

INTEGRATION STRATEGY GROUP

A Tale of Three Cities: New migration and integration realities in Istanbul, Offenbach and Tangier

Jessica Bither, Isabel Küppers and Astrid Ziebarth

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About the Integration Strategy Group

The Integration Strategy Group (ISG) is a joint initiative of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). It is an expert exchange to assess the current opportunities and challenges of integration practices in Morocco, Turkey, and Germany.

The aim of the Integration Strategy Group is to exchange internationally and generate insights for future policies and good practices in the policy field of integration, a field that is important from a domestic, but also a regional and foreign policy point of view for creating a stable neighborhood.

To this end, an interdisciplinary group of twenty Moroccan, Turkish, and German officials and non-government stakeholders from the migration policy field are meeting three times over the course of 2016 in Germany, Turkey, and Morocco. Brief reports will be generated from the exchange.

The Integration Strategy Group is based on the premise that human mobility to all three countries will continue and that integration and inclusion practices are needed. Successful integration practices promote trust between migrants and receiving societies and create inclusive societies based on mutual understanding. The integration and inclusion of different migrant groups can greatly facilitate economic exchange, development and growth opportunities and create the basis for social stability. On the other hand, the non-integration of immigrants, refugees and return migrants can lead to greater social, economic and political friction, potentially hindering economic development and fostering instable security situations. While Morocco, Turkey, and Germany face different sets of issues related to migration and integration, each country is in transition and must meet the challenge of creating integrated and inclusive societies.

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* The views expressed here are the views of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the position of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH or of those who participated in the Integration Strategy Group activities.

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IN BRIEF

More people than ever are on the move, and moving more quickly than ever before. Migration challenges will be a defining feature of our century, and cities are already at its forefront. Migrants often land in urban centers, since this is where their social support networks and economic opportunities are, and it is here, at the local level, that integration happens. At a time when the discourse on international migration is highly politicized and even toxic, cities can act as policy innovators for national migration plans and narratives.

Today's cities are experiencing new migration realities. Some metropolises are confronted with large numbers of permanent migrants or long-term refugees while others primarily host refugees or migrants en route to other destinations. Istanbul in Turkey, Offenbach in Germany, and Tangier in Morocco are three cities that offer a glimpse of how international migration appears in specific regional and national contexts. The experiences of these cities underscore how the role and challenges of cities is a crucial element in the international migration policy debate, especially if we seek to build a system that can better manage migration and mobility in the years ahead.

Introduction

Migration and integration are highly political and often politicized issues. As the refugee crisis in Europe has shown, migration can lead to confrontations between and within countries. But it is below the national level that societal changes and frictions materialize, and it is cities that face the complexity of new migration realities head on. Many cities must deal simultaneously with hyper-diversity and rapid urbanization, accompanied by social change that can challenge public order. Basic services such as access to health care and education need to be provided to growing numbers; yet they must also be tailored to the changing needs of an increasingly diverse population.

More and more cities, in the global North as well as the global South, are experiencing new conditions of migration. The challenges differ according to the type of newcomers: permanent migrants, transit migrants, refugees from war torn countries, return migrants. They are also shaped by the total numbers and diversity of these migrants. But all cities face the complex challenge of integrating newcomers into the local urban fabric, sometimes in a very short period of time. These challenges range from promoting migrant social inclusion through city planning, housing, and the management of diversity, to combating potential threats to public order and social cohesion. The most vulnerable migrants need protection. This often strains financial resources. Urban centers also have the potential to act as policy innovators by creating laboratories for local interpretations of national migration plans and narratives. They can even circumvent the politicized debates that national governments face and act as catalysts for change on the national and international level.

There has been a growing focus on cities and their role in migration and integration practices and international city networks. Take, for example, conferences like Maytree's Cities of Migration, Eurocities Metropolis, or the Mayoral Forum on Migration and Development (MFMD). The World Migration Report 2015 was titled "Migrants and Cities: New Partnerships to Manage Mobility."¹ Yet, as the MFMD's Barcelona Declaration lamented, the voices of cities in global forums dealing with migration policy are still underrepresented.²

Istanbul in Turkey, Offenbach in Germany, Tangier in Morocco. These are three cities that offer a glimpse into how international migration appears in specific regional and national contexts. They offer different perspectives of cities that differ in size, types of challenges, and governance competencies.³

¹ "World Migration Report 2015." International Organization for Migration, 2015. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.iom.int/world-migration-report-2015>.

² "Mayoral Forum on Mobility, Migration and Development "Call of Barcelona." City of Barcelona. 2014. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.bcn.cat/novaciudadania/pdf/ca/home/DeclaracioBcn.en.pdf>.

³ The presentation of the context and findings are based on authors own research and interviews with experts and public officials from each city.

Istanbul: migration metropolis

I ISTANBUL'S MIGRATION PROFILE

Istanbul is the capital and largest city of Turkey with 14.6 million inhabitants in a country of almost 80 million. It is a transcontinental city spanning Europe and Asia. The city has 39 districts, each with its own elected municipalities, and one main metropolitan municipality that deals with overarching issues, such as public transportation.⁵ By and large, the city government is closely linked to the central

government, and Turkey's current president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, was the mayor of Istanbul from 1994 to 1998. Istanbul is a typical example of rapid urbanization, with most of the growth having happened since the 1980s when only four million people lived in the city.⁶ Istanbul has been a major migration hub, both for internal migrants mostly from southern and eastern Turkey and the Black Sea region, as well as regular and irregular migrants and refugees from Iran and Iraq, the Balkans, and increasingly also from sub-Saharan and Western Africa. Istanbul also serves as a major transit city, where many migrants stop to earn money to continue their journey.

Since 2011, Istanbul has seen a rapid increase of Syrian refugees: 203,000 were registered as of March 2015; a year later, this number has almost doubled. 395,000 of the currently 2.8 million Syrian refugees in Turkey were officially registered in Istanbul. Only ten percent of Syrian refugees in Turkey reside in camps; the 90 percent outside the camps are spread across Turkish cities such as Istanbul or

Population: 14,600,000

Syrian refugee population: 400,000 (2.74 %) (estimate)

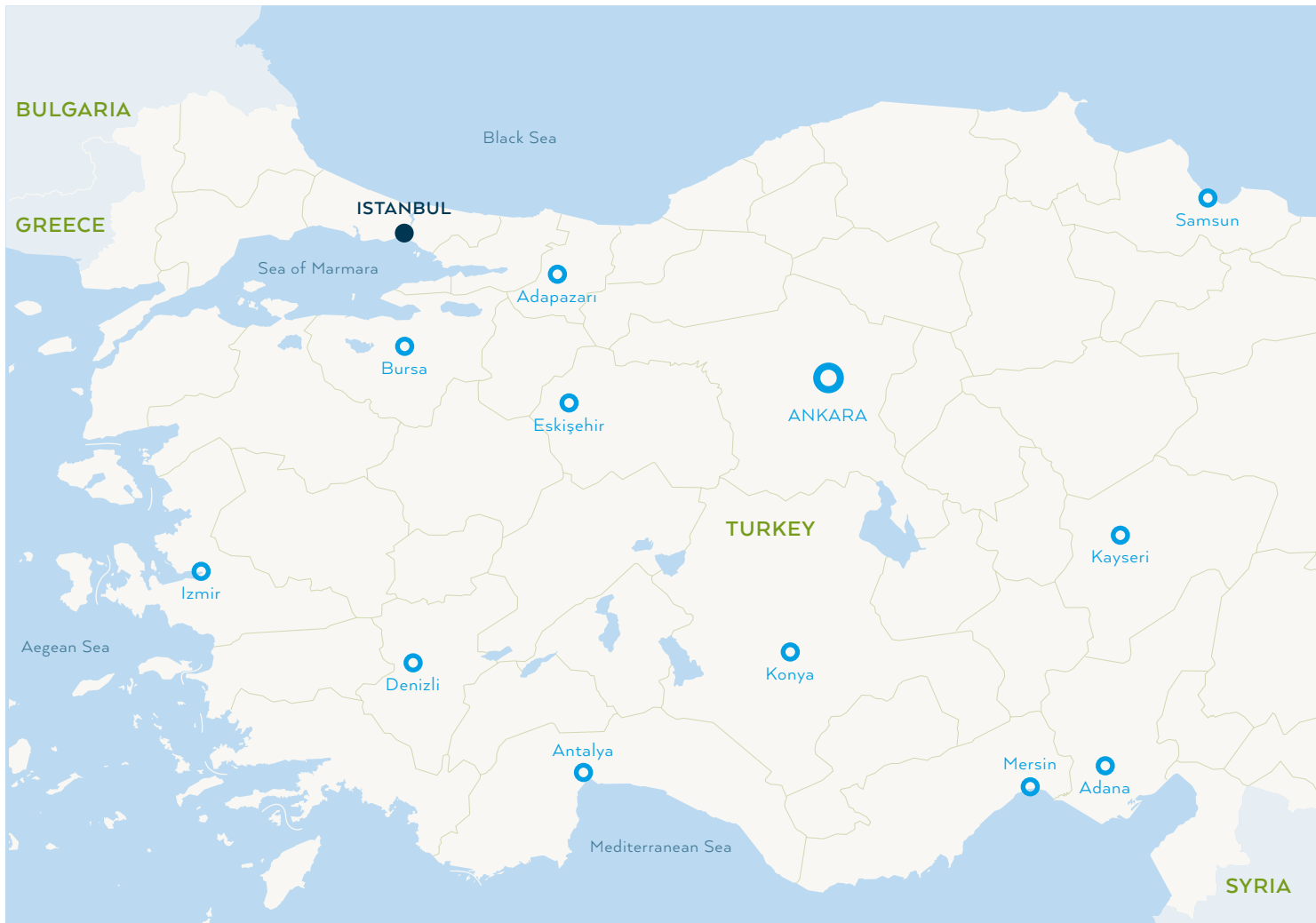
Unemployment rate: 15.5 %⁴

NATIONAL POLICY CONTEXT

In 2013, for the first time, the Turkish government passed a comprehensive **Law on Foreigners and International Protection** (Law No. 6458) aimed at coordinating aspects of immigration including humanitarian aspects, irregular migration, as well as integration practices. It introduced the legal concept of temporary protection to provide a legal base for the de facto protection Turkey had been giving to Syrians since 2011. The law, which came into force in spring 2014, further centralized migration policy in Turkey by creating the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) as part of the interior ministry.

Turkey still upholds the geographic limitation of the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, providing a refugee status only to those fleeing from a European country. the **Temporary Protection Regulation** provides for: the stay of Syrians in Turkey, migrants' free access to health care, the education of immigrants, and work permits for migrants. It prohibits punishment for those who entered Turkey irregularly. In practice, there are several criteria that need to be met to get a work permit, and processing times for temporary protection can take months. In January 2016, Turkey stopped the visa-free entry for Syrians and introduced a **visa requirement for Syrians** arriving from third countries via air or sea, which in effect means that only those arriving directly from Syria are granted temporary protection.

In terms of integration practices, the concept in Turkey is *uyum*, or "harmonization," that GDMM defines as: "Harmonization stipulated by law and in the duties of our Directorate General is neither and assimilation nor an integration. It is rather a voluntary harmonization resulting from mutual understanding between migrants and society." The official measures include providing education services to migrants, and utilizing government services to increase knowledge about Turkish political structure, language, legal system, culture, and history. The education sector is of vital importance for integration, and the education ministry is currently putting special emphasis on integrating Syrian school children into regular Turkish schools rather than upholding the parallel structures of the Temporary Education Centers (TEC) and Syrian schools in Turkey. Those were created as a first response to swiftly continue education for Syrian children, but Turkey is now realizing that it has to develop long-term measures for integration and that those children may very well become a vital part of Turkish society down the road.



border towns such as Gaziantep or Sanliurfa. They navigate their way, often without proper language skills, to find housing, jobs, and schooling. With the war in Syria continuing, it is becoming apparent that the label “guest” is a misnomer. In Turkey, Syrians are not considered refugees, but rather people under *temporary protection*⁷ (emphasis added), or guests. But many Syrians are now preparing for more permanent stays. Cities such as Istanbul face the situation where they have to move beyond emergency and basic care to think about longer-term measures for integration.

⁴ "Istanbul in Numbers." Great Istanbul. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.greatistanbul.com/numbers.html>.

⁵ Burak Sansal, Great Istanbul blog, "Districts of Istanbul." Accessed on August 25, 2016 <http://www.greatistanbul.com/district.html>

⁶ Çağlar Keyder, "Capital City Resurgent: Istanbul since the 1980s." Lecture held at public lecture series on Turkey, initiated by the Chair in Contemporary Turkish Studies at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Turkish Studies Programme at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at London, December 8, 2008. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/ContemporaryTurkishStudies/Keyder.pdf>

⁷ Not all Syrians automatically receive temporary protection in Turkey. After a change in laws in early 2016, Syrians who have entered Turkey from third countries, such as Iraq, Lebanon or Jordan do not qualify for temporary protection and the services offered under this status (e.g. access to health care, working permit, access to education.)

II INTEGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES

Istanbul faces three main challenges in integration and providing services to refugees: 1) solving legal and financial issues for the municipalities; 2) fear of growing antipathy against refugees; and, 3) tackling child labor and providing education for children.

THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

The municipalities of Istanbul have neither the official mandate, the funds, nor the know-how to provide integration services to refugees. The municipalities are not officially tasked to provide services, and a legal change would be required to allow them to do so. Many have created piecemeal solutions, collaborating with NGOs to run community centers or other facilities to help with registration, covering basic needs, as well as activities for children and psycho-social support. But municipalities in Istanbul lack proper funding as budgets are allocated based on the official number of inhabitants in their district and refugees are not counted as inhabitants.⁸ Hence, the funding but also incentive to provide proper services is limited. Some municipalities, however, are very active in this regard, such as Sultanbeyli, Fatih, and Küçükçekmece. Lastly, there is no official integration strategy at the moment for the city of Istanbul or for the Syrian refugees overall. Organizational structures such as the directorate for migration, as was established in the city of Gaziantep, and which has been hailed as a success, are not in place. A notable exception is the municipality of Zeytinburnu that is building on integration expertise and infrastructure that has been in place for many years. It had previously provided language classes and other services for Turkish Kurds and Afghans which it can now provide to Syrians as well.

SOCIAL TENSIONS

Increasingly, observers in Turkey predict growing resentment against refugees.⁹ Generally, the public is still calm, open, and friendly in light of the high number of refugees who have come in such a short time period of time, as well as those who have been living in the city for years. However, with the increasing visibility of refugees, such as Arabic shop signs and Syrian shops like barbers and second-hand furniture stores, concerns of an increase in tensions are growing. Residents of Istanbul complain that they are competing on the job market with Syrian workers, who often work for lower wages in a city that has an unemployment rate of about 15%.¹⁰ However, no reliable figures or evidence exists yet on the actual impact of Syrian refugees on local employment. The challenge is to ensure that Istanbul residents do not feel that they are losing out or are being left behind in times of scarce resources and overburdened public services. It is important that services rendered to refugees, like job training, are also available to Istanbulers. When President Erdogan announced in early July that Syrians would get Turkish citizenship, there was a public outcry.

Children are a particular challenge in Istanbul. Many of the Syrian school-age children are not enrolled in schools, and there is a high rate of child labor. This is not specific to Istanbul, but it seems to be serious. It is said that there are about 800,000 school-age Syrian kids in Turkey outside the camps and about 25% of them are enrolled. For Istanbul, one recent study of household surveys among Syrian refugees found that the average enrollment rate is only 14%.¹¹ Over a quarter of the parents surveyed stated

⁸ Interview with Professor Murat Erdogan, August 2016.

⁹ Hansen, Suzy, "The Erdogan Loyalists and the Syrian Refugees: Faced with an influx of new Arab neighbors, a conservative neighborhood in Istanbul struggles with the question of what it means to be a Turk," New York Times Magazine, July 20, 2016. <http://nyti.ms/2afKa2w>

¹⁰ Burak Sansal, Great Istanbul blog, "Istanbul in Numbers."

¹¹ Support to Life, "Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Istanbul." Report, April 2016. <http://openaccess.bilgi.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11411/823/Vulnerability%20Assessment%20of%20Syrian%20refugees%20in%20C4%B0stanbul%20April%202016.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

that they needed their children to go to work rather than go to school. About 20% stated that they could not afford to pay education expenses. Most children are employed in the textile or the service sector, as well as in kiosks and grocery shops.

III THE WAY FORWARD

In order to address the challenges of Istanbul's municipalities' limited capacities, and counter child labor and increasing social tension, there has to be a general societal acceptance that Syrians will not just be temporary guests. It would be helpful for the municipalities to have a migration or integration commissioner in the metropolitan municipality who could mainstream and coordinate efforts across

the districts and ensure transfer of knowledge. A legal change should also take place to allow the municipalities to render services to refugees as part of their official mandate. In order to counter child labor, a better coordination with workforce inspection of the labor ministry might be helpful. However, as families are often dependent on the income of children, support structures for families have to be increased. At the same time, enrollment in schools has to be massively increased and incentivized in order to prevent the creation of a lost generation. In cases where the Turkish government is not fully able to provide funds, international donors should support the public service structures. However, public service infrastructure needs to be supported with the aim to

cater to the needs of all inhabitants of Istanbul. NGOs should be supported to engage in activities that bring residents and refugee populations into meaningful exchange with one another. Social media campaigns should accompany such public outreach strategies, portraying the refugees in a human way and showcasing the benefits that they bring to cities, such as creating jobs.

GOOD EXAMPLES: INTEGRATION PROJECTS IN ISTANBUL

In order to raise the educational success of Syrian children in Istanbul, in 2016 the Mother Child Education Foundation (ACEV) initiated a ten-week **Summer Preschool Program** in collaboration with the education ministry and partly funded by Siemens. It targets five to six year-old Syrians and provides intensive language classes, instruction on hygiene, and boosts self-confidence and social skills. The foundation's experts also train preschool teachers and provide capacity development so that they can deliver training in the future.

Pages Bookstore Café is the first Arabic bookstore in Istanbul and is located in the historical neighborhood of Ayvansaray in Fatih. It was opened by a Syrian refugee in July 2015. While the bookstore caters mainly to Arabic speaking and Syrian people of the city, it also functions as a meeting space with native Istanbul residents. The bookstore hosts cultural events, readings, discussions, author signings, workshops, and performances, as well as showcasing Syrian culture and food.^{12 13}

Small Projects Istanbul (SPI) is an NGO set up in fall 2015 and assists students and families from Syria. SPI organizes after-school and weekend Turkish classes for children from Syria and coordinates other enrichment activities, such as art programs and outdoor play. It grants scholarships to promising individuals from Syria in order to help them complete the prerequisite courses they need in order to resume their education in Turkey. It also runs the Olive Tree Women's Craft Collective from its community center in Fatih, providing the opportunity for skills development and livelihood support to women displaced by the war in Syria. The website: <http://www.smallprojectsistanbul.org/small-projects-istanbul-mission/>

¹² "It's Not Just a Bookstore ... It's Not Just a Café." Pages Bookstore Café. 2015. Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.pagesbookstorecafe.com/>.

¹³ Arango, Tim, "Syrian Migrants in Istanbul Confront Choice: Stay or Move On." New York Times. December 23, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/24/world/europe/syrian-migrants-in-istanbul-confront-choice-stay-or-move-on.html>.

Offenbach: the German arrival city

I OFFENBACH'S MIGRATION PROFILE

Offenbach is part of the Frankfurt/Main metropolitan region. It has the highest proportion (36.5 %) of foreign-born residents of any city in Germany, and one of the highest in the European Union. It also has the highest percentage of those with a "migration background" (59.5 %), which is German terminology for first, second, and third generation Germans.¹⁷ This makes it Germany's most diverse city.¹⁸ In 2013, 80.5 % of children aged three or younger had a migration background.¹⁹

Population 130,000

Foreign-born population: 48,000 (36.5 %)¹⁴

Unemployment rate: 9.8 % (September 2016)¹⁵

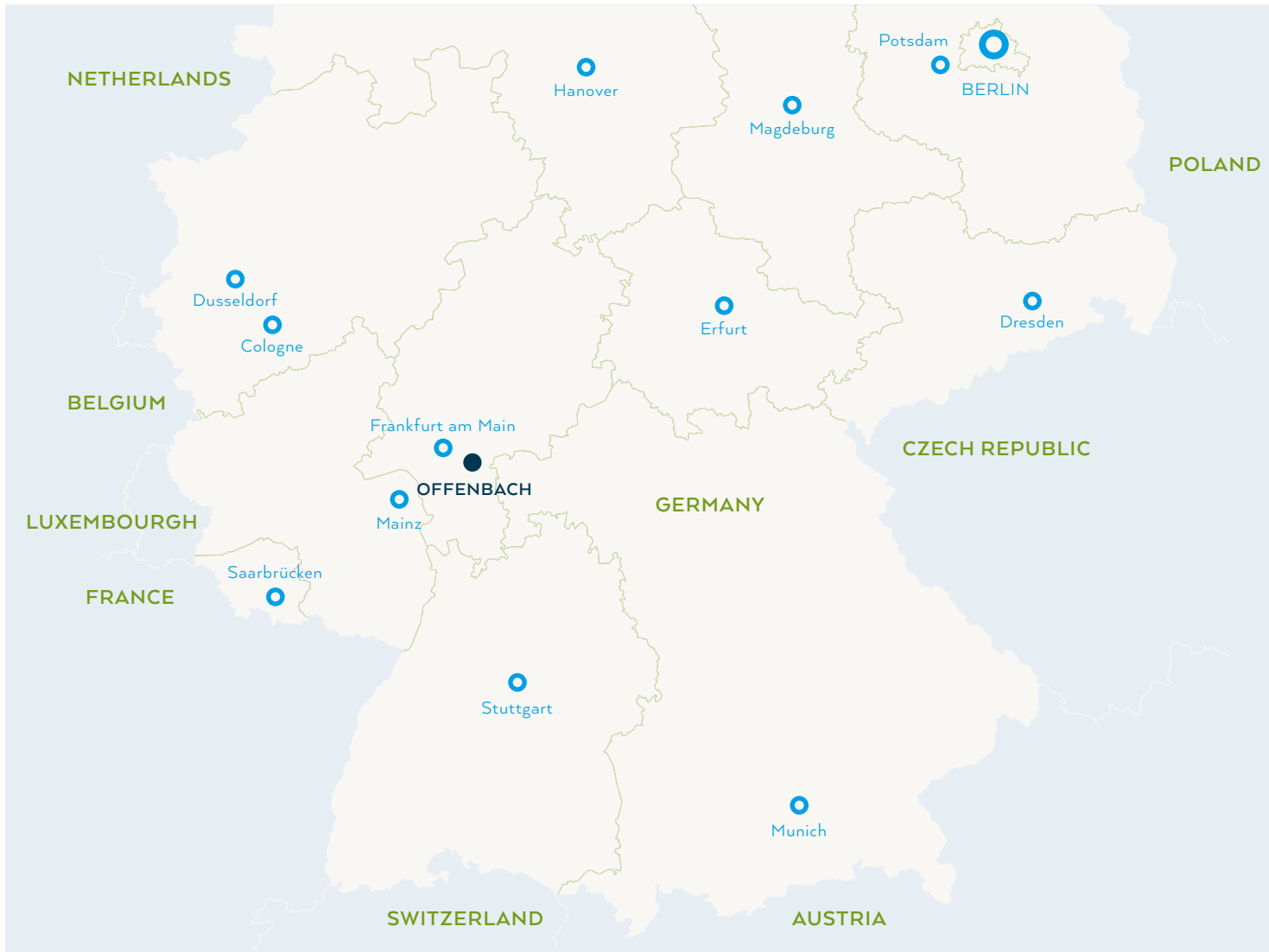
NATIONAL MIGRATION POLICY CONTEXT

The arrival in Germany of over one million asylum seekers in 2015 brought the issues of migration and integration to the forefront of the public and policy debate. Current developments in German immigration policy are rooted in the **reform process** that began with the reform of the Nationality Act of 2000. After a long debate, the **Immigration Act** came into force on January 1, 2005, containing provisions on foreign workers, the reception of refugees and asylum-seekers, and for the first time made integration a federal responsibility. The German citizenship law had already undergone significant reforms. In 1993, a right to naturalization was established; in 2000, a new **Nationality Act** came into force introducing a cautious version of German citizenship based on jus soli. In 2014, regulations amended provisions allowing those "born and raised in Germany" to keep their dual nationality.

Other main federal initiatives include: **the Islam Conference**, established in 2006 as annual forum to discuss areas of mutual concern between the German state and Muslims living in Germany; the **Integration Summit**, initiated in the same year by the federal chancellery to bring together stakeholders from government, employers, migrant associations, and civil society. **Integration courses** were introduced in 2005 and made mandatory in 2015 for new migrants with insufficient language skills. In addition to language instruction, they also offer an introduction to the German legal system and German history, and seek to convey knowledge about moral values deemed important in German society.

In August 2016, a comprehensive **Integration Law** entered into force, which included mandatory integration and language courses for asylum seekers most likely to become recognized refugees and sanctions for those who fail to attend via cut of benefits; restriction to choice of residence location in the first three years for those asylum seekers unable to provide for themselves; suspension in most parts of Germany of the "priority review regulation" for job openings for the next three years, (which requires that employers can only give a job to an asylum seeker if no German nor EU citizen is available for the job); creation of 100,000 low-skilled jobs for asylum seekers in mostly municipal or welfare organizations, such as handing out food in refugee shelters or taking care of green spaces.¹⁶

Offenbach was an industrial city and has experienced (inter)national migration since the 19th century from other parts of Germany and Eastern Europe. Along with migration to Germany as a whole, it received many guest workers from Turkey, Italy, Greece, and other countries from 1951 to 1977; by 1970, the foreign-born population stood at 10 %. This figure rose steadily, to 20 % in 1987, and to over 35 % today. Second and third generation migrants – Germans with a migrant-family background – today mix with new arrivals, including many from Bulgaria and Romania. As a result, Offenbach was featured at the architectural biennale in Venice in 2016 in the German Pavilion as a prototype of an "Arrival City" – and hailed as an example for largely successful integration policies.²⁰ With the most recent increase in asylum seekers in Germany, Offenbach is home to a registration center with more than 2,000 refugees living there in peak times. A growing number of refugees seek permanent residence in the city once their asylum applications are approved.



- ¹⁴ Stadt Offenbach am Main, Melderegister OF, „Auswertungen Statistik und Wahlen“ June 30, 2016. <https://www.offenbach.de/rathaus/stadtinfo/offenbach-in-zahlen/statistikbevoelkerung.php#SP-grouplist-0-1:1>
- ¹⁵ Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Statistik, „Arbeitsmarkt im Überblick“ August 2016 <https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Navigation/Statistik/Statistik-nach-Regionen/BA-Gebietsstruktur/Hessen/Offenbach-Nav.html>
- ¹⁶ Jessica Bither and Astrid Ziebarth, *In it for the Long Run: Integration Lessons from a Changing Germany*. The German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (Washington, D.C. and Eshborn: forthcoming 2016.)
- ¹⁷ The official census includes “the population group with a migration background [consisting of] all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today’s Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany.” In legal terms, this definition also often includes third generation migrants. Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Wiesbaden, “Personen mit Migrationshintergrund,” access via the Destatis website: <https://www.destatis.de/DE/ZahlenFakten/GesellschaftStaat/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Methoden/PersonenMitMigrationshintergrund.html>
- ¹⁸ Stadt Offenbach am Main Rathaus & Service, Statistische Informationen https://www.offenbach.de/medien/bindata/of/Statistik_und_wahlen_/dir-18/dir-29/BEV3-Aktuell_Migrationshintergrund.pdf.
- ¹⁹ Stadt Offenbach am Main Dezernat III/81.3 Arbeitsförderung, Statistik und Integration, „Integration - Aufgabe für Bürger und Kommune. 10 Jahre Integrationskonzept der Stadt Offenbach“, May 2015, p.18
- ²⁰ For journalist Doug Saunders, author of the book *Arrival City*, ethnic neighborhoods should not be seen as hindering integration, rather they can allow new arrivals to be more successful under the right conditions. Important prerequisites for a good arrival city are “affordable housing, access to work, small-scale commercial spaces, good access to public transit, networks of immigrants from the same culture, as well as a tolerant attitude that extends to the acceptance of informal practices.” Arrival cities also bear a disproportionate financial burden

Today, Offenbach is home to people from 152 countries. No one group dominates, creating a high degree of diversity even within the migrant population. According to a city official, this lays a decent groundwork for integration, as it does not lead to cultural and social segregation along ethnic lines. It makes finding a common denominator, say through the German language, even more important for everyone living in Offenbach.²¹

II INTEGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES

High diversity can be both an asset and a challenge, as services provided need to be tailored to ever more different target groups. For Offenbach two challenges stand out: 1) creating a holistic municipal strategy that can deliver its services to diverse groups while maintaining social cohesion, and 2) addressing the city’s social issues.

A MUNICIPAL STRATEGY ON INTEGRATION

Offenbach was a city that embraced the challenge that high diversity can pose. It was one of the first German cities that created an integration concept as early as 2004. It formulated concrete goals, such as equal opportunities in education and intercultural opening, and concrete measures by which to reach them. Since then, it has followed an integrated approach to integration policies across various sectors and offices of public administration. It applies its integration strategies across four key policy areas (see Box 1) and with a diverse set of local stakeholders from the private and civil society sector, such as chambers of commerce, migrant self-organizations, religious councils, and the police. For example, the director of the Job Center also heads the integration portfolio of the city; the office has the mandate to conduct employment measures as a larger social development policy in Offenbach further. The emphasis for Offenbach is on providing services for all citizens, not just integration measures aimed at migrants. It also includes as a central component an emphasis on public order and security as a core measures for living together. For instance, the city prides itself on rigorously combating abuse of the welfare system, irregular forms of employment, and precarious living situations of migrants.

UIS OFFENBACH – STRATEGIC POLICY AREAS				
	EDUCATION	URBAN DEVELOPMENT	SOCIAL COHESION	EMPLOYMENT
Policies and fields of action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic planning • Counselling • Early intervention (language training at child age) • Social work at schools • Outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limiting segregation • Re-balancing social structure • Shaping urban density • Encouraging and supporting immigrant careers and social mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhood management • Making migrant communities part of civil society • New formats of communication • Keep an eye on peace and order 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local jobcenter • Supporting entrepreneurship • Skills strategy • Management of school-to-work-transitions

Source: Matthias Schulze-Böing, 2016

²¹ Matthias Schulze-Böing, "Wie schaffen wir Das? Integration als Herausforderung für Städte." *Nachrichten des deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge*, August 2016, 351-57.

Offenbach has further benefitted from the federal initiative "Soziale Stadt," which began with an active "neighborhood management" (*Quartiersmanagement*) in 2002 in one of Offenbach's eastern districts that was host to a concentration of social problems and had many migrants. The program, which operates on the principles of "activation," "co-production," and "integration of diversity," was so successful that it was expanded to three other districts, and since then is a central component of the city's integration strategy.²² So far, the program has proven successful, reducing poverty rates as well as segregation in inner-city districts.²³

SOCIAL TENSIONS

Offenbach is not paradise, and for a long time had the reputation as Frankfurt's "ugly sister." It has its share of social problems, such as a higher level of unemployment than Germany as a whole (9.8%²⁴ compared to 5.9%²⁵) and an above average rate of inhabitants with low-income social welfare recipients. Its poverty rate is almost double that of the national average (15.8% compared to 8.0% on the national level).²⁶ It has criminal issues, too, such as organized crime that appears to be linked to social welfare abuse. Applications of social welfare among Bulgarians migrants rose from 12% in 2006 to 31% in 2015; city officials suspect a professionalized criminal scheme behind the increase. Many new migrants also have fallen victim to precarious housing situations in which they pay landlords large sums for sub-standard apartments that are sometimes shared with many people.²⁷ However, crime statistics in Offenbach are not higher than in other German cities.²⁸ Finally, the city has chronically weak public finances, as well as high levels of public debt. Despite these social problems, intercultural conflict per se is not a significant issue in Offenbach, according to the head of the Job Center and the department for integration policies Matthias Schulze-Böing. The city's integration department has established a number of conflict-solution mechanisms, for example a network of intercultural conflict mediators who can intervene in cases of interethnic conflicts in neighborhoods.

III THE WAY FORWARD

Due to its early embrace of its diversity and integrated approach to urban integration, Offenbach is well positioned to meet its challenges as an arrival city. The strengths of Offenbach in this regard are the strong network structures that exists between the various stakeholders and public administrations, as well as dedicated individuals who sit in positions that can translate the voice of migrant organizations into action.

As its public administration is cognizant of the fact that "our services mainly impact people with a migrant background," it is trying to bring people with migrant background and intercultural

²² About Offenbach's Quartiersmanagement: <http://www.offenbach.de//leben-in-of/stadtteile-quartiersmanagement/index.php>.

²³ See the City's Social Report 2015. http://www.offenbach.de/medien/bindata/of/dir-11/sozialplanung/Sozialbericht-2015_Final.pdf

²⁴ Bundesagentur für Arbeit, "Statistik Berichtsmonat Juli 2016." <https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Navigation/Statistik/Statistik-nach-Regionen/BA-Gebietsstruktur/Hessen/Offenbach-Nav.html>

²⁵ Statistisches Bundesamt, "Juli 2016: Erwerbstätigkeit steigt weiterhin kräftig an", press release No. 302, August 31, 2016. https://www.destatis.de/DE/PresseService/Presse/Pressemitteilungen/2016/08/PD16_302_132.html

²⁶ The rate of adults receiving basic assistance among the working-age population (15-64); see: https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/nn_1021948/SiteGlobals/Forms/Rubrikensuche/Rubrikensuche_Form.html?view=processForm&resourceId=210368&input_=&pageLocale=de&topicId=1023370&year_month=aktuell&year_month.GROUP=1&search=Suchen

²⁷ Sarah Kempf, "Sozialhilfe-Betrug Abhängig von skrupellosen Betrügern." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, August 24, 2016. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/rhein-main/offenbach-sozialhilfe-betrug-bei-bulgaren-geprueft-14401475.html>.

²⁸ Germany. Bundesministerium Des Inneren. *Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik 2015*. Berlin, 2015, p.26. Accessed September 28, 2016. https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Broschueren/2016/pks-2015.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

competencies into the public administration. The goal is an active outreach strategy to the communities. To this end, intercultural competencies receive added weight in public hiring processes. Like many other urban centers in Germany, Offenbach is growing, and affordable housing is becoming scarce. In order to meet the housing demand and attract a more diverse set (read: wealthier people) of new city dwellers, Offenbach has begun a new urban building plan, which includes developing the public harbor as a residential and commercial area. This may ease the strained public coffers.

GOOD EXAMPLES: INTEGRATION PROJECTS IN OFFENBACH

The Kompetenzteam Integration was established to improve communication channels between communities in the city and the public administration. It consists of migrants and religious organizations as well as members of the foreigners council (official bodies established to give migrants political voice in every German city and public administration). In addition to regular dialogue, members decide on concrete initiatives, for instance information events regarding public health, vocational training, and educational issues.

Muslim Round Table: The Muslim round table brings together the leaders of most of the Muslim communities in Offenbach and municipal leaders on a regular basis to discuss matters of mutual concern. In one instance, in 2013, Salafist youth violently attacked a TV team in front of a mosque. Thanks to the established structure, the roundtable was able to respond quickly, condemning the attack and sending a strong critical message to the public. It signed an agreement with the city titled "Offenbach against Violence," committing to tolerance, respect, and non-violent solutions.²⁹

According to city officials, one main focus of the city is to create a "bridging social capital" that establishes a common ground among difference and diversity together with migrant self-organizations, and to discourage alienation and social segregation of certain groups and members of society. The most important thing, according to Böing, is to listen to the city and pick up impulses from its citizens.

²⁹ City of Offenbach. Dezernat III. *Offenbacher Erklärung gegen Gewalt und Intoleranz*. June 18, 2013. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://www.offenbach.de/medien/bindata/of/integration-und-zuwanderung/offenbacher-erklaerung-gegen-gewalt-und-intoleranz.pdf>.

Tangier: city at a crossroads

I TANGIER'S MIGRATION PROFILE

Tangier, Morocco's fifth largest city located at the northernmost tip of the African continent, is considered a gateway from Africa to Europe. The Strait of Gibraltar between Morocco and Spain separates the two continents only by 15 km. Due to its geographic and historical position at the intersection between Europe, Africa and the Arab world, Tangier is both a city of transit and departure for Moroccan and Sub-Saharan migrants, as well as arrival city an entry point for migrants from other Moroccan regions, as well as Europe and Sub-Sahara Africa.

Since the mid-1990s, the increase of both internal and external migration has gone hand in hand with important economic transformations that saw new industrial and commercial developments.³³ In July 2016, the Regional Center for Investments in Tangier declared that 54 investment projects worth 336 million euros had been underway in the first semester of 2016, which represents an increase of 370% compared to the same period in 2015. Today, 5,145 out of the 942,800, or roughly 0.55 % of the inhabitants of the city of Tangier are officially registered foreigners, however, unofficial numbers are much higher. Besides a large

Population 943,000

City foreign born population: 5,145 officially registered foreigners (0.55 %) plus several thousand undocumented migrants whose exact number is not available
Regional unemployment rate 10.7 %³⁰

THE NATIONAL MIGRATION POLICY CONTEXT

Morocco has predominantly been a country of emigration. Post-colonial Morocco, in particular, saw a great increase in emigration due to labor recruitment agreements signed with European countries. In the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of Moroccans, mainly from the northern regions, left their homes to seek jobs in Western Europe, such as France, Germany, Belgium, and Spain. In the 1990s, the closing of European borders led to an increase of irregular crossings of the Mediterranean Sea that continue today. In 2015, the European border agency Frontex registered 7,164 illegal border crossings on the western Mediterranean route (sea and land.)³¹

In 2013, Morocco was the first North African country to launch a new immigration and asylum strategy, responding to the changes in migratory movements and to the reality that Morocco has also become de facto a country of destination. The mandate of the Ministry of Moroccans Living Abroad was expanded to include Migration Affairs (MCMREAM) and charged with developing and implementing new migration policies in the areas of immigration, asylum, the fight against human trafficking, and integration. As part of this new focus, between 2014 and 2015 approximately 27,000 migrants were regularized as part of a national campaign. There are approximately 86,000 officially registered migrants in Morocco.³²

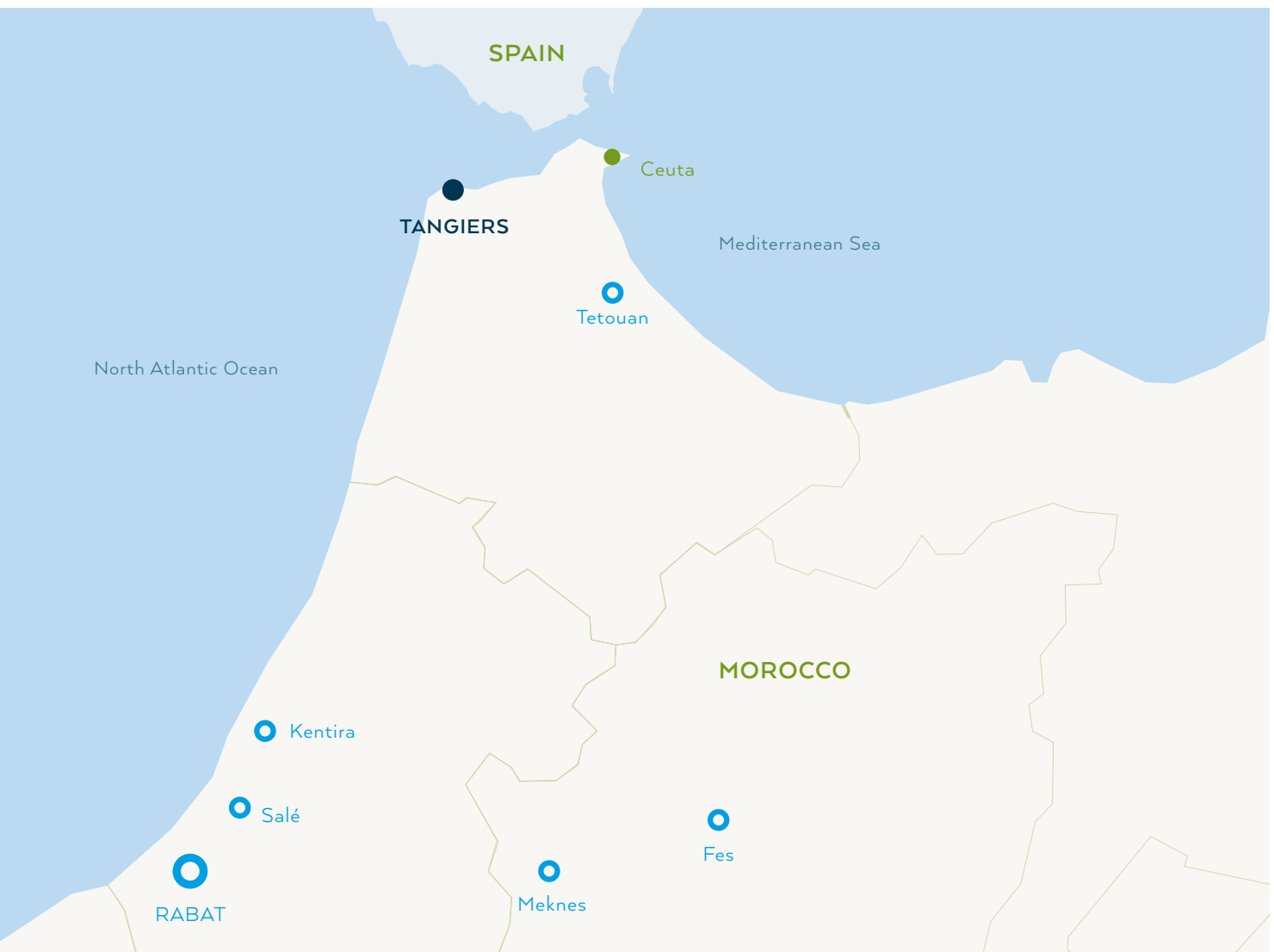
³⁰ "Tanger-Tétouan." Site Institutionnel Du Haut-Commissariat Au Plan Du Royaume Du Maroc. Accessed September 28, 2016. http://www.hcp.ma/Tanger-Tetouan_a281.html.

³¹ FRONTEX, "Western Mediterranean Route." Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/western-mediterranean-route/>

³² "Recensement Général De La Population Et De L'Habitat 2014." Royaume Du Maroc. Accessed September 28, 2016. <http://rgph2014.hcp.ma/>.

³³ Especially over the last decade, the region Tangier-Tetouan-Al Hoceima underwent important economic transformations. In recent years, Tangier experienced the development of various important infrastructure projects such as the construction in 2007 of the largest port on the Mediterranean and in Africa by capacity (Tangier-Med project), the establishment of the first TGV railway line in Africa, linking Tangier to Casablanca, the inauguration of a unique automotive site in Africa by Renault as well as the project Tangier Metropole with many projects in the tourism sector, to name just a few examples.

proportion of European immigrants, mainly Spanish nationals who have arrived in search of work since the economic crisis hit Spain,³⁴ there is an increasing number of Sub-Saharan migrants coming from Senegal, Cameroon, Guinea, Gabon, Mozambique, and Ivory Coast. According to the Moroccan civil society organizations, there is an estimated 25,000 to 40,000 undocumented migrants in Morocco, mainly in the cities of Tangier, Tetouan and Nador. Furthermore, due to the economic crisis in Western Europe and other integration challenges, thousands of Moroccans return to Tangier temporarily or permanently every year. The Sub-Saharan Africans follow different migration patterns.



³⁴ Working in the sectors of tourism, catering, construction, language classes and others, Spanish workers often do not have a work permit but access Morocco with a three-month tourism visa. According to the Spanish Statistics Institute, the number of officially registered Spanish nationals on Moroccan ground has multiplied by four between 2003 and 2011. Today, over 7,400 Spanish nationals live in Morocco.

Due to the geographic location of Tangier, hundreds of immigrants come to the city during the summer in order to try to cross the Mediterranean to Europe.³⁵ Others attempt to arrive in the city of Ceuta, Spanish autonomous territory claimed by Morocco since 1956, which is located approximately 70 km in the east of Tangier. Although most migrants consider Morocco a country of transit, an increasing number of migrants prefer to settle in Morocco rather than return to their unstable and substantially poorer home countries. During a regularization campaign in 2014, 1,652 (8.7 %) of the 18,994 residence permits were granted to inhabitants of Tangier/Asilah.³⁶ Additionally, another couple of hundreds of migrants in Tangier/Asilah were regularized after a positive assessment by the Appeals Commission.³⁷ Moreover, 275 persons (6.3 %) of the 4,269 registered refugees under the mandate of the UNHCR live in the city of Tangier.³⁸ According to a study led by researchers from the Meknes University in 2015, out of 30 Sub-Saharan immigrants in the city of Tangier, six people wanted to stay in Morocco. Especially those with low levels of education, and a lack of financial support and networks in Morocco, try to reach Europe.³⁹

II INTEGRATION AND ITS CHALLENGES

In Tangier, like in many of the cities in which there has been an increase of migrants and refugees, many challenges remain in economic, social, and cultural integration. The main challenges for Tangier are: 1) lack of expertise and financial resources in the area of integration in the municipalities; and 2) social tensions stemming from growing antipathy against migrants and refugees, sometimes resulting in violent confrontations.

THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

From an administrative point of view, Tangier doesn't have a comprehensive approach toward migration yet.⁴⁰ To date, there is no reception, orientation, or information service for migrants on municipal level and no specific service is provided for vulnerable immigrants, such as unaccompanied minors or the elderly. The city of Tangier doesn't have at its disposal an explicit budget for integration measures and therefore lacks financial resources to implement socio-economic projects

³⁵ The cooperation between Spain and Morocco is key in maintaining low levels of detections on the land route between the two countries, and the Moroccan authorities regularly prevent attempts to climb over the fences to Melilla and Ceuta. Moroccan authorities have also dug a moat and built a high fence on its own territory in the most vulnerable areas of the perimeter near the border with the Spanish cities. These measures, combined with the implementation of the readmission agreement, reinforcement of Moroccan Border Guard Units protecting the fence and dismantlement of migrants' makeshift camps, have reduced the number of attempts to cross illegally. As a result, sub-Saharan migrants are trying to take the sea route towards Spain. (Frontex 2016)

³⁶ "Maroc. Entre rafles et régularisations. Bilan d'une politique migratoire indécise." GADEM Rabat. Fédération internationale des ligues des droits de l'Homme. 2015. Paris. https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_maroc_migration_fr.pdf

³⁷ The Appeals Commission positively assessed the appeals of approximately 9,000 migrants in Morocco.

³⁸ "Statistical report on UNHCR population of concern". UNHCR. Rabat, 31 July 2016. http://ma.one.un.org/content/dam/unct/morocco/docs/UNHCR/16%2007%20Population%20of%20concern_UNHCR%20Morocco.pdf

³⁹ Khalid Mouna. Espace imaginaire, espace vécu et espace négocié : Parcours croisés des migrations espagnoles et subsahariennes à Tanger. Association Marocaine d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations (AMERM) et Fondation Population, Migration et Environnement (PME). Rabat. 2016. Most of the immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa left their countries of origin for economic reasons, in the hope of better job opportunities and improved living conditions. Others fled their country for political reasons, especially those from Gabon and Cameroon. The study concludes that most migrants demonstrate a strong mobility during their migration cycle, moving from city to city, according to job opportunities

⁴⁰ This is the case for most local Moroccan authorities. The municipalities in which the newcomers arrive must on the one hand meet the needs of immigrants and on the other hand preserve social cohesion. The administrative reform, the so-called "advanced regionalization" (régionalisation avancée), expands regional, provincial and municipal spheres of influence in economic, social and cultural matters. However, as they lack the required expertise and experience in conflict-preventive integration, they are currently not able to take measures to promote the economic, social and cultural integration of immigrants, refugees and returnees. A capacity assessment led by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH in 2015 states that the level of knowledge and know-how regarding integration measures for immigrants by municipal workers as well as elected officials is low.

for immigrants. Furthermore, the absence of statistics and academic research on the migration phenomenon in Tangier makes it difficult to have a realistic overview of the cities' migration profile. Besides the lack of human and financial capacities, there is not enough communication and coordination between the public sphere and civil society, but also between the municipality, regional, and national authorities in charge of migration, which generates a climate of inaction. Good practices are rarely documented and shared with other stakeholders, reducing the leverage effect of these initiatives. Furthermore, integration initiatives of civil society organizations are often selective focusing on migrants with a high potential for a successful integration and neglecting migrants who already reside in difficult situations.

SOCIAL TENSIONS

Many Moroccans in Tangier consider Sub-Saharan immigrants a threat to their city. The images disseminated by the media often suggest an "invasion" of Tangier by waves of immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. In the district of Boukhalef, a new neighborhood located ten kilometers from the city center with a severe shortage of services, shops, and basic infrastructure, tensions between immigrants and the local population regularly bristle. Many immigrants, who formerly camped in forests on the city's outskirts, moved to Boukhalef, occupying empty or abandoned flats owned by Moroccans living abroad. In August 2014, the illegal occupation of vacant apartments led to confrontations between migrants and Moroccans, culminating in violent confrontations between immigrants and the local population. A key factor leading to these social tensions is the insufficient socio-economic integration of Sub-Saharan immigrants, who mainly reside in three districts (Médina, Beni Makada and Boukhalef), and live in precarious conditions. The informal sector remains the main activity for most of the undocumented and some of the regular migrants. Sub-Saharan migrants in Tangier mainly work in small-scale trade (jewelry, cosmetics, and mobile phones) as well as shoe repair and sewing. Some migrants bring money from their home countries, while others are compelled to beg. In most cases, there is a mismatch between the current employment of the immigrants and their academic or professional background.⁴¹

III THE WAY FORWARD

Tangier has gained experience in the field of integration of migrants, refugees, and returnees. The historic character of Tangier as a cosmopolitan city, which attracts internal and external migrations and skilled sub-Saharan and European migrants or returning qualified Moroccans who come to work or to set up businesses, is increasingly viewed by municipal authorities as a potential boon. Tangier is experiencing strong economic development and a new labor force is required. This new awareness and commitment for social cohesion is underlined by the adoption of the Tangier City Charter in January 2015, which underscores in two articles the importance of diversity and the protection of human rights. Even though the city of Tangier has not implemented specific integration measures yet, municipal workers are interested to learn from other regions, for example through learning partnerships in international and national networks. Tangier participates in the City-to-City initiative, a joint initiative by ICMPD, UCLG and UN Habitat, which aims to establish a migration profile of each city and establish a learning platform on municipal migration governance between ten cities north and south of the Mediterranean. The Moroccan Network of Intercultural Cities was established in Tangier at the beginning of 2016, and 13 other Moroccan cities joined the network which focuses on the review of city policies through an intercultural lense and the positive management of diversity.

⁴¹ Interview with Professor Khalid Mouna (August 2016).

Furthermore, civil society organizations and migrant organizations are very active in Tangier and implement diverse integration initiatives on behalf of Sub-Saharan migrants. For instance, a reception center by Caritas, in cooperation with the health ministry, provides, free medical treatment for migrants. Moreover, since 2013, the center facilitated enrollment at the schools of sub-Saharan African migrant children through awareness campaigns and support; it refers women to vocational trainings in cooperation with civil society organization and local authorities.⁴²

In the upcoming years, the strengthening of social cohesion via economic, social and cultural integration measures will become ever more important for the city of Tangier. Through awareness raising campaigns and trainings, municipal authorities could develop a stronger intercultural openness and gain knowledge and know-how for the protection and integration of new arrivals. Public authorities and civil society organizations should be supported technically and financially to implement initiatives pertaining to the economic, social, and cultural integration of new arrivals. Specific tools to analyze the migration phenomenon, the adoption of integration policies on the local level, and the consideration of the topic in municipal planning could contribute to the establishment of demand-oriented and sustainable information and orientation services towards migrants. Lastly, the creation of active learning networks and partnerships between local authorities and other stakeholders such as other cities, regions, civil society organizations, could foster the capitalization, exchange and up-scaling of best practices and lessons learned.

GOOD EXAMPLES: INTEGRATION PROJECTS IN TANGIER

Al Khaima Association, a local civil society organization, is dedicated to the protection of children, especially unaccompanied Moroccan minors in Europe as well as Sub-Saharan children in Morocco. Through trainings of local actors working in the field of integration, Al Khaima supports the civil registration and legalization of children in Morocco. They also raise awareness on fundamental rights in public institutions. Furthermore, Al Khaima contribute to the construction of a transnational network for the defense of human rights, undertaking social research as form of denunciation of human rights violations and supporting the victims of human rights violations through counselling by social workers. Further information can be found on their website: <https://associationalkhaimablog.wordpress.com/>.

The cultural center Tabadoul fosters intercultural exchange between Moroccans and immigrants living in Tangier. This learning space aims at enabling an exchange between artists from Morocco, Europe, and the rest of the world through music, painting, dancing, theater, cooking and other activities. The objective is to accompany artists and provide them the necessary structures to perform in a professional environment. On 400 square meters, Tabadoul represents a meeting and exchange point where artists from around the world organize concerts, cultural shows, and workshops. Tabadoul allows artists to earn a living and to build up a network while at the same time bringing people in contact with arts and passing on the artists' passions. Twice per month an "open mic night" gives young artists a chance to perform. Together with the young artists' competition organized in the context of the well-known TanJazz Festival, it gives young artists a chance to establish themselves in the cultural scene. Recently, a second cultural center has opened in a rural area around 25 kilometers from Tangier where activities such as ecological festivals are planned. More information about the activities organized by the cultural center Tabadoul can be found on their website: <http://www.tabadoul.org/>.

⁴² Caritas. "Caritas Morocco." Accessed September 27, 2016. <http://www.caritas.org/where-we-are/middle-east-north-africa/morocco/>

Conclusion

This paper highlights three cities, their national contexts, and how migration and integration are currently at play. The cities and their migrant communities are very different: from a highly diverse permanent population in Offenbach, to cities at the crossroads with lower or low numbers of migrants or refugees in Istanbul and Tangier. The cities are also at different stages addressing integration. As mobility and diversity is more likely to increase than decrease, cities such as Tangier and Istanbul will have to look even more intensively into integration measures, and Offenbach will have to continue the intercultural opening of its public administration.

For all three cities, it is imperative that municipal infrastructure is in place that has the official mandate to address integration. Istanbul's municipalities operate with ad hoc solutions as no official mandate exists. Tangiers is in an exploratory phase, searching for the infrastructure best suited for it. Offenbach has an advanced municipal infrastructure, but this is just a start: the different pillars of the municipality have to consistently communicate in order to provide a coherent approach on integration.

Also, all three cities are underfunded when it comes to integration. While there is no magic solution to provide more funding immediately, civil society organizations as well as municipal leaders have to make the case for the importance of integration in the long run, both for economic as well as social development reasons. It is also clear that the role of NGOs is indispensable when it comes to integration and they need to be supported as much as possible.

Lastly, in all three cities the issue of social cohesion is of vital importance; fears of social unrest exist, irrespective of the actual number of migrants or refugees in the city. It is here that smart measures and communication need to be devised so that everyone living in the cities feels that their concerns are addressed. A general support of infrastructure – such as the education sector or the labor market and job trainings – will help all of these cities' inhabitants.

The tale of three cities is a tale of metropolises at different stages on integration. By drawing lessons from other cities and successful integration measures, and continuing to train people working in the field, more cities will hopefully be able to tell more good stories about integration in the long run.

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