COMPARISON BETWEEN NUSSBAUM’s CAPABILITIES APPROACH AND HECKMANN’s THEORY OF INTEGRATION USING A COORDINATED THEORY APPROACH FOR THE CONTEXT OF REFUGEES IN GERMANY

from
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STUDENT NUMBER: 61929018

DECLARATION

I declare that COMPARISON BETWEEN NUSSBAUM’s CAPABILITIES APPROACH AND HECKMANN’s THEORY OF INTEGRATION USING A COORDINATED THEORY APPROACH FOR THE CONTEXT OF REFUGEES IN GERMANY is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted were indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Lilija Wiebe

Datum: 23.10.2018
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ABSTRACT
The present master’s dissertation is a reaction to the “refugee-crisis” in mid-2015 and the ensuing recommendation of science to use experiences and approaches from development work to reach sustainable refugee and integration policies. The goal was to compare the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Theory of Integration in order to direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses and towards the capabilities of the refugees in Germany. To achieve this, the Theory of Successful Integration is, based on a comparative analysis (Schneider 1999), related to the Capabilities Approach by Nussbaum via interlinking both theories. The most important results are that the two theories can be combined and that an integration theory with the focus on the capabilities of the refugees could empower the individual immigrants for the integration process. The result may give Non-Governmental Organisations and government agencies in Germany an orientation for their future aid programming.

KEYWORDS: Capabilities Approach, Martha Nussbaum, Friedrich Heckmann, Coordinated Theory approach, refugees, migration, integration, Germany
ACRONYMS

ANKER- Einrichtungen \hspace{1cm} Aufnahme-, Entscheidungs-, und Rückführungseinrichtungen (Reception, Decision-making and Repatriation facilities)

AsylG \hspace{1cm} Asylgesetz (Asylum law)

AufenthG \hspace{1cm} Aufenthaltsgesetz (Residenz law)

AWO \hspace{1cm} Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers' Welfare Association)

BAFI \hspace{1cm} Bundesamt für die Anerkennung ausländischer Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for the recognition of foreign refugees)

BAMF \hspace{1cm} Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)

BDA \hspace{1cm} Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeiterverbände (Federation of German Employers' associations)

BMI \hspace{1cm} Bundesministerium des Inneren (Federal Ministry of the Interior)

CBP \hspace{1cm} Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union

CIDOB \hspace{1cm} Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

DIW \hspace{1cm} Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DQR</td>
<td>Deutscher Qualitätsrahmen (German Qualification Framework)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>efms</td>
<td>Europäisches Forum für Migrationsstudien (European Forum for Migration Studies)</td>
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<td>ER</td>
<td>Environmental Refugees</td>
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<td>ESN</td>
<td>European Services Network</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAB</td>
<td>Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung (Institute for Labour Market and Employment Research)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMIS</td>
<td>Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LDCs</td>
<td>less-developed countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people</td>
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<td>MDCs</td>
<td>more-developed countries</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MIPEX</td>
<td>Migrant Integration Policy Index</td>
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<td>MPG</td>
<td>Migration Policy Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>QCF</td>
<td>Qualifications and Credit Framework</td>
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<td>RCO</td>
<td>Refugee Community Organization</td>
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<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency</td>
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<td>SOEP</td>
<td>Sozio-Ökonomischen Panels</td>
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<td>SVR</td>
<td>Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen</td>
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<td>TIES</td>
<td>The Integration of the European Second Generation</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDESA</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation-Flüchtlingshilfe</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNRWA</td>
<td>United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East</td>
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Two weeks before the recent election for the German federal parliament (Bundestag) in September 2017 immigration was the most important issue for Germans to be taken care of by the new government (infratest dimap 2017:n.p.). 44% of respondents mentioned the topic as an answer to the question: “What do you think are the most important political problems in Germany that need to be resolved urgently?” In comparison, only 5% of respondents mentioned the topic as important in the year 2013 (Pätzold et al 2017:n.p.). At least since the “refugee-crisis”\(^1\) in mid-2015 the topics of immigration and integration are important and urgent topics in German politics, civil society and also in science. This study takes up two recommendations of experts. Firstly, as a measure for sustainable refugee and integration policies, it is recommended to use experience and approaches from development work (Erler & Gottstein 2017:164). Secondly, it is repeatedly pointed out that integration work should focus on the capabilities, potentials and opportunities of refugees (Bröse 2015; Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003; Slaughter & Leeson 2017; Worbs, Bund & Böhm 2016; Younso & Borkowski 2016). These two recommendations from the academic community are implemented in this study for the integration of refugees. This study focuses on refugees because on the one hand, it is, as described earlier, a very urgent and important topic in Germany at this time and on the other hand, refugees are the most vulnerable migrants. Refugees belong to the group of “Humanitarian migrants”\(^2\), who are especially vulnerable in the integration process (Konle-Seidl 2016:20).

The aim of this study is to find out whether a combined theory of an approach from the development work – the Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum – and Heckmann’s Integration Theory is able to direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses and towards the capabilities of the refugees. The fact that the focus of this study is on refugees does not mean

\(^1\) The event, starting in mid-2015, that an unusually high number of refugees entered Germany and applied for asylum was called the “refugee-crisis”.  
\(^2\) For a detailed description about migrants see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
that it would not be applicable to the integration process of other migrants as well.

Because refugees are a group of migrants, and since the existing literature on migration and integration often does not differentiate between the diverse groups of migrants, this research study includes “refugee” in the term “migrant”. Every time the term “migrant” or “immigrant” is used, the meaning “refugee” is included.

After the background and overview on this study have been given in the first chapter of this dissertation, the second chapter presents the situation of migration worldwide and in Germany. The two theoretical frameworks and the method of this work are discussed in detail in chapters three and four. The fifth and sixth chapters describe the two theories and their relation to the respective core elements of the other theory. In the last chapter, the interconnection of the two theories takes place.

This chapter, chapter one, presents the background and an overview of the study. To illustrate in which framework this study takes place, the background to the research problem is presented first. Then the research problem is formulated and the research objectives are determined. The scope and the limitations of the study show the range of the study. The reasons why this research is meaningful can be seen under the importance of the study in 1.6 below. After the chosen method is briefly described, the ethical considerations regarding this study are reported. At the end of this chapter the key terms are clarified and the chapters are outlined in detail.

1.2 Background to the research problem

In 2015 the number of forcibly displaced individuals worldwide has reached record high numbers. 63.5 million people were displaced, which is 5.8 million more than in 2014 (UNHCR 2016:2–3). Poverty, underdevelopment, lack of opportunities, poor governance and environmental factors are the main causes of flight (United Nations 2016:23). In Germany the year 2015 is called: “The Year of Refugees”. In the same year Germany received the world’s most applications for asylum. Although foreigners have been coming to Germany for a
long time, the German Government refused for years to acknowledge the fact that Germany was an immigration country (Woellert et al 2009:12). The effect was that integration and integration efforts were seen as irrelevant. This view has only started to change since 2007, when the German Government launched the “National Plan for Integration” (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:10). Klaus Bade sees in the long-standing rejection of these themes the reason for the integration deficits\(^3\) of migrants in Germany. He pleads for a “Rectifying Integration politic” (Bade 2007b:34). At present the German Government and its civil society are not ignoring the challenge to actively integrate so many people from different cultures and backgrounds. Instead they are at a point of rethinking and redefining rights and duties of the asylum seekers. Scientists define Germany as a “post-migration”\(^4\) country and urge for a change in the social structures (Foroutan 2016b:11–13). Besides that, in 2016 the German parliament released a new law (Integrationsgesetz), which is meant to organize the integration process in the future. The aim is to assess the different skills and prospects of asylum seekers and to offer them appropriate measures and services. Beyond this, the law intends to support, as well as to demand, integration efforts in order to achieve a rapid and sustainable integration. (Bundesregierung Deutschland 2016b:1; Bundestag 2016). Clearly, integration is the goal, but the current question is: “How can integration be achieved?” This study contributes to this discussion.

Internationally the needs of refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants are recognized by the United Nations (UN) in the agenda of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), (United Nations 2016:4). The Sustainable Development Goals 2030 launched by the UN in 2015 are: to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all. “Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies” (United Nations

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\(^3\) Integration deficits are conditions, in which the goals of integration (see 1.9 Clarification of key terms) are not/not yet reached. Such integration deficits would be: stagnant or declining integration of migrants in the labour market and in education; and, an increase in dependence on welfare benefits for immigrants (Heckmann et al 2000:20). These deficits can originate from the migrants themselves or have their origin in the host society (Woellert et al 2009:81).

\(^4\) For a detailed definition of the term see 1.9 Clarification of key terms and 3.2 Integration.
2015:21) are contents of the SDG 10 “Reduce inequality within and among countries”. Likewise, the resolution demands to “[…] cooperate internationally to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect for human rights and the humane treatment of migrants regardless of migration status, of refugees and of displaced persons” (:8). For the goals to be reached the SDGs put, in contrast to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), every human being in charge of contributing to its fulfilment. Since my background is in Development Studies, my ultimate goal, with this proposed study, is congruent with that of human development: “Human development is about enlarging human choices–focusing on the richness of human lives rather than simply the richness of economies (Jāhāna 2015:1)“. All human beings should have a choice to live a long and healthy life, to obtain knowledge and to have access to the resources required for a decent standard of living (OECD 2008:368). Especially the most vulnerable ones in society need empowerment to be able to reach a life which they themselves value. This is why one of the theoretical frameworks of this study is the Empowerment Approach. The second theoretical framework is that of integration. According to the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) integration is about integrating migrants and refugees in order that they become full and equal participants in all areas of society (BAMF 2014b:2). Notable overlaps occur when the objectives of the Capabilities Approach are added. The main question of the Capabilities Approach is: “What is each person able to do and to be?” (Nussbaum 2013:18). One important foundation of the approach is that each person is an end in him- or herself (:18,35) and that every individual is seen worthy of respect and regard (:35). From this very short outline of the Capabilities Approach and integration it is obvious that they are mutually dependent. To become a full and equal participant in all areas of society (integration), one needs to have the choice and be enabled to do so (Empowerment and Capabilities Approach). Conversely, getting the choices and enablement to choose a life worthy of human dignity (Empowerment and Capabilities Approach) empowers the migrants to become full and equal participants in all areas of society (integration). Both frameworks are outlined in the third chapter.
The Capabilities Approach is considered as a useful theoretical approach to bring migration and development together (Dodd, Preibich & Su 2014:2–3; EKD 2015:57). Moreover, the approach has already been used in refugee-supporting-situations (Clarke 2013; Kyunghwan 2012) but, according to my research, not yet in the German context. Another reason that speaks for combining the Capabilities Approach with integration theory is that, as mentioned earlier, German scientific literature calls for integration programmes to focus more on the skills and abilities of the refugees than on their weaknesses (Bröse 2015; Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003; Slaughter & Leeson 2017; Worbs, Bund & Böhm 2016; Younso & Borkowski 2016). The question is therefore how the Capabilities Approach and integration can be brought together for optimal purpose. The theory that would be complemented by the Capabilities Approach is Friedrich Heckmann’s Integration Theory. Friedrich Heckmann developed a “Theory of Successful Integration” for the German context (Heckmann 2015:289). Both theories and the corresponding literature are reviewed in detail in the chapters five and six.

1.3 Problem statement

As shown above the German society is presently challenged to rethink and perhaps redefine integration and social opening. Since the German integration discourse does not have an integration theory with the emphasis on the capabilities of the immigrants, most of the integration initiatives launched focus on the weaknesses and perceived needs of the refugees rather than their capabilities (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:65). This leads to the question: Can Heckmann’s theory, developed for the German context, be complemented by the Capabilities Approach – according to Martha Nussbaum – to change the focus to the capabilities of the refugees?
1.4 Research Objectives

The goal of this study is to compare the Capabilities Approach – according to Nussbaum – and Heckmann’s Theory of Integration by means of a complementation in order to direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses so that the capabilities of the refugees in Germany are realised.

Secondary objectives are:

1) Outline the challenges for the integration of refugees in Germany.
2) Discuss Heckmann’s Theory of Integration.
3) Characterize the Capabilities Approach in terms of an application to refugees.
4) Explore ways of interlinking both theories to foster the integration of refugees in German society.

1.5 Scope and limitations of the study

National and provincial governments have recognised that refugees and immigrants do have capabilities and that it would be wise for the integration process to unlock these potentials (Bundesregierung Deutschland 2016b:1) Furthermore, German scientific literature calls for a focus on the skills and abilities of the refugees. In spite of this, the German integration discourse still does not have an integration theory which emphasises the capabilities of the immigrants. This study intends to change this by consolidating the Capabilities Approach with an integration theory. The result may give Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and government agencies in Germany an orientation and direction for their future integration assistance- and aid-programming.

It would not be possible to consider all German theories of integration in the dissertation. My choice fell on Friedrich Heckmann’s theory since it is already used in practice as the basis for integration concepts, for example in the integration management and monitoring plans of the Federal State of Hessen (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:10) and the city of Kassel (Stadt Kassel 2012:5). Furthermore, this dissertation will focus on Marta
Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach and will not, in this context, debate other development approaches.

1.6 Importance of the study

The importance of this study becomes evident in the following three reasons:

The first reason is the need for increased focus on the capabilities of refugees in the integration process. As already indicated above, German scientific literature calls for stronger focus on the skills and abilities of refugees in the integration process. An example that represents this need is contained in the recommendations of the Refugees Study Centre that asks for livelihood aid programming to shift towards considering values and capabilities of refugees. In this context, “values and capabilities“ mean that a person must have real opportunities to achieve the kind of life that the person values (Slaughter & Leeson 2017:6). The need for an increase in focus on “capabilities” is also visible in a statement of the German Government that integration can be successful if the policies of a country awaken and build on the potentials of the immigrants. Successful integration actively involves and supports the migrant in a participatory process (Die Bundesregierung 2007:13).

The second reason for the importance of this study relates to missing structures. In a report by the Heinrich Böll Foundation on the topic of “Immigration Country Germany – Perspectives for a forward-looking and sustainable refugee and immigration policy“5 the authors Erler and Gottstein point out that there is not only insufficient focus on the resources of the refugees but there are also no structures that enable activation of the potentials of the refugees (Erler & Gottstein 2017:165). The combined theory as it is developed in this study aims to be a basis for structures, aid programming and integration assistance that build on the capabilities of the refugees.

The third reason arises from the recommendation, of Erler and Gottstein, for action. The two authors recommend that integration assistance should be built

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5 Translation by the author. Original: “Einwanderungsland Deutschland, «Perspektiven für eine zukunftsgerichtete und nachhaltige Flüchtlings- und Einwanderungspolitik».
on the experience of migrant organisations, diaspora and development work (:165). This recommendation demonstrates the importance of this study, which is based on an approach that originated in development work.

1.7 Research methodology

Based on comparative analysis I will bring into relation the Theory of Successful Integration by Heckmann and the Capabilities Approach by Nussbaum by interlinking both theories. The aim is to investigate in which way(s) the Capabilities Approach can complement the Theory of Successful Integration. As method the “Coordinated Theory Comparison” according to Schneider is indicated (Schneider 1999:290). The Coordinated Theory Analysis means to identify problem areas in the respective theories. It aims to find out whether the two theories may complement each other. The aim is not, as in the conventional way of theory comparison, to compare main concepts of theories in order to interrelate them (Greshoff 1999a:16). During the course of this study the strengths and limitations as well as the likeness and contradictions of the two theories will be explored. Additionally, the connection between the respective core elements of the theories will be demonstrated. Thereafter the interpretation and explanation potential and possibilities of supplementation of the Capabilities Approach to Heckmann’s Integration Theory will be elaborated on. This way of comparing two theories makes it possible to fill in any gaps in either one or both of the two comparative theories (Schneider 1999:290).

1.8 Ethical considerations

In a theoretical work, there are not many ethical concerns to consider. Despite this, the basic condition remains that no one should be harmed by this work. Moreover, I respect and do not abuse the intellectual property of the authors quoted in this dissertation. Further ethical considerations are listed under 4.4.

1.9 Clarification of key terms

Refugee

According to the “Convention relating to the Status of Refugees” adopted on
28 July 1951 in Geneva, a refugee is person who has a

“[...] well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (United Nations Conference 1951:2).

It must be noted that people are leaving their homes for more reasons than listed in this convention, such as insecurity because of war, hopeless economic situations and ecological changes in their regions. To fill this conceptual gap Alexander Betts developed the concept of the “survival migrant”. By his definition, survival migrants are “[...] persons who are outside their country of origin because of an existential threat for which they have no access to a domestic remedy or resolution” (Betts 2013:23).

Asylum

Article 16a of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany (Grundgesetz) grants politically persecuted people asylum in Germany. In addition, people who need refugee protection for reasons listed in the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention enjoy these rights as well (BAMF 2014a:30).

Subsidiary protection

In case it is not possible for a person to be accepted as described above, it is still possible to avoid deportation and to gain the right of residence. If a person, in the event of a deportation, will come under the threat of serious harm or other severe dangers to freedom, life and limb in the destination country, he/she might receive protection from these dangers, which is titled as subsidiary protection (Parusel 2010:21).

Migrant/Migration

In this study migration is defined and used as in the official definition of the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees: “Migration is when a person spatially moves his/her centre of life. International migration is when this
happens across state boundaries” (BAMF & BMI 2015:30). Accordingly, migrants are people that have left, either for a short time or forever, their previous centre of life. In this sense refugees are migrants as well. For this reason refugees, people with subsidiary protection or other protection status as well as resettled refugees are referred to as “Humanitarian migrants” (Konle-Seidl 2016:20) or “survival migrants” (Betts 2013:23). Even so refugees vary from other migrant groups (e.g. EU free-mobility zone, labour migrants and family migrants) (Konle-Seidl 2016:20), nevertheless, they migrate as defined. As already described in the introduction of this work, the term migrant or immigrant also includes the refugee. The United Nations distinguish migrants as long-term immigrants (or emigrants), short-term immigrants (or emigrants), residents returning after (or leaving for) a period working abroad and nomads (OECD 2008:484). In general, there are several ways to migrate into Germany. For example:

- free movement of EU nationals (BMI n.d.)
- residence permit for qualified professionals and as trainee (BAMF 2014c:27)
- resettlement of ethnic Germans\(^7\) (27)
- family reunification (BAMF 2013b)

**People with a migration background**

There is a group of people in Germany, which is called “people with migration background”. They are people, either foreigners or Germans, who themselves, their mother or father, or both, immigrated to Germany after 1949 (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:7).

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\(^6\) Translation by the author. Original: “Von Migration spricht man, wenn eine Person ihren Lebensmittelpunkt räumlich verlegt, von internationaler Migration, wenn dies über Staatsgrenzen hinweg geschieht.”

\(^7\) People who are ethnic Germans from the successor states of the former Soviet Union and from other Eastern European states are referred to as Ethnic German resettlers (BAMF n.d.).
Internally displaced people

Internally displaced people are people that are displaced within the borders of their own countries due to armed conflict, generalized violence, and human rights violations (UNHCR 2016:29).

Integration

Integration is about preserving the traditional culture of origin and simultaneously adopting the new majority culture (Findte 2011:27). The word is derived from the Latin “Integrare”, meaning “to include and incorporate”. Therefore, integration means both “inclusion” and “restore to a whole”. In politics integration also refers to maintaining the social cohesion (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:7). This will be further expanded in chapters 2 and 3.

Integration indicators

In order to reach improved comparability among EU Member States, the 2010 Zaragoza Declaration decided on a set of integration indicators that are measured in terms of employment, health, education, social inclusion and active citizenship in the hosting country (Eurostat 2015:1). Processes of integration happen and can be measured at the individual, organizational, and institutional level (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016:17–18). Both larger and smaller German cities develop and test their own indicators. This leads to a variety and differences in details concerning the design and implementation of local monitoring systems (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2010:1).

Post-Migration

Those societies, where immigration and emigration are recognised as a phenomenon that characterizes the country as a whole can be described as “post-migration”. The fact of migration can be discussed, regulated, and negotiated, but it is irreversible. Furthermore, the social change in the basic structure of a heterogeneous society is politically recognized (“Germany is an immigration country”), regardless of whether this transformation is evaluated positively or negatively. Naika Foroutan calls post-migration societies “negotiation-societies”. In her opinion, the established cultural, ethnic, religious and national elites
need to learn that positions, access, resources and standards are renegotiated. A society which accepts that it is a “post-migration” society would mirror the actual percentage of migrants in all aspects of life, for example, in migrant’s representation in leading positions. Such a society would naturally adapt structures, institutions, and political cultures to the approved migration reality. This would bring more permeability in society. In a “post-migration” society, the structures, inter alia, would enable migrants to gain promotion in any area of life. Changes of this nature would also give rise to defensive reactions and distribution battles inside the society (Foroutan 2016b:11–12).

**Assimilation**

Friedrich Heckmann describes assimilation as a one-sided process, in which immigrants and their descendants abandon their culture and take on that of the immigration country. Looking at that aspect from the view of European history, assimilation was used as a concept and a policy for attempting to create culturally homogeneous nations (Heckmann 2015:75).

**Inclusion**

Inclusion is a unconditional allegiance of all (Schröer 2013:252). The concept of inclusion is measured by the success or failure to enable equal participation of migrants in all parts of social society (Bade & Bommes 2004:9). The difference between integration and inclusion and the arguments for and against the two terms are explained in more detail in 3.2.

**Capabilities**

Capabilities are “[...] not just abilities residing inside a person but also freedoms and opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social, and economic environment” (Nussbaum 2011:20). Amartya Sen defines capabilities as “[...] the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value” (Sen 1999:87).

**Human Development**

The Human Development concept sees people as the real wealth of nations, and focuses on enlarging people’s choices (UNDP 2015:1). Its two main objectives are: (1) directly enhancing human capabilities through long and healthy
lives, knowledge and decent standard of living; and (2) creating conditions for human development by fostering political and community participation, environmental sustainability, human security and human rights as well as promoting equality and social justice (xii).

1.10 Chapter layout

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background

This chapter introduces the study and outlines the background, problem statement, research objectives, limitations and scope of the study. The chapter also describes the importance of the study, defines key terms, and presents ethical considerations and the chapter layout.

Chapter 2: Migration in Germany and worldwide

The second chapter gives a historic overview of Migration in Germany and worldwide, as well as a description of the current refugee situation. Thereby statistics and descriptions of the political situation are taken into account.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the two theoretical frameworks this study is placed in. These are: Integration and the Empowerment Approach. The theoretical frameworks are derived from the two theories that are to be combined in this study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The fourth chapter introduces the methodology of this study in two parts: firstly, this chapter presents the method of comparative theory analysis in general; and, secondly, it discusses the procedure, the type, as well as the function of the Coordinated Theory Analysis, which is the chosen method for this study.

Chapter 5: Friedrich Heckmann’s Integration Theory

This chapter discusses Heckmann’s Theory of Successful Integration, by showing the strengths and limitations, equality and alterativity of the theory. Furthermore, the connections between his theory and the capabilities of refugees will be considered. Besides that, a practical implementation of Heckmann’s theory is presented. The chapters end with first results and analyses.
Chapter 6: Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum

In Chapter 6 the Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum is outlined by addressing the strengths and limitations, equality and alternativity of the theory. Thereafter, the application of the approach on the refugee situation will be discussed by reviewing relevant literature and completed research of the topic. Throughout this chapter the connections among the ten central capabilities and integration is made known. Finally, first results are analysed and recorded.

Chapter 7: Interconnections of the theories

In this chapter a combination of both theories is explored. This will happen on the basis of the Coordinated Theory Analysis according to Schneider (Schneider 1999:290). In addition, the basis and the framework of the interconnection is described. Following this, the combined theory is interpreted and positioned in Development and Migration Studies. A possible implementation of the combined theory is suggested under the recommendations towards the end of this chapter. The chapter closes with a summary of the research.
CHAPTER 2: MIGRATION AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT WORLDWIDE AND IN GERMANY

2.1 Introduction

The “International Migration Report” of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs defines the international migrant as a foreign-born or foreign citizen (UNDESA 2016:1). A more detailed definition is given by the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. It reads as follows: “Migration is when a person spatially moves his/her centre of life. International migration is when this happens across state boundaries” (BAMF & BMI 2015:30).

The sociologist Ludger Pries distinguishes between four ideal types of migration: “immigration”, “diaspora-migration” and “returnee-migration”; and, he adds the type “transmigration” to the three common ones (Pries 2010b:98). In the concept “transmigration” he captures the form of migration that is pluri-local. This form includes immigrants who experience repeated relocations which turn to be their normality (:100). With transnational, Pries means “across-border” but still anchored phenomenon (Pries 2010a:13). He emphasises that he does not speak of a fluid phenomenon but rather that the nations in which transnational people live represent their point of reference (:12).

For example: in a transnational family, one part of the family might live in Istanbul and another part in Cologne. The family members are in constant contact with each other. They meet several times a year, celebrate important holidays with each other and share their everyday life via internet communication. Despite all this, people are also locally anchored and have relatively permanent and dense social relationships in both nations (:13).

Further to this change in migration structures there is also a high number of force-displaced people in the world (UNHCR 2017:2). We are in a very diverse time regarding migration. On the one hand, it is possible for people to voluntarily travel between several places worldwide and “be at home” in different places.

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8 Translation by the author. Original: “Von Migration spricht man, wenn eine Person ihren Lebensmittelpunkt räumlich verlegt, von internationaler Migration, wenn dies über Staatsgrenzen hinweg geschieht.”
on the globe. On the other hand, at present more people than ever are forced to leave their homes for different reasons.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the phenomenon of migration and forced displacement worldwide. Furthermore, the history of migration and the situation of refugees in Germany are delineated. Moreover, the current migration and integration policies and programmes of the German Government are critically reviewed. This is done to illustrate the historical and political framework in which this work is written.

2.2 Migration and forced displacement worldwide

In this section, the history of migration and forced displacement is outlined. At this point it should be noted that all people who, for whatever reason, are forced to leave their homeland, migrate. Because of this the terms “migrant/migration” are used as extended in scope in this dissertation; and, literature about “migration/migrants” is used as well as literature about “refugees” and “integration”.

2.2.1 Migration in history

People have always been on the move. For a variety of reasons, new places of residence and homes were sought. Sometimes they leave voluntarily and sometimes involuntarily. The sociologist Douglas Massey divides the modern history of international migration into four periods (Massey 2008).

The first one, which he calls the “mercantile period”, came to pass from 1500 to 1800 and was dominated by emigration out of Europe that was influenced by colonization and economic growth. This led to the fact that after 300 years large parts of America, Oceania, Asia and Africa had been taken by the Europeans. During this time almost 10 million African slaves were imported to America for cheap labour.

The second period is the “industrial period” starting in the early nineteenth century. In the time from 1800 to 1925 more than 48 million people left Europe in search for new livelihoods in America and Oceania.

The third period, from the beginning of World War I until the end of World War II, is one of “limited migration”. Migration was limited due to the outbreak of the
World War I in 1914 and the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. During the 1940s the reasons for mobility were mainly flight and displacement caused by the Second World War.

According to Massey, the “post-industrial migration” is the fourth period of international migration when, beginning in the 1960s, a shift in the direction of migration occurred in that immigration became a more global phenomenon whereas in earlier periods it was the Europeans that had left to settle elsewhere. A variety of countries started to become both a sending and a receiving country. Also, people from less-developed countries (LDCs) (some of them former colonies of European countries) started to immigrate to more-developed countries (MDCs). As the receiving countries inflicted stronger restrictions on immigration, undocumented migration began to increase (:1–2).

The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) has been collecting data on migration since 1990. According to its data there were about 156 million migrants in 1990. The numbers have been measured at five-year intervals and proved to have increased constantly. The strongest increase occurred from 2005 to 2010 (UNDESA 2017). It can be observed that international migration is growing only slightly faster than world population, but that migration from LDCs to MDCs is growing much faster (Castles 2013:123).

Wars are often the reason for involuntary resettlement but in the years 1917 to 1922, one to two million people fled from Russia, due to the change of government (Oltmer 2016:21). Later, due to the wars in Europe, the estimated number of people affected by relocations, deportations, flight movements and evictions was probably at least 9.5 million in the mid-1920s. Forced displacement has also had a very brutal face in history. The cruellest kind of forced migration was the deportation of approximately twelve million Africans during the 16th to 18th centuries. This involuntary emigration was a direct consequence of the great world explorations and subsequent territorial colonialization by European countries to develop the colonies using cheap labour. According to estimates about one third of these slaves died on the journey or shortly after arrival (Fisher 2014:76).
Forcible displacement has been measured since 1997 by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). One speaks of forcible displacement when people have to leave their homes due to results of persecution, conflict, violence, or human rights violations. This includes displacement within the borders of the home country, as well as refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR 2017:2). The cause of the highest increase in forcible displacement happened between 2012 and 2015, due to the conflict in Syria. Other conflicts during this time in Iraq, Yemen, sub-Saharan Africa, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Sudan also caused high numbers of forcibly-displaced people (5).

Alexander Betts, Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs, is of the opinion that “the causes, consequences, and responses to refugees and other categories of forced migration are all closely intertwined with world politics” (Betts 2014:60). Migration does not happen in a vacuum. It is a reaction of people to their environment. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) sees poverty, underdevelopment, lack of opportunities, poor governance and environmental factors as some of the drivers of migration (United Nations 2016:23). “Drivers” of migration are the factors that increase the likelihood that people will decide to leave their homes. Sociologist Stephen Castles assumes that there are several “drivers” that motivate emigration. He distinguishes between “[...] neo-liberal globalisation and social transformation; inequality; state security and human security; technology; labour demand; demographic changes; politics; law and governance; the social dynamics of migration; and the role of people who make their living by facilitating migration” (Castles 2013:124).

Another point of view in the field of migration and development, which is very controversial, is that of “brain gain” and “brain drain”. Proponents of the “brain gain” theory are of the opinion that the country of emigration will benefit in the long term from the remittance and the education of the emigrated. In contrast, the advocates of the brain drain theory believe that emigration is damaging to the country of emigration. Theophilus Fadayomi considers emigration of skilled professionals from “the” African perspective and evaluates it as critical. He is of the opinion that the emigration of skilled workers, which is also referred to
as “brain drain”, results in an inadequate stock of manpower. Nevertheless, this lost expertise would be needed for the development and modernisation of the African countries. He clarifies his perspective that African countries with a high level of emigration have a higher rate of population per physician and a higher student/teacher ratio compared to the African countries with a high immigration rate, where the opposite is the case (Fadayomi 2010:127–128). In his view the commonly used counter-argument that the remittance of the immigrated professional as a compensation of the needed profession is only conditionally tenable since the money is available to the private area rather than the public sector. He also argues that there tends to be a danger of regional inequality, if a lot of emigrants from one region send remittances to their families (:129–131). Florance Tsaguë Assopgoum, who knows both, the global south and the west (born in Cameroon and living in Germany), sees the remittance of the migrants in a more positive perspective than Faayomi. Nevertheless, she also stresses that the remittance money is no solution for a sustainable development in Africa. In her opinion the “Brain drain” can harm the economic, political, social, and cultural development of Africa (Tsagué Assopgoum 2011:119).

2.2.2 Latest history

According to the United Nations Migration stock, in the mid-year of 2017, more than 250 million people were living in a country they had not been born in. There were about nine million more male migrants than female migrants (UNDESA 2017). 65.6 million people were forcibly displaced in 2016, which is still a high record. 22.5 million people are refugees, 40.3 million people are internally displaced, and 2.8 million people are seeking asylum outside their country. In the year 2016, 10.3 million individuals were newly displaced by conflict or persecution. This included 6.9 million displaced people inside their own countries, and 3.4 million new refugees and asylum-seekers. With 2.9 million people, Turkey hosted the largest number of refugees worldwide. Compared to the population, Lebanon, with 1 in 6 people, accommodated the largest number of refugees with regard to its national population. 55 per cent of the refugees
worldwide came from three countries: Syrian Arab Republic (5.5 million), Afghanistan (2.5 million), and South Sudan (1.4 million). A change in 2016 is that the returning of refugees to their home countries increased. Most people returned to Afghanistan (UNHCR 2017:2-3).

The former United Secretary General Ban Ki Moon (still acting in 2016) was of the opinion that: “We are facing the biggest refugee and displacement crisis of our time. Above all, this is not just a crisis of numbers; it is also a crisis of solidarity” (UNHCR 2016:5). The United Nations General Assembly reacted by adopting the “New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants” on 19 September 2016. There it is emphasised that the needs of refugees and migrants are explicitly recognised in the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations 2016:4). Besides that, the Declaration endorsed a set of commitments for refugees and migrants (:5–17). Furthermore, a Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) was outlined. The CRRF has the intention to be a framework for a comprehensive and people-centred refugee response. Moreover, it is aimed to support the host states and communities in sharing the burden and responsibility and thereby leads to the protection and good assistance of refugees (:17–22).

2.3 Migration in German history

Germany has defined itself as a country of migration for only a few years (Woellert et al 2009:12). The German migration history is characterised by labour migration. Immigration is a part of the German history that continues to the present. This is what this section outlines. Firstly, the history of immigration into Germany is summarized until 2013. In the second part of this section, the latest migration history is summarized starting 2014.

2.3.1 History of migration to Germany

Migration to Germany has a long history. The reasons for migration are very similar – the pursuit of a better life, the fear of political, ethnic or religiously motivated persecution or violent displacement. Examples include that in 1699, 3,000 “Waldenses” refugees were taken in by the Württembergian elector Ludwig; and, in 1865 the 44,000 Huguenots who were persecuted in France for
their faith, found refuge in Germany with assistance from Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. A different reason for migration relates to the first Polish workers recruitment for the mining industry of the Ruhr in 1871. This is why these Polish migrants are called “Ruhrpolen” (Dolezal & Moll 2009:n.p.).

There has always been emigration from Germany: in 1767 emigration of about 30 000 Germans to Russia occurred after czarina Catherine II adopted a manifesto and invited Europeans to settle in Russia (Schneider 2005:n.p.). Furthermore, in the 19th century, significant numbers of Palatines and Hesse emigrated to France and thousands of people from Germany left to settle in South America, the USA and Canada (Dolezal & Moll 2009:n.p.).

Further outline of Germany’s migration history is based on the historian Ulrich Herbert’s classification into five epochs from 1880 until 2000, that are briefly presented here (Herbert 2003):

**1880 – 1914 Foreigners in the German Empire**

This epoch begins with the emigration of Germans mainly to the United States of America and an increase in migration of agricultural workers to the industrialized regions of the Prussian West. Whereas there were sufficient workers for the Prussian agriculture in 1849, a deficiency was documented in the 1870s which led to the fact that in the early 1880s many East German landowners enlisted workers from the parts of former Poland then occupied by Russia and Austria. The “bringing in” of the workers gave rise to a conflict between economic and political interests (:14–15). This finally led to the deportation back to their homeland of approximately 40,000 Russian-Polish workers in 1885. Thereafter, further changes in agricultural cultivation occurred. The increased demand for workers was initially offset by seasonal workers (:18). Due to the lack of manpower and the rising wage costs, the request was made again at the end of the 1880s to allow foreign Poles to be readmitted to Germany as seasonal workers (:20–21). In 1890, this request was granted under certain conditions in order to prevent the integration of seasonal workers (:22). In total, the number of foreigners in the German Empire rose significantly until 1910 (:25). Over time, the recruitment of foreign Polish
workers also spread to the industrial sector that resisted sending the workers back home to Poland in the winter months (contrary to the conditions of employment of foreign workers) and allowed the workers to stay and continue working (:45–46). However, integration of the foreign labourer was not intended and did not happen. There was a great social inequality between foreign and local workers (:54–56).

1914 – 1939 Labour market and forced labour

At the beginning of World War I in 1914, the Prussian War Ministry enacted measures to prevent workers from hostile foreign countries from leaving. More than 300,000 Russian-Polish workers were now forced to continue their work in Germany against their will (:86). Furthermore, the Germans took advantage of the 2.5 million prisoners of war and used their manpower to maintain German industry and agriculture during these war years (:88–90). Still there was a lack of workers during the war years, which was why German industry recruited and employed Jews from Eastern Europe (:99). Since all these foreign workers were not sufficient, in 1916 the German Empire passed a law and forcibly deported 61,000 workers from Belgium to work in German industry (:105). The living conditions of the foreign workers, some of whom were forced to work, were precarious. Abuses on the part of employers and authorities were the order of the day (:111–115). At the end of the war, the voluntary and forced foreign workers were to be deported as soon as possible, so that the returning German soldiers could have their jobs which occurred as planned. Of about one million foreigners at the end of the war, only 174,000 were in Germany in 1924. The returning soldiers were not able and/or not willing to work in the agricultural sector in Eastern Germany. This led once more to farmers demanding Polish workers (:118). This time, however, the German labour movement set conditions for the permission of foreign workers. These were decided in 1920 that were binding until 1939: "Employment of foreigners only if no indigenous workers were available; Equal wage conditions for Germans and foreigners; Verification of the admission of
foreigners by commissions equally occupied by employers and employees\(^9\) (:120). An important step in the direction of a fairer treatment of foreigners was achieved (:120). From 1933 to 1939, the Nazi regime set two main points in relation to foreign workers. On the one hand, the high demand for workers had to be met, and Hitler agreed with some European States about labour force agreements. On the other hand, the Nazi regime prepared to use prisoners of war in its own economy. The experiences of World War I were evaluated and arrangements were made (:124–127).

1939 – 1945 The Nazi forced labour system

At the beginning of the war, German soldiers brought Polish prisoners to Germany with the aim to employ them as workers (:130). However, as the number of prisoners was not sufficient, about 310,000 Poles were forced to work in Germany. The residence of foreigners in Germany did not fit the ideology of the Nazis, which is why they were treated and paid very poorly; and, they were made to live separated from the Germans in camps and had to wear a “P” for Polish on their clothes (:132–133). As the labour shortage increased the government authorised the use of Russian prisoners of war in 1941 (:137). With the help of various “recruitment” actions, the Germans had by the end of 1942, about 1.7 million Soviet workers working in their industries (:141–142). By the summer of 1944, Germany had about 7.7 million foreign workers and prisoners of war working in their country. At the end of the war these workers returned to their home countries (:193).

1945 – 1973 Foreigners in the “Growing economy”

Economic standstill resulted from the war. One of the reasons was attributed to the lack of workers needed to re-activate the economy. By 1950 about 8.3 million German displaced persons and refugees, who had fled during World War II, resettled in Western and Central Germany and the demand for manpower could be filled (:193). Having experienced Nazi dictatorship, when various countries refused asylum to persecuted Jews from Germany, the right of

\(^9\) Translation by the author. Original: „Beschäftigung von Ausländern nur dann, wenn keine einheimische Arbeiter zur Verfügung standen; gleiche Tarifbedingungen für Deutsche und Ausländer; Überprüfung der Ausländerzulassung durch paritätisch von Arbeitgebern und Arbeitnehmern besetzte Kommissionen.“
asylum was fixed in the German Constitution in 1949 (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:9). In the 1950s, the influx of workers from the east decreased and finally stopped due to the construction of the Berlin wall between West and East Germany in 1961 (Herbert 2003:200). Although there were still some unemployed people in Germany, the German government signed a contract, “guest-worker agreement”, with the Italian government in 1955, because Germany’s lack of manpower had resulted in too high competitive pressure between employers (:203). Between 1960 and 1968 more agreements were signed between Germany and Spain, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia and Yugoslavia (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:9). “Guest workers” were selected by the labour management in their country of residence and then hired by German companies. The contract of these workers were to be deliberately short in order for them to return to their homelands (Herbert 2003:203–204). “Guest workers” received less pay and completed the more physically strenuous work for which it was difficult to find German workers (:213). As a result the economic recession in 1966, the xenophobic voices began to get louder (:221). In addition to this pressure, the guest workers stayed longer than planned and were, increasingly, bringing their families to Germany (:225). In 1973 a “recruitment-stop” for workers outside the European Community was issued. As justification, the oil boycott of the Arab oil states was indicated. It is presumed that this was only a preferred reason to cancel the influx from abroad without facing great outcry (:228–229).

1973 – 2000 From foreign labour to immigration policy

The “recruitment-stop” did not solve the “guest worker” problem. Of course, a lot of guest workers returned to their countries, but many of them stayed and brought their families to Germany\(^\text{10}\). In particular, only a few Turks left the Federal Republic of Germany (Ther 2017:322). This resulted in the situation that there were now more foreign families but not enough single working men. For different reasons, most of the wives remained at home and were thus isolated from German society. In the following time, due to economic structural

\(^\text{10}\) This was still possible according to the immigration law of 1965.
change, particularly the low-skilled foreign workers were dismissed. Unemployment combined with a lack of integration led to socially marginalized areas and parallel societies in which the children of the migrants grew up (Woellert et al 2009:13). Then during 1978 onwards, 40,000 Vietnamese refugees, who became known as the Vietnamese “boat people”, were given refuge in Germany as “humanitarian refugees” because they had fled from Vietnam on boats to south East Asia without means to live. The category of “humanitarian refugees” was created especially in this situation (Kleinschmidt 2013:n.p.).

In 1981 the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany decided that Germany was not an immigration-country and should not be one (Herbert 2003:247). The “Return Promotion Act” in 1983, with which the federal government tried to motivate foreigners to return to their home countries through financial stimulus, was unsuccessful. In the period from 1988 to 1992, two further events in migration history happened. In one instance, the number of asylum seekers to Germany, from countries torn by civil war (e.g. former Yugoslavia), strongly increased (:263). In another instance, the “fall of the wall” in East Germany and the opening of the Eastern Bloc made it possible for more so-called “Ethnic German resettlers¹¹” to return to Germany (:265). Between 1992 and 1999, the German and European asylum law was becoming more and more restricted (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:11). For example, the German Basic Law was amended by editing the regulation of “safe third countries”¹² in the year 1993 (Meier-Braun 2015:87). At the same time, the number of right-wing extremist violence events was rising (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:11). In 1999/2000, the reform of the citizenship law marked a historic turning point. From now on it was no longer exclusively “Jus sanguinis” (Inheritance of nationality) but “Jus soli” (Acquisition of nationality by birth in the country). Under certain conditions, the acquisition of German nationality

¹¹ For a description about Ethnic German resettlers see 1.9 Clarification of key terms, Migrant/Migration.

¹² For a detailed description about “safe third countries” see 2.4.2 Critical review of Germany’s policies and programmes.
by birth in Germany was possible. In addition, the possibility of dual citizenship was allowed until the age of 23 (Bade 2007b:36; Herbert 2003:332–333). Since 2014, dual citizenship can also be retained beyond the age of 23.

Herbert has described the epochs until 2000. In the following, the happenings in German migration history from 2000 to 2014 is outlined.

2000 – 2014 Politics in times of increasing migration

From the year 2000, immigration figures were fairly constant but since the economic crisis in 2008-2009, the number of migrants has risen again annually and reached a peak in 2015, due to the “refugee crisis” (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2016a:73).

Changes in the political field are described as follows:

In 2005 the immigration law was introduced. The new formulation included obligations, and offers, that apply to migrants (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:11). It also described integration as a governmental task which was a great change from 1981 when Germany referred to itself as a non-immigration country. In addition, the Federal Office for the recognition of foreign refugees (BAFL) and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) were constituted (Bade 2007b:36).

In 2006 the first integration summit and the first Islam conference were held under the government of Angela Merkel. Both aimed at the participation of migrants. At the same time, the first federal states introduced naturalisation examinations (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:11).

In 2007 the topic of integration gained in importance. The establishment of an integration minister in the federal chancellery was an important step towards more significance. Another step was the creation of the National Integration Plan, which positively presented integration and cultural openness (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:11). The national integration plan was developed in cooperation with civil society, the federal government, the federal states and local authorities. It includes self-binding measures to promote integration.
In 2012 the “Blue Card” was introduced in the EU in order to counteract the shortage of skilled workers. The “Blue Card” is meant to allow highly qualified professionals from non-EU countries to migrate to Germany.

In 2014 the number of migrants rose again. At that point the 9th Conference of Integration Ministers of the federal states took place. At the conference the ministers decided to promote cultural openness throughout Germany. In addition, foreigners and reporting authorities were to be transformed into “Welcome Authorities” (Woellert & Klingholz 2014:11-12).

2.3.2 Latest history of migration to Germany

As mentioned above, this part focuses on the situation of refugees in Germany since 2014. Gisela Erler and Margit Gottstein have defined five phases in order to summarize the “refugee-crisis” in Germany (Erler & Gottstein 2017). The individual phases are briefly presented below:

1. Pre-Phase: At the end of 2014 the evidence of rising numbers of refugees worldwide increased (:160).

2. Emergency phase: In the summer of 2015, 441,899 asylum applications were submitted: a historical record high. 35.9% of the asylum applications were made by Syrians (BAMF & BMI 2015:119). At the beginning of 2016, the numbers were corrected to 1.1 million asylum applications in 2015 (Hanewinkel 2016a:1). Starting in the middle of 2015, the registration and accommodation of refugees were carried out in an emergency mode (Erler & Gottstein 2017:160). Quick decisions had to be made which led to flexible transitional structures. As the situation could not be solved by the municipalities, support services had to be requested, for example, from the NGOs and the German armed forces (:160). The housing of the refugees posed great challenges for the authorities, so that some, even in winter, had to be accommodated in tents (Fründt 2015:n.p.).

3. Transition phase: At the end of 2015 and in the first quarter of 2016 the focus was still on providing emergency help and on covering the basic needs of refugees (Erler & Gottstein 2017:160). In 2016 the demand for an “upper limit” of refugees was expressed (Hanewinkel 2016a:1). The first quarter of the year
2016 brought a further tightening of the German asylum laws. Despite all this, the protests of the right-wing Populist Party Alternative for Germany (AfD) became louder as they demanded the use of weapons at German borders (Hanewinkel 2016b:1). By closing the “Balkan route”\(^\text{13}\), the number of the refugees who came to Germany was reduced. In March 2016, the EU made the “EU-Turkey deal” (Hanewinkel 2016c:1–2), which is addressed in detail in the next section (2.4.1).

4. Consolidation phase: As fewer people came to Germany due to the closed routes and the EU-Turkey deal, the transition from the emergency phase to a more stable situation could be initiated. The support for refugees could be incorporated into regular supply and administrative structures (Erler & Gottstein 2017:160). In July 2016 the new Integration law was passed wherein the main focus is that integration is a joint project between migrants and German society (Bundestag 2016).

5. Relaxation Phase: The relaxation phase began approximately in the second half of 2016 and remains ongoing. Relaxation refers to the numbers of refugees coming to Germany. Those responsible in politics looked for short and long-term integration measures (Erler & Gottstein 2017:160). Furthermore, the issue of refugees was an important topic in the Bundestag election campaign in 2017. During this period, the issues of deportation and “safe countries of origin”\(^\text{14}\) were widely discussed (pro Asyl 2017). Especially deportations to Afghanistan have aroused a lot of public attention (Przybilla & Sprick 2017).

A description and critical reflection of the refugee’s legal framework and the life situation in Germany is described under 2.4.2.

2.4 Integration policies and programmes in Germany

Overall, the objectives of Germany’s integration policies and programmes serve to deter and not to increase the integration performance of the federal

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\(^\text{13}\) The Balkan route passed through Greece, Macedonia and Serbia.

\(^\text{14}\) For a detailed description about “safe counties of origin” see 2.4.2 Critical review of Germany’s policies and programmes.
government that can be seen in active politics regarding integration. Part of the policy are European agreements in which Germany is involved.

In this section Germany’s integration policies and programmes are described and critically reviewed through the characterisation of two European deals, the legal framework of asylum, the life situation of the refugees and the current coalition agreements of the federal government.

2.4.1 Critical review of European regulations

As the German policies have to be seen in the context of the EU, to begin with, I will present and review two European programmes at the beginning because Germany was very involved in these two deals.

- Dublin Agreement

The Dublin Agreement was named for the city in which it was primarily signed in 1990; however, it came into force only in 1997. The Dublin Regulation lays down the responsibility for an asylum procedure within the EU. The country that the asylum seeker enters first is responsible for his/her asylum application. The procedure was repeatedly revised and the final version (Dublin III) has been in force since 01 January 2014 (Meier-Braun 2015:89–90). Countries at the border of Europe, such as Greece and Italy, have to bear most of the responsibility, since most asylum seekers enter the EU by sea (p.90). In general the European States should share the task of caring for the refugees in Europe. One of the problems lies in the fact that the actual planned redistribution (from September 2015) of the EU has not been put into action which has led to crowded reception camps in Greece and precarious living situations for many refugees (UNO-Flüchtlingshilfe 2018:n.p.).

Since Germany is not a “border-land” in Europe, the Dublin Agreement suitably frees it from obligations. In the meantime (especially since 2015) the Dublin agreement is not being implemented consistently and one consequence is that refugees are using smuggling gangs to reach Germany (Meier-Braun 2015:90). Now Germany is committed to the fact that the refugees should be distributed equitably all over Europe (Hanewinkel 2018:6).
- **EU-Turkey Deal**

The contract between the EU and Turkey has been active since 20 March 2016. The agreement is that asylum seekers that use Turkey as a transit country to enter the territory of the EU on the Greek islands are deported back to Turkey. A 1:1 mechanism is used: for each Syrian person deported from the Greek islands to Turkey, another Syrian person from Turkey will be relocated in the EU. For this purpose, Turkey receives 6 billion Euros and the promise that vulnerable refugees will be accepted by the EU if the “deportation-deal” works (Cremer 2017a:n.p.). The Refugee and Human rights organisation Pro Asyl criticises the EU-Turkey deal on three points (pro Asyl 2016). Firstly, the deal blocks the ways to the EU and deprives refugees of the right to apply for asylum (:4). Secondly, in the course of this deal, the EU declares Turkey as a “safe third country” (:5-6); and, thirdly, the right of each refugee to an individual case examination is not granted to him/her (:8).

It is obvious that the objective of the EU-Turkey Deal is to prevent refugees from entering the EU. From a human rights perspective, the deportation of refugees to Turkey does not qualify as “safe” according to lawyer Hendrik Cremer (Cremer 2017b:n.p.).

### 2.4.2 Critical review of Germany’s policies and programmes

In this section three different areas of policies and programmes are described and critically analysed, since all three areas affect each other. These are: Germany’s legal framework of asylum, the refugee’s life situation and the current coalition agreement of the German Government that was elected in 2017.

#### 2.4.2.1 Legal framework

In this section, Germany’s asylum procedures and the legal status of refugees are described and afterwards critically reviewed.

- Asylum procedures

The procedure for asylum proceedings is as follows:
1. Asylum application

When a person wishes to submit an application for asylum in Germany, he/she can do so at a German authority. Firstly, the personal details are recorded and the person is usually accommodated in a mass accommodation (Richter 2016:24). It is also decided in which federal state the refugee is to be accommodated (Schott 2016:203).

2. Examination of the application

Firstly, it is checked whether Germany is responsible for the asylum seeker or whether he/she has already made an application in another European country. In the latter case, the Dublin III agreement would become effective\(^\text{15}\) (Meier-Braun 2015:85; Richter 2016:24).

3. Asylum procedure by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF)

If the Dublin III agreement does not apply or cannot be executed, an examination of the right of asylum by the BAMF is initiated. For this, a personal “interview” is conducted with the refugee. Depending on the personal situation of the refugee and the situation in his/her country of origin, relevant recognitions and residence permits may apply\(^\text{16}\).

4. Asylum procedure by the Immigration authority

When the decision has been made at the BAMF, the immigration authority has the task of issuing the residence permit. This depends on the status that the BAMF has assigned to the refugee (Schott 2016:206). The status also determines whether and when close family members get permission to migrate to Germany as well (Grote 2017:6,24). A positive decision may be extended or lead to a residence permit. A negative decision can lead to a “Duldung\(^\text{17}\)” (Schott 2016:206–208).

\(^{15}\) For a detailed description about the Dublin II agreement see 2.4.1 Critical review of European Regulations.

\(^{16}\) For a detailed description of possible recognitions and residence permits, see later in this section under “Legal status of refugees”.

\(^{17}\) For a detailed description of the toleration, see later in this section under “Legal status of refugees”.
Legal status of refugees

The following recognitions and residence permits are possible in the German legal system:

- Asylum by the German Constitution
  The unique aspect about the German asylum law is that, since 1949, the right of asylum for politically persecuted people is a fundamental part of the German Constitution but it was limited in 1992 due to increasing asylum applications. Since the so-called “asylum compromise”, only those refugees who do enter Germany without travelling through an EU country or a “safe third country” can apply for asylum in Germany (Meier-Braun 2015:84). A “safe third country” is a state in which the Geneva Refugee Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights apply. Germany does not have to accept refugees who travel through such a “safe third country” on their way to Germany (:87). There is another limitation in the law. This occurs when a refugee comes from a country that Germany declared as “safe country of origin”. The German law (German constitution, Article 16 Section 3) declares a country of origin as safe “[…] if it is possible to prove on the basis of the democratic system and of the general political situation that no state persecution is to be feared there as a rule, and that the State in question can provide protection against non-state persecution as a matter of principle” (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge 2016b:n.p.). If a person from a “safe country of origin” asks for asylum in Germany, he/she must prove that he/she was persecuted in his/her country of origin despite the assertion of the German government that there is no persecution in his/her home country (Meier-Braun 2015:87).

- Asylum by the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees
  Refugees to whom the Geneva Convention18 applies get asylum granted in Germany. This covers the group of people who are being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or

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18 For a detailed description about the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
political opinion. At the same time, the same restrictions as those described in “Asylum by the German Constitution” are applied.

- Subsidiary protection
The Subsidiary protection\(^{19}\) becomes effective if the right of asylum does not apply, but nevertheless dangers to freedom, limb and life, such as torture or death penalty, threaten the refugee in his home country. The subsidiary protection is only a deportation ban on time and not on residence permit (:89).

- Suspension of deportation
Persons who are not or are no longer in the asylum proceedings, or whose applications have been turned down but whose deportation has been suspended, receive from the immigration authority a "certificate of suspension of deportation", the so-called Duldung” (BAMF n.d.).

- Refusal of Asylum
A possible result could be that the application for asylum is rejected.

In theory, it is possible to apply for asylum in Germany if the refugee has not travelled through a “safe third country” on his/her way to Germany or his/her home country is declared as “safe country of origin”. Since Germany is surrounded by “safe third countries” and it is difficult for refugees from “safe countries of origin” to prove that they are under threat, it has become very difficult to put an application for asylum in Germany (Meier-Braun 2015:84).

2.4.2.2 Life situation of the refugees
Germany’s policies and programmes have consequences on the life situation and the integration of the refugees. This is briefly illustrated and critically reflected in the examples of accommodation and employment.

\(^{19}\) For a detailed description about Subsidiary protection see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
• Accommodation
Where and how refugees live in Germany is, at least primarily shaped by the legal policies. Asylum seekers are required to initially live in a mass accommodation. Officially the stay takes up to six weeks, but not more than six months, or at most until they have been granted protection status (§ 47 para 1 AsylG and § 53 para 2 AsylG). As soon as the accommodation period (six weeks up to six months) has expired or the protection status has been recognised, the refugees are allocated to the municipalities. Here, too, accommodation is initially in a mass accommodation. Decentralised accommodation can be sought when living in the second mass accommodation in the municipalities (Baier & Siegert 2018:3). Due to the high level of asylum seekers in recent years, these deadlines cannot be met and the tendency is for refugees to be accommodated longer in mass accommodation (Aumüller, Daphi & Biesenkamp 2015:40).

The Integration law, of 06 August 2016, established a residence assignment for asylum-seekers, recognised refugees, and refugees with the status of subsidiary protection (Bundesregierung Deutschland 2016b:1942–1943). The first three years of their stay they have to live in the federal State that is responsible for their asylum or admission procedure (§ 12a AufenthG). In addition, the authorities can allocate refugees to a certain place of residence within six months after the recognition or grant of the residence permit (§ 12a para. 2 and 3 AufenthG). Refugees who are employed, study or do vocational training are exempt from the residence requirement (Baier & Siegert 2018:3). Refugees that are still in the asylum procedure and refugees with the status of subsidiary protection have no say in the choice of place of residence (Aumüller, Daphi & Biesenkamp 2015:21).

One criticism of these German policies is that the accommodation of refugees in mass accommodation prevents integration. A study by the Robert Bosch Foundation has interviewed local decision-makers in the municipalities about their experiences regarding the accommodation of refugees. Two of the results are that decentralised housing of refugees promotes integration and helps to increase the acceptance of refugees in society (:61-62, 69). The opposite is when in 2013 the average time that refugees stayed in mass accommodation...
in the municipalities was already 4.2 years (:70). Since more refugees have come to Germany in recent years and no more housing is available, the tendency to place refugees in mass accommodation is increasing. Furthermore, the coalition agreement of the new German Government is planning to accommodate all refugees in so-called Reception, Decision-making and Repatriation facilities (AnKER centres) (CDU, CSU & SPD 2018:107), which are also mass accommodations that will be discussed in the next section.

Another study by the Bertelsmann Foundation shows that the housing situation also has an influence on the work integration of the refugees. The living circumstances in a mass accommodation is depriving refugees of the power to concentrate on training and language studies (Aumüller 2016:17).

- Employment

The Labour law situation for the employment of refugees is complex and difficult for non-experts to understand. The following is a rough excerpt:

Recognised refugees are not allowed to work for the first three months of their stay in Germany. This regulation used to be nine months. Even, however, if a work permit has been granted in the first 15 months, recognised refugees are only allowed to start working in a job when no German worker, EU foreigner or foreigner with a residence permit is available to do it. (Aumüller 2016:13; Richter 2016:31). As a result, it is difficult for refugees to find a job and the first 15 months can hardly be used for integration. Another hindrance for the integration of refugees in the labour market is the revocation examination of asylum. Within three years after the recognition of asylum the Asylum Law provides for a re-examination of the legal status to check whether the refugee is still entitled to have the asylum status he/she has. After the revocation the recognition or granting of subsidiary protection may be revoked if the situation in the country of origin has changed. This leads to uncertainty and employers would tend to hesitate employing refugees (Aumüller 2016:13–14).

2.4.2.3 Coalition agreement of the German Government

The agreements of the coalition partners can roughly be divided into three thematic areas. The first thematic area is that of labour migration. This means that
the Federal Republic of Germany wants to make it easier for the well-educated foreigners to migrate into Germany. The second thematic area includes the measures to limit the migration of refugees. The third point of the migration and integration policy of the new federal government concerns the integration of migrants (Hanewinkel 2018:4–8). In the following two of the coalition agreements of the German Government are critically reviewed:

- Declaring “countries of safe origin”

It is described under 2.4.2.1 how the German law defines a “country of safe origin”. At the moment Ghana, Senegal and the six Western Balkan countries Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia are declared as “safe countries of origin” (Meier-Braun 2015:87). In the coalition plan the new federal government decided to declare Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia as “safe countries of origin” (Hanewinkel 2018:6), even though the BAMF’s (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees) internal documents do point out that people in these countries might be persecuted (Augustin, Biermann & Faigle 2016).

The classification as “safe countries of origin” for Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia would make it more difficult for the individual asylum seekers to be granted the application; and thus, he/she can be easily deported, which would reduce the number of refugees in Germany.

- Reception, Decision-making and Repatriation facilities

In order to enable a more efficient asylum procedure, the federal government intends to place all asylum seekers on arrival in an AnKER facility. The purpose of this facility is to verify the identity of the asylum seekers and to decide on reception, allocation in community or repatriation. Minors travelling alone are excluded from admission to these centres. The stay is planned to be no

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20 In the following text these facilities are referred to as AnKER facilities since this is the German abbreviation for Aufnahme-, Entscheidungs-, und Rückführungseinrichtungen.
21 Unaccompanied minors who enter Germany are taken into care by the youth welfare office that has local responsibility. This provisional taking into care ensures that these children and juveniles aged under 18 are accommodated with a suitable person or in a suitable facility (BAMF 2016:n.p.).
longer than 6 months for families and no longer than 18 months for single travellers. Only the refugees, who have a positive prognosis for their stay, should be distributed to the municipalities. All others should, in reasonable time when possible, be deported directly from these facilities to their home countries (CDU, CSU & SPD 2018:107). There are many concerns about the implementation of these plans. Since this study deals with the integration of refugees, only the consequences of the AnKER facilities for integration are considered.

Firstly, it should be considered what consequences the isolation of such centres will have on people. Being isolated from the community for 6 to 18 months hinders the integration of those refugees who will remain in Germany.

Secondly, the Refugee and Human rights organisation Pro Asyl points out that large shelters for refugees are stigmatizing signs of exclusion. In addition, mass accommodation for refugees can become the subject of hate campaigns (pro Asyl 2018:n.p.).

As can be seen in the coalition agreement, the AnKER facilities do not have integration as a goal. Considering the arguments mentioned here, it might happen that integration may be delayed or even prevented.

Finally, it can be concluded that the legal framework of asylum, the life situation of the refugees and the current coalition agreements of the federal government show that somehow integration is important to the federal government, but the deterrence of refugees and the reduction of the number of refugees is more important. This view is also shared by the press and science (Lobenstein 2018; Prantl 2018; Schmitt & Wienforth 2018).

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the long history and complexity of world-wide migration, the political, legal and life situation of refugees in Germany have been presented. It has been made clear that the attempt of this study, to develop an integration theory with the focus on the capabilities of the refugees, is set in a very complex
international situation at a time when the opinions about integration are dichotomous in Germany. This represents the historical and political framework. In the next chapter the theoretical framework is explained.
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The objective of this study is to combine an approach, which is rooted in Development work, with a German sociological immigrant integration theory. The theoretical frameworks are derived from the two theories that are to be combined in this study. The first framework is that of integration. Being integrated means being an accepted part of something whole. Affiliation, participation and codetermination are essential needs and components of human life worthy of dignity. For refugees to be able to live this kind of life certain conditions have to be in place. One of the conditions are the capabilities that immigrants have. Since this study focuses on the capabilities instead of the weaknesses of the immigrants, the second theoretical framework is that of empowerment. By asking how the existing capabilities have to be promoted for integration to be successful, the empowerment of the individual immigrant is targeted.

The following chapter discusses the concept of integration, by focussing on the German context and the Empowerment Approach.

3.2 Integration

The official definition of integration by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF) reads as follows:

“Integration is a two-way process, in which all sections of society are actively involved. The goal of integration is to enable people with an immigration background to have a comprehensive and equal participation in all areas of society. Successful integration work requires commitment and openness of the society as a whole. Therefore, the measures of the Federal agency are not only aimed at people with an immigration background. With its work, it promotes the acceptance of diversity in the host society to support coexistence in a pluralistic Federal Republic of Germany.”

(BAMF 2014b:1)

An internationally known definition of integration is that of John Berry, a Canadian professor of psychology. Berry considers integration as one variety of acculturation. He distinguishes acculturation fundamentally in four variations: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization (Berry 1999:278–279).

In his opinion the strategies for acculturation differ according to the relationship of the immigrants to the majority culture and the degree of preservation of their own cultural values. In a positive relationship with the majority culture, the individual or collective is integrated or assimilated. A negative relationship leads to either a separation or marginalization. The following table presents the distinguishing features of the four variants:

(Source: Berry 1999:278)

Figure 3.1 Four varieties of acculturation according to Berry

This illustration displays what Berry means by integration. Contrary to assimilation, in integration, people or groups aspire to multiculturalism where their own cultural heritage is carried into the majority society as well as reaching out to relationships within the host society (:278-279).
3.2.1 Academic approaches to integration in Germany

Although Germany is a country that has a long-term integration history (Heckmann 2013:34), its citizens refused for a long time to see it as an “Integration-country” (Bade 2007b:34; Heckmann 2015:23). Yet scientists had published related research about immigration and integration already in the 1980s. The four most prominent should be mentioned here: Hartmut Esser, Klaus Bade, Michael Bommes, and Friedrich Heckmann.

Hartmut Esser is professor of sociology and builds his theory on a basic definition of integration. “Integration generally is understood as a cohesion of parts in a “systemic” whole, no matter what this cohesion is based on. The parts must be indispensable, or in other words, the parts have to be “an integral part of the whole”23 (Esser 2001:1). From this point he deduces the distinction of system-integration and social-integration, building on a theory of David Lockwood. System-integration is defined as ‘cohesion between the parts of a social system’. The role-players in system-integration, for example the world market, the nation-state, the large corporates, such as the international corporations, and supranational entities, such as the European Union, coalesce with each other independent from the interests and motivations of the individual person. Social-integration, on the other hand, is the relationship among the actors of the social system (:3-4). Additionally he subdivides social-integration into four dimensions: culturation, placement, interaction and identification (:16). On this foundation he builds his four dimensions of assimilation24: cultural, structural, social and emotional or identificational assimilation. He is of the opinion that structural assimilation brings placement in society and, with it, cultural assimilation, which includes an approximation in knowledge and skills, especially in relation to language (:22). Esser concludes that these two are the most important aspects for integration to be successful (:17).

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24 For a detailed definition of assimilation see 1.9 Clarification of key terms and 5.3.1 Advantages.
Klaus Bade, professor of new history and Michael Bommes († 2010) professor of sociology, managed the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS). They proceed on the assumption that all presented integration concepts are ultimately constructed on this basic question: whether, where, how and to what extent the access to resources, such as work, education, income and health, are possible. In addition, the answer to the question ‘Why are these resources accessible or not accessible?’ is part of the integration theory according to Bade and Bommes. In their opinion access to these resources are determinative for successful integration. But to get access to the resources that are important for integration, migrants have to fulfil certain social expectations (Bade & Bommes 2004:13–14).

These assumptions of Bade and Bommes might be observed under two viewpoints. Firstly, they raise the question: Which abilities do immigrants need to be able to fulfil these social expectations and do they possess these abilities? It adds up to the question: Are they able to fulfil these expectations? The other viewpoint focuses on the social structures. Are the social structures inclusive for immigrants and does immigration change them? According to Bade and Bommes the goal is to find out how the abilities of the immigrants and the social structures can, or have to, correlate with each other, for integration to happen. They assume that the abilities of migrants multiply during the process of integration. On the other hand, the integration of migrants also has a positive effect on the society (for example: more children, international staff, multilingual skills, cultural pluralisation) which fosters wider options for the whole society. At the same time, the integration of other people leads to the sharing of social goods, which might trigger a feeling of competition between the local society (:13–14). Moreover, Bade adds the aspect of security to the integration discussion. He is of the opinion that the success of integration is crucial to ensure lasting social peace in an immigration society (Bade 2007a:62).

Friedrich Heckmann is another German scientist who publishes and teaches about migration and integration. This study chooses to build on Friedrich Heckmann’s theory since it is already used in practice as the basis for integration concepts, for example, as in the integration management and monitoring plans.
of the Federal State of Hessen (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:10) and the city of Kassel (Stadt Kassel 2012:5). His view of integration and his theory will be explained in detail in chapter five.

Generally it is assumed that “integration is a process that occurs over time. The longer immigrants reside in a host country, the more familiar they become with the ways it functions, the more friends and acquaintances they make and – where it is an issue – the better they master the host country language” (OECD/European Union 2015:21). In the case of refugees, the granting of a residence status enables the beginning and the development of a binding process to the new society (Heckmann 2015:45).

Furthermore, the question is raised: ‘What is it that the refugees are supposed to integrate themselves into?’ Neither the German society nor the refugees themselves are a homogenous group. On closer inspection one notes that the German society already consists of 17.1 million people with a migration background25 which is 21 percent of the population (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016:36). This fact brings scientists like Naika Foroutan, professor of social sciences, to argue that Germany already can be seen as a “Post-Migration”26 country. The prefix “post” does not stand for the “end of the migration”, but describes social negotiation processes that follow in the phase ‘after the migration’ (Foroutan 2016b:11). This “after migration” phase emphasises the fact that Germany is multi-cultural already and that integration efforts should not just be promoted for immigrants, but instead for every minority in German society (for example disabled people, LBGT people, etc.). She pleads for a paradigm shift that keeps the word integration, but fills it with this new meaning (Foroutan 2015:4–5).

3.2.2 Integration indicators and barriers

Processes of integration happen and can be measured at the individual, organisational, and institutional level (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016:17–18). In order to reach improved comparability among EU Member States, the 2010

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25 For a definition on people with migration background see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
26 For a definition of Post-Migration see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
Zaragoza declaration decided on a set of integration indicators which are measured in terms of employment, health, education, social inclusion and active citizenship in the hosting country (Eurostat 2015:1). Both larger and smaller German cities develop and test their own indicators. This leads to a variety and differences in details concerning the design and implementation of local monitoring (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung 2010:1).

Three types of indicators can be distinguished. The first ones are the “indicators of accessibility”. They evaluate the legal conditions, which ensure the residence status and the consequential protection against discrimination and access to the structures of society. The second type of indicator evaluates the “classical” indications, like the employment situation, educational status, housing situation or dependence on social transfers. Finally, the third indicator focuses its attention on the attitudes and expectations of migrants to the host society and aspirations regarding their personal life and their participation in social and political life. This category also includes the opinion of the majority society in relation to the migrants (Filsinger 2008:49).

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) should be mentioned here. It is a tool, developed by the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB) and the Migration Policy Group (MPG), which measures policies of Migrant Integration in all EU Member States, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA through 167 indicators. These include labour market mobility, family reunion, education, health, political participation, permanent residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination (Huddleston et al 2015:2).

Since there are indicators that measure the success of integration, there are also barriers that prevent integration. It is not easy to create a list of the causes of failed integration because they are anything but homogeneous. But from the literature it is clear that the causes of failure can be found among the migrants and the host society and that they have different effects in different combinations (cf. Bommes 2007:3–4; Woellert et al 2009:50, 81; Geiger 2016:122–126; Löhlein 2016:305; SVR 2017:121).
3.2.3 Critique of Integration Theories

In this section, three different forms of critique will be briefly addressed. Not only are the German integration structures criticized but so are the assumptions about integration generally prevalent in society, are criticised. Furthermore, the critique of the term “integration” or whether it is the “right” term for the concept will be briefly discussed.

Dieter Filsinger, professor of social science, social policy and evaluation, levels criticism at the way integration success is measured. In his opinion, the focus is too much on the actions carried out by the immigrants in order to achieve social integration and not enough on the openness of the social structures in the host country. If the goal is to create equal opportunities, then the social structures have to make this possible (Filsinger 2008:9). Schneider et al. and Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas also criticize the same point. Schneider et al., emphasise that the demand for acculturation addressed to the immigrants is “hollow” since it does not come with a willingness to grant equal opportunities (Schneider, Crul & Lelie 2015:102). Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas criticise that integration is often presented as a must for the minority, who have to adapt to the majority (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016:12). When this adaptation, perhaps because of hindrances from the majority, does not happen, it is called “absence of integration willingness”. This in turn is taken as reason to legitimise disciplinary integration actions (Böcker, Goel & Heft 2013:306–307) like reduction of social benefits when not participating in an integration course (BAMF 2017b:3).

The criticism levelled at the general assumptions about integration present in German society is captured in the term “methodological nationalism”. “Methodological nationalism is understood as the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world” (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002:301). Thereby the national society is seen as a container and the immigrants as “[…] antinomies to an orderly working of state and society […]” (:309). By viewing migration and integration through this lens the immigrants are seen as “[…] potential security risks, as culturally others, as socially marginal and as an exception to the rule of territorial confinement […]”
Wimmer and Glick Schiller critique the Migration and Integration Studies to be influenced by these views of nation states, which lets cross-border migration seem to be irregular and problematic, since it is contrary to the “rule” that everybody stays where he or she belongs, that is, to “their” nation state (311). By analysing the “The Integration of the European Second Generation” (TIES) - Study Schneider et al., have come to the same results. They express their critic of the “either/or principle”. This means that in general the assumption prevails in German society that a person can either be German or, for example, Turk. This becomes visible in the rejection of dual citizenship. Integration or segregation is equated with a certain picture and overlap seems impossible (Schneider, Crul & Lelie 2015:23–24).

In addition to this, there is also a discourse in Migration Studies about the terms integration and inclusion. Hubertus Schröer is of the opinion that the term integration implies expectations from the host country towards the migrants, whereas the term inclusion, in contrast, puts expectations on the host country. This results from his meanings that integration relies on alignment and adjustment, while inclusion stands for the affiliation of all from the very beginning. Schröer’s argument is that inclusion puts its focus on the empowerment for participation (Schröer 2013:252). A counter-argument to this position can be found in the work of Böcker, Goel and Heft. The three authors examined the word integration on its racist content. In this way they concluded that the word integration itself is less problematic than the underlying racist exclusion that is reproduced in any non-critical speech about integration. By that they mean the underlying concept of integration, which implies that “the different one” has to integrate following the rules of the dominant society. For that reason they discard the idea that the concept of integration needs a new term, rather the integration concept itself has to be redesigned (Böcker, Goel & Heft 2013:308–310). Naika Foroutan is also of the opinion that it is not necessary to fill a completely new word with this important content. She pleads not to replace the

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27 “The TIES project is a collaborative and comparative research project on the descendants of immigrants from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco in eight European countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland). The “second generation” refers to those children of immigrants who were actually born in the receiving country, and have followed their entire education there” (TIES n.y.).
word integration but, instead, to unlink it from the concept of migration. In her opinion the original sense and aim of the word integration is society-wide and is not limited solely to the concept of migration (Foroutan 2015:4).

3.3 Empowerment

The second framework of this study is that of Empowerment. In 1976 the publication of “Black Empowerment: Social Work in Oppressed Communities” by Barbara Solomon, a professor of social work, brought the term of empowerment into use by service providers and researchers. At that time the term was mainly used regarding marginalized groups and concerned the power and dominations they were suppressed by (Calvès 2009:736–737). One of the influencers of the empowerment notion is the Brazilian theorist Paulo Freire with his Conscientization Approach. In his work “Pedagogy of the Oppressed” he sees in the problem of oppression that the oppressed do not have the opportunity to participate in their own liberation (Freire 1973:36). It was through feminist discourse the empowerment framework finally became established as a term in the development area (Calvès 2009:739–741). In 2002 the World Bank published a sourcebook on “Empowerment and Poverty Reduction” (Narayan 2002). Therein the definition of empowerment is related to Sen’s Capability Approach and reads as follows: “Empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives” (:xviii). Alsop et al., together with the World Bank published the book “Empowerment in Practice” (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2012) wherein they define empowerment as “[…] a group’s or individual’s capacity to make effective choices, that is, to make choices and then to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes” (:10). In this definition they distinguish between two sets of interrelated factors: agency and opportunity structure. Agency cannot be mistaken as empowerment, since it is the ability to envision and make purposeful choices. This ability only leads to empowerment if it can act inside an opportunity structure, which helps to transform agency into action. The opportunity structure consists of an “[…] institutional context within which actors operate that influence their
ability to transform agency into action” (:10). According to this concept of empowerment, it is not just a substance of multiplying and empowering the assets, capabilities and capacities of people but it also considers the situation people in such need are exposed to. These social relations (institutional or otherwise) may be helpful or harmful to the transformation of agency into action (Calvès 2009:744). Narayan gives an overview of the formal and informal institutional barriers that might be an obstacle in the empowerment process: “The key formal institutions include the laws, rules, and regulations upheld by states, markets, civil society, and international agencies; informal institutions include norms of social solidarity, sharing, social exclusion, and corruption, among others” (Narayan 2002:xix).

3.3.1 Dimensions, elements and degrees of empowerment

The negative description of empowerment is described by John Friedmann as disempowerment. He distinguishes three dimensions. Social, political and psychological disempowerment. In relation to poor people he defines social disempowerment as “[…] lack of access to the resources essential for the self-production […]; political disempowerment as “[…] lack of a clear political agenda and voice […]; and, psychological disempowerment as “[…] internalized sense of worthlessness and passive submission to authority” (Friedmann 1996:164).

The elements that are a major aspect of an empowering approach are summarized by Narayan (Narayan 2002:18–22):

Access to information: In order to take effective action access to information is critical. Narayan emphasises that for empowerment to be possible information has to flow in both directions. Citizens need information from the government, and the government also needs information from citizens. It is important to ensure that the information is conveyed in the manner in which it can be culturally and intellectually understood (:19).

Inclusion and participation: Inclusion and participation are those elements of an empowering approach that ask the questions: Who is included and to what extent can she/he participate? Do the participating people have the power to
actually influence decisions (:19–20)? These elements are basic for empowerment. People are only empowered if they are included and able to participate in a process.

Accountability: Public officials, private employers, or service providers are held accountable to answer questions regarding their policies, actions and use of funds (:20). “When poor people can hold providers accountable, control and power shifts to them” (:21).

Local organizational capacity: To be able to organise and mobilize community resources and work together towards problem solutions on a local level is an important capacity for empowerment. Such a local organisation of capacities might give people a stronger voice and a higher chance to have their demands met (:21–22).

Further to this, Alsop and Heinsohn distinguish three degrees of existing power and empowerment:

- Existence of choice: the first degree shows only if a choice exists.
- Use of choice: in the second degree the question is asked whether a person actually puts these opportunities into practice.
- Achievement of choice: the third degree deals with the desired result of the empowerment (Alsop & Heinsohn 2005:10).

All three degrees build on each other and are suitable questions to be answered for evaluating empowerment. In my opinion, the three degrees of empowerment should ask more profound questions. For example, the question could be asked: “Where does the existence of choice come from?” and “Why is one person able to put an opportunity into practice and another not?” and “Why did this person desire this result and not another (better/higher/more qualified)?”

3.3.2 Empowerment to action

A definition by Luttrell and Quiroz underlines the empowerment to take action. They summarise empowerment as “[...] a progression that helps people gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important” (Luttrell & Quiroz 2009:16). Em-
powerment enables people to act. Related to integration this means that empowered immigrants are capable of taking part in the integration process. Or, as the words of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), conceptualise empowerment “[…] as an emancipation process in which the disadvantaged are empowered to exercise their rights, obtain access to resources and participate actively in the process of shaping society and making decisions” (Luttrell & Quiroz 2009, 2009:16).

What is needed for immigrants to be empowered is to exercise their rights, obtain access to resources and participate actively in the process of shaping society and making decisions? Alsop is of the opinion that, fundamentally, a “prerequisite to empowerment is an opportunity structure that allows people to translate their asset base into effective agency […]” (Alsop 2007:123). This is what this study aims to accomplish; that is, to combine Heckmann’s integration theory and Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach in order to create a theoretical frame that, through focus on capabilities, creates an opportunity structure that allows immigrants to translate their capabilities into active integration.

3.3.3 Critique of the Empowerment Approach

The empowerment approach has also been criticized. Three critics are listed below. All of them, refer to the content of the term “empowerment”. At the end of this section, I explain which definition of empowerment is the basis of this work.

The first point of criticism concerns the definition of empowerment. In a briefing-paper prepared for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Zoë Oxaal and Sally Baden outline that the concept of empowerment, although often used in practice, is rarely defined. Where it has been defined, the definitions vary significantly from one agency to another (Oxaal & Baden 1997:1-2). Consequently Anne-Emmanuèle Calvès came to the conclusion that “Without any clear definition, empowerment has become a vague goal, a fashionable term that is impossible to implement in the field” (Calvès 2009:IX).
Secondly, the empowerment approach is criticized for losing its initial importance as “[...] a complex and multifaceted process that focuses on the individual and collective dimensions of power [...]” (X) turning into an individualised conception of power. This means that empowerment is treated synonymously with individual capacity, realization, and status (X). Moreover, the term’s co-optation is also criticised as being de-politicising. As a consequence, in practice the empowerment approach is reduced to an economic dimension only (XI).

And thirdly, the change in meaning of “power” itself is critiqued. The initial definition of empowerment in the 1980s was started as a “bottom up” transformation, in which the disempowered people gained awareness of the dynamics of dominance that were the reason for their marginalisation. Additionally they built up abilities to fundamentally transform inequitable economic, social, and political structures (XIII). Jane Parpart, Professor at the University of West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago, is of the opinion that the use of power in the empowerment approach took a turn for the worse. In her opinion this change happened in the mid 1990’s when mainstream development agencies adapted the term. According to Parpart the word “empowerment” was kept, but the meaning began to vary, since the mainstream development practitioners “[...] envisioned empowerment as a means for enhancing efficiency and productivity within the status quo rather than as a mechanism for social transformation” (Parpart 2008:355–356).

In order to be able to respond to this criticism, I am going to define the definition of empowerment this study is built on and describe how the empowerment of refugees can contribute to social transformation.

The definition of empowerment that this dissertation is based on is that of Alsop, Bertelsen and Holland: “Empowerment is defined as a group’s or individual’s capacity to make effective choices, that is, to make choices and then to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes” (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2012:10). Furthermore, the factors of empowerment according to Alsop et al., agency and opportunity structure (10), will also be part of this dissertation as it can counteract the second criticism, because empowerment is
recognised as a “[...] complex and multifaceted process that focuses on the individual and collective dimensions of power [...]” (Calvès 2009:X).

For empowerment to be a mechanism for social transformation for the life situation of refugees in Germany, the objective of the combined integration theory, to be developed in this dissertation, is to empower the individual refugee by looking at his/her capabilities and how they have to be supplemented to lead to integration. If the mechanism of the theory is successful and refugees are able to define and articulate what they need and have to give for integration, then social transformation is possible. The Capabilities Approach can be the opportunity structure that allows people to translate their asset-base into effective agency for empowerment. This is discussed in detail under 7.3.

3.4 Conclusion

When bringing both frameworks of this study together the question arises: What would empowerment for integration look like? The answer in this dissertation is: Empowered immigrants would have the ability and opportunity to participate in the social, cultural, and structural parts of German society. This includes the knowledge of and ability to claim their legal rights. Besides that, they are empowered to choose their own lifestyle and identity and if desired they are offered the space to review and possibly change or adapt their cultural and social values and norms. In short: Immigrants are offered the abilities and opportunities they need to be able to integrate in the way they consider helpful to obtain a life worthy of their dignity. The next chapter explains and describes the methodology of this study.
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology of this study. The goal and method of this study is to compare two theories in order to find options for complementation.

People constantly make comparisons, whether in everyday life or in the workplace. In doing so, we use a comparison criterion that leads to an evaluation of the compared objects; for example, different comparison criteria are used for shopping. Goods are distinguished as fresher, cheaper, better, more modern, fairer etc., which shows that there are different types of comparison that can be very subjective and it also demonstrates that comparisons can have different purposes.

Firstly, this chapter presents the method of comparative theory analysis in general; secondly, it discusses the procedure, the type, as well as the function of the coordinated theory analysis, which is the chosen method for this study.

4.2 Theory Comparison

Theories are compared to each other in order to produce “relations knowledge”. In doing so, findings on at least two “comparison objects” are placed in a ratio based on a comparison criterion, so that “relations knowledge” is created (Greshoff 1999a:16). The aim is to find out whether the comparison objects are equal or alternatives to each other. The results obtained by the comparison can serve as orientation for a decision, as basis of a discussion or as mutual enrichment for both comparison objectives (Greshoff 1999b:237).

4.2.1 Approaches to theory comparison

The theologian Hartmut von Sass categorises comparisons regarding their reasonableness, types and functions. To distinguish whether a comparison makes sense or not he sets four indicators: (1) the comparing elements; (2) their context; (3) the aim of the comparison; and, (4) its context (Sass 2011:28). For a comparison, the similarity of the comparison objects is not decisive, but rather
the similarity of the contexts in which the objects are. Sass is of the opinion that the consideration of these indicators in a comparative work will clarify the validity and rationality of a comparison (:28).

For this study the aim of the comparison is given in chapter 1 in the problem statement and the research objectives, while the context of the aim of the comparison is explained in chapter 3. The comparing elements and their context are discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Further to the indicators for the reasonableness of a comparison, Sass distinguishes five types of comparisons, which he categorises by their comparison criterions (:39):

- Temporality: diachronic – synchronic
- Causality: genetic - typological
- Normativity: no preference – asymmetric
- Integrity: closed - open
- Stability: stable - emergent

The differences between these types are explained in detail under 4.2.3 Characteristic of the comparison.

Theories can be distinguished through their functions. Sass offers five functions of theory comparison (:40-44), which are:

- Comparison as knowledge gain: The aim is that by relating two theories something “new” inside the “old” will be discovered.
- Comparison as conclusion: This form of comparison includes the possibility to make inductive conclusions during the process of comparison.
- Comparisons as explanatory short-cuts: Comparison can be used to illustrate a point through comparing it with something the audience knows. In the sense of: “this lollipop tastes like a strawberry”. This

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comparison gives only information about the taste but not, for example, about the consistency or colour of the two comparison objects.

- Comparison as orientation: If a person wants to know his/her own placement he/she has to orient him/herself to something. Thereby he/she has to compare his/her position, location, financial situation, etc., with that of someone or something else.

- Comparison as irritating - corrective testing: This form of comparison has the function to compare things, which actually cannot be compared. The following irritation is to be used productively.

The comparative function that this study has, is stated under 4.2.3 Characteristic of the comparison.

The sociologist Rainer Greshoff believes that at the beginning of a comparative study the fundamentals of the respective theories should be presented in a assessable position (Greshoff 2008:193). In the next step, it should be examined whether the two theories are equal or alternative to each other. It is not a question of evaluating the theories, but instead the overlaps of the two theories are to be clarified (:191). Only when the weak points, similarities and the problem areas of both theories are known, the respective positions can be regarded as critical entities to each other. From this knowledge progress complementary solutions can be developed (:194).

This study builds on these three steps as they are described by Greshoff. The following figure summarizes the individual steps and clarifies where exactly these can be found in the chapters of this study:
4.2.2 Coordinated Theory Comparison

Since the aim of this study is to find out whether a combined theory of the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory is able to direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses and towards the capabilities of the refugees, a method designed to connect two theories was chosen, namely, the “Coordinated Theory Comparison” according to Schneider. The focus of the Coordinated Theory Analysis is to identify problem areas in the theories that may contain complementary solutions. To achieve this, the methodology followed is as described in 4.2. Although the Coordinated Theory Analysis assumes that the problem context and the (main) concepts of the respective theories are known, I will present both theories at the beginning of the chapters 5 and 6. After this brief presentation of the theories focus is placed on the content that is needed to answer the research question. To discuss the equality or alternativity of the theories, both are related to the basic aspects of each other. In concrete terms, this means that in Chapter 5, the relation between Heckmann’s Theory and capabilities is discussed. In addition, it will be identified to what extent integration conditions and the Capabilities Approach of Nussbaum match. For Chapter 6 that means, that the relationship between the Capabilities Approach and the thematic fields of refugees and integration
is explained. The overlap between the core capabilities according to Nussbaum and the four dimensions of integration are also presented. The examples of the application of the theories, in both chapters, have the function of showing that there are already overlaps in the two thematic fields/theories. The sections on strengths and limitations in chapters 5 and 6 serve to display the potency and limits, and the possible supplementary requirements in either theory. This is done to extend the interpretation and explanation potential and possibilities of supplementation of the Capabilities Approach to the Theory of Successful Integration. This way of comparing two theories makes it possible to fill in gaps in either one or both of the two comparative theories. To fill these gaps one or both of the comparative theories might have to be complemented and thereby refined (Schneider 1999:290).

4.2.3 Characteristic of the comparison

According to the earlier described comparison typology of Sass (Sass 2011:39), the coordinate theory comparison in this work will have the following characteristics:

**Temporality: diachronic – synchronic**

The comparison between Heckmann’s Theory of Successful Integration and Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach will, in relation to its temporality, be synchronic. A synchronic comparison displays the differences and similarities of the two comparing objects at one point in time (A and B at t₁). The point in time for this comparison is the time when I wrote this dissertation. In contrast, a diachronic comparison is comparison of one object at different times (A at t₁ and t₂) (:34–35).

**Causality: genetic – typological**

The theory comparison chosen here is typological since it does not determine or influence the contacts that have led to the two theories. Instead, the analogies and similarities are placed in the foreground. For example: a genetic comparison of an election forecast on one party at two different times (A at t₁ and t₂) would ask about the influencing factors between A at t₁ and A at t₂ to explain
or understand the election forecast. But this work compares the analogies and similarities to figuring out how the two theories can be merged (35–36).

**Normativity: no preference – asymmetric**

A comparison is asymmetric when one comparing object has normative authority over another object. The opposite, no preference regarding the normativity, would be if both objects stand neutral to each other. This is nearly impossible since already the selection of a comparison criterion might bear the intention to show the superiority of one object over the other. This study is an asymmetric comparison, which is a descriptive and not a pejorative classification. The Capabilities Approach of Nussbaum is the normative element in this study, since this study is looking for possibilities to supplement the Integration Theory according to Heckmann with the Capabilities Approach. In doing so, the theory of Heckmann is not to be devaluated, instead it is looked at for possibilities of appreciative complementation (36–37).

**Integrity: closed – open**

With a closed comparison, all comparison objects and intentions are fixed. The process of comparison does not provide scope for new ways of comparing. In contrast, the open comparison intentionally leaves space that can be filled in the process of comparing (37). “The effect of open comparisons is not in a comparative measure, instead a free variation of the comparative elements – a variation that allows us to see something that, without the perhaps strange or quite absurd comparison, but nevertheless not common composition of the objects, would have remained concealed […]29” (38). In this study a German integration theory is compared with an approach from development studies. This is an open comparison, as the comparison allows a new variation of the two theories that does not yet exist.

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29 Translation by the author. Original: “Der Effekt offener Vergleiche liegt nicht in einem komparatistischen Abmessen, sondern in einer freien Variation der Vergleichselemente – einer Variation, die uns etwas an ihnen sehen lässt, das ohne die vielleicht befremdliche bis ganz absurde, sich jedenfalls nicht aufdrängende Zusammenstellung der Glieder verdeckt bliebe […].”
**Stability: stable – emergent**

Whether a comparison is stable or emergent depends on its “tertium comparisonis”\(^{30}\). In the case of a stable comparison the tertium comparisonis is “inclusive” in the comparative objectives or logically discernible. The opposite variant is an emergent way to determine the tertium comparisonis (:38–39). The theories used in this study seem to be very different in themselves, and a comparative perspective does not seem obvious. The tertium emerges in the course of the study by comparing the commonalities and the differences as well as the strengths and weaknesses of the two theories. The resulting tertium comparisonis is taken as the basis for combining the two theories.

The function of this study can, according to Sass, be distinguished as “comparison as knowledge gain” (:40). This coordinated theory comparison is made to find out if the Capabilities Approach – according to Nussbaum – and Heckmann’s Theory of Integration can be complemented in order to direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses and towards the capabilities of the refugees in Germany.

4.3 **Use of literature sources for the comparison**

The theory comparison will be accomplished by using primary and secondary literature about Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory. The primary sources are the works of Martha Nussbaum and Friedrich Heckmann. The secondary literature includes critiques concerning Nussbaum and Heckmann’s expositions and is used to show the connections between the theories. The leading literature dates from the period of 1990-2015. For this literature comparison, primary sources of literature were preferred. Besides that, the literature was selected under the criteria of actuality and relevance for the topic of integration.

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\(^{30}\) “Tertium comparisonis” (Latin = the third [part] of the comparison), the joint in which two different objects or facts coincide.
4.4 Ethical consideration

The fact that this is a theoretical study and does not include a field research component reduces harm that could arise. Nevertheless, I act according to the “do-no-harm” principle. In my case that includes that I am dedicated to do no harm and I hope to bring about a positive effect for the integration discourse in Germany and, with it, for the refugees and migrants in my country. According to Rainer Greshoff, theories comparisons are only justified when they contribute to improve people’s lives (Greshoff 2008:188). As in the words of Jacobsen and Landau, who call this intention the “dual imperative”:

“This is the dual imperative: both to satisfy the demands of the academy and to ensure that the knowledge and understanding our work generates are used to protect refugees, influence governments, and improve the ways institutions like the United Nations or Non-Governmental Organizations do their work” (Jacobsen & Landau 2003:1).

It is also my concern to respect and dignify refugees and migrants in my research. Besides that, I honour researchers and authors and their work that precede mine by acknowledging them as the source of intellectual ideas and thereby avoid plagiarism.

4.5 Conclusion

A coordinated theory analysis according to Schneider is the fitting method to reach the research objectives of this study. The chosen comparison is a synchronous – typological – asymmetric – open – emergent type. The function that accompanies the choice of method is to gain knowledge. The justification lies in the fact that the aim of this study is to find a way to develop an integration theory that focuses at the strengths rather than the weaknesses of the immigrants. The validity and rationality of this comparison is guaranteed through complying with the indicators espoused by Sass. The structure of the study builds on the comparison steps according to Greshoff. After the method has been described in this chapter, it will be applied to Heckmann’s integration theory in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5: THE THEORY OF SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION
BY FRIEDRICH HECKMANN

5.1 Introduction

The sociologist Friedrich Heckmann developed the Theory of Successful Integration for the German context, which is widely used and applied. Starting with his doctoral thesis (Die Bundesrepublik: Ein Einwanderungsland?, Heckmann 1981) he focused his research and teaching activities on Migration and Integration Studies. He is also chairman of the expert forum at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

In this chapter Heckmann’s theory will be introduced and the connections between his theory and the capabilities of refugees will be explored. Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration will be used to sift the literature for conditions, which are regarded as requirements for successful integration into German society. After that, it will be shown how Heckmann’s theory is already being implemented in practice. The literary study will lead to a list of the advantages and limitations of the theory. In conclusion, first results and analysis will be documented.

5.2 Heckmann’s Theory of Successful Integration and its relation to the capabilities of refugees

Friedrich Heckmann (Heckmann 2015:289) developed a Theory of Successful Integration. He builds it on the same sociological foundation as Esser (:72), with the difference that Esser pleads for the term assimilation and Heckmann rejects the concept of assimilation and instead prefers the term integration\(^{31}\) (:75–78).

\(^{31}\) For a detailed definition of the term see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
5.2.1 Dimensions of individual integration

In Heckmann’s opinion, the individual integration of refugees takes place in four dimensions which are: structural, cultural, social and identificational integration (:72). The objective of structural integration is the acquisition and “quality” of participation in the core structures of social life in the host society. Core structures of social life are the education and training systems, economy and labour market, the social security systems, the housing market and the political community. Heckmann stresses, that to become a member in these structural systems, the immigrants need to undergo a learning and socialization process.

It is similar to cultural integration. According to Heckmann, for cultural integration to happen, immigrants need to go through a process of cultural, cognitive, behavioural and attitudinal related changes. This includes a change of values, norms, attitudes, as well as cultural and communicative skills, notably language acquisition (:72). Cultural integration is acculturation which “[…] is a process of developing cultural commonalties between groups, but borders between the groups and separate identities continue to exist […]” (Heckmann 1995:168). In his opinion, cultural integration is mainly the responsibility of the migrants, although he points out that the host society needs to undertake cultural adaptations and changes for cultural integration of migrants to be possible (Heckmann 2015:72). Jürgen Habermas, professor of philosophy, is, however, of the opinion that a constitutional democracy like Germany can demand only political acculturation from its immigrants, without them having to abandon the cultural life-form of their origin (Habermas 1993:2).

Social integration is defined by Heckmann as the increasingly evolving membership of migrants to the new society, through friendships, inter-ethnic marriages, the structures of partner choice32, social group membership and club memberships. Social integration and the memberships inside social structures changes the feeling of belonging and the readiness to identify with the national, ethnic, regional, and local collective structures of the host society. This process describes the development of identificational integration (Heckmann 2015:73).

32 The term ‘structures of partner choice’ is translated from the German term “Partnerwahlstrukturen”.
According to Heckmann identificational integration is a socio-psychological process that has the peculiarity that immigrants already have an ethnic and/or national identity. Through the integration process, this can change to such an extent that a new self-concept is created (:193). He is also of the opinion that the identificational integration, as the cultural integration, involves strenuous individual learning and socialization processes; and, therefore the questioning and change of individual attitudes is necessary (:80).

5.2.2 Process of integration

According to Heckmann, an integrated group of migrants results from the successful integration of many individual migrants. He defines successful social integration of the individual migrant as the possibility and ability to participate in key social institutions (economy, education, culture and politics) which become increasingly independent from the person’s origin. As a result, the participation of immigrants resembles increasingly the general social-structured terms of the host society, involving social class, age and gender; that is, participation becomes more and more independent from the migration background of a person. In consequence, the differences between the host society and the immigrant society dissolve and the former immigrants become the new “locals” (:288–289).

Heckmann recapitulates successful integration of the individual in the following figure:
As seen in the figure, successful integration can happen on the basis of certain influences on the macro, mesa and micro-level. On the macro-level, integration starts with the openness and support of the societal structures. These have a direct influence of the integration of the individual migrants and successful integration in the society as a whole (arrows 2 and 5). Arrow 2 clarifies that openness and support on the macro-level gives individual migrants opportunities for participation and personal development. Arrow 5 represents the increased number of integrated migrants in the overall society, which in turn promotes further integration of other migrants. The dashed arrow 1 must be interpreted as having only an indirect effect on the increased share of integrated migrants and is realized by the influences of arrows 2 and 5. This increase of integrated migrants in the total population causes an even higher rate of integration, since integrated people are seen as role models for newer immigrants (arrow 6). Arrows 3 and 4 show the other requirements, which Heckmann determines for individual integration to be successful.

(Source: Heckmann 2015:289) 33

Figure 5.1 Theory of Successful Integration by Friedrich Heckmann

33 Translation by the author.
On the meso-level these are the ethnical colonies\(^3\). Ethnical colonies can have positive influence for successful integration as long as they function as bridge to the host society and are not the only contacts of the migrants. The micro-level describes the responsibility that the migrants themselves have for the success of the integration process. Here Heckmann assumes that their personal integration depends on their migration motivation and career aspiration, their social and cultural capital, learning abilities and learning motivations (arrow 4). Since integration is a cross-generational process, it must be borne in mind that the process described by arrow 4 is extended over several generations. Eventually, if the requirements are met on all three levels, not only will the desired integration happen, but structures of the German society as a whole will change (arrow 7). These changed-structures are then a condition for this cycle to begin again. It can be concluded that the changes in the overall societal structures generated by the integration of migrants will lead to a changed nation\(^3\) over time (:289–290): “This development is characterised by increasing diversity and at the same time increasing commonalities” (:290). The extent to which the specific role-players of the integration process have an influence depends on the duration – the longer they influence, the stronger their effect. (:289). Successful integration, as the goal of Heckmann’s theory, takes place in the differentiated sub-systems of a society. He divided these sub-systems into the four dimensions of integration, as described earlier (:78–80). According to Heckmann, integration is not just an analytical category to describe a complex process, but also a socio-political goal (Heckmann et al 2000:8). In his understanding, it is not sufficient to accept the fact that Germany is an “integration-country”, but a new “we”, which is inclusive, has to develop. A collective definition of membership has to be developed through a process of new “nation-building\(^3\)” (Heckmann 2014:3). This view is consistent with the argument of the “post-migration” debate, which was discussed under 3.1.

\(^3\) Heckmann defines ethnical colonies as structures of formal and/or informal self-organization (Heckmann 1992:96). For more details see 7.3 Fusion of the theories, 2 Phase.

\(^3\) How Heckmann defines nation see next footnote.

\(^3\) By nation Heckmann does not mean an inflexible system, instead he pleads for a vital process, which adapts its self-definition to the challenges and changes. The “we” of the new nation does not include only the same people it always has, instead new people are able to join and change the “we” (Heckmann, 2015:291).
Heckmann, himself, sees his research as part of the reorientation of migration and integration studies in Germany. This reorientation was necessary due to the settlement of the families of the “guest workers” in the 1980s\(^\text{37}\). By establishing the “European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS)” at the University of Bamberg in 1993 he was able to pursue his approach in the context of an institute (Heckmann 2013:36–37). Since then academics in migration and integration studies have been actively participating in political migration discourse and have succeeded in convincing German politicians that Germany is an immigration country (Heckmann 2015:39–42). The influence of Heckmann’s work on German integration policy and practice can also be seen in the fact that his theory is used as the foundation for political integration concepts; for example, in the integration management and monitoring plans of the Federal State of Hessen (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015) and several German cities base their integration concept on Heckmann’s theory (cf. Kreis Herford 2014; Landeshauptstadt München 2008; Stadt Kassel 2012). An example is the integration evaluation report that Friedrich Heckmann has created with Anna Lutz for the federal state of Bavaria (Heckmann & Lutz 2010). Here, among others, his four dimensions of integration are taken as an evaluation framework (Heckmann & Lutz 2010:19). On the basis of these, the two authors have created integration indicators that they answer with the help of official German statistics (:44–213). The model of Heckmann theory, explained above, is in principle a summary of his years of work and was published only in 2015. For this reason, it is not yet as widespread as the four dimensions of integration, which are, among others, the basis of this theory.

The following sections form part of the positioning of the two theories to each other. For positioning, it is, first of all, explained how Heckmann’s Theory relates to the basic content of Nussbaum’s approach. In the second part, the literature is searched for conditions for integration in order to determine whether these fit the framework of the Capabilities Approach. As frame for the search, Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration are used. As the last point,

\(^{37}\) For more details about that time see 2.3.1 under section 1973 – 2000 From foreign labour to immigration policy.
a presentation of examples that combine the topics of the two theories, closes this section.

5.2.3 Resources of refugees and Heckmann’s Theory of Integration

As Dieter Filsinger points out, equal participation in all areas of society is only possible with subjects who are capable of acting. This requires two preconditions: the opportunity and the ability to participate (Filsinger 2008:10).

This brings us to a central question of this study: What of importance does Heckmann ascribe to the opportunities and abilities of refugees and migrants for integration to be successful?

Basically, he values them as part of the micro-level requirements of social and cultural capital and career aspiration (Heckmann 2015:289). Heckmann distinguishes between economic and social capital. Economic capital helps integration into the economic life in the new country. Social capital refers to relationships that facilitate the integration process. Further to this, Heckmann believes that the human capital may be very different in its applicability. Professional skills can be transferred more easily to a new country than social skills which may have to be learned anew during a new socialization process. Heckmann emphasises that the adaptation and acquisition of the migrant’s capitals takes time. Heckmann assumes that the ability to learn and the cultural capital of migrants are key role-players in the integration process since these determine their ability to participate and keep up with the host society in social life (:284–285). Therefore, Heckmann (:44) concludes that the integration process of highly trained people and their families is easier and quicker than for less trained people. It can be concluded that the level of resources, according to Heckmann, have a positive or negative impact on the integration process of immigrants.

Another link between resources of refugees and Heckmann’s theory can be found in the integration programme in the federal state of Hessian. The Hessian Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration built their program on Heckmann’s Dimensions of integration, but they have expanded it by adding the dimension of potential-oriented integration. With this, they plan to build their
programmes on the potentials of each individual. Each Member of the society is to bring his/her skills, knowledge and experience as personal contribution to the society (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:10). It can be seen that the Hessian Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration in some way acknowledges the potentials and resources of each migrant or refugee. Even so, they do not clearly define what they mean by potentials but they do assume that the existing potential can be useful for integration.

5.2.4 The link between Heckmann’s four dimensions and successful integration

In order to be able to answer the question of whether the Capabilities Approach can complement the integration theory of Heckmann, it must first be worked out what are considered conditions for successful integration in the literature. For this purpose, Heckmann’s four dimensions are used as reference frame. In order to have a comprehensive picture of the conditions for successful integration, the publications of integration and migration studies of Heckmann and other academics have been explored.

In his paper “Bedingungen erfolgreicher Integration” Dieter Filsinger (2008:9–10) has worked out two basic pillars that he sees as conditions for successful integration. The first pillar constitutes the motivation and the capabilities of the refugees to participate. The second pillar of integration which he regards as more important, is the recognition and inclusion of the “other” by the host community. Participation in society is not only dependent on individual motives, efforts and competencies but, above all, also on the accommodating structures. For this reason, it is important to analyse the conditions of inequality, dominance and exclusion that hinder or obstruct the access to the resources and participation opportunities of societies.

What now follows will give a brief description about what the literature describes as conditions for integration.

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5.2.4.1 Social integration

Social integration is the affiliation of new people to society. Social Integration is about the way immigrants belong to the German society. This becomes visible through inter-ethnic relationships and memberships in German clubs. Social integration also becomes apparent in the frequency of contacts with nationals.

Hartmut Esser is of the opinion that social assimilation is based on the decision of the individual migrant and on the receiving structures. He reasons that social integration only happens if the migrants have no ethnic alternatives such as returning to their home country or to where they can integrate themselves into an ethnic community nearby (Esser 2001:25). In contrast Dieter Filsinger does not see migrants’ contact with their own ethnic community as, necessarily, a hindrance to integration. These communities can, at the beginning, be helpful for local orientation and political articulation; however, he also points out that social segregation is definitely a hindrance to integration. It is crucial that there are enough inter-ethnic exchanges that can enable connections with German society (Filsinger 2008:26–27). The importance of social contacts for integration is explained by Dorothee Geiger. She conducted an empirical study based on the Agency Concept about the capacity to act by migrants with temporary suspension of deportation (Duldung) refugees. One of her results is that, especially for the post-arrival period, social contacts are an important resource for the production of capacity to act (Geiger 2016:126). A joint research project of the Expert Council of German Foundations (SVR) and the Robert Bosch Foundation was conducted to describe the current situation of refugees in Germany from the perspective of the refugees themselves (Schiefer 2017a:2). Their results point to the desire of the refugees to form relationships on a par with Germans. This would lead to mutual support and increase the capacity of all to act (:5). Social contacts with the host society are also considered important for integration at European level. One of the Common Basic

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39 Hartmut Esser prefers the term assimilation instead of integration. For more details s.1.9 Clarification of key terms.

40 For a detailed description about “Duldung” see 2.4.2.1 Legal framework.
Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union (CBP) reads: “Interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration.” In conjunction with this, the CBP call on the European countries to reduce discrimination and popularise the positive aspects of a diverse society (Council of the European Union 2004:22). In their annual expert report of 2016, the SVR illustrates the relationship between inter-ethnic social contacts and discrimination. They conclude that frequent contact between people with and without a migration background\textsuperscript{41} leads to a perceived good integration climate on both sides and fosters an optimistic view on social coexistence. On the other hand, discrimination promotes a negative atmosphere and hinders integration (SVR 2016:23).

In conclusion, social integration is the opportunity to participate in all areas of social life. The more the refugees become respected as full members with dignity and rights, the more discrimination is prevented. The more discrimination is prevented and inter-ethnic relationships are established, the more the new members can integrate into German society. Furthermore, it should be considered that not only the refugees have to integrate themselves socially into German society but also that German society has to incorporate the new people into their communities. This includes openness to those who are different. In an interview, Alexandra Rojkov expressed it as follows: “Real integration would be to seek out friends who are different from yourself \textsuperscript{42}” (Rönicke 2017). For integration to be successful the German society has to become friends on an equal level with the refugees.

5.2.4.2 Cultural integration

Language acquisition is a central part of cultural integration. Jochen Oltmer, professor of history of migration, ascribes the responsibilities of it in large parts to the German State. Furthermore, he advocates for opportunities to practice language skills, which need to happen outside the classroom and in the community (Gehrs 2016:8). Viewed from the capabilities approach, this statement indicates the following structure: For one thing Oltmer pleads for a combination

\textsuperscript{41} For a detailed definition on people with a migration background see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.

\textsuperscript{42} Translation by the author. Original: “Echte Integration wäre: sich Freunde zu suchen, die anders sind”. 
of the internal capability (the ability and willingness to learn German) and external social and political conditions (German language course, openness from German citizens to refugees as well as promotion of intercultural encounters stemming from the local governments). For another thing, these social and political conditions need to be suitable for the particular situations of the migrants. A single man needs different structures to practice and develop his language skills than a mother of small children which means that several variables need to be applied. In other words, for cultural integration to take place appropriate combination factors should be considered.

In addition, for cultural integration the concept of integration (“real” integration vs. assimilation) plays an important role. It is essential that all cultural forms of life must be able to coexist and be equally accepted (Habermas 1993:2). To reach an appreciation between the host nation and the migrants concerning the different forms of cultural lifestyles\textsuperscript{43}, the integration effort should be undertaken with all parts of society, in particular the local population (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:32). Rudolf Leiprecht’s approach should be considered here. Leiprecht describes a diversity-conscious perspective as more than “celebrating differences”. The aim is to make everyone aware of the diverse positions of the citizens and how they relate to each other. It is particularly important to clarify the responsibility of all parties and not project blame onto minorities. This process does not happen by chance in a society. Instead it needs support and help from external sources (Leiprecht 2010:218–219) which is represented in the second pillar of the conditions of successful integration according to Filsinger\textsuperscript{44} as described earlier (Filsinger 2008:9–10).

5.2.4.3 Structural integration

According to Hartmut Esser, the placement\textsuperscript{45} of the new person is the most important key to integration, since it is the precondition for integration as a whole (Esser 2001:17). To obtain a placement in existing societal structures,

\textsuperscript{43} This is based on a lifestyle that does not oppose the political fundamental laws of Germany.

\textsuperscript{44} See description at the beginning of this chapter.

\textsuperscript{45} With placement, Esser means the participation in various structural systems of a society, like the education system, but especially the labour market and the utilisation of rights (Esser 2001:22).
there needs to be a certain “door opener”. A place in a kindergarten, school, access to higher education, recognition of work experience, social contacts, etc. can be door openers. A study of the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) and the Institute for Labour Market and Employment Research (IAB) the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) calculated that, in 2013, about half of the “door openers” for labour market integration of migrants and refugees were social contacts (Eisnecker & Schacht 2016:759). Refugees and migrants did have work permits, but these had to be combined with the job opportunity which half of them got through their social contacts. Access to higher education can be another “door opener” which, according to some experts, has a lasting effect on successful integration. (Bundesbeauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2016:164; Filsinger 2008:15). For the German economy it is seen as important to make use of the refugees and migrants untapped potentials for the labour market (Worbs, Bund & Böhm 2016:293; 311). This is also supported by Dieter Hundt, Ex-President of the Federation of German Employers’ associations (BDA). He appeals for structural integration of young migrants by building on their potential while they are still in primary and secondary school (Schmidt 2010:8). These potentials or capitals vary from person to person which makes approaches necessary that are adapted to their potentials (Woellert et al 2009:8).

Besides this, the SVR points out that structural integration can only come about if the way is free of integration hindrances such as discrimination and insufficient chances to participate (Sachverständigenrat 2014:40). There are a lot of circumstances that can turn out to become integration hindrances. For example: lack of information, insufficient housing, cultural insensitivity, and so on. For this reason, the recommendation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) to develop carefully targeted programmes for the structural integration of refugees, makes sense (OECD 2017:11–12) and ideally this is to be customised to the individual situation of the refugees.

5.2.4.4 Identificational integration

Hartmut Esser refers to identificational integration as emotional integration. He assumes that the emotional dimension of integration happens last but, in any
case, always after social integration (Esser 2001:22). For an immigrant to be able to identify with the German people both pillars of integration, as described by Dieter Filsinger⁴⁶, are necessary. On the one hand, the migrant needs to identify with the German society and possibly change some of his or her beliefs or customs⁴⁷ and, on the other hand, the host society, as well, must enable identificational integration by allowing “the other” to become German. Hartmut Esser (:22) is also of this opinion that: Identificational integration can and will only happen as far as the host society allows it. If the host society is very open, a strong identificational/emotional integration is possible. In contrast, if the host society does not provide the migrant with the space to identify, the emotional integration will turn out accordingly. Therefore, Germany needs more than just a “welcome-culture”. The requirement is a “recognition-culture” which allows for committed establishment in Germany and considers a cherished attitude towards the people with migration background already living here. A “recognition-culture” values their abilities and potentials, and recognises their contributions to society (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015:18).

Another condition for identificational integration can be found at Misu Han-Broich. Based on Esser, Han-Broich has established a theory which is modified to Esser’s assertion. She developed the integration indicators “mental-emotional”, “cognitive-cultural” and ‘social-structural”⁴⁸ (Han-Broich 2012:125–126). The indicator “mental-emotional⁴⁹” is the closest to identificational integration. On the basis of these indicators, she conducted qualitative interviews and researched the influence of volunteer work on integration (:125). The most important result she discovered was that voluntary integration assistance for refugees is, contrary to what is widely assumed, not mainly contributing to the social integration of refugees, but rather to the, as she calls it, “mental-emo-
tional” integration. In her view, (1) the condition for “mental-emotional” integration is positive social contacts and (2) this “mental-emotional” integration is the pre-stage to and a requirement for integration in whole (184–186).

Another aspect of identificational integration is described by Dieter Filsinger (2008:12) who is of the opinion that citizenship can be a feature of identificational integration which should be promoted; and, that no unnecessary difficulties should be put in the way of naturalization.

The following demonstrates how Germans sometimes fail to give migrants the opportunities for identificational integration: In the book “Wir neuen Deutschen” three German women with migration experience report how it feels to them being perceived as a foreigner. Especially the question: “Where do you really come from?” is perceived as hurtful. This question, sometimes simply asked out of curiosity, indicates to them that “Germans” do not perceive them as Germans and that they do not really belong to Germany (Bota, Pham & Topçu 2012:30–32).

5.2.5 Examples of the application of Heckmann’s integration theory in practice

The theory of Friedrich Heckmann is applied mainly as a theoretical basis. It is used in the framework of Expertise-Reports (cf. Johansson 2016) and as a basis for studies with qualitative interviews (cf. Institut für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik e. V. 2015). As mentioned under 5.2 his theory is used as the foundation for political integration concepts. Heckmann’s theory is also applied in interdisciplinary research. For example, Anastasia Kharitonova-Akhvlediani, from the department of media science of the Technical University Berlin, investigated the relation between Russian-language print media and integration and bases her work on the integration concept of Friedrich Heckmann (Khari-tonova-Akhvlediani 2011:44).

Another example takes Heckmann’s theory as part of the foundation for a quantitative survey (Bechhaus et al 2016:14, 39). The results of the survey served

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50 In English the title of the book would be: “We new Germans.”
as the foundation for a project concept with the objective to optimise the integration of refugee children with regard to the educational aspect (40). A homework-care project was started that has shown that the adults in the refugee accommodation also have a strong interest in learning the German language (57).

My relevant research has not revealed any study, drafting or any project that links the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory.

5.3 Strengths and limitations of Heckmann’s Integration Theory for the integration of refugees in Germany

In this chapter the strengths and limitations of Heckmann’s Integration Theory are discussed. The list of strengths and limitations is part of the positioning of the two theories to each other. Knowing these helps to identify problem areas in the theories which may contain complementary solutions.

5.3.1 Strengths

5.3.1.1 The contents of the theory are comprehensive

Heckmann’s definition of integration is detailed. The picture he draws testifies to his expertise in the migration/integration issue. He captures the whole picture of migration and integration by incorporating all aspects of life into his integration theory. As a basis his definition of integration is decisive: “[…] integration stands for the approximation of life situations and the cultural and social convergence between locals and migrants. In this sense, integration is not only an analytical category for describing a complex process, but also a political-societal goal51” (Heckmann et al. 2000:8). In his explanation of how integration practically proceeds, he considers a wide range of stakeholders as seen in the division in micro-, meso- and meta-level stakeholders (Heckmann 2015:289). Heckmann includes all levels of stakeholders and gives them the

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51 Translation by the author. Original: “Zusammenfassend formuliert steht Integration also für die Angleichung von Lebenslagen und die kulturelle und soziale Annäherung zwischen Einheimischen und Migranten. In diesem Sinne ist Integration nicht nur eine analytische Kategorie zur Beschreibung eines komplexen Prozesses, sondern auch ein politisch-gesellschaftliches Ziel.”
responsibility for action. He clarifies that the host society has a duty to be open to the immigrants and concludes that societal structures will change over time (:290). He is of the opinion, that Germany’s self-conception as an immigration country is insufficient if this does not lead to a new nation forming (Heckmann 2014:3). At the same time, he takes the view that this nation-building has continuously taken place since the end of the World War II (Heckmann 2015:291).

5.3.1.2 The four dimensions of Heckmann’s theory are holistic

By classifying integration into the four dimensions (social, cultural, structural and identificational integration) Heckmann does not only make the integration theme workable for putting into practice, but he also displays its holistic scope. Integration has heterogeneous facets that are interrelated. The four dimensions of Heckmann’s theory, which are drawn from the four dimensions of social integration from general sociology (Heckmann 2015:72), cover the broad spectrum of human life. The OECD and the European Union also plead for a multidimensional view of integration. Although, they are of the opinion that a multidimensional view of integration does not simplify the measurement of integration, they still promote it: “Integration is, and must be, a multidimensional process. Failure in any one field is likely to severely jeopardise progress in others” (OECD/European Union 2015:19). This holistic description of integration enables differentiated integration goals, as can be seen in the examples from the practice under 5.2.3.

5.3.1.3 Social integration is integration of the individual person

Another advantage of Heckmann’s theory is that it defines social integration as the integration of the individual: “social integration focuses on individuals and searches for ways in which they can be linked to the existing socio-economic, legal and cultural system and institutions” (Heckmann 2015:70). When handled in this way, the integration process can be started individually for each

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52 Translation by the author. Original: „sozialintegration nimmt Individuen in den Blick und bezieht sich auf die Art und Weisen, wie diese als Hinzukommende mit dem bestehenden System sozioökonomischer, rechtlicher und kultureller Beziehungen und Institutionen verknüpft werden.”
This would include appropriate and individualised integration assistance and policies.

5.3.2 Limitations

5.3.2.1 In Heckmann’s theory the responsibility for successful cultural integration lies mainly with the migrants

In his definition about cultural integration this point becomes very clear. He emphasises that cultural integration is mainly done by the new population and only partly by the host country (Heckmann et al 2000:8). He defines cultural integration as cultural, cognitive, behavioural and adjustment-related changes. This includes a transformation of values, norms, attitudes, as well as cultural and communicative skills including notably, language acquisition (Heckmann 2015:72). When the main responsibility for integration remains, as Heckmann describes here, with the migrants, there is a risk of a demand for assimilation and not an offer of integration. If the duty of the migrant is to adapt to the cultural, cognitive, and behavioural values, norms, and attitudes he/she has no other choice but to assimilate into the existing cognitive, cultural, and behavioural system if he/she wants to belong.

On the other hand, reading Heckmann’s definition about cultural integration as acculturation, another view seems to appear. “Acculturation is a process of developing cultural commonalties between groups, but borders between the groups and separate identities continue to exist […]” (Heckmann 1995:168). This definition sounds as if the two cultures can coexist in the same way and commonalities can be sought or created. By studying Heckmann’s texts an imbalance has been noticed. The following quotation should illustrate this: “From the viewpoint of the majority society, however, acculturation can be practised as an invitation, exchange, appeal for the acquisition and emergence of new cultural patterns” (Heckmann et al 2000:15). He gives the majority society the right to canvass the migrants, which means that the migrants are again the

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ones who need to adapt. German scientists criticise this point as well. They stress that, in general, German society misconceives integration to be the onus on immigrants only (Foroutan 2015:3–4). Assimilation is still widely demanded, but it is not associated with readiness to grant full and equal participation (Schneider, Crul & Lelie 2015:102).

It is not that Heckmann has not considered openness and change in society. He deems openness of the society as a necessary condition for successful integration and a change in society as a consequence of integration (Heckmann 2015:290). However, it makes a difference whether change in the social structures of the majority society is a consequence or a condition for successful integration. Furthermore, it also makes a difference whether the majority society is open to migrants and, in consequence to this openness, also willing to question and change their own norms and values. This does not mean that Germany must give up its cultural and social values or that immigrants are not allowed to change their cultural or social capital. Rather, it means that other cultural values are recognised as respectable and correct, even if different from the ones familiar to oneself as long as they do not violate the human rights or the German constitution. This would bring respect and value to the people who represent and live according to those cultural and social goods.

Besides this, a pilot study on the integration indicators commissioned by the European Services Network (ESN) and the Migration Policy Group (MPG) (Huddleston, Niessen & Dag Tjaden 2013:4) proves that the actions of the migrants do not have the ultimate impact on the outcome of integration. The study concludes that the characteristics of the receiving society are a key factor that influences integration and the effectiveness of integration policies (:40). Dieter Filsinger comes to the same conclusion and therefore pleads for an analysis of inequality-, dominance-, and exclusion-structures in order for integration to be successful (Filsinger 2008:10).
5.3.2.2 In Heckmann’s theory the social and cultural capital/capabilities of the migrants have no decisive role

By speaking of social and cultural capital, Heckmann refers to the theory of Bourdieu (Heckmann 2015:143). He assumes that “[…] the incorporated cultural capital of many immigrant families is already relatively low in the country of origin. In addition, it is further invalidated by the migration process (Heckmann 2015:144).” In his opinion this aggravates the integration process, which can be seen in lower education chances for migration children compared to German pupils.

Following Heckmann’s arguments regarding social capital, he indicates that the migrant’s social capital can be distinguished based on the migrant’s social contacts. Some social contacts foster the integration process and lead to social participation. Others, in his opinion intra-ethnic relationships, may hinder integration (Heckmann 2015:144). In Heckmann’s theory it is obvious that he places value on the importance of the internal capabilities/capitals of migrants, but it happens in the form of an “inventory”. The capital/capabilities are accepted as fact and it is not questioned whether the existing capitals/capabilities are sufficient to promote integration, or whether they need to be supplemented, in order to foster integration. Furthermore, the capitals/capabilities of the immigrants are part of Heckmann’s integration theory, but they are neither crucial to it, nor its starting point. Under 6.3.1 the advantages of starting an integration theory with the capabilities of the migrant will be explored.

5.4 Conclusions

5.4.1 Immigrants have capabilities

Heckmann and other authors acknowledge that immigrants have capabilities and recognise the value these have for the integration process. To recognize the potential alone is not necessarily adequate. For some immigrants it is necessary to add the potentials with opportunities in order to develop the existing

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54 Translation by the author. Original: “[…] das inkorporierte kulturelle Kapital vieler Migrantenfamilien ist bereits im Herkunftsland vergleichsweise gering; zusätzlich wird es durch den Migrationsprozess weiter entwertet.”
potentials. This is made clear in an example: Refugee women have approximately the same level of integration motivation as male refugees but since refugee women frequently have different family responsibilities, learning experience, etc. than men, this potential cannot be accessed as easily (Worbs & Baraulina 2017:12). To get the potentials unlocked they may need expanded approaches that will combine the potential (or internal capability) with a social, economic or political condition. In the situation of the refugee women, Worbs and Baraulina suggest that the potential of these women should be recorded as soon as possible to develop appropriate opportunities for each one of them. The opportunities may be low-key integration courses, childcare courses and offers of social participation (:12–13). Through these means, the existing internal capabilities can be combined with political, social and economic conditions that can enable the integration process to take place.

5.4.2 The condition of successful integration in all four dimensions is the participation of migrants and the host society in the integration process

Literature constantly supports that for successful integration in all four dimensions the active participation of both parties, migrants and the host society, is required. In the following sections, the individual dimensions are analysed more closely.

5.4.2.1 Social integration: *Experiences in social communities can serve as basis*

There are different views whether contacts with ethnic colonies hinder or foster integration. Heckmann sees ethnic colonies as potential bridges to society but he also stresses that ethnic colonies can also turn out to be integration hindrances if they are the only social contacts the immigrants maintain (Heckmann 2015:286). It is not surprising that, especially in the beginning, social contacts are important for gaining capacity of action. This, however, contains an important conclusion. As shown under 5.2.4, social contacts promote the capacity of action which is based on the social capital of the immigrants. This social capital is triggered by the social contacts and leads to action. If this thesis is applied to Nussbaum’s approach, it reads: The experience of being part of a
society is the internal capability that is combined with a social condition which is the social contact that helps the migrants to learn about German habits, norms and values etc. and gives them the chance to reflect and possibly adapt their social capital/capabilities.

From the fact that immigrants desire relationship on an equal footing (Schiefer 2017a:5) it can be deducted that they see themselves capable of a relationship with Germans. All of them used to be members of a society, although the society may have been very different from the German society; but, still they do have the experience of belonging and community. This creates the question: How can this experience be built upon so that it can promote the social integration process?

5.4.2.2 Cultural integration: Both the migrants and the host society need help to be able to contribute to the integration process

Language acquisition is a central part of cultural integration and seen as a precondition for successful integration. In Germany, participating in language courses is part of the duties immigrants have to fulfil. Gabriele Rosenstreich criticises the courses for using German as an assimilation symbol and not serving as the empowerment tool for the refugees. She sees the opportunity in these language courses to strengthen the existing potential of the participants, for example, to educate them about their rights and to empower them against racism (Rosenstreich 2010:236–237). This kind of approach would focus on the immigrants and their potential (239) and looks out for where migrants need support to be able to successfully integrate.

In addition to successful cultural integration of immigrants, the intercultural openness of the German society has to be promoted by the state. “Interculturality refers to the clash of two or more cultures, in which, despite cultural differences, there is a reciprocal influence” (IKUD n.y.). Through the encounter of a different culture the host culture can be reflected and one becomes conscious

55 Translation by the author. Original: “Unter Interkulturalität versteht man das Aufeinandertreffen von zwei oder mehr Kulturen, bei dem es trotz kultureller Unterschiede zur gegenseitigen Beeinflussung kommt.”
about one’s own perspective. This awareness ought to lead to an acknowledgment of the other and not to a judgment of the other. In this way the different cultures enter into a productive relationship of mutual exchange. Gradually the strange becomes familiar and can be integrated into the host cultural experience (IKUD n.y.).

Looking at it this way, for successful integration to become possible, the Germans must be alert to interculturality. If certain persons or groups of persons are unable to integrate successfully, it should be discovered how intercultural acceptance can be promoted. What this means is explained as follows: discrimination and prejudices are the opposite of intercultural openness. If discrimination and prejudices are predominant, the German government should, for example, invest in NGOs that offer opportunities for the German host society to dismantle prejudices by making positive social encounters possible with immigrants. The inhibition threshold can also be reduced by the media, for example, through honest and realistic articles or films by or about migrants. The final aim is to empower German society and the immigrants to make an anxiety- and prejudice-free decision for or against intercultural openness.56

5.4.2.3 Structural Integration: Diverse “door openers” are needed

The legislative power, as well as the German society, have to function as “door openers” for structural integration. An example that originates from my own experience as an integration assistant shows what kind of integration barriers exist and what “door opening” can look like. It becomes clear that it is not always enough to only give or to have an opportunity/internal capability. An eighteen-year-old Syrian refugee woman was in the process of getting her secondary school qualifications. Since her parents could not pay for school transportation she travelled without paying and got caught several times by the ticket collector which made her stop going to school. After several phone calls I found out that she has the right to get a bus ticket from the job-centre, but she did not know this and nobody had told her. In her case the German Government had already given the necessary conditions for structural integration to take place

56 Of course it is assumed that a decision against intercultural openness is always in line with the German laws.
and the young woman was very willing to obtain education, but the omission to convey crucial information turned out to became an integration hindrance. The possibility (of getting education) and the right (to education and participation in Germany) needed a combination of information about this right and where to claim it. The questions: “Which potentials, capabilities, options, laws and regulations are present and which do the refugee have? Do these promote the integration process or is there something missing? How do these have to be combined for successful integration to take place?” should be asked by an integration theory. These questions focus on the capabilities, rights, and strengths of the refugee and lead to an individual answer. The results of a study based on qualitative interviews with refugees and integration workers in the city of Erlangen (Bendel 2016:20–21) approves these conclusions. It says:

“Individual advice and recognition of personal skills should be the focus. The early discussion of the interests and abilities of each person can meet possible expectations. A holistic and basic consultation also helps to satisfy the need for enlightenment and information. A clear communication regarding chances and opportunities for personal access to the labour market is the wish of the interviewed refugees57” (Younso & Borkowski 2016:275).

This is confirmed by a study by Mülich et al. The authors have, through a study with qualitative interviews (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:14), found out that one prerequisite for successful integration is the recognition and inclusion of the resources, strengths and abilities of the immigrants. They are also of the opinion that this would empower them to become role-players of their own life (101). The ways to get a placement in society should be opened for each person irrespective of their age, sex and ethnic belongings. As this example illustrates, sometimes integration can only be realized through a combination of social, political and/or economic conditions and not just because of a possibility or a right that an immigrant has.

5.4.2.4 Identificational Integration: mutual respect is required

Whether a person can identify with a society depends on him/herself but also on the “space” which, he/she gets to identify him/herself with. Precisely the absence of this “space” is criticized by Naika Foroutan. She describes it as a “German inconsistency”. For one thing, Germans understand themselves as tolerant and diverse, but the outcome of these norms do not seem to change established norms like national identity or religious attachment to nationality (Foroutan 2016a:291). This leads to the point about nation building by Friedrich Heckmann, which has already been outlined under 5.2.2. A new nation would define a new inclusive “we” and a collective definition of affiliation. For Germany, this means that Germans are not only those who descend from German parents, but that the status of “being German” is also compatible with different origins (Heckmann 2014:3).

To sum up, it can be said that the dimension of identificational integration shows that, for successful integration, different aspects have to be brought together. The immigrant may be willing to change, to any extent, his/her norms and values and becomes willing to identify with the German society. This is only possible if the society gives him/her space to become part of it without having to assimilate. For this space to arise, the German society has to change some structures, norms and values. These changes have to be promoted by the acting government. All these can only happen on the basis of mutual respect and the recognition of the human dignity of the other.

5.4.3 Heckmann’s theory lacks the potential-oriented dimension of integration

Through reflecting on the practical application of Heckmann’s theory, the following finding has come to my notice: The Federal State of Hessen builds their integration management and monitoring plans on Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration, but sees the need to expand it with a “potential oriented” dimension. Friedrich Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration are respected as helpful frame, but supplementation with a potential-oriented dimension is considered necessary. The justification for it is the assumption of the Federal State that integration needs to focus on the potentials of each individual person. The
goal is to enable each member of the community to contribute his or her skills, knowledge and experience and thus make his/her personal contribution to society (Hessisches Ministerium für Soziales und Integration 2015, 2015:10). The Hessian ministry has seen that in Heckmann’s theory the human capital of migrants’ matters, but does not have a decisive significance. The reason for this is that the capital/capabilities of the immigrants are viewed as a kind of “inventory” in Heckmann’s theory. It is all about: What kind of abilities/knowledge/education does the migrant have? Does he/she have relationships outside his/her ethnic community? These are the “facts” which Heckmann’s theory works with. The theory does not ask the questions: “Where do these capital/capabilities need to be complemented so that obstacles to integration can be removed?”; and, “How can the greatest profit for integration be won out of these capital/capabilities?”

5.4.4 Summary

In summary, it can be said that Heckmann’s Integration Theory is a comprehensive and holistic theory. Its four dimensions of integration include all areas of social life. It is therefore logical that his theory is used as a basis in German integration policy and practice.

Since this research study would like to find out whether Heckmann’s Integration Theory can be combined with the capabilities approach of Martha Nussbaum, the weaknesses of Heckmann’s theory were also looked into. It has been found that Heckmann, although he considers the individual migrant and his capital important for the integration process, he does not consider them as starting point or “kick-off” of his theory. All these aspects give rise to the questions:

• What would an integration theory look like in which the capabilities of the immigrants form the starting point?

• What should happen if the existing potential, capital and capabilities do not lead to integration because there is still something missing?

To be able to answer this question, the next chapter will look into the Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum.
CHAPTER 6: THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH ACCORDING TO MARTHA NUSSBAUM

6.1 Introduction

The Capabilities Approach, arising from development studies, was developed by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen and has its origins in India (Nussbaum 2011:106). The goal of the approach is to give the answer to the question: “What does a life worthy of human dignity require?” (32). By applying the approach in the German integration context, questions in two different areas arise. The first question relates to context: Does a developmental approach originating from India fit into the German context? And the second area is about the possible connection with an integration theory. In particular: Does a link exist between the goals of the Capabilities Approach and the integration of immigrants? What advantages does it bring to the integration debate in Germany? These and other questions will be answered in this chapter in order to answer the research question. To ensure the validity of a theory comparison, as shown in Chapter 4, it is needed to describe the comparative elements and context.

The structure of this chapter follows the methodology, which is why this chapter will initially consider the Capabilities Approach in general and the criticism of it. Later the approach will be reflected in detail, especially in relation to the integration of refugees. For this purpose, the existing literature is reviewed on this point. Throughout this chapter the links between the literature and the basic and internal capabilities of the refugees and integration are shown. In addition, the connection between the ten central capabilities and integration is made known. This is followed by an outline of the advantages and limitations which the approach would bring if used as the basis of an integration theory for the German context. The first results are then analysed and recorded.

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58 For a detailed description about basic and internal capabilities see 6.2.1 The basics of the Capabilities Approach.
6.2 The Capabilities Approach and its relation to the integration of refugees

6.2.1 The basics of the Capabilities Approach

The Capabilities Approach developed by Martha Nussbaum, professor of Law and Ethics, is based on the virtue teaching of Aristotle and the political liberalism of John Rawls (Galamaga 2014:6). Nussbaum developed her version of the Capabilities Approach in collaboration with Amartya Sen at the World Institute for Development Economic Research starting from 1986 (Nussbaum 2000:11). She sees two possible applications in the Capabilities Approach. Firstly, it can be used to assess the quality of life – which is Sen´s way; and, secondly, it can be used to theorise about social justice – which is mainly her approach (:19). Notably, it can, through the list of the ten central capabilities, also be used as a theory of basic political claims (Nussbaum 2000:12; 2011:19). Capabilities “[…] are not just abilities residing inside a person but also the freedoms and opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social, and economic environment” (Nussbaum 2011:20).

6.2.1.1 Basic, internal and combined capabilities

Nussbaum distinguishes between basic, internal and combined capabilities (:21–24). Thereby she classifies the capabilities of each person according to the ways they were internalised. Basic capabilities are the basics for personal development and training in the future of a person’s life. A person acquires these prenatal and in early childhood. This includes nutrition during pregnancy and prenatal experiences that influence the development of a person’s abilities (:23–24). Basic capabilities are the basis for internal capabilities. Internal capabilities are trained and developed through interaction with the social, political and family environment. These consist of mental and physical skills (e.g. education and critical thinking) and are also described as “personal states” that are not static but dynamic (:21). Internal capabilities must not be mistaken as combined capabilities. Only a combination of the internal capability turns it into the capability as it is defined by Sen and Nussbaum. Therefore “[…] combined capabilities are defined as internal capabilities plus the social/political/economic conditions in which functioning can actually be chosen […]” (:22). According to
Nussbaum, it is important that combined Capabilities always contain an option (:22). Namely, the individual person may decide for him or herself whether to accept or reject a combination of capabilities (:18). The final purpose of the Capabilities Approach is, through combining the individual capabilities of a person, to enable him/her to live a life worthy of human dignity (:32).

The following figure outlines and summarises the basics of the Capabilities Approach on which this research is based.

![Figure 6.1 The Capabilities-Approach according to Martha Nussbaum](image)

Nussbaum proposes ten central capabilities, which every government should secure for all of its citizens\(^59\) (:32–34). Which are:

1. Life. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one’s life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
2. Bodily Health. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. Bodily Integrity. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. Senses, Imagination, and Thought. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason—and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and

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\(^{59}\) Whether Nussbaum applies the term "citizens' only to nationals of a country or the whole civil society, is discussed under limitations "Citizens- who qualifies?" (6.3.2).
thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.

5. Emotions. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one’s emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)

6. Practical Reason. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)

7. Affiliation.
   a) Being able to live with others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)

   b) Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin and species.

8. Other Species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.

9. Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.

10. Control over one’s Environment.
a) Political: Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one’s life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

b) Material: Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers (Nussbaum 2013:33–34).

“Delivering these ten capabilities to all citizens is a necessary condition of social justice” (:40).

6.2.1.2 Application of the Capabilities Approach in different societies

The specification of the minimal requirements for each capability is the task of the individual countries and can be defined in the form of a “threshold”. Nussbaum suggests that the “threshold” of each country should be determined independently, taking into account the country-specific traditions and its history (:40–41). But Nussbaum emphasises that the list is just a proposal and may be contested and adjusted (:36). Besides this, she is of the opinion that generally having a list of ten central capabilities avoids omission and misuse of power (Alkire & Deneulin 2009:43). The Capabilities Approach is seen as an approach which holds the potential of a plausible model of social justice which is, in principle, applicable to every society (Galamaga 2014:1). In order to be able to evaluate the social justice of a society, it is necessary to ask the key question of the approach: “What is this person able to do and to be?” (Nussbaum 2011:20). Therefore, it concerns the well-being and possibilities of each individual and not the overall or average welfare of a society (:18). Also, the individual is considered detached from the corresponding groups (e.g. family). It is important that each person gets the same respect and consideration (:35). Nussbaum builds on the foundation that dignity is inherent in every living being and there are living conditions that allow man to live in dignity and, in turn, other conditions which are inappropriate for a life worthy of this dignity (:30). She
believes that promoting the capabilities of each individual leads to a life which is appropriate to the dignity of humans. However, the absence of freedoms or capabilities does not deprive a person of his/her dignity. This means that a person who cannot live or experience a capability due to a disability is not without dignity (:31). An unequal distribution of capabilities is, in her opinion, a violation of the dignity of the disadvantaged ones (:41). This is because the focus of the approach lies on the assessment of justice and dignity and not on the satisfaction of individual needs. (:30). It is not primarily about the satisfaction of the individual's needs, but rather about the question: which needs have to be satisfied so that the individual can live a life according to his/her dignity.

The application of the Martha Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach in different cultures is also critiqued. The Approach gets criticised as culturally insensitive. On the one hand, because its origin stems from the west and on the other because of the essentialist human image which the approach is based on (Nathschläger 2014:188–189). Nussbaum refutes the argument that the origin of the approach lies in the west and argues that the Capabilities Approach originated in India and was formulated by an international research group (Nussbaum 2011:101,106). She brings several arguments to meet the point of criticism that her approach is culturally insensitive. On the one hand, she argues that cultures are never monolithic and that “the tradition” is often the view of the influential members of a culture (:106–107). In her book “Woman and Human Development” she asks “[...] whose interests are served by this nostalgic image of a happy harmonious culture, and whose resistance and misery are being effaced” (Nussbaum 2000:38). Based on the fact that each culture has very different values and people have very different life ideas, Nussbaum is of the opinion that the Capabilities Approach can serve as an orientation in this situation. She argues that the context of human dignity, which is underlying her approach, opens up a framework in which these different cultural ideas have space. This space is possible, since the Capabilities Approach does not focus on the functionings of people, but rather on the capabilities of the individual (Nussbaum 2011:107). When these capabilities are placed at the centre of attention as a political objective, pluralism is protected (:110).
Another point of criticism regarding the application of the Capabilities Approach different societies is taken up by Martha Nussbaum herself in her book “Creating Capabilities”. It is the subject that “each person is an end” in the approach. The critique is created by the fact that not all people understand themselves individually but instead identify themselves with larger groups (for example: ethnic group, nation, etc.). Nussbaum counters with the argument that often, even if people do that, they do not necessarily gain any benefit from the achievements of this group and therefore, in her opinion, it only makes sense to see and promote each individual person (:35).

6.2.1.3 Focus on capabilities or functionings

One focus of the Capabilities Approach, according to Nussbaum, is on the opportunities an individual person has and not so much on how and if he/she implements them. This is about the individual’s own decision-making power (:18). Freedom of choice is of high importance for Nussbaum but, in her opinion, it has two limits. For one, a person should not have the choice whether to be treated with or without respect and the other, slavery in every form is to be banned (:26). Nussbaum suggests that political action should increase the freedom of choice and therefore these actions should focus on the capabilities rather than the functionings of the people (Nussbaum 1999:57). The Capabilities Approach is often confronted with the question: “Should the capabilities or the functionings be promoted through the approach?” Johannes Nathschläger, professor of social work, argues that some of the capabilities (empowerments) get lost if they are not implemented in functionings (for example, language acquisition). In addition, he also believes that some of the central capabilities of Nussbaum’s list (e.g. “Affiliation (B)”) cannot be detached from the functioning because, in his opinion, some capabilities (opportunities) and functionings (activities) are identical. In summary, he notes that capabilities are always dependent on functionings (Nathschläger 2014:166–167). This also applies to the case of integration. The state should enable its inhabitants to have the ability to integrate. This deliberately applies to all the residents. The host society must also be able to participate actively in integration (for example: it should be made
easier for businesses to employ refugees and to promote opportunities for different cultures to meet in community centres, youth work etc.). If, however, there are only opportunities (capabilities) but no activities (functionings), integration will not take place. In the literature, different approaches to the question whether capabilities or functionings are to be promoted are discussed (Robeyns 2006a:353). Jennifer Clarke, in the study presented under 6.2, draws the conclusion that capabilities have a complex, possibly iterative relationship, with related functionings. The realisation of a capability into a functioning can lead to an empowerment that can result in the realisation of further capabilities. For this reason, she is of the opinion that the question, whether it is more important to promote the capabilities or the functionings of the individual, is not necessary. Instead the focus should be placed on the link between the two (Clarke 2013:16–17).

6.2.1.4 Normative claims, exercises and influence of the Capabilities Approach

Further, the Capabilities Approach is a theoretical agenda that involves two essential normative claims. The first is “[…] the claim that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, […]” (Robeyns 2016:1). Secondly, that well-being will be realised, if people are able to do and be what they have reason to value (:1). Ingrid Robeyns, professor of Ethics of Institutions and president of the Human Development and Capability Association, is of the opinion, that the Capabilities Approach is a conceptual framework for a series of normative exercises. The most common ones are: “(1) the assessment of individual well-being; (2) the evaluation and assessment of social arrangements; and (3) the design of policies and proposals about social change in society” (:2).

The influence of the Capabilities Approach is described by Dodd et al. in the following way:

“The capabilities approach has contributed to policy debate surrounding human development and directly informed the human development framework and a series of Human Development Reports authored by
the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Indeed, the human development framework is seen as an attractive and useful theoretical approach to meaningfully bring migration, development and human rights together” (Dodd, Preibich & Su 2014:2–3).

In addition, the Capabilities Approach as a justification for human rights has, especially in sociological and political scientific discourse, proved to be effective (Galamaga 2014:7).

6.2.1.5 Criticism

The following section looks at some of the criticisms of the Capabilities Approach.

Jonathan Wolff and Aver De-Shalit applied the Capabilities Approach to the situation of immigrants in Great Britain and Israel. They came to the conclusion that the Capabilities Approach has missed an issue of great importance: the freedom to sustain functionings (“secure functionings”60) (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:65). A secure functioning is a functioning that people do not just have, but they have it in a way they can sustain it also in the future (:72). The opposite, an “insecure functioning” means that a person is not able to use and enjoy the necessary capabilities; and, the consequence being that this person is or will become disadvantaged. This “insecure functioning” often results in an inability to act out other capabilities (:68–69). Jonathan Wolff and Aver De-Shalit (2007:84) would like the concept of “secure functionings” to be included in the Capabilities Approach. Furthermore, they introduce two other concepts to the Capabilities Approach: “fertile functioning” and “corrosive disadvantages”. “Fertile functionings” are those functionings that promote improvement in other functionings (133–134). On the other hand, “corrosive disadvantages” are functionings that people do not yet have which, in turn, has a negative effect on the use and enjoyment of other functionings (121).

60 Wolff and De-Shalit prefer the term functionings instead of the term capabilities. Amartya Sen has differentiated functionings and capabilities in the following way: Functionings describe what a person does and is and capabilities describe what a person is able to do or chooses to do. He puts it this way: “A person’s capability to achieve functionings that he or she has reason to value provides a general approach to the evaluation of social arrangements, and this yields a particular way of viewing the assessment of equality and inequality (Sen 1995:4–5).
Another point of criticism comes from Jonathan Wolff and Aver De-Shalit. They also criticise the Capabilities Approach for focusing too much on what a person receives, and what he/she is entitled to get, in the process of distribution. In contrast, Wolff and De-Shalit would prefer to put the focus of the Capabilities Approach on the extent the individual person is able to contribute and participate in society (45).

Ingrid Robeyns adds another point of criticism. She has worked extensively with Martha Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach and believes that it is not specific enough. In her opinion, it becomes apparent in the fact that a question addressed to the Capabilities Approach can be answered in different ways (Robeyns 2006a:371). Since there are actually different reasons for the application of the Capabilities Approach, Robeyns is of the opinion that this problem can be solved through defining, right at the beginning of a question, which reason the approach is going to serve. She suggests three different application areas: the focus on functionings, capabilities or both; the selection of the relevant capabilities; and the necessity of compromises and creation of indexing (373).

Johannes Nathschläger picks up a central critique of Martha Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach. Nussbaum is criticised because her approach is not culturally sensitive. On the one hand, because its origin stems from the west and on the other because of the essentialist human image which the approach is based on (Nathschläger 2014:188–189). How Martha Nussbaum invalidates the criticism can be read under 6.2.1.2 Application of the Capabilities Approach in different societies.

The following three sections are intended to help position the two theories in relation to each other. For this, the first section describes how Nussbaum’s Approach relates to refugees and the topic of integration. In the second section the overlaps between the core capabilities and the four dimensions of integration are worked out in order to find similarities between the two theories. As a last point, a presentation of two papers that combine the topics of the two theories, closes the section.
6.2.2 Links between the capabilities of refugees and integration of immigrants

According to the concept of Martha Nussbaum, each person has more or less distinct basic and internal capabilities. Immigrants not only have the capabilities to master cultural techniques or cultural assets in the narrower sense, they also have competences such as helpfulness, willingness to learn and openness (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:68). A recent study of the Institute for Labour Market and Employment Research (IAB) and the German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP) has revealed that refugees possess a wide range of competencies. These range from education to the willingness to integrate (Brücker 2016:5–7). Furthermore, the study shows a high overlap of the basic values of “democracy” and “understanding of roles between men and women” with the values of the German population, which are seen as good condition for integration (10–13). These values are helpful for integration into the German society, but not only because they correspond to German values; but, also, I believe that these values are proof of a capability. I am of the opinion that in many cases they are the result of a rethinking process. This process of political and cultural reflection and transformation mirrors the ability to reflect and change one’s own values. This corresponds to the content of the capability “Practical reason”.

A link between the Capabilities Approach and migration or integration exists through the Human Development framework. As already mentioned, this was shaped and influenced by the Capability Approach of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (Dodd, Preibich & Su 2014:2–3). The 2009 issued Human Development Report focuses on migration from the perspective of the Capabilities Approach. It draws the conclusion that human mobility should be promoted as a freedom, since it is essential for human development and is a natural expression of man to be able to choose his place of residence (UNDP 2009:18). On this basis, the sociologist Stephen Castles proposes to use the human development framework as a new frame of reference for migration and diversity theories (Castles 2013:136). The Human Development Report does not exclusively describe the freedom of mobility itself, but also refers to the fact that this freedom is only of value if migrants have the necessary economic resources,
security and network to enjoy a good life in the new home. In addition, the responsibility of the host society, to make this freedom of mobility possible, is also seen. Informal barriers, such as discrimination, on the part of the host society can hinder the migration process (UNDP 2009:15–16). Dodd et al agree with the view of Castles and plead for the implementation of the Capability Approach, which considers mobility as freedom and at the same time influences integration policies (Dodd, Preibich & Su 2014:33).

Martha Nussbaum takes illegal immigrants as an example of the lack of opportunities to combine capabilities. The capability from her list, which is most clearly reflected in the concept of integration, is “Affiliation”. Literally, it says:

“(A) Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)

(B) Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin and species” (Nussbaum 2011:34).

The following table shows the overlaps with the integration definition of the BAMF.
Table 6. 1 Comparison of integration definition of the BAMF and the capability “Affiliation”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Definition of integration according to BAMF (2014b:1)</th>
<th>Capability “Affiliation” according to Nussbaum (2011:34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active community</td>
<td>Integration is a two-way process, in which all sections of society are actively involved.</td>
<td>Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, […] to be able to imagine the situation of another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal participation</td>
<td>The goal of integration is to enable people with a migration background in Germany a comprehensive and equal participation in all areas of society.</td>
<td>[…] to engage in various forms of social interaction […]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social openness</td>
<td>Successful integration work requires commitment and openness of the society as a whole. Therefore, the measures of the Federal agency are not only aimed at people with an immigration background. With its work, it promotes the acceptance of diversity in the host society to support the coexistence in a plural Federal Republic of Germany.</td>
<td>Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin and species.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content overlaps are obvious. The conditions for integration, which are mentioned in the official definition of integration of the BAMF, are also demanded in the capability “Affiliation” for a life in dignity. In addition to the capability “Affiliation”, part (A) of the capability “Control over its own environment” also claims content that can be found in the definition of integration used above under the theme “Equal participation”.

Johannes Nathschläger is of the opinion that the Capability “Control over ones environment” (A) Political; being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one’s life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association” (Nussbaum 2013:34), is not actually an individual capability, instead it is “[…] a certain number of fundamental rights, which act as preconditions to enable existing internal capabilities to become
functionings⁶¹” (Nathschläger 2014:142). In general, the capability can be summed up in a fundamental legal requirement of active and passive voting rights as well as the right to freedom of assembly and expression (:141). These are essential elements of the comprehensive and equal participation of the refugees in all areas of society.

In the following section it is shown how various authors have related the core capabilities to the situation of immigrants based on the four dimensions of integration.

6.2.2.1 Capability “Affiliation” and social integration

Nathschläger refers to the first part (A) of the capability “Affiliation” as an internal capability that needs to be promoted and expanded. On the other hand, in the second part (B) of the capability, he sees an external aspect in which Nussbaum expresses an ethical claim. The capability will either be enabled or prevented by the social context. It is clear that this capability is about the individual’s relationship with the others (A), which is a requirement for a good human life, but can only lead to a complete “flourishing” in the community if the aspects described under B are also met (:125–129). This is exactly what is necessary for integration, namely that both the new citizens and the host society are open to each other (Heckmann et al. 2000:10–14). Nathschläger goes so far as to say that the success of your own life becomes fragile if you are not able to give recognition to any other member of society. He believes that this is the case even if you are not affected by disrespect (Nathschläger 2014:129). Refusing to disrespect a particular group of people as equals has negative consequences on the life of the individual, since the development of the central capabilities for a thriving social coexistence is interrupted (:129). In the study by Wolff and De Shalit the authors have found that, for migrants in Israel and Great Britain, the capability “Affiliation” belongs to “fertile functionings” (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:139). Therefore it is a functioning/capability that promotes the improvement in other functionings/capabilities (Nussbaum 2013:44). One of their results shows that the sense of belonging of a person to a group increases

⁶¹ Translation by the author. Original: “[...] sondern um verschiedene Voraussetzungen zur Ausbildung von combined capabilities.”
his/her resilience of dealing with threats and risks in other capabilities. Besides that, migrants with a strong sense of belonging become more self-confident in their interests (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:139).

6.2.2.2 Capabilities “Practical reason”, “Senses, imagination, and thoughts” and cultural integration

Another capability that plays a role in the integration of the immigrants is that of “Practical reason”. “Practical reason” means: “Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life. […]” (Nussbaum 2011:34). Nussbaum is of the opinion that everybody should assess all their activities and plans on the basis of a critical reflection as described in the capability “Practical reason” (Nussbaum 1999:60). She describes the possibility to practice and experience this capability, together with the capability “Affiliation”, as basis and support for all other capabilities (Nussbaum 1990:226). According to Nathschläger these two capabilities build the core identity of the human being. He argues that, if a person lacks all other capabilities, he/she can still reach all of them if he/she is able to plan his/her own life (“Practical reason”) and is in contact with other people (“Affiliation”) (Nathschläger 2014:111). Furthermore, the capability “Practical reason” also includes the ability to reflect, in the sense that somebody is capable of self-distancing opinion and judgement. Also, a person is in the position to implement his ideas of a good life and reflect on them critically (:111–112). These critical reflections on the idea of one’s own good life empowers man. In the case of immigrants, it will enable them to adapt to the changed life situation, to deal creatively with unforeseen life circumstances and possibly develop a new life concept (:115). This corresponds with a precondition for cultural integration: “In this context, integration means processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudes related changes of migrants [...]” (Heckmann 2015:72). For cultural integration this includes a communicative skills learning process which, in the case of most refugees, is the language acquisition (Nathschläger 2014:72).

This overlaps with the capability “senses, imagination, thought” where adequate education is a requirement for man to use his senses, develop his imaginations, and to be able to think and argue; and, all of this in a “truly human” way\(^{63}\) (Nussbaum 2011:33). In the given situation of integration, however, the lack of language skills can be an obstacle to a good life and must therefore first be acquired as internal capabilities. Education, or in the case of adult refugees language acquisition, is an important part for integration. Nussbaum sees a point that goes beyond that is also important for integration. In her opinion, education is for people to use and train their senses, imagination and thoughts. It is not enough to know facts and logic, instead, according to Nussbaum, education is for people to become able to act responsibly as a mature citizen in the complex world. She calls it: the value on “narrative imagination”. “This means the ability to think what it may be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, [...]” (Nussbaum 2010:95–96).

Another argument that speaks for a link between the capability “senses, imagination, thought”, especially the education part of it, and cultural integration (language acquisition) is mentioned by Robeyns. She thinks that education is fundamental and promotive in the Capabilities Approach. In addition to it, education also opens up access to further capabilities (Robeyns 2009:62) that is described by Wolff and De Shalit as fertile functioning\(^{64}\). Nathschläger expresses similarly: "In this approach education serves the purposes of the empowerment\(^{65}\) of the individual\(^{66}\) (Nathschläger 2014:117). The capability “senses, imagination, thought” does not only demand the possibility of acquiring adequate education, but also the exercise (combination) of this capability. In summary: Knowledge resulting from education leads to a higher access of capabilities by giving a person the opportunity and ability to live a life he/she

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\(^{63}\) The description “in a truly human way” has arisen from the fact that Nussbaum, before she developed the list of the ten central capabilities, she first created a delimitation of man (animals and plants) and higher life forms (angels) (Nussbaum, 1990:219; Nathschläger, 2014:95). By bringing this capability together with cultural integration, it is not meant that only the acting out of this capability in the German language is regarded as a “truly human way”. Exercising these capabilities in any language is valuable and can be part of the good life for a person.

\(^{64}\) For a detailed description about fertile functionings see 6.2.1.3 Focus on capabilities or functionings?.

\(^{65}\) For a detailed definition about empowerment see 3.3 Empowerment.

\(^{66}\) Translation by the author. Original: “Bildung dient im Sinne dieses Ansatzes der Handlungsfähigkeit des Einzelnen.”
values that can open up to him/her further opportunities to live the life he/she values. The example of language acquisition serves to clarify: When refugees have the opportunity to learn the German language successfully, it opens up the opportunity to work, to learn a profession, to get in touch with fellow citizens, etc. When considering the description of empowerment under 3.3, it becomes clear that this process empowers individual people by helping them “[...] gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important” (Luttrell & Quiroz 2009:16).

6.2.2.3 Capability “Control over one’s environment” and structural integration

The material control over our own environment is aimed at “being part” of the core situations in a society. The core situations of a society are such as the labour and housing market, education and training system, social security systems and the political community (Heckmann 2015:72); and, membership means being part of something. Ownership of property, the right to decent work and education, being a tax payer, having the right to vote, being a member of the social security system, claiming rights and so on, are placing the individual in the “legal society” and the political community. This is also the objective of structural integration. The immigrant is to take part in the existing structures by “being part” of the core situations (:72). In order to get into these core situations, “soft skills” are needed that enable people to understand a system. For example: How to send children to a good school, how to get a job, the ability to deal with a bank account, communication skills; for example, knowing when a joke is inappropriate, to discern which documents and letters are important or unimportant, and so on. The following example is intended to illustrate what is meant by “soft skills” that are not transferable to the German context: in some countries, it is not a social competence to offer a member of the opposite sex a handshake. In fact, this aspect of German culture is regarded in such countries as social incompetence or disrespect. Wolff and De-Shalit have found in their study that refugees, who lack these soft skills, find it difficult to gain control of their environment. To solve this problem they suggest that new citizens receive a “local guide” who enables the immigrants to get to know these soft skills (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:144-145).
6.2.2.4 Capability “Emotions” and identificational integration

Developing a new concept of life has to do with identificational integration. The willingness to identify with national, ethnic, regional and local collective structures is a result of integration as “becoming a member”. Having the chance to be a member of a society changes the feelings of immigrants in relation to belonging (Heckmann 2015:73). It is assumed that the individual dimensions of integration are causally dependent on each other (Esser 2001:17), but it can be expected that the identification with the host society takes longer than the other dimensions of integration (Heckmann 2015:73). In order for this process to be set in motion, the immigrant must be able to live out the Capability “Emotions”, which is: “Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; […]. Not having one’s emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety” (Nussbaum 2011:33–34). Even if the capability listed by Nussbaum has a wider frame of reference than the “identification feelings” of the immigrants, the overlap of content is not to be overlooked. To identify with a new nation requires an immense emotional change. This can only take place if individuals have the ability and opportunity to go through this process of transformation.

The content comparison between the four dimensions of integration and the ten Central Capabilities has shown that there are capabilities for all four dimensions that fit together. The contents of the capabilities describe the conditions necessary for integration in the four dimensions.

6.2.3 Application of the Capabilities Approach with the refugee issue

In this section, two examples from literature are looked at. In both, the Capabilities Approach is associated with refugees. While neither has a direct connection to the topic of integration, they deal with it implicitly. Above all, it should be pointed out that a link between the thematic area of integration and the Capabilities Approach is possible.

6.2.3.1 The Capability Approach to Environmental Refugees

Kim Kyunghwan looks for a solution to the situation of environmental refugees (ER) in the Capabilities Approach. The goal is to represent the lack of freedoms
(capabilities) of ER and to find ways to overcome those. It is noted that people who have had to leave their homeland due to environmental degradation are losing the following capabilities: “Bodily health”, “Bodily integrity”, “Other species” and “Control over one’s environment” (Kyunghwan 2012:16–17). With this observation, Kyunghwan pursues the goal to present what kind of help the ERs will need in the future. To summarise, the article says that a quick resettlement of the ERs is not sufficient to fix the restrictions of freedoms. On the contrary, if this happens without a clear understanding of the life circumstances of each individual who has fled and the knowledge of what capabilities need to be combined, it is possible that the situation of the ERs will worsen further. He pleads for a guarantee that the ERS will get everything they need to use and enjoy the Capabilities “Bodily health”, “Bodily integrity”, “Other species” and “Control over one’s environment” (:21–22).

6.2.3.2 Capabilities via communities: the education and training role of Refugee Community Organisations

In a study using the “multiple case study approach”, Jennifer Clarke has explored the effects of education and training offered by “refugee community organizations (RCOs)” on the capabilities of the refugees in Great Britain (Clarke 2013:6). Her goal was to find out how the refugees have come to the opportunity to expand their capabilities and what influence this has on their lives (:1). She found out that the work of the RCOs has two effects. Firstly, it changes the ability in language. Secondly, the possibility of speaking the national language has opened up further opportunities for the refugees. She comes to the conclusion that language skills could be increased especially by addressing the personal “conversion role-players67” of the individual refugee. A “conversion role-players” helps refugees to convert a resource into a capability. That means that if the “conversion role-players” of the individual refugee were included in the language learning process, the national language could be learned more

67The term “conversion factors’ originates from Amartya Sen. It means the relationship between a resource or primary good and the ability of a person to convert it into a capability (Sen, 1992:33,38). For example, there is the offer of language tuition for refugees. What possibilities does the refugee have to convert this offer into the capability “language knowledge” (Clarke, 2013:3)?
successfully (:17). The following figure by Clarke is intended to explain and summarize her results:

![Figure 6.2 The dynamic nature of capabilities](source)

(Source: Clarke 2013:16)

Figure 6.2 The dynamic nature of capabilities

On the basis of her study, Clarke shows that the promotion of one capability not only leads to greater expertise in the particular field, but instead also contributes to a stronger self-confidence and empowerment of the individual person. This will enable him/her to acquire additional capabilities (:16).

6.3 Strengths and limitations of the Capabilities Approach as the basis of an integration theory

The list of strengths and limitations is part of the positioning of the two theories to each other. Knowing the advantages and limitations and with it the equal or alternative contents of both theories helps to identify if a complementation of Heckmann’s integration theory with the Capabilities Approach may be a solution to reach the research objectives. The Capabilities Approach is a widely used approach. There are reasons to use it as the basis of an integration theory and also reasons to reject it. These points will be considered in the following section.
6.3.1 Strengths

6.3.1.1 The Capabilities Approach is interdisciplinary.

As already mentioned, the Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum is applicable to various contexts (Dodd, Preibich & Su, 2014:2–3; Galmaga 2014:1) and is already used in different disciplines such as theology, welfare economics, social policy and political philosophy (EKD 2015:57; Robeyns 2006b:79). Ingrid Robeyns describes the breadth of the approach as an important feature, saying:

“The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society” (Robeyns 2006b:78).

Since the goal of integration is, according to the BAMF, a social change in the society, the description of “design of policies” and “proposals about social change in society” indicate the possibility that the Capabilities Approach can be used as a basis for an integration theory.

6.3.1.2 The approach is focused on the individual

Another advantage of the Capabilities Approach as supplement to an integration theory is that the focus of the approach is on the individual person. The individual person is seen independently of the group to which he/she belongs. Nussbaum is of the opinion that each person is worthy of the same respect and consideration (Nussbaum 2011:35). In her book “Woman and Human Development”, Martha Nussbaum takes a detailed look at the relationship between the family and women/mothers. Again, she stresses that the Capabilities Approach looks at the capabilities of each person individually. She says that mothers especially should not only be regarded just as carers and providers, but also valuable in themselves. It is important for Nussbaum to make it clear that she does not want to call for selfishness, but that love and care for others are integral parts of the approach. As a result, every single person has a right to

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68 Details of the definition of integration according to the BAMF s.3.2 Integration
basic care, freedoms and opportunities (Nussbaum 2000:246–247). This perspective on the individual is a basis for integration, as can be seen by the fact that Friedrich Heckmann, in his integration theory, interprets the individual migrant as a building block of successful integration (Heckmann 2015:289). Moreover, he also refers to David Lockwood (1964) and describes social integration as the linking of individuals with socio-economic, legal and cultural relations and institutions (70).

6.3.1.3 The focus of the Capabilities Approach is on capabilities and not on weaknesses.

As shown in 1.9 there are different possibilities for acquiring a residence permit in Germany. It is important to note that when people migrate to Germany with a work permit or because of study, the focus is already on one capability or several capabilities (profession or study access). As a result, their integration into German society can begin with their capacity for structural integration. Asylum seekers come to Germany due to a “weakness”. For whatever reason, they are no longer able to live their lives in their home country and now they are perceived as supplicants. A study by the Sinus Institute sums up that the integration discourse in Germany is mainly focused on the deficits, “[…] so that the resources of cultural capital of migrants, their adaptability and the state of their establishment in the middle of society are mostly underestimated” (Sinus Institut 2008:2). Johanna Bröse shows that immigrants have internal capabilities. She believes that any claim, which the refugees make in public, is a decision to experience and portray themselves as acting people with competences, skills and rights (Bröse 2015:102). People who have fled have basic and internal capabilities, which can be very obvious, such as work experience, or “hidden”, such as the experience of leaving the home country. All the experiences, skills, abilities, capital and capabilities that the refugees have, they can use for the integration process. As the Capabilities Approach provides the framework

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69 See 1.9 Clarification of key terms, Migrant/Migration
70 Translation by the author: “[…] so dass die Ressourcen an kulturellem Kapital von Migranten, ihre Anpassungsleistungen und der Stand ihrer Etablierung in der Mitte der Gesellschaft meist unterschätzt werden.”
to focus on the strengths rather than the weaknesses of the refugees it is suitable to function as the supplementation or basis of an integration theory.

6.3.1.4 The Capabilities Approach is empowering.

In order to be empowered, it is necessary to have faith in the existence of one’s own skills and abilities and the opportunity to experience the freedom to use them. The objective of the combined capabilities is, as illustrated above, to enable this space of realisation (Nussbaum 2011:22). If this space is possible, further skills can develop (Fertile functionings) (Nussbaum 2011:44; Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:133–134). This is confirmed by a study on the life situations and integration experiences of young people and families with migration background in the town of Marburg. The study draws the conclusion that migrants use their existing abilities and skills in the integration process and continue to expand those over time (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:68). Through this process, human beings are empowered to continue to pursue their goal of a good life (Clarke 2013:17).

The Human Development Report 2016 displays another reason why immigrants should be empowered through their capabilities. It shows that huge inequalities and the concentration of capabilities and participation opportunities among just a small elite (for example: material capital, social contacts, good education, soft skills etc.) and opportunities (for example: a chance to get a well-paid job, the chance for a young mother to go back to school, etc.) leads to even more political, economic and social participation and contribution opportunities which can widen the gap between the unequal parties (UNDP 2016:80). In other words: Those who are well-off have more chances to become even better off. The suggestion is that empowerment for participation can reverse this vicious circle (:80). If those who already have many capabilities have more and more power and influence, people who are “poor in capabilities” will tend to lag behind. However, if this circle is broken by giving them the ability to influence and the power to use their capabilities, inequalities can be prevented.
6.3.1.5 Combined capabilities are the connecting link between the immigrant and the host society

By putting a dual focus on the capabilities of individuals as well as on the political, economic and social conditions, the Capabilities Approach builds a bridge between the immigrants and the host society. This is presented by Jennifer Clarke in the study on the effect of the refugee community organisations (Clarke 2013:7, 2013:5). The study shows that some of the women who had fled to England could only come to language lessons if certain conditions were met. These were, for example, that their children were cared for in their vicinity. In a situation like this the Capabilities Approach asks the question: “How do the skills “being able to learn a new language” and the motivation to integrate have to be combined for these women to be able to take part in the language course?” The answer in this case would be: It is not only sufficient to offer a possibility of a language course including childcare, but to enable the women to make use of this opportunity, it was also necessary to create the possibility of nearby childcare.

One strength of the Capabilities Approach is that it demands to eliminate all hindrances for a combination of capabilities (Robeyns 2006b:79). As a consequence the question is asked: “Which available basic and internal capabilities need a combination with a political, economic or social response so that integration will be supported?” If the existing capabilities are then combined, the connection to the whole society arises and the integration process is initiated. Since the combination of capabilities enables this integration process, the Capabilities Approach is suitable as the basis of an integration concept.

6.3.2 Limitations

The Capabilities Approach, according to Martha Nussbaum, is an interdisciplinary approach emerging from development cooperation in India (Nussbaum 2011:106) and does not specifically target the integration of refugees in Germany.
In the following, two aspects of the Capabilities Approach are discussed which may be interpreted as contrary to the German integration context and integration policy.

6.3.2.1 Citizens- who qualifies?

Martha Nussbaum calls on all states to make every one of the ten central capabilities available to their citizens (Nussbaum 2013:35–36). This is where Hannah Levinson’s criticism starts. She argues that the Capabilities Approach cannot be applied to refugees who are fleeing in-state violence. She comes to this decision because refugees, who are forced to flee in-state violence, are often escaping from the very state that Nussbaum’s approach claims should be one of their reliable sources of aid. She questions whether another state, other than the home state of the refugees, is at all responsible for the utilisation of Nussbaum’s lists of capabilities (Levinson 2010:146). Levinson is of the opinion that the Capabilities Approach cannot give an answer to this because the humanness of refugees is still denied by certain states (:147–150).

Levinson’s critique is justified in the situations described by her. A state which does not recognise the “humanness” of the refugees will not promote their capabilities. Whom did Martha Nussbaum mean by citizens? After Martha Nussbaum sets up the above claim, she writes in parentheses behind it: “By mentioning citizens, I do not wish to deny that resident aliens, legal and illegal, have a variety of entitlements: I simply begin with the core case” (Nussbaum 2011:36). In general, Nussbaum entitles non-citizens to have rights and entitlements, but limits it with the word “variety” and does not write “all” or “the same”. At this point it does not become clear which entitlements Nussbaum allocates to the resident aliens. More important than this question is that the overall concept of the Capabilities Approach aims to remedy social injustice and to create opportunities for people who are socially disadvantaged and discriminated against (Galamaga 2014:62). Nussbaum does not specifically refer to the situation of the refugees, which is why her approach does not ask whether or not the host state should also enable the capabilities of the newly immigrated people.
Adam Galamaga adds another point, which speaks for the fact that the Capabilities Approach has the intention to bring justice and dignity for all people. He characterizes the Capabilities Approach as a human rights concept (61). Galamaga refers to the definition of a human rights concept by Heiner Bielefeldt, who defines human rights concepts based on three criteria: the universal claim, the emancipatory thrust and the tendency towards political-legal enforcement (Bielefeldt 1988:25). If the Capabilities Approach is categorized as human rights approach there is no need to question the entitlement of rights. Hannah Arendt, who has lived from 1941-1951 in the USA as a stateless Jewish refugee expresses “the right to have rights” for refugees as follows:

“But we also know that there has to be another right besides those so-called “immutable” human rights – which are actually only citizens’ rights and change according to historical and other circumstances – a right that does not arise from “the nation” and that is of a different guarantee than the national, namely the right of every person to membership in a political community” (Arendt 1949:765).

Hannah Arendt is calling for a right that is a “real” human right, namely which is due to every human being because he/she is human. The right Hannah Arendt is pleading for is the right of “membership in a political community”. As shown under 6.2.2, being integrated into a political community can be part of a “good life”.

In principle, Nussbaum calls for the fulfilment of her fundamental question: "What does a life worthy of human dignity require?" (Nussbaum 2011:32) for all people, regardless of whether they are refugees or not. According to the Capabilities Approach, all human beings possess the dignity that entitles them to a life that reflects this (30,107) and thereby the approach can serve as a conception of a “real” human right.

6.3.2.2 Freedom of choice: Does that fit into the context of German integration politics?

As mentioned earlier one focus of the Capabilities Approach is on the freedom of choice. The focus is on the opportunities an individual person has and not so much on how and if he/she uses them (:18). Freedom of choice is of high importance for Nussbaum. If this value of the Capabilities Approach is applied to the context of integration policy in Germany, a discrepancy arises. As described under 2.4.2.2 the integration law of August 2016 decided a residence assignment up to three years (Bundesregierung Deutschland 2016a:1942–1943). The Federal Government’s justification for this measure is to promote the sustainable integration of foreigners into German society. These legal regulations restrict the freedom of choice of the place of residence within Germany. The residence assignment is controversially discussed (Fleischmann 2016:2–3) and has, as previous applications have empirically proven, no positive effect on integration (Haug & Sauer 2007:159). In restricting the choices of the refugees regarding the self-determination of a place of residence, the German legal situation seems to be contrary to Nussbaum’s approach. Residence allocations restrict the refugees in the capability “Bodily integrity: to be able to move freely from place to place” (Nussbaum 2011:33). Under the argument of cultural sensibility, Nussbaum justifies that she has kept the individual elements of her list abstract and general, so that they are adaptable to the different nations. Within certain limits, and in view of their history and special circumstances, each nation can adapt their capability list (Nussbaum 2015:110). Possibly this restriction of freedom of choice can be seen as a “legitimate” adaptation in the list of capabilities that Germany makes for their reasons. In this way it is thinkable that the German legal situation fits into the Capabilities Approach.

6.4 Conclusions

In the course of this chapter the Capabilities Approach with a focus on the research question was presented. The strengths and limitations of the approach in relation to an integration theory was worked out. In the following section first results will be summarized and an initial analysis will be carried out.
6.4.1 Refugees have capabilities and dignity

The Capabilities Approach show that all humans including refugees have basic and internal capabilities. In dealing with refugees these are often not valued and social integration opportunities are usually not based on the capabilities but on the shortcomings of refugees. Once refugees receive the space and opportunity to act, they need the support of third parties to be able to bring their capabilities to full development (Bröse 2015:103). This corresponds to the concept of combined capabilities: the internal capabilities of the refugees must be combined with political, social and economic conditions in order to evolve towards a good life – and in the case of integration – to enable successful integration. The focus on the resources of the refugees is to broaden their opportunities to integrate actively into German society (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:68).

6.4.2 The Capabilities Approach and the concept of integration share important contents

It becomes clear that Nussbaum incorporates the core idea of integration in her capability “Affiliation”. According to her concept, it is the task of the state to enable every citizen to use and enjoy these capabilities. In addition, as illustrated above, the demands of Nussbaum overlap with the aim of the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF). Nevertheless, the capability “Affiliation” alone is not enough to serve as an integration concept. It is rather a basis or condition on which integration should be built.

Another social area, described by the BAMF, in which the refugee is to gain equal involvement in the integration process, is that of political participation. This is comparable to the capability “Control over one’s environment” and the political means of action required therein. Martha Nussbaum takes exactly this situation of migrants as an example to clarify the discrepancy between internal and combined capabilities. Migrants may well have the ability to have a political opinion and make a political decisions (internal capability) but, due to the legal restrictions, they are unable vote (a combination with a political condition is not possible) (Nussbaum 2011:22). Here it is the task of a state to enable the combination of capabilities.
6.4.3 The recognition of the personal capabilities of the individual refugee supports integration

Both sources of literature under 6.2.3 show that it is important for NGOs, Government organisations and individual persons who act as integration assistance to know the personal situation and capabilities of the refugees in order to support integration successfully. In the case of the environmental refugees Kyunghwan assumes that knowledge about the individual refugee is a prerequisite for good integration into the new society (Kyunghwan 2012:21). In the situation of the refugees community organisations, the knowledge of the personal situation of refugees is represented as condition by which the combination of capabilities was possible (Clarke 2013:17). The knowledge of the existing abilities and opportunities (basic and internal capabilities) and the necessity (combined capabilities) of each individual immigrant serves as a basis for individual integration assistance, offers, and projects.

6.4.4 The Capabilities Approach is suited to serve as the basis of an integration theory

The Capabilities Approach is interdisciplinary and yet it is evident that it was not written specifically for the context of the integration of refugees in Germany. This is also reflected in the fact that the question about the rights of the refugees does not arise in the Capabilities Approach. This, however, does not mean that it cannot be used as the basis of an integration theory, since the approach clearly shows that Nussbaum grants each person the right for personal development of capabilities (Nussbaum 2015:109).

If Nussbaum’s approach is taken as supplementation for an integration theory, the basic and internal capabilities of the individual refugee are appreciated and promoted as a starting-point of integration. Besides this, an integration theory on the basis of the Capabilities Approach would also focus on how these have to be combined with a political, social or economic condition in order that they can be used and enjoyed in the integration process. Furthermore, the Capabilities Approach is suited to serve as the basis of an integration theory since it would empower the individual immigrant and build a bridge between the immigrant and the host society.
6.4.5 Summary

It has become clear which capabilities need to be promoted so that social, cultural, identificational and structural integration becomes possible. The capabilities that are important for integration are these: “Affiliation”, “Control over one’s environment”, “Practical reason”, “Senses, imagination and thought”, and “Emotions”.

By concentrating on these capabilities in the further work of this study, it is not assumed that the other five central capabilities have no significance for integration. Instead they are either seen as pre-set for the integration process or are not directly related to the integration process. For example, the adequate accommodation required in the capability “Bodily health” is very much a condition for integration, but is presumed to be a basic condition, since the question of integration is no longer about the “Relief” situation as was the case in the mid of 2015. The question about a shelter has to be considered once the integration process is compromised by laws, regulations, or discrimination.

In the Capabilities Approach, the state must enable each individual person to live out and experience these capabilities (Nussbaum 2011:35–36). If the German state has the aim of enabling new people to participate in all four dimensions of integration, it should promote the combination of capabilities, elaborated here on the basis of the Capabilities Approach according to Martha Nussbaum.

The next chapter will deal with the overlaps between the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory. In addition, a possible fusion of the two theories will be elaborated on.

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72 For a detailed description see 2.3.2 Latest history of migration to Germany.
CHAPTER 7: INTERCONNECTION OF THE THEORIES

7.1 Introduction

In the earlier chapters the two theories, the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory, aimed to be combined in this study, were presented. Their advantages and limitations as well as similarities and alternatives have been worked out in order to make a complementation possible. The goal of the combination of the Capabilities Approach with a German integration theory is to reach a different emphasis in terms of the integration theory and supposedly a new perspective on the capabilities of the refugees. The combination of the theories will be completed in this chapter. Before the actual interconnection is done the basis and the framework of the interconnection will be described. After the two theories have been combined the new combined theory will be explained. In the findings, the justification and positioning of the combined theory in Development and Migration Studies will be presented. The recommendations show what an implementation of the combined theory could look like. Finally, a conclusion of the whole study follows.

7.2 Basis for the interconnection

The basis for the interconnection of both theories is the content overlap, the existence of a problem area in one theory and the probable solution contained in the other theory. At the beginning of this section the problem area in Heckmann’s Integration Theory – the absence of emphasis on immigrant’s capabilities – will be discussed. Both theories and their connection to integration were presented in the previous two chapters and now the following section describes the overlap between the core capabilities according to Nussbaum and the four dimensions of integration according to Heckmann. The capabilities of Nussbaum’s list, which are most clearly consistent with Heckmann’s theory, are: “Affiliation”, “Control over one’s environment”, “Practical reason”, “Senses, imagination, and thought”, and “Emotions”.
7.2.1 Problem area which needs a complementary solution

The focus of the Coordinated Theory Analysis is to identify problem areas and complementary areas in theories that will provide the solutions required. The aim of this study is to find out whether a combined theory of the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory can direct the focus of integration theories away from the weaknesses and towards the capabilities of the refugees. This “missing emphasis on the capabilities of immigrants” in Heckmann’s theory is the problem area in this study to which the Capabilities Approach may offer a complementation or solution. As outlined under 5.3.2.2 and 5.4.3 Heckmann does see the capitals/capabilities of the immigrants as important for the integration process, but that they are neither crucial to it nor its starting point.

The problem area is found not only in Heckmann’s integration theory but it is a common problem in the German integration discourse. In the literature it is repeatedly pointed out that integration work should focus on the capabilities, potentials and opportunities of refugees (Bröse 2015; Mülch, Bungardt & Meineke 2003; Slaughter & Leeson 2017; Worbs, Bund & Böhm 2016; Younso & Borkowski 2016).

Moreover, Böcker et al. describe the current integration concept as discriminating and requiring a change in perspective. They come to this opinion because integration is still cited as the responsibility of migrants yet “the Whites”73 dictate the norms of integration (Böcker, Goel & Heft 2013:305–306). The authors refer to Ha and Schmitz (Ha & Schmitz 2006:n.p.) and demand a change in perspective so that the new citizens receive respect as politically and historically active people (Böcker, Goel & Heft 2013:310).

The following is a brief description of the problem area by explaining why a focus on the capabilities of the refugees is important and thereby outlining what is missing from Heckmann’s integration theory.

There are two reasons why it is especially important for refugees to focus on their basic and internal capabilities. Concentration on the capabilities of the

73 By ‘the Whites’ Böcker, Goel and Heft mean the mainly white skinned dominance society in Germany.
refugees changes both the perspective of the host society about the refugees as well as the refugees' perception about themselves. Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas claim that the interaction between the host society and the migrants will determine the direction and results of the integration. It should be noted that the power relations of the two are very unequal. They argue that the reaction of the host society, especially that of the institutional structures, has a much higher impact on the outcome of the integration process than the migrants have themselves (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas 2016:17). Reflecting on the German integration process, Dieter Filsinger comes to the same decision. He believes that integration is most dependent on “co-operative structures” (Filsinger 2008:10). This does not mean that the refugee does not have any influence on integration. It should only be shown that the perception of the host society on the immigrants and the existing structures have a strong influence. If these structures are pro-refugees, the integration will be eased for the immigrants.

Such change in perception and operations tends to change the perception of immigrants about themselves. Bryant Myers refers to Jayakumar Christian, who describes one of the multidimensional aspects of poverty as a “marred identity”. This arises from the fact that the voice of the poor is considered worthless by the non-poor and that no capabilities are attributed to them. Over time the “marred identity” is internalized by the poor and leads to a sense of worthlessness and humiliation. Once the poor person assumes that he/she does not have the social space or the right to act, a feeling of incapacity arises (Myers 2011:127). This is also confirmed in the studies of the German anti-discrimination authorities. They show that discrimination against refugees leads to resignation and limitations in their own behaviour (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes 2016:18) which has a negative impact on integration (Uslucan & Yalcin 2012:42). If refugees are seen as human beings with capabilities, rights and values, development of a marred identify can be prevented.

In addition, a transformed view, away from the shortcomings of the refugees towards their capabilities refers to their abilities as well as the opportunities to choose from. Such transformation could help bring about change in the meaning of integration concepts as desired by Böcker, Goel and Heft.
An example is to be put forward to underline how the focus on migrants’ capabilities promotes integration and to clarify why “the missing emphasis on the capabilities of immigrants in Heckmann’s theory” is the problem area:

In the introduction of this study, the example of the employment rates of immigrants demonstrates that refugees are the most vulnerable migrants. Staying with this example of structural integration into the workplace, the same study on the Labour Market Integration of refugees requested by the European Parliament’s Committee on Employment and Social Affairs shows that, according to information of the OECD, the employment rates of immigrants comparative to the native population in other EU Member States are higher in Anglo-Saxon countries relative to Continental-European countries or Scandinavian countries. One possible reason for diverging employment patterns among refugees can be found in the country’s specific skills and vocational qualification systems (Konle-Seidl 2016:25). For example the British skills system based on the Qualifications and Credit Framework (QCF) “assesses and recognises non-certificated learning, and enables this to contribute to recognised qualifications” (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 2010:5). Compared to the German Qualification Framework (DQR), the British QCF arranges for more opportunities to enter the labour market and is therefore “[...] more accessible for migrants without host-country qualifications” (Konle-Seidl 2016:25). To summarise, it can be noted that the openness to recognise, value, and give the opportunity to make use of formal and informal strengths and abilities leads to a higher employment rate of immigrants.

This example shows how the implementation of the Capabilities Approach (focus on capabilities and where necessary provide a combination with a political, social or economic condition) can promote integration and this is what Heckmann’s integration theory is missing. By using the Capabilities Approach as the basis of an integration theory, it is possible to extend and widen this focus.

In summary it can be said that the problem area in Heckmann’s integration theory, “the missing emphasis on the capabilities of immigrants” limits the impact of his theory.
7.2.2 Connection between Affiliation and social integration

Comparing the description of social integration by Heckmann with the capability “Affiliation” one finds that “[...] close relations between migrants and locals” (Heckmann 2015:181) and "being able to live with and towards others [...]” (Nussbaum 2011:34) are in content the same. Nussbaum’s description "living with and towards others" describes well what a "close relationship" is, as Heckmann calls it. In order to promote social participation, the migrant must be empowered to be able to use and enjoy the capability “Affiliation”. As the study of Wolff and de-Shalit shows, the feeling of belonging to a host society empowers immigrants to stand up for their concerns and promotes their resilience. The interviewees compared the capability “Affiliation” with a vaccination that enables them, in case of danger or threats to other capabilities, to still be able to master the situation (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:139). This shows that the Capability “Affiliation” is fundamental for participation in society.

Besides that, the host society also has a task to make social integration possible. The task is to reduce discrimination and prejudices by establishing inter-ethnic contact and meeting opportunities (Heckmann 2015:190), and by combining social, political or economic measures (Nussbaum 2011:22). On the part of the host society it is important to promote the acceptance of the other. Belonging includes acceptance of the other with his or her otherness, which in turn leads to an elimination of discrimination.

7.2.3 Connection among “Practical reason”, “Senses, imagination, and thought” and cultural integration

The capabilities “Practical reason” and “Senses, imagination, and thought” corresponds to the content of what Heckmann understands as cultural integration. For Heckmann cultural integration of immigrants is a process of cultural, cognitive, behavioural and attitudinal changes (Heckmann 2015:72) and Nussbaum describes the capability “senses, imagination, and thought” as the ability and opportunity “[...] to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason [...]”

74 Translation by the author. Original: “[...] um Beziehungen der Nähe zwischen Migranten und Einheimischen.”
(Nussbaum 2011:33). In addition, the capability “Practical reason” is needed to reflect values because, if values, norms and attitudes are to be scrutinised and reflected with the intention of understanding and adapting to a new cultural situation (Heckmann 2015:72), one must be able to evaluate the previous concept of life (Nussbaum 2011:34). In order to possess this internal capability, one needs to be experienced in self-distancing and reflection.

Adapting to a new life situation and cultural reality is, in the case of a “voluntary” migration, easier than in the case of “forced” migration due to a crisis as in the case of refugees. For this reason, the training and promotion of the reflective capacity of refugees is important and should be promoted through formal and informal culturally sensitive social and psychological programmes.

Furthermore, participation in the cultural life of the host society requires the acquisition of the host language. Here, Nussbaum’s demand in the capability “Senses, imagination and thought” for “[...] adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training” (Nussbaum 2011:33) overlaps with Heckmann’s description of cultural integration (Heckmann 2015:72). If Nussbaum’s demand is applied to the context of integration in Germany, it connotes adequate language acquisition of the German language.

To sum up, it can be said that in order to achieve cultural integration, the refugees must be prepared to question their own (cultural) values, behaviours and attitudes, but not necessarily change all. If a complete adaptation of the values, behaviours and attitudes of the refugees to the German society is required, assimilation, rather than integration, would be demanded. Instead, the refugees have, within the legal framework of the Federal Republic of Germany, the freedom to choose their norms and values. This corresponds to the concept of Martha Nussbaum by including the freedom of choice into the capabilities (Nussbaum 2011:25). However, in order to be able to contribute to and share in the cultural life of Germany with their own thoughts and imagination, it is necessary to master a certain level of the German language. At this point the task of the state is to pave the way for legal and practically feasible language acquisition opportunities. In addition, the immigrants must bring the willingness
to learn. The help of the civil society is also required here, which should support learners to get language practice through intercultural encounters.

7.2.4 Connection between “Control over one’s environment” and structural integration

By providing the refugee the possibilities for control of their own environment in material areas, they are given the chance of participation in the core structures\textsuperscript{75} of social life (education, labour market, social security, housing and the political community) in the host society. Nussbaum describes the Capability “Control over one’s environment” as:

“Being able to hold property […], and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; […]. In work, being able to work as a human, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers (Nussbaum 2013:34).”

This overlaps with Heckmann’s characterisation of structural integration: participation in the education and training systems, economy and labour market, the social security systems, the housing market and the political community (Heckmann 2015:72). In order to enter these core structures of the host society, the immigrants need, as described under 6.2.2.3, “soft skills”, that are also referred to as social competencies. It can be assumed that the refugee brings social competences from their culture of origin, but they are not always transferable to the German context (SVR 2017:148). The soft skills that are needed for structural integration must be supported in order for the immigrants to acquire place for themselves within the core situations of German society.

Another point, proposed by Wolff and de Shalit, concerns the existing structures. In order to prevent discrimination against the refugees on the basis of not-yet-acquired “soft skills”, institutions should consider how far their service operations depend on soft skills capabilities (Wolff & De-Shalit 2007:145).

\textsuperscript{75} For a detailed description about core structures see 5.2.1 Dimensions of individual integration.
7.2.5 Connection between "Emotions" and identificational integration

The feeling of belonging and the readiness to identify with the national, ethnic, regional, and local collective structures towards the host society (Heckmann 2015:73), as Heckmann describes identificational integration, is closely related to Nussbaum’s description of the capability “Emotions”: the ability to have an “[...] attachment to things and people outside oneself” (Nussbaum 2011:33). Nussbaum’s further description of the capability “Emotions” includes a close relationship between people and things outside themselves; and concomitantly, to feel one’s own identity connected with the people and the culture of a new homeland also needs a close relationship. This shows that the content of “identificational integration”, according to Heckmann, and the capability “Emotions”, according to Nussbaum, overlap.

In order to be able to develop a sense of belonging and a willingness to identify with the host society, immigrants have to encounter positive experiences with social relations that are significant for their lives (Esser 2001:17). In addition, cultural (especially linguistic) skills are necessary, which often depend on structural integration (work and education integration). The role of the host society in identificational integration cannot be ignored. The host society is responsible for an “identification offer” with a membership concept in which people with a foreign ancestry are also included (Heckmann 2015:73). It can be concluded that identificational integration is a result of successful cultural, social and structural integration and is linked to openness and non-discrimination on the part of the host society. If identificational integration is to be promoted, the other three dimensions of integration must also be promoted thereby giving the immigrants the necessary space and the opportunity to exercise, develop and combine their capabilities. Like cultural integration, the identificational integration also builds on individual learning and socialization processes (:80). Therefore the questioning of cultural and individual norms and values may be inevitable.

It has become clear that all the objectives of the four dimensions of integration according to Heckmann can be found in certain capabilities on Nussbaum’s list, which she sees as conditions for a “good life”.

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7.3 Empowerment as framework of the interconnection

The method of this study is to combine two theories to achieve the research goal. However a combination on its own does not yet guarantee that the new theory will work. The combined theory requires a framework within which it will be applied and which makes its success more likely. The framework for this combined integration theory is the Empowerment Approach. The combination of Heckmann’s Integration Theory and Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach can be successful since it will empower the immigrants for the integration process. The empowering element of this connection is the Capabilities Approach. The following two arguments are intended to show how the Capabilities Approach is the empowering element of the interconnection.

As described under 3.3 the “prerequisite to empowerment is an opportunity structure that allows people to translate their asset base into effective agency […]” (Alsop 2007:123). This is what an integration theory based on the capabilities approach can be, because as shown in chapter 6 the Capabilities Approach according to Nussbaum does not only see the individual basic and internal capabilities a person has. It also looks at where these have to be combined with a social, political and/or economic condition, which creates an opportunity structure (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2012:10) that is needed for empowerment. If the Capabilities Approach is used as a basis of an integration theory, as proposed in this study, it could promote successful integration since its goal would be to promote and activate the existing capabilities of the individual immigrant so that these are able to contribute to integration.

The following example is intended to illustrate that combined capabilities actually lead to empowerment and integration: Schneider et al. have, relying on the TIES76-study, pointed out that the more second-generation immigrants are structurally integrated (higher educational level and better job and income) the more they identify themselves with German society. In contrast, identification with German society of unemployed immigrants and non-working women is low (Schneider, Crul & Lelie 2015:89). This shows that people who have the

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76 TIES is the abbreviation of “The Integration of the European Second Generation”. For details about TIES see 3.2.
agency/basic and internal capabilities (e.g. education) and the opportunity structure/combined capabilities (e.g. carer opportunity because of anti-discrimination policies) have a high possibility to be empowered to integrate themselves.

The second reason why an integration theory on the basis of the Capabilities Approach can lead to successful integration is that through dissolving disadvantages and inequalities empowerment is achieved. Luttrell and Quiroz are of the opinion that empowerment can be achieved if the causes of disempowerment and disadvantages are redressed (Luttrell & Quiroz 2009:6). At the same time the Capabilities Approach is considered as a means to remedying causes of inequality, which makes it an appropriate tool to assess activities targeted at refugees, who often experience diverse disadvantages (Clarke 2013:3). Here, too, an example underpins the argument:

The newspaper Spiegel Online tested whether housing seekers are discriminated against because of their name and the associated immigrant background. By using fictitious, foreign and German names they applied to real housing offers. Almost identical application letters were used in understandable, friendly, and error-free German. 20,728 applications were sent out and 8,377 replies from homeowners, administrators and brokers were received. The evaluation of the responses revealed that people with foreign names are discriminated against in the search for an apartment for rent. Particularly for seekers with Turkish or Arab origins. They received invitations to visit a flat 25% less often than German applicants (Elmer et al 2017:n.p.). This is also confirmed by a similar study which was conducted from 2006 until 2008 (Auspurg, Hinz & Schmid 2017:29). It revealed that, in Munich, immigrants of Turkish origin had a significantly lower chance of access to the rental housing market compared to German housing-seekers (:33). The study of the German anti-discrimination authority, already mentioned in 6.3.1, can help to interpret these results. The study has demonstrated that unfair discrimination is a hindrance for integration (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes 2016:18). In this example immigrants experience inequality and disadvantages through unfair discrimination when searching for housing. In practice then, disadvantages and inequalities lead to disempowerment for integration.
It can be concluded that a combined integration theory can promote successful integration since the enhancement of Heckmann’s integration theory with the Capabilities Approach places the combined theory in the context of the empowerment approach.

7.4 Interconnection of the theories

According to the methodology of this work, I presented and positioned the two theories in the earlier chapters. I have worked out that it seems reasonable to combine the two theories which will be done in this section. It is important to me to emphasize that I do sincerely value Heckmann’s theory. I am grateful for his work and my reasoning and wish is to adapt only the focus of his integration theory for the good purpose of improving the needs of German society and migrants. The detailed reasons for this have been drawn up in chapters 5 and 6 and can be read there. In short, it can be said that the main reason is that an integration theory based on the Capabilities Approach may empower migrants and foster integration as explained in 7.2. I consciously use the word “may” because an integration theory based on the Capabilities Approach always includes the freedom of choice of all integration partners. The (untapped) potential of migrants (Worbs, Bund & Böhm 2016:293), which has already been mentioned several times in this study, should be the starting point for the combined integration theory. Furthermore, the combined theory should have a holistic view of integration in the way Söhn and Marquardsen have defined integration in their research report on “success factors for the integration of refugees”. In their opinion, these holistic views should play a part in counteracting institutional participation barriers as well as establishing and strengthening the refugee’s individual resources in order to systematically achieve participation opportunities (Söhn & Marquardsen 2017:35).

The combined theory is structured as follows:

The basics of the Capabilities Approach (Fig. 7.1) according to Martha Nussbaurn (for more details see 6.2) is going to be implemented in Heckmann’s Integration Theory (Fig. 7.2, for more details see 5.2).
The result is shown in Figure 7.3. In a slightly different way all elements of the representation of the Capabilities Approach were taken over into the combined theory. From Heckmann’s integration theory, the three levels (macro, meso and micro) and the goal of the theory (the integration of migrants) are used. A detailed description of how the individual elements of the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory are implemented in the combined theory can be read in the description of the three phases.
The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory consists of three consecutive phases. By starting the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory with the capabilities of the immigrants (micro-level), these are the focus of the theory and thereby valued. In progression of the phases necessary combinations are to be considered. The individual phases are explained below.
Phase 1

The objective of the first phase is to discover and determine the existing capabilities of the refugees. Those are the basic and internal capabilities of Nussbaum’s list of ten central capabilities, which are necessary for social, cultural, structural and identificational integration. According to this study these are the capabilities “Affiliation”, “Control over one’s environment”, “Practical reason”, “Senses, imagination, and thought”, and “Emotions”. Besides the capabilities of the immigrants, the motivation to learn and to socially and economically advance is also necessary for the integration process. This phase takes place on the micro-level with and by the individual immigrant. A method to identify and document capabilities should be used to determine the capabilities of the individual migrant. This is further explored under 7.5.2.1 Recommendations for the implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory. Since every migrant has very different starting conditions, it is important to focus on each individual person. The focus on the individual migrants has already been tested by the German state for education-related integration and has proven itself there (BAMF 2013a:3).

Phase 2

In the second phase the social, political and/or economic conditions have to be shaped in a way which allows the immigrants to use their capabilities. The combination is carried out by the openness and support of the social, political and/or economic structures and the help of the ethnic colonies. “Because the immigrant groups had different starting conditions and have a different level of education, differentiated programmes should be set up to meet the respective needs” (Woellert et al 2009:8). The individual immigrant needs an individual combination of his/her basic and internal capabilities. This does not mean that every immigrant needs only his/her own integration programs. Certain groups of migrants (e.g. mothers of small children) could, but do not necessarily, face the same barriers to integration and may therefore be helped with the same

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78 Translation by the author. Original: “Weil die betrachteten Zuwanderergruppen unterschiedliche Startbedingungen hatten und verschieden gut gebildet sind, sollten differenzierte Programme aufgelegt werden, die den jeweiligen Bedürfnissen entgegen kommen.”

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combination of capabilities. The combination of capabilities takes place on the macro and meso-level, since it is implemented by the societal, political and economic structures as well as the ethnical colonies. The openness and support of the societal, political and economic structures on the macro-level results in two situations.

Firstly, as this theory intends, it combines the internal capabilities of the immigrants with the condition that is required to empower the immigrant to integrate. This is to be illustrated by the next example: For people who are not or are no longer in the asylum process but have a “certificate of temporary suspension of deportation” (Duldung\textsuperscript{79}) it was, in the past, difficult to get an apprentice position for vocational training, because they could be deported at any time. As a consequence, the training efforts of these young people were low and the training companies were not willing to invest in the training of a person with the legal status of “temporary suspension of deportation” (Boockmann 2017:64). The new German Integration Law of July 2016 has changed this situation so that apprentices are not allowed to be deported during the duration of the training. In addition, in the case of employment after the training that is appropriate for the profession, the “temporary suspension of deportation” is extended to two years (Bundestag 2016)\textsuperscript{80}. This is an example of a political condition that leads to a combination of internal capabilities to promote structural integration. By guaranteeing the suspension of deportation during training period and up to two years later, young people will have a perspective for structural integration. In addition, this change in law helps training companies to employ “geduldete” people for training.

Secondly, the openness and support offered by the societal, political and economic structures change German society as a whole; and at the same time society and structures must change so that openness and support becomes possible, as described further under Phase 3. The way that German society as a whole can change is that its politicians and individual German people open

\textsuperscript{79} For a detailed definition about “geduldete” persons see 2.4.2.1 Legal framework.

\textsuperscript{80} Integrationsgesetz Bundestag 2016:Article 5 Section 4 & 8. These are a change of the German Residence Act (Aufenthaltsgesetz) §18a and §60a.
up the German structures as well as themselves to the immigrants. As the immigrants “enter” the open structures, the society as a whole changes. This openness is the precondition of integration as described by Dieter Filsinger as the “forthcoming structures”\(^81\) (Filsinger 2008:10). Considering the example above, the “forthcoming structures” are the opening up of the training market to “refugees with a certificate of temporary suspension of deportation”. By being an apprentice and having the possible chance to work as a professional, the self-image of the “refugees with a certificate of temporary suspension of deportation” changes\(^82\) and the view of society on the young person as well – namely, away from being a recipient of assistance towards being a valuable member of society. This example shows how refugees, through a combination of capabilities (ability and willingness to learn a profession combined with a training opportunity and the legal opening), can become part of the structural society.

At the meso-level, the ethnic colonies are the ones that can enable a combination of capabilities. Friedrich Heckmann defines ethnic colonies as the following:

“Ethnic colonies are, on the one hand, forms of ethnic self-organization that emerge as an institutional response to the needs of migrants in the migration and minority situation; on the other hand, they are a “transplant” and continuation of social relations that already existed in the society of origin\(^83\)” (Heckmann 2015:286).

Ethnic colonies consist of relatives, associations, religious communities, cultural-regional organizations, political organizations, informal social circles and meeting points, ethnic media and an ethnic economy. “The concept of the ‘colony’ is linked to the conceptual traditions of early immigration research: socio-cultural, religious and political organizations, common residential districts as

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\(^81\) For more details see 5.2.2.

\(^82\) See marred identity 6.3.1 Advantages.

\(^83\) Translation by the author. Original: “Ethnische Kolonien – die Mesoebene der Analyse – sind zum einen Formen ethnischer Selbstorganisation, die als institutionelle Antwort auf die Bedürfnisse der Migranten in der Migrations- und Minderheitensituation entstehen; zum anderen sind sie eine « Verpflanzung » und Fortsetzung sozialer Beziehungen, die bereits in der Herkunftsgesellschaft existierten.”
well as the immigrant group themselves were, in classical immigration countries, referred to as Immigration Colony$^{84}$ (Heckmann 1992:97). Heckmann is of the opinion that these ethnic colonies can be an important stabiliser for the new situations and information sources for immigrants, especially at the beginning. At the same time, he emphasises that ethnic colonies foster integration only when they function as a “bridge” to the host society and do not offer an “alternative society” (Heckmann 2015:286). In this combined theory the ethnic colonies function as a source of information, stabiliser and as “bridge” to the host society in order for them to enable the combination of the internal capabilities of the immigrants. It is important to ensure that the ethnic colony does not replace the tasks of the German civil society. This may be achieved when the State cooperates with the ethnic colonies as a competent player in the integration process.

**Phase 3**

Phase 3 is the result of Phase 1 and 2. The goal is that refugees get the opportunity to use and enjoy the capabilities that correspond to the four dimensions of integration according to Heckmann. The capabilities that are needed for integration, according to Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration, have been worked out in 7.2. If immigrants get the possibility and/or opportunity to use the capabilities that are needed for integration they will have a life worthy of human dignity according to Martha Nussbaum$^{85}$. In the case of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory this would become visible as the participation of individual immigrants in German society. It should be emphasised that the participation of immigrants has to be in the way the individual migrant considers it valuable. This implies that this freedom of action and choice must be within the German legislation.

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$^{84}$ Translation by the author. Original: “Das Konzept der “Kolonie” knüpft an begrifflichen Traditionen der frühen Einwanderungsforschung an: sozial-kulturelle, religiöse und politische Organisationen, gemeinsame Wohnbezirke wie auch die Einwanderungsgruppe selbst wurden in klassischen Einwanderungsländern als Einwanderungskolonie bezeichnet.”

$^{85}$ The final purpose of the Capabilities Approach is, through combining the individual capabilities of a person, to enable him/her to live a life worthy of human dignity (Nussbaum 2011:32).
In the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory, favourable political, social and economic structures are deliberately defined as conditions of integration because they are the outcome of the capability combination. Integration is only possible if the structures are open and supportive and therefore they have to be changed in some cases. This is slightly different from Heckmann’s opinion. In his point of view the structures of the whole society will change when integration has happened already\(^{86}\) (:290). In my conclusion of the literature study, the changed structures are necessary for integration to happen at all. In some way Heckmann shares this opinion, by saying that the changed structures, once they are established, are also a condition for new cycles of the integration process. Since this combined integration theory is developed on the basis of Nussbaum’s Capabilities Approach, whose basis is the combination of the capabilities through social, political and economic structures, it would not be sufficient to assume that the structures will change through integration and then will foster new integration processes. In spite of this point, Heckmann’s opinion is not wrong because changed structures, which, in my opinion, are a condition to integration, will, in the long run, also change the structures of the whole German society as described in Phase 2. The capabilities approach may also be applied to the capabilities of German nationals. As explained under 5.4\(^{87}\), as well the migrants, the resident society may need help to be able to contribute to integration. For example: the resident society may possibly resist intercultural openness. Prejudices and fears about strangers can prevent them from using and enjoying the capability “Affiliation”; that is, “Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another” (Nussbaum 2011:33). Through the combination of the host community’s capability “Affiliation” with a political or social condition, intercultural openness may be achieved. A widespread intercultural openness in German society could lead to changed structures and therefore favour the integration of immigrants.

\(^{86}\) Arrow 7 in Figure 8. 2 Theory of Successful Integration.

\(^{87}\) See 5.4.2.2 Cultural integration: Both the migrants and the host society need help to be able to contribute to integration.
Phase 3 could also be seen as the final goal, but this integration theory is a cycle that has to be restarted again and again until it is completed one day for the individual migrant. The combination of the capabilities does not always have to be a “formal” action, as it is highly probable that many missing combinations will be determined informally during the integration process. For this, it is important that all those involved in the integration process are aware that the process does not end with a one-time determination of the capabilities and the necessary combinations. Instead, the capabilities-oriented integration process has to take place over and over again. Sometimes the missing combinations will be solved with little effort and quickly (e.g. obtaining missing information) and at times only with very elaborate effort and over a long period of time (e.g. changing a law).

7.5 Justification of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory and Recommendations

The first secondary objective of this study was to outline the challenges for the integration of refugees in Germany. This was done in chapter 2. The second secondary objective has been fulfilled by discussing Heckmann’s Theory of Integration in Chapter 5. The characterization of the Capabilities Approach in terms of its application to refugees was completed in chapter 6. In this chapter the fourth secondary objective of this study was accomplished by exploring ways of interlinking both theories to foster the integration of refugees in Germany. Therefore the basis and the framework for the interconnection of the theories has been presented. Subsequently the theories have been interconnected with the result of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory. In this section the justification of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory and recommendations for the implantation and further research will be outlined.
7.5.1 Justifications of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory

7.5.1.1 The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory is similar to Heckmann’s Integration Theory

The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory, as presented here, includes all the components of Heckmann’s Integration Theory and is based on the Capabilities Approach. Actually, it is not fundamentally different from Heckmann’s theory. This is because the goal of the chosen methodology, the Coordinated Theory Comparison, is not to dissolve one of the theories, but to fill any gaps in the two theories when compared (Schneider 1999:290). The most important difference is that the capabilities of immigrants are placed at the start of the integration process and then the further integration progress is built on them. The detailed capabilities, which are needed for the integration of immigrants into German society, have been developed under 7.1 by comparing Heckmann’s four dimensions of integration and Nussbaum’s list of ten central capabilities.

Friedrich Heckmann has years of experience in research with migrants and my endeavour to find an integration theory with a focus on the capabilities of migrants does not, in any way, discredit his work. It is therefore said at this point that the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory is not seen isolated from other Migration and Integration Research results. Integration principles such as the four dimensions of integration, intergenerational migration, etc., of course also apply to the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory.

7.5.1.2 The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory has its justification in the Empowerment Approach

The concept of empowerment has been described in chapter 3 as a theoretical framework of this study. “Empowerment is defined as a group’s or individual’s capacity to make effective choices, that is, to make choices and then to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes” (Alsop, Bertelsen & Holland 2012:10). In this study empowerment is meant to be a mechanism for social transformation for the life situation of the refugees in Germany.
The comparison of Nussbaum ten central capabilities and Heckmann four dimensions of integration has shown that both concepts have many overlaps. It also shows that recognition and promotion of certain capabilities can stimulate integration. This process of improvement of capabilities is the combination of capabilities as Martha Nussbaum defines it: an internal capability (Phase 1) is combined with a social/political/economic condition (Phase 2) whereby functioning can be chosen (Phase 3) (Nussbaum 2011:22). This process is an opportunity structure, as described by Alsop, which allows people to translate their assets or capabilities into effective agency or functioning (Alsop 2007:123). Consequently it can be concluded that a combination of capabilities with supporting conditions empowers the individual immigrant for integration.

The individual immigrant becomes empowered through the combination of the capabilities since the combination is personalized to his/her internal capabilities. In concrete terms, this means that every individual immigrant should receive those social, political or economic conditions that he/she needs to able to integrate into German society. This should lead to the conclusion that an integration theory with the emphasis on the capabilities of the immigrants can be successful.

7.5.1.3 The Capabilites-oriented Integration Theory meets what is required by practice and literature

As mentioned, the aim of this theory connection is a changed view of immigrants and their capabilities in the integration discourse. The demand for a stronger focus on the potentials and abilities of immigrants is again and again heard in literature and practice. Three examples are given to show how the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory meets these demands.

Firstly, a qualitative survey involving 116 young migrants conducted in the city of Marburg (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003) came to the conclusion that a changed view on the potential of the immigrants is essential. Based on the results of the study the researchers are of the opinion that for integration to be successful it is important to concentrate on the resources and opportunities of immigrants in order to expand their possibilities to actively integrate themselves into German society. The focus is to be directed away from their shortcomings,
towards their capabilities. Furthermore, the emphasis should be on the empowerment of migrants for them to be able to operate within German society (68). The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory offers an integration theory in which all this is possible: concentration on the capabilities and empowerment of immigrants to be able to be active members of German society.

Secondly, the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory also meets the Recommendations of the Refugees Study Centre on self-reliance. Here is an excerpt of what the authors suggest (Slaughter & Leeson 2017:6) and thereafter a proposal on how the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory could meet these demands:

- The focus of livelihood aid programming should shift to an approach, which considers capabilities in the sense of real opportunities, which enable people to achieve the kind of life they value. This is the exact focus of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory.

- Integration assistance should be based on an analysis of integration obstacles and of the existing support system. This is done in phase 2.

- Assistance for refugee’s integration should consist of interlinked projects with a focus on the social, political, and economic needs of refugees. This is also a requirement of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory and will be further explored under recommendations.

- Systemic integration hindrances, such as barriers to work or a lack of legal representation, that lead to challenging work and living conditions for refugees, should be addressed by someone other than the refugees themselves, such as humanitarian and political role-players. In the second Phase of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory German society and ethnic colonies should enable the combination of the immigrant’s capabilities by dealing with the challenging conditions that the refugees struggle with.

The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory also meets the idea of the Federal Government of Germany that successful integration policy needs to awaken and build on the potentials of the immigrants. It should include the migrant and supports him/her in the process of participation. Furthermore, the policies have to consider that integration can only happen if social structures are open for
migrants and barriers are removed that complicate participation in the society (Die Bundesregierung 2007:13). The focus on potentials of the immigrants can be achieved through strong emphasis on the Capabilities; the inclusion and support of migrants can be reached through a method that identifies and documents the capabilities of each migrant individually in Phase 1; and, the openness of social structures can be achieved through elimination of integration barriers by combining capabilities with necessary conditions in the Phase 2.

7.5.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations concern, on the one hand, the implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory and, on the other hand, questions for further research.

7.5.2.1 Recommendations for the implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory

In an integration report of the non-profit public company Phineo, the lawyer Andreas Schmidt proposes that integration offers should be targeted and resource-oriented, that each migrant should be individually supported and that all role-players involved in integration assistance should cooperate (Schmidt 2010:12). These proposals match the possible implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory and therefore the following recommendations will be guided by it.

- Individual support

In my opinion, the implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory should be done through individual partnerships between locals and migrants for the following three reasons.

Firstly, social relations between local people and immigrants promote the integration of individuals and their ability to participate. This is also supported by different studies (Geiger 2016; Müllich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003; Schiefer 2017a). All three empirical studies conclude that social relationships are important for integration. Schiefer stresses that social contacts and mutual support are crucial to make people feel comfortable and capable of action (Schiefer
2017a:5). Geiger shows that, especially in the post-arrival period, social contacts are an important resource for refugees to find their way around. Furthermore, social contacts promote the refugee’s capacity to act (Geiger 2016:126). One of the points of the action proposal of Mülich et al. is the suggestion that new immigrants should get an integration partner, as quickly as possible, who will help them personally and individually in everyday life of the new society (Mülich, Bungardt & Meineke 2003:66).

Secondly, a single partner or a group of people can work more precisely with the individual migrants to ensure that the migrant can use and enjoy the capabilities he/she views as important for integration. It is important that the supporters have a good network, which helps them to help the refugees. This is discussed in detail under the section “integration cooperation”.

A refugee woman from Ghana who had lived and worked in Italy for several years before coming to Germany, expressed it as follows:

“...In Germany, the system is very tough and everything is very complicated. As you have no chance to manage all the administrative things by yourself, you are totally dependent on local people helping you voluntarily” (Rukaya 2015:54).

The OECD and Younso & Borkowski recommend that the support for labour market integration should be individually and personally tailored with a focus on the personal skills and abilities of the refugees (Younso & Borkowski 2016:274-275; OECD 2017:12–13). This recommendation, related to structural integration, should be extended to the other dimensions of integration as well. A specifically tailored integration plan based on the personal capabilities of the individual immigrant can promote integration. This is confirmed by Schiefer who suggest that asylum seekers, especially in the early stages of their stay, should have a central and reliable contact for advice and support for all life contexts (Schiefer 2017b:87–88).

Thirdly, social contacts between the host society and the immigrants contribute to a positive evaluation of the integration climate.
Integration partnerships lead to people being in contact, getting to know and appreciating each other. Frequent contact between the host society and immigrants results in a reduction of prejudices and a good integration climate on both sides (SVR 2016:23). In this sense, partnerships between nationals and immigrants could contribute to a good integration climate in the long term. Also, the integration process can only be sustainable if relationships on a par are part of it. It is important, therefore, that in these relationships the refugee is not perceived as the “needy” person and the German as the “helping” person (Schiefer 2017a:5).

There are already a number of integration-partner projects. Some are limited to one area of integration such as “housing-search” (www.tueroeffner-paderborn.de) and some are for all areas of life (www.caritas-bocholt.de/ehrenamt/integrationspaten/integrationspaten; www.sekiz.de/ehrenamt/projekte/integrationspaten). The structure of an integration-partner program based on the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory, should be based on the possibilities and opportunities (capabilities) of the individual immigrant. After identifying and documenting the capabilities of the individual immigrant in Phase 1 the integration partners should develop an individual integration plan for all four dimensions of integration on the basis of the method described earlier. During this action it will become obvious which conditions are needed to act out these capabilities (Phase 2) in order for the immigrant to be able to use and enjoy these for the integration process.

- Targeted and resource-oriented support
The application of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory should be implemented through a targeted and resource-oriented support. In my opinion, a method to identify and document the capabilities of the immigrants is the requirement and should be the starting point of the integration process. The advantages of starting the integration process with valuing and identifying the capabilities of immigrants, and especially those of refugees, were discussed in detail in 7.2.

A method of identifying and documenting the capabilities of the refugees should involve the refugees as experts of their own situation (Erler & Gottstein...
2017:164). Furthermore, it should include all dimensions of integration and all capabilities that are necessary for integration, as worked out in this study. Those can be used to formulate the target state, which in turn results in the measures. The actual state is reflecting the existing capabilities. In the target state, the refugee defines the way of life he/she currently considers valuable. The relation between the actual and target state illustrates the missing capabilities. The concrete measures demonstrate how the internal capabilities can become a real possibility through a social, political or economic condition. The measures should, as far as possible, consist of feasible objectives.

In this way, all four dimensions of integration could be gone through. For example, questions on structural integration can deal with the educational and professional experience of the refugees. Questions on social integration, for example, explore recreational activities, non-professional skills and relations with the indigenous population. In order to find out what the refugee considers and needs for cultural integration, questions should be asked about language skills and language learning opportunities. The questions on identificational integration should provide information concerning how he/she feels to be in Germany. It is also possible to draw on existing methods for the determination of skills such as the “KompAS”, which will be described later.

Once the method has been practised, it can be carried out in an informal manner by the integration partners, together or individually. If the integration partner lacks information or opportunities to implement the measures, an information network by all the role-players involved in the integration process should be available to them. This point is discussed under integration cooperation.

An example how a targeted and resource-oriented support for integration into a workplace is implemented is in the project “KompAS”. The project was initiated by the BAMF and is conducted by social service providers (BAMF 2017a:2). “KompAS” is an extended integration course, which is intended for a specific group of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The objectives of “KompAS” are quick placement of the participants into the labour or training
market or participation in further educational measures, early and detailed determination of the competencies, and, to train in and expand the German language directly in practice (1).

To implement the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory it could be built on the experiences of this kind of resource-oriented support such as “KompAS”. The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory could provide the basis for a resource-oriented support for all four dimensions of integration.

- Integration cooperation

In an integration report, on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Söhn and Marquardsen conclude that political integration approaches that connect role-players from different social groups and governmental areas seem to be the most successful (Söhn & Marquardsen 2017:35). OECD (2017:12) and SVR (2017) make similar recommendations. Therefore, a single point of contact, in which all information is connected and all role-players from politics, administration, economy, welfare, NGOs and civil society are networked, is recommended (Schiefer 2017b:89). Such a single point of contact would make the efforts of the integration-partners easier. The goal would be to provide the integration-partners with easily accessible and assessable information about regulations, laws, aids, programmes, etc.

In the current political and scientific discussion, the Whole-of-Government Approach is discussed as a possible approach to the current German integration and migration policy (Angenendt & Bendel 2017; Erler & Gottstein 2017; Ohliger & Mesghena 2017). It aims for an overarching organization of technical, conceptual and administrative processes in politics, administration and civil society within one policy field. Improved information management and/or organizational-structural changes are intended to achieve better cooperation, coordination and communication (Erler & Gottstein 2017:159). A cooperation between politics, administration (nationwide and communal), labour market (Jobcenter), social security systems, NGOs and civil society, which bundles all information “under one roof”, should be part of the application of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory.
An already existing approach is to be listed here as an example: at the beginning of 2016 the Federal Employment agency in North Rhine-Westphalia set up 47 “integration points” in which all contact persons and services for the labour market and social integration are bundled (Aumüller 2016:24). The work of the integration points consists of the following elements: identity verification, clarification of residence status, data recording, clarification of language skills, educational qualification check, and labour market profiling (Schüßler 2016:5). The “Integration Points” are a network of the role-players involved in labour market and social integration (assurance of livelihood). For an implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory, this method should be extended to all dimensions of integration.

There are still a few important points to take into account when implementing the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory. All integration partners (locals and migrants) should be well trained. They should know the fundamentals of German migration and integration laws and be able to apply and use the method to determine capabilities. In addition, it is essential that both integration partners have access to a clear, helpful and fast source of information when they need activate the integration process.

7.5.2.2 Recommendation for further research

At this point two recommendations for further research are suggested:

The first proposal specifically refers to the implementation of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory. The theory described in this chapter relates to the capabilities of immigrants and not to the capabilities of the resident society. It was also demonstrated in this work that both the immigrants and the resident society are part of the integration process and may need help with the practical implementation of integration (see 5.4.2.2). Therefore the same approach should be applied to the capabilities of the resident society. The question of such a research could be: What capabilities does the resident society need to enjoy and be dedicated to intercultural openness? Are these available for the resident society? If not or insufficient: What kind of social, political and or economic conditions are needed for the German host society to realize positive encounters with immigrants and for prejudices to be dismantled?
The second proposal expands the first by researching “integration for all” in the sense of Post-Migration\(^88\) and not as researching the integration of immigrants or the integration of the resident society. It is well summed up by Naika Foroutan in an interview with the Süddeutsche Zeitung when she expresses her opinion that disintegration is always destructive for a society, no matter who turns away from the society. She concludes that migration does not necessarily lead to being left behind in society and being German does not necessarily lead to integration in society (Braun 2018:n.p.). In this sense, further research could be concerned with what “integration for all” on the basis of the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory could look like. A research question could be: What capabilities must be combined with a social, political or economic condition for the individual German person to be able to participate in society or live the life that he/she wishes to live.

7.6 Conclusion

This study was started with the question: Can Heckmann’s theory, which is developed for the German context, be complemented by the Capabilities Approach – according to Martha Nussbaum – in order to change the focus toward the capabilities of the refugees? To answer this, the context of the migration was first presented in Chapter 2. Thereafter, the two theoretical frameworks (integration, empowerment) and the methodology of this study, were explained. By presenting the two theories that are to be combined in this work and their respective reference to integration, it became clear which part of Heckmann’s integration theory could benefit from a supplementation with Nussbaum’s approach. By putting Nussbaum’s Theory in relation to the four dimensions of integration it became clear that the Capabilities Approach can serve as a supplementation or basis of an integration theory. It also became evident that the Capabilities Approach can compensate the missing focus on the capabilities of the refugees in Heckmann theory. In addition, an integration theory based on the Capabilities Approach can foster the empowerment of immigrants.

\(^88\) For more details about Post-Migration see 1.9 Clarification of key terms.
In this chapter a possible combination of the two theories has been presented, which can serve as the basis for a changed integration practice. This changed practice would value the refugee and his/her capabilities and at the same time provide conditions required for the integration process. By not looking exclusively at what the immigrant can do but also at what civil society and/or politics have to do in social, political and or economic terms for integration to become possible, the unfair burden of responsibility is alleviated for immigrants. The recommendations on how the Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory could be implemented in practice include references to already existing approaches that go in the same direction.

A complementation of the Capabilities Approach and Heckmann’s Integration Theory is theoretically possible. The Capabilities-oriented Integration Theory meets a lot of requirements that are proposed in the Migration- and Integration studies. Furthermore, it has the advantage of empowering the individual immigrant to become a valued and active participant in the integration process. The immigrant himself/herself can define integration goals that he/she considers valuable, which leads to voluntary integration and does not require assimilation.
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