospect.

5.3.2 JAZ – The catholic organization for youth employment

The German name *Jugendausbildungszentrum (JAZ)* can be translated as “centre for the vocational education and training of young people” which gives a quite good impression of the organization’s activities. Similar to the GGUA, the JAZ is well renowned for its particular focus of action owing to more than 30 year of experience. The JAZ was founded as a non-profit company in the city of Muenster in 1982. Today, it operates as a public-private partnership between the catholic Caritas association and the city of Muenster. As a member of the Caritas association, which is the largest welfare association in Germany, the JAZ reflects a long tradition of catholic charity and welfare organizations in region of Münster. The JAZ is an officially recognized institution for the training and assistance of young people with the aim to improve their labour market integration. For this purpose it is primarily involved in three key areas:

- The counselling of school graduates facilitates the transition to employment or apprenticeship.
- Low-threshold job-preparation trainings provide key competencies and

⁴This programme is called „Berufsbezogene Deutschförderung“ (occupation-oriented German-language training) and improves the specialized language skills needed for particular professions. This programme can last for up to 6 months in full-time and includes components of vocational (re-)training or internship. It is funded by the ESF and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

experience for young people who have not yet succeeded in entering the labour market.

- Work opportunities in catholic institutions offer trainings on the job. This project is part of the community work component for long-term unemployed within the statutory minimum income scheme.

Beside this, projects exist, which are too numerous to be presented all in detail. But at the core, most activities are aimed at encouraging and enabling young people who encounter problems in finding an appropriate employment. The JAZ staff consists of counsellors, coaches and social workers to analyse the individual situation, to activate and inform the young people, and to develop realistic occupational prospects. The company offers assistance to find a job or a suited apprenticeship and if necessary there is even an intense coaching to prevent the participants from dropping out.

Many of those projects include a cooperation with public and private partners. And notably, some of them are entirely commissioned and financed by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, by the local JobCenter, or by the local branch of the federal employment agency (Agentur für Arbeit). In brief, the JAZ company can be characterized as a supplier of social services for the labour market integration of young people, steered by the catholic Caritas association.

The role of the JAZ within the network

Two staff members are working for MAMBA as street-level counsellors for the target-group oriented activities (roughly summing-up to 1.5 full-time equivalent). The activities of the JAZ within the network are quite similar to those of the GGUA. The company primarily serves as a first contact point to build a trustful relation and to integrate participants to the MAMBA-programme. Here again, advice and support first of all aim at the financial, legal and even mental stabilisation of the asylum seekers and refugees. The one important difference is the age of the participants. While the GGUA is responsible for people aged 25 or older, the JAZ looks after the younger people of the same target group. This division of responsibilities is convincing, as the legal situation of minors and adolescents differs in many regards. And notably, even in the case of young adults there are other authorities involved and other funding opportunities available. As an expert in the support of young people to foster their mid- and long-term labour market integration, the specific contribution of the JAZ within the network is obvious.

5.3.3 GEBA – The vocational and language training company

The GEBA can be characterized as a company for vocational improvement and training (“Gesellschaft für Berufsförderung und Ausbildung”) with 11 branches all over the region. The company is based in the city of Muenster and offers counselling, (re-)training and job-placement services to job-seekers, employers and public institutions since 1991. The conduction of training, language and preparation courses commissioned by public bodies is a main field of action. For this reason, the GEBA is intensely cooperating with the local employment agency (Agentur für Arbeit) and with the municipal JobCenter. On the other hand, the company presents itself as an expert for the regional labour market and is in touch with a range of regional enterprises and employers. The activities of the GEBA are divided into four divisions:

- *Job market integration and training* provide basic low-threshold preparation measures for people who have problems to access the labour market. Within this field of action, the company offers counselling, training and trainee placements tailored for particular target-groups (long-term unemployed, older unemployed, young mothers etc.).
- *Technical retraining* offers courses and qualification measures for warehouse management, security services and professional drivers. The GEBA arranges for collaboration with other training institutes and companies.
- *Business retraining* includes courses and qualification measures in skilled business and IT occupations. Within this division, the participants have the opportunity to acquire internationally recognised IT certificates.
- *German language training* provides immigrants with the necessary language skills to enter the German labour market. As a certified provider, the GEBA offers integration courses commissioned by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). This includes the opportunity to gain the advanced German language Certificates (B1) and to participate in the already mentioned occupation-oriented language training in the workplace (ESF-BAMF programme). Beside this, the company also conducts basic German language courses for refugees within the “early interventions” framework of the Federal Employment Agency (“Bundesagentur für Arbeit”).

The role of the GEBA within the network

Within the MAMBA-network structure, the GEBA provides language and vocational training services and it serves - what is even more important - as an interface to the regional enterprises and employers. In most of the cases, the first contact partners (GGUA and JAZ) introduce already stabilized MAMBA participants to the GEBA and, if necessary, a staff member accompanies the person for their first visit at the GEBA. During the consultation the GEBA identifies the individual educational and vocational background and generates a personal professional profile. On this basis, the GEBA and the participants jointly develop career prospects, taking the demands and requirements of the regional labour market into account. Due to the company's experience in job placement and vocational training, the GEBA is well linked to regional enterprises, public service offices, and institutions for vocational training. Within the MAMBA framework the GEBA makes use of this official and informal connections to find suited qualification measures and the necessary sources for funding. But even more important, the company finds appropriate internships and even first employment opportunities, so MAMBA participants can make their first job experience and get a foot into the regional labour market. To enhance their chances, the GEBA also provides support for the application process, as for example assistance with the writing of the application documents and personal preparation for the job interviews. Three GEBA employees work as counsellors for the MAMBA network to the overall extent of about 1.5 full-time equivalent.

5.3.4 HBZ – the training centre of the Chamber of Crafts

The HBZ is the local training centre of the Chamber of Crafts, which is the statutory stakeholder and association of all recognised craft enterprises in the administrative district of Muenster. As institution in charge for the organisation, examination and certification of the apprenticeships and master trainings for handicraft professions, the Chamber of Crafts is a considerable influential player under public law. Within this institution, the HBZ provides about 2,000 training places, which makes it one of the largest and most renowned establishments for vocational training in the region.

The role of the HBZ within the network

For the MAMBA network the HBZ fulfils a function similar to that of the GEBA. Two employees of the HBZ work as counsellors for the MAMBA network to the overall extent of about 1.5 full-time equivalent. They provide qualification measures if there is funding available, but foremost it serves as an interface to the regional labour market. In contrast to the GEBA, the HBZ exclusively focuses on handicraft professions and trainings. Owing to the legal status of the Chamber of Crafts, the HBZ is in touch with literally all craftsmen enterprises offering apprenticeships in the region. MAMBA participants who already have job experience in such activities, or showed their interest for craftsmanship during their consultation with the GGUA or JAZ, are referred to the HBZ. There, the MAMBA staff assesses the competencies, formal qualification and aspirations of each participant individually. If possible, the HBZ-team arranges an appropriate internship or even an apprenticeship, often by using its invaluable personal contacts. Apprenticeships are of significant importance to the MAMBA network, because they do not only provide a regularly income and a long-term job perspective, but also ensure a legal mid-term residence permit for three years of training and two additional years afterwards. Asylum seekers or refugees who complete an apprenticeship successfully, have best chances to live their future life in Germany with a guaranteed legal status and financially independence. This is particularly true since most employers have a strong interest to keep former apprentices in their business, after investing time, efforts and money in their training. But to get this personal success story started, the participants have to meet the formal and legal preconditions. That is why the MAMBA-coaches are in regular dialogue with the local immigration office and the employment agency (Agentur für Arbeit) to arrange the necessary work permit. The intense personal coaching and the support of the network and the Chamber of Crafts indicate that there is a real long-term perspective for the respective refugees and asylum seekers. This perspective often convinces the public bodies to offer a legal status and sometimes even financial funding which is difficult to achieve without the assistance of the MAMBA network.

5.3.5 JobCenter – the public office for labour market integration

To explain the role of the JobCenter within the MAMBA network structure, it is necessary to outline the legal objectives of this institution first. The assistance for unemployed usually is organized by a joint venture of the Federal Employment Agency (FEA) and the municipal social service office. This applies to both, the administration of means-tested social assistance benefits and the management of labour market integration measures. However, as already pointed out (see 1.2) the city of Muenster represents the rather unusual case of a so called opting-out community. In this case the responsibility for job seekers (according to social book II) lies entirely with the local authority without any participation of the FEA. For this reason, it disposes of considerable resources for activating and qualifying measures to integrate the beneficiaries into the local labour market. That makes the JobCenter of the city of Muenster a quite important public player.

The main target group of the JobCenter are long-term unemployed job seekers, so the job coaches are confronted with a vast variety of personal backgrounds and specific situations. Given the raised awareness for the integration of refugees, the local JobCenter currently creates a specialized department focused on this group, to provide competent assistance.

The role of the JobCenter within the MAMBA-network

The guideline of the second funding round required the integration of a local employment office. The JobCenter joined the network as an operative partner in 2011, but its integration has been desired and planned long ago. However, it still represents a special case in some respects. First of all, the JobCenter is a public body with legally defined objectives. The services and benefits of this institution are reserved exclusively for those who are entitled to assistance according to social book 2. Consequently, only refugees with a legal residence permit are able to make use of this service. However, there are many prerequisites to meet for a (temporary) residence permit and the process to be granted asylum may take a long time, if it succeeds anyway. This fact is crucial to understand the function of the JobCenter within the MAMBA network, as it usually takes part after the other operative partners completed their particular objectives. However, all participants in possession of a residence permit have access to the counselling and job placement activities, and notably to the labour market integration resources. This applies

to the funding for qualification measures, and may also include expenses for applications, translations and the recognition of documents. Where it seems appropriate the JobCenter covers travel and relocation expenses or even the costs to obtain a driver's licence, if deemed necessary.

Notably, the aforementioned services and benefits are not reserved for MAMBA participants as the resources are open to all citizens entitled to this kind of unemployment assistance. But many of the services offered by the JobCenter depend on the personal assessment of the job coaches. Only if they are deemed necessary and promising, the person in charge is allowed to authorize funding. For most coaches it is hardly possible to provide suitable assistance due to communication problems and a lack of background information. For this reason, many refugees and asylum seekers are insufficiently reached and covered by the support of the official bodies, even though there are adequate measures and funds available. At this point, a special contribution of the MAMBA network manifests. Those job coaches who are part of the MAMBA network are familiar with the particular background and needs of refugees and asylum seekers as they are specially trained. They are for example used to cooperate with professional interpreters and acquainted to the relevant legal frameworks and know how to provide tailored support for this special group.

The JobCenter also represents a special case, as it is sponsoring the network by own means. This financial contribution amounts to one full-time equivalent, and roughly corresponds to one tenth of the MAMBA budget. Altogether, four full-time and employees are working exclusively as a job-coach for the MAMBA network. An additional staff member in part-time offers services and information to potential employers and connects demand and supply.

The organization of the MAMBA network in brief

The five operative MAMBA partners have organized their network activities in a quite reasonable and convincing division of labour. The GGUA and the JAZ serve as first contact points and establish a trustful relationship to the refugees and asylum seekers. They represent the experts for all pressing issues, particularly for the residence status, the application for benefits, and accommodation. Their contribution primarily aims at a legal, financial and even mental stabilization. While the GGUA focuses on adults and adds

appropriate candidates to the programme as official MAMBA participants, the JAZ as a youth welfare organization takes care for the young people.

After the stabilization is done, the *first contact partners* introduce the participants to the GEBA and the HBZ, who can be seen as *labour market integration partners*. They assess the individual background, generate a professional profile and develop personal career prospects. Due to their excellent connections to regional enterprises and employers, these organizations organize internships, first low-threshold job opportunities and, in the long run, sustainable employment. As part of the local Chamber of Crafts, the HBZ focuses on skilled handicraft careers while the GEBA covers a range of other skilled and semi-skilled professions.

The JobCenter, as a public body of the city of Muenster, represents an exceptional operative partner. Due to legal requirements, it is exclusively responsible for those MAMBA participants holding a residence permit. That is why the MAMBA staff of this municipal office often takes part after the other operative partners completed their objectives. The entitled participants have access to the counselling and job placement activities, and notably to the public resources for labour market integration, such as qualification measures, and expenses for applications, translations, the recognition of documents, and even for relocation. The JobCenter supports the MAMBA participants, and prevents them from dropping out of qualification measures, apprenticeship or first employments due to minor problems such as travel expenses and the like. The specially trained personal coaches are engaged to push forward individual careers to facilitate sustainable employment and financial independence.

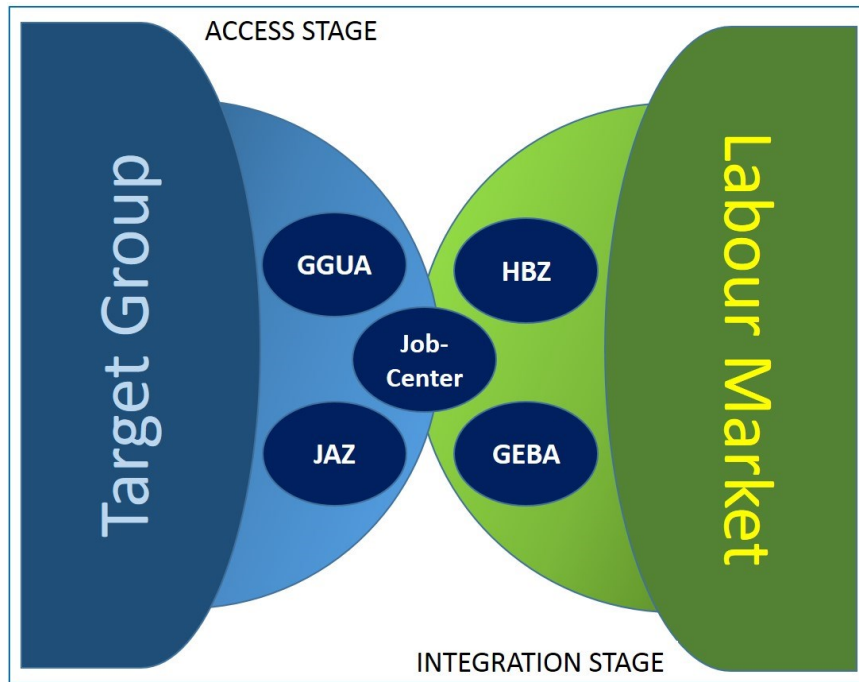


Figure 2: MAMBA operational outline (own illustration)

Potential difficulties and operational risks

The conducted in depth interviews with staff members indicate that the five cooperating organizations originally have diverging perspectives and agendas. Disagreement regarding strategies, measures and priorities in special cases occasionally resulted in disputes, especially in the beginning of the collaboration. In the course of time, the developing cooperation generated a foundation of trust, personal acquaintance and mutual respect. The interviews indicate, that some perspective differences still remain. But the network colleagues are aware of that and learned to manage this institutional diversity. All interviewees claimed the necessity to invest time and effort in the communication and coordination between the partners, to prevent conflicts and to maintain a smooth and productive cooperation. All interviewed staff members emphasize, that disagreements and misunderstandings are tackled professionally. Independently, several of them stated, that emerging problems are solved by the “reasonable conversation of adults”. This reflects the importance of the regular meetings and the network coordinator, who is in charge to point out upcoming problems, to moderate dissent and to suggest appropriate solutions. Thus, all partners agree that they established an efficient, trustful and reliable cooperation.

Another problem is more severe, as it is external and beyond the influence of the MAMBA partners: The network depends strongly on the public funding. However, the grant is guaranteed for each single round of funding only. This financial dependency on a project-based framework limits the planning to a timescale of about 3 years. Following funding rounds or adequate substitutes are uncertain and unpredictable. This insecurity is quite burdensome for all actors involved and reduces the attractiveness to work for the MAMBA programme. This causes a high risk of staff turnover and might result in a loss of expertise and stability on the operative level. A reliable and sustainable funding and financial planning security certainly would boost the network, the employees and also the labour market integration of the target group.

The win-win network: diverging interests committed to a common goal

The MAMBA network consists, as presented above, of five very different operative partners. As a traditional non-profit organization, the GGUA primarily struggles to enforce the rights of asylum seekers and tries to provide secured perspectives in Germany. The labour market integration may not be their first priority, but as an important dimension of integration and independence it is of course a major goal. But it also represents a crucial strategic mean to open up long-term prospects. In many cases, employment or apprenticeship are a necessary requirement and the only key to achieve a temporary residence permit and in the long run even an unlimited settlement permit. For this reason, the goals of the federal funding programme and the interests of the GGUA are matching fruitfully.

The foundation goal of the catholic JAZ organization is to foster the labour market integration of young people. Due to the division of labour within the network, the JAZ apparently is able to pursue its original objective by contributing to the MAMBA network.

The interest of the company for vocational training called GEBA to contribute to the programme goals may be less obvious. But at second glance, the GEBA essentially relies on its reputation as a competent and reliable partner for labour market integration. This is particularly true, as the public authorities involved in the funding and conduction of the MAMBA network are also principle sponsors to the company's original services.

The HBZ presents an intriguing case, as it is part of the Chamber of Crafts and institutionally represents the interests of employers. Based on our interviews we can state that there is a strong interest of regional handicraft enterprises to find motivated apprentices. Thus, the labour market integration activities of the HBZ provide MAMBA participants with job opportunities and at the same time present highly motivated job seekers to the regional handicraft enterprises represented by the Chamber.

The JobCenter again is an obvious case of a win-win situation. Labour market integration services and coaching for entitled job seekers is a statutory core objective of this municipal body. So, the activities for MAMBA network completely corresponds to its original field of action. This, however, does not imply that it could offer the same services in the same way even without participating in the network. The MAMBA cooperation initiated a process of information and training within the office and today there are specialised job coaches, who are much more competent to support this particular target group. This substantially contributes to programme goals, but also reduces public expenses, improves the placement rate, and thereby increases the performance of the office in the fulfilment of its statutory tasks. And besides, the specialised MAMBA staff reduces the workload for the other job coaches by unburdening them from this particularly difficult cases.

Summarized, the cooperating organizations of course have diverging institutional interests but the efficient and sustainable labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers is in the best interest of every single operative partner. The underlying reasons may be different, but this does not hinder real commitment to the common goal. Instead, the complementarity and correspondence of these interests rendered this win-win network a success story.

6 Impact Evaluation

6.1 Introduction

The unique features of the MAMBA case are represented in its mode of operation and the quality of the services offered. Before presenting this qualitative features in detail, however, the following data will show the extensity of the programme.

Since the first setup started in 2008 more than 1400 persons participated in the programme. In the second round alone, MAMBA 2 reached about 1000 participants, of which 340 (34%) could be placed successfully into employment, vocational training or long-term qualification measures (MAMBA 2015, p. 5). For the ongoing third funding round, MAMBA envisages to support 800 participants until the end of 2019 and to generate a placement rate of 40%. According to the statements of the involved organizations MAMBA 3 is well on the way to meet this ambitious targets.

The qualitative aspects are illustrated in the following using a case-based design. This approach presents the impact of MAMBA as a closely aligned network in contrast to the single actors solely working on their own. In order to make the complex services and mode of action palpable, we follow the course of two participants of the MAMBA network. The cases are fictional but realistic, as they are based on in-depth interviews with all operative partners and a participant. For the construction we used a 'most different' case design in terms of age, sex, skills and level of education, legal status and the resulting trajectory assisted by MAMBA. In addition to the running text, there are boxes pointing out relevant features of the network. This way, the cases cover a maximum range of operative partners and features, to give a specific idea of what MAMBA means for the labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers

6.2 The Case of Leyla

Leyla is from Damascus and 37 years old. She left Syria overland to Turkey in the beginning of 2012 and arrived in Germany via plane from Istanbul. Back in Syria she worked as a skilled nurse specialized in intensive care with almost two decades of

working experience in various hospitals. Upon arrival in Frankfurt she went to Muenster, where her sister studies at the local university.

After applying for asylum, Leyla's plan is to find a job as quickly as possible that resembles her skills. Therefore, she wants to continue to work as a nurse, preferably in a hospital. This proves to be difficult as her German skills are not sufficient for getting details on where and how to apply. Her sister, who already is familiar with the city of Muenster, suggests talking to the local refugee aid organization GGUA. By the help of friends and the GGUA homepage Leyla learns about the organizations services and finally visits the women's café. The

Low-Threshold Access

- Local aid organizations serve as contact points
- Reputation as trustworthy supporters of asylum seekers
- Renowned and recommended by volunteers, social workers, local bodies and refugees.
- Embedded in a basic service structure

GGUA staff at the women's café give her helpful advice to find a new accommodation and for the application of benefits. After Leyla talked about her profession and her aspiration to find an appropriate job, the staff organizes a meeting with a MAMBA-counsellor of the GGUA. After a short interview it is obvious that Leyla is an appropriate candidate for the programme. Her career as an official MAMBA participant starts with the creation of a personal file, encompassing background information, such as legal status and education level. First of all, the counsellor helps with the pressing legal and financial questions. This includes the communication with public authorities, assistance with applications and help to find an appropriate accommodation.

About three months after her application for asylum Leyla's living conditions improved substantially. She lives in a small flat and regular public benefits cover the expenses for her livelihood on a basic level. In the meantime she learned a lot about her legal status and her prospects in Germany. However, she still suffers financial dependence and is eager to work. Recently she received a work permit and arranged a meeting with her counsellor. The GGUA staff member introduces her to a MAMBA network colleague of a cooperating company for vocational and language training called GEBA (see 5.3).

Her preliminary stabilization is mostly completed and the next stage of support will focus on training. As an expert in this field of action, the GEBA Company is in charge and takes responsibility. She stays in touch to her GGUA counsellor but henceforth the GEBA counsellor is her primary MAMBA contact person. During her first meeting her personal

Comprehensive Case Management

The partners are responsible for their specific field of action. So, there are consecutive support stages ideally creating a real assistance-career. Overlapping hand-to-hand assistance maintains a trustful relationship and ensures a successful transition of the participants.

file will be added by detailed information referring to her professional background, such as degrees and certificates, competencies and skills and her working experience. Considering her aspirations and chances on the regional labour market Leyla and the GEBA counsellor develop a tailored vocational prospect. She agrees to participate in an occupation-oriented German language training to improve her language skills

needed for her profession (see 5.3). The employee at GEBA uses his already existing personal contacts and additionally simply calls the responsible persons at the companies, in this case the human resource personnel at a local hospital (UKM). They have a definite demand for Leyla's skills, but are worried about her language capabilities, formal qualification and her resident status. In the end, the hospital agrees to offer her an internship position in the paediatric unit. So, after four weeks of full-time training, the specialized language course is accompanied by the internship organized by the counsellor. The combined training programme lasts for six months and considering Leyla's language improvements and her competent performance, the hospital offers her a half-time employment as an assistant-nurse.

In the meantime the immigration authorities informed Leyla, that she has been granted a temporary residence permit for the next three years as a refugee from a so called "insecure country of origin". Her GEBA counsellor informs her that she now is entitled to the services of the local JobCenter, due to her changed legal status. For this reason, he accompanies her to a meeting with another MAMBA-coach working at the JobCenter. Again, the MAMBA-partners hand-over the case and Leyla is introduced to her new contact person, responsible for her last stage of assisted integration. The JobCenter staff cooperating in the network are specialised to support refugees and asylum seekers. On the basis of her personal file and the improvements already achieved, the MAMBA-coach

located at the JobCenter discusses further steps with Leyla. They agree, that a further vocational training is the best way to secure financial independence and a decent life in Germany. The coach assists to find interpreters for relevant certificates and documents from Syria and to get an official recognition sponsored by the JobCenter. In consultation of the local hospital they arrange a further vocational training. After three years of training, about four years after she arrived in Germany, Leyla receives her certificate as a qualified nurse for paediatrics. She continues to work at the UKM in a skilled position and achieved financial independence.

Overcoming Institutional Prejudices

The network encompasses quite different partners, institutional backgrounds and 'cultures', such as public administration and NGOs. Working together for a common goal improves the mutual recognition of particular expertise and turns latent conflicts into cooperation.

6.3 The Case of Marin

Marin now is 17 years old and born in Albania. Since childhood he lives in Germany and, of course, he speaks the German everyday language properly. But even if Marin and his family are living in Germany for quite a long time, they have not met the legal requirements to gain a residence permit, mostly because Albania is defined as a safe country of origin by the German asylum laws. Years ago, their application for asylum was rejected after months of waiting for a decision. Assisted by the GGUA⁵ the family successfully claimed a particular hardship due to the children who still visited a school in Germany and other reasons. However, the family did not achieve a residence permit, but obtained a temporary suspension of deportation. Consequently, there has been a series of extensions and renewals of this suspension for years and years. Still, the family has no legal right to stay and the parents fear, that the deportation could be executed any time.⁶

⁵ This does not refer to the MAMBA-staff of the GGUA, but to the original core activities of the organization.

⁶ Those consecutive prolongations of suspended deportations are called something like 'chain of toleration' (Kettenduldung) and a major issue for the GGUA.

Last year, Marin finished secondary school and received a basic degree. He wanted to earn his own money and to build a future in legal certainty and asked the GGUA for help.

Intensive Personal Support

- taking personal needs, resources and aspirations into account
- jointly developed individual prospects
- extensive investment of time and efforts if necessary
- maintaining regular contact to avoid drop-outs

The staff told him about the MAMBA network for labour market integration and sent him to the JAZ, as the catholic training centre is the operative partner responsible for young people (see 5.3). The JAZ counsellor registered Marin as a MAMBA participant and created a personal file based on his legal status, level of education and his interests. It turns out Marin is quite interested in

woodcraft as many members of his family worked in this business and he already knows a lot about it. Together they decide that an occupation-oriented German language training is a good chance to start this career. In fact, his language skills are quite sufficient for every day communication, but the course is meant to improve his skills in written language and to familiarize him by the way with the specialties for this professional area. In the meantime, the JAZ counsellor gets in touch to the MAMBA colleagues at the vocational training centre of the Chamber of Crafts (HBZ, see 5.3). In a meeting, Marin and the two coaches agree that a career in woodworking is promising, as the demand in this field is higher than the available human resources. As an expert for labour market integration in craft professions, the HBZ coach takes on the case and henceforth is the responsible

Desirable Spill-Over Effects

Training, information and cooperation influence the perspective of the MAMBA-staff, but also change the perspective of other organizations. Even beyond the network, the collaboration of staff opened the minds for the situation and needs of refugees as a side-effect.

MAMBA contact person for Marin. After two weeks of full-time training, because of his excellent personal contacts, the coach succeeds to offer Marin an internship in a small carpenter enterprise. Additionally, the coach arranges the assistance of a volunteer organized by the senior expert service (SES). This service is not a part of the operational MAMBA structure but one of the many practical junctures and strategic cooperation with companies, funding programmes, public bodies, and organizations of the civil society. The senior assistant for Marin worked more than 40 years as a carpenter in a neighbouring town and after his retirement decided to volunteer for the support of young people who want to become skilled craftsmen.

Today, there are only four weeks left of the combined vocational and language training for the woodcraft business Marin participated in for half a year. The crafts master in carpenter enterprise is quite satisfied with the motivation and improvements of his intern. He is in touch with the HBZ coach and would like to offer an apprenticeship to Marin, but is worried about his legal situation and perspective in Germany. The HBZ

Counselling the Counsellors

MAMBA counsellors receive a special training and information updates for a better understanding of the target group, the particular needs and the legal framework. The exchange of the partners' expert knowledge within the network generates comprehensive expertise.

employee, as trained coach of the MAMBA network, informs him that a contract would guarantee at least three years of apprenticeship and two additional years of permitted residence. He also offers his counsel and assistance with the legal issues

and the communication with the public bodies to enhance the chances.

Marin will soon start as an apprentice carpenter supported by the HBZ coach and the senior assistant, who is an expert for this handicraft. He will be permitted to stay in Germany for at least five years and the long-term prospects are quite good. And if his apprenticeship is successful, his employer is likely to be interested to keep him as a skilled craftsman. For this future employment, the support of the MAMBA coach may be crucial, as the responsible authorities have a lot of discretion in this and adopt individual decisions based on the estimation of the prospects. By now, after eight years of engagement of MAMBA, the staff of the relevant authorities knows the network as a reliable and trustworthy partner. The very status as a MAMBA participant

High Trust & Opening Doors

Access to voluntary measures and optional funding for participants is substantially boosted by the reputation of the network and its partners. The participation itself is considered as an indicator for good prospects.

indicates promising prospects and, consequently, improves the chances to gain the necessary permits and accelerates procedures.

7 Economic Evaluation

7.1 Introduction

The MMU team has suggested various approaches to conduct a detailed economic evaluation. After pursuing the plan to conduct a social return on investment analysis (SROI) for the MAMBA network, which proved not to be feasible. The reasons for this are being outlined swiftly. The main obstacle is the lack of internal data as well as official data publicly available, which we could process. As detailed financial information is considered to be sensitive by the programme partners, we were only able to obtain a limited amount of MAMBA-specific data. Further constraints, such as a lack of data for the comparison to similar alternative projects, arose for the other presented methods (cost-benefit analysis, cost-effectiveness analysis) as well.⁷ We suggest a different, but reasonable and straightforward approach which is suitable for processing the limited data we were able to obtain. The scope of the analysis will be the MAMBA network as a whole, without specifically observing the individual partners. We rely mainly on data obtained from scientific literature that covers calculations on the cost of the refugee influx. Firstly, an overview regarding the macroeconomic data available is given, as this is relevant to gain a general understanding of the costs for the German public budget. Further, on basis of the literature, estimated average costs on an individual basis for the provision of refugees over the course of the next years will be collected. As a third step the costs for successfully bringing one participant of the MAMBA network into employment will be calculated and a hypothetical break-even point estimated.

7.2 Overview of the macroeconomic data

Recently, there have been abundant publications establishing projections over the costs of the refugee influx that started in 2015. Many of those cover the estimated costs at present, as well as projections over the course of the following years. Several scenarios were developed, covering a wide range of assumptions that alter the equations. It is

⁷ It is worth noting that there has been a SROI-measuring project in the city of Muenster, conducted by employees of the department of Migration and Intercultural Affairs. MAMBA is not specifically mentioned, but it covers the field in which MAMBA operates. Available from: <http://www.stadt-muenster.de/fileadmin//user_upload/stadt-muenster/v_zuwanderung/pdf/sroi-methodik_en.pdf>. [27.09.2016].

important to be aware of the many relevant variables influencing the estimations. Most of those variables, at this point in time, can only be guessed. One of the main variables is the number of refugees entering Germany in the future. Recent numbers show a steep decline of entries compared to 2015 (Ziegler 2016, p. 2). Less entries in the future will of course lead to a decrease in direct short-term expenses for housing etc. Another important aspect is the percentage of refugees that will actually stay in Germany (depending on the security situation in Syria etc.) and how successful “integration” in general will be (ibid., p. 3). A special – and very important - aspect of integration is the rate of inclusion into the employment market. According to Ziegler (ibid.), 75% of refugees are in a working age and begin to slowly integrate into the job market, which will decrease public spending for them. The expenditures for refugees in the medium- and long-term sink considerably with higher investments in integration measures, of which MAMBA would be one example (Diekmann 2016, p. 1).

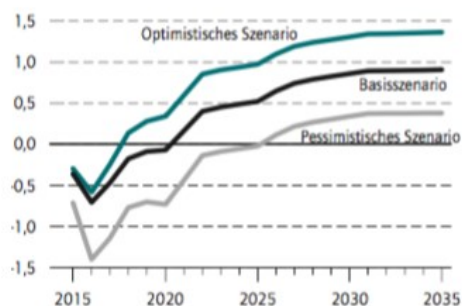
The results of many economic studies examining the complex topic of calculating the actual cost of provision for the refugees that arrived within last year is enormously heterogeneous. An example is the forecast of the IfW (2015, p. 11) which oscillates between 19.7 – 55 billion Euros in the year 2022. Depending on the scenario established by the IWK (2016, p. 4), the projected public spending for refugees ranges between 12 - 24 billion Euros for 2016 and 23 – 32 billion Euros in 2017. Another study shows that asylum seekers and recognized refugees cause, depending on the scenario, direct gross expenses between 5.9 to 8.3 billion Euros in 2015 and 9.0 to 14.3 billion Euros in 2016, all of this being projections (Sachverständigenrat 2015, p. 18). It is important to keep in mind that in these calculations, only expenditures for the refugees are taken into account, the revenue created directly or indirectly by refugees (through taxes or more employed people because of refugees) is ignored (IWK 2016, p. 5).

Interestingly but not surprising, as we have shown, the numbers about the projected costs of the influx of migrants differ widely. Even over the basic assumption, whether or not, in the long-term, the overall financial outcome will be positive or negative for German taxpayers, there is enormous discord. From costs for integration of over 300 billion Euros to a positive impact after a few years, each outcome seems possible according to the studies revised. Fratzscher and Junker (2015, p. 1083) have calculated a positive economic impact and call the integration of refugees into the German

employment market an investment into the future. They state that the key question is not whether refugees, in the long term, mean economic benefits for Germany, but rather how quickly the achievements of the refugees surpass the additional expenditures (see graphic 1) (ibid.). The DIW has calculated that the positive economic gain will be higher than the costs starting from 2020-25. IMF and the German Federal Bank agree with this assessment (Diekmann 2016, p. 1). It is stated that for each German citizen the costs – even if integration fails – will be less than 100 Euros each year, so in the opinion of Ziegler (2016, p. 3) the problem is not as severe as sometimes proclaimed by the media. Another calculation comes to the conclusion that the high annual lump sums of expenditure will decrease over time due to more and more refugees being able to find employment. This is considered in the budgetary projections. At the end of the integration process, the governmental expenditures for each individual have adjusted to the average spending for a regular German citizen. According to the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung (2016, p. 8) this amounts to 2,900 Euros per capita. Compared to the changes resulting from an ageing native population, the future volume of public spending for integrating refugees will be modest in comparison (ibid., p. 11).

Abbildung 1

Differenz aus positiven und negativen Effekten der Flüchtlingsmigration¹
Saldo in Prozent der Wirtschaftsleistung



¹ Durch Nachfrageimpulse sowie zusätzlichen Arbeitseinsatz generierte Mehrproduktion abzüglich der direkten Kosten für Unterbringung, Versorgung und Integration der Flüchtlinge sowie in späteren Jahren die Sozialleistungen für Flüchtlinge, die keiner Beschäftigung nachgehen.

Quelle: Berechnungen des DIW Berlin.

© DIW Berlin 2015

Nach einigen Jahren überwiegen die positiven Effekte stets die Kosten

Figure 3: Different scenarios about the effects of refugee migration to Germany. From: Integration von Flüchtlingen – eine langfristig lohnende Investition (Fratzscher and Junker 2015, p. 1086).

7.3 Projected expenditures per individual refugee

Our calculation on the level of the MAMBA network will consist of several steps. Firstly, the average amount of money the public sector (on federal, state and municipal level), is spending on an individual level per unemployed refugee each month/year is fundamental information for our calculations. Reputable sources (IAB, Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft) show that the calculations on how much an unemployed refugee costs the state on average is varying somewhat, but still within a reasonable range. We present a minimum and a maximum amount obtained, from the literature from which the average can be deducted as well. This ensures that we reflect a wide range of calculations available.

Three different studies with cost estimations for individuals will be presented. There are broadly diverging estimates about the direct costs incurring, with most scenarios using the services provided from public budgets as a basis. It is assumed that refugees receive social benefits under the *Asylum Seekers Benefits Act (AsylbLG)* or by the *Social Security Code (SGB) XII*. Based on the average gross expenditures in 2014 (and a small premium) 800 Euros are estimated for each month and entitled person (Sachverständigenrat 2015, p. 15). Fratzscher and Junker (2015, p. 1085) incorporate direct costs for accommodation, supply of basic needs and integrational measures in their estimates for individual spending on newly arrived refugees. 12,000 Euros per year is considered a plausible amount. This represents approximately one-third of the average per-capita income in Germany. Refugees with a residence permit but without employment, cost an average amount of 7,200 Euros per year (on basis of *Hartz-IV* payments and housing allowances). This being valid for the minimum (optimistic) scenario (ibid.). The German Association of Towns and Municipalities estimates the minimum costs for accommodation and provision at 13,000 Euros per year, the upper limit at 20,000 Euros (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung 2016, p. 8). However, no detailed explanation for the assumptions is provided. In a study conducted by the University of Cologne, the public spending for asylum seekers, Hartz IV recipients and “normal” residents have been calculated. The result is a basically equal amount of 12,000 Euros being spent on each of these groups. This is consistent with earlier studies and supports its robustness, although still somewhat speculative (Diekmann 2016, p. 2). According to the IAB (2014, p. 2), the annual overall costs per unemployed person has been relatively steady in the last ten

years with a range from 17,100 Euros to 19,200 Euros (in 2012: 18,600 Euros). Direct transfer-payments averaged between 6,500 Euros in 2005 and rose to 7,500 Euros in 2012. The IWK (2016, p. 5) works with solid 1,000 Euros as the direct costs for housing and provision, equally for *Hartz IV* benefits and asylum seeker benefits. Further, costs for language courses, integration courses, vocational training and schooling may occur.

Source	Estimation Minimum (€ per month)	Estimation average (€ per month)	Estimation Maximum (€ per month)
Sachverständigenrat 2015, p. 15		800	
Fratzscher/Junker 2015, p. 1085	600	1,000	
Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung 2016, p. 8	1,083		1,666
Diekmann 2016, p. 2		1,000	
IWK 2016, p. 5		1,000	

Table 1: Estimated costs based on studies

Following the apparent trend visible on the chart, we choose the average of 1,000 Euros per unemployed refugee per month, as well as the minimum of 600 Euros and maximum of 1,666 Euros. With the obtained information on individual costs we can calculate how much one unemployed refugee would cost the state over the course of the following 20 years. We chose the exemplary timeframe of 20 years, as it is mentioned repeatedly in the literature.⁸

timescale	calculation	result in €
minimum cost for 20 years	$600 * 12 * 20$	= 144,000
average cost for 20 years	$1,000 * 12 * 20$	= 240,000
maximum cost for 20 years	$1,666 * 12 * 20$	= 399,840

Table 2: Calculation of costs for 20 years

⁸ Brühl (2016, p. 3) states that because of the high costs of integration, only after 20 years or so a “fiscal dividend” generated by employed refugees can be expected. Additionally, in approximately 20 years especially many refugees are between 30 and 50 years old. In this stage of life, the amount of taxes paid is typically the highest and transfer payments the lowest (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung 2016, p. 9).

7.4 Projected calculation for the MAMBA network

Two MAMBA specific details are essential for further calculation. This is the cost of the MAMBA programme and the number of participants having been successfully integrated into employment. Our data is obtained from the official application for funding of MAMBA 3, which was provided to us by the network coordinator. Detailed statements by the sponsor agency, the *Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs* (BMAS) that cover the individual funding of MAMBA, were not available. The period under consideration will be confined to the last completed round of funding MAMBA 2. The reason being that the data from MAMBA 1 proves outdated (2008-2010) and cannot be easily combined with the more recent calculations from the previous chapter. MAMBA 3 on the other hand is still in process, so no significant results are available yet. It is important to stress that there are many aspects of MAMBA's work that will have a positive monetary impact on government spending, but cannot be directly attributed to the MAMBA network. In the interviews this problem was clearly articulated as well as exemplified. Just one example would be the psychosocial counselling being conducted by the GGUA and which most likely results in the reduction of follow-up costs for medical treatment, unemployment and criminal activity. This is obviously speculative and therefore very difficult and expensive to measure, which proves our point.

For the time period from 01.11.2010 – 30.06.2015 (57 months), MAMBA 2 received total funding of 2,460,000 Euros (MAMBA 2015, p. 5). 90% (2,214,000 Euros) were contributed by the BMAS and the ESF, of which, according to the eligibility conditions (BMAS 2010, p.5), a maximum of 50% come from the ESF and a maximum of 40% from the BMAS. The distribution is being channelled exclusively through the BMAS. In the case of MAMBA, the remaining 10% (246,000 Euros) are provided by the local JobCenter in the form of personnel costs for their employees who are dedicated exclusively on working for the MAMBA network. With this information we calculate – by dividing the direct expenses of the action with the estimated spending for non-working refugees - how many persons would have to be brought into employment in order to make the investment positive:

Range	calculation	result
at minimum cost	2,460,000 / 144,000	= 17.08
at average cost	2,460,000 / 240,000	= 10.25
at maximum cost	2,460,000 / 399,840	= 6.15

Table 3: Break-even calculation based on the number of cases

The resulting numbers are manageable, as it would need only 17 successful long-term job placements in the minimum scenario, slightly more than 10 participants in the medium scenario and slightly more than 6 in the maximum scenario. In its second round of funding, MAMBA was able to reach 1000 participants, of which 340 (34%) could be placed successfully into employment, vocational training or long-term qualification measures (MAMBA 2015, p. 5). For our calculation, we expect all of these 340 participants to be successfully integrated into long-term employment which is subject to social insurance contribution.

We also divide the direct costs of the action by the number of participants that were successfully integrated into employment. The resulting figure is the cost for MAMBA of integrating one person successfully into employment:

cost of programme / participants helped into employment = programme cost per person

2,460,000 Euros / 340 persons = 7,235.29 Euros per person

7.5 Results

Although our analysis has been conducted with limited information and simplified means and is hypothetical, the result points to MAMBA being a very reasonable investment. As we have seen in the scenarios, the boundary for reaching the break-even point of the investment is not high (17 participants in the minimum scenario, 10 participants in the average scenario, or only 6 persons in the scenario with the maximum costs of provision for refugees). MAMBA was able to surpass the average scenario thus by far with 340 successful placements whereas only 10 were necessary. If we take it a step further, MAMBA's labour market integration measures helped saving 79,200,000 Euros for the public sector. This results from following calculation: Already with 10 placements the

break-even point is reached. The other 330 successfully placed participants save costs of 240,000 Euros each on average. $330 * 240,000 = 79,200,000$ Euros. Therefore, we can say that the economic analysis points to the project generating a positive net value and the outcomes achieved justify the investment of resources.

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