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Addressing the diversity of asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations

A REPORT TO THE VOLKSWAGEN FOUNDATION

Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity

Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser und multiethnischer Gesellschaften

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Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen

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Contents

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Executive Summary

Since the Autumn of 2015, Germany has received over one million asylum-seekers from a wide variety of origins. In response to this massive influx of people, the Federal Republic has exceptionally engaged in the task of ***accommodation*** (providing housing and sustenance, financial support, healthcare, legal services, and language training). It is widely recognized that the next task – and one of perhaps greatest public and policy concern – is that of facilitating asylum-seekers' ***"integration"*** (albeit a contested term referring to a broad set of social processes). Yet integration – however defined – already begins during the stage of accommodation. It is the nature of specific institutional arrangements – created during the process of accommodation – *that is* decisive for conditioning and channeling subsequent processes of integration. Further, integration can only proceed successfully if asylum-seekers' own diverse needs and aspirations are addressed.

Accommodation through the creation of institutional arrangements for large numbers of asylum-seekers have necessarily entailed complex organizational measures, requiring a range of actors, perspectives, strategies, and resources at various levels and scales. These intricate measures are further complicated when necessarily considering another complex set of factors: those posed by the sheer socio-cultural diversity of asylum-seekers themselves. Their extensive human diversity presents a manifold range of needs and aspirations beyond the immediate necessities of food and shelter. Recognizing the required interplay of both sets of complexities (institutional arrangements together with diverse needs and aspirations), in February 2016 a one-year pilot project was launched at the Max-Planck-Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (MPI-MMG) (see http://www.mmg.mpg.de/project/asylum-seekers-needs/about/). The project "Addressing the diversity of needs & aspirations of asylum-seekers" has been undertaken through the auspices of a grant from the Volkswagen-Foundation.

Within the project, three post-doctoral researchers – a sociologist, an anthropologist and an urban planner – supervised by the Institute's Director and supported by research and student assistants – have employed a range of social scientific methods. The project was prepared and initiated expediently because of the urgency of the situation and the need to gather quickly and tactically a range of information

in order to assess and understand best the significant processes currently unfolding across Germany. The research location, the city of Göttingen (population 116,891), was chosen not only for expediency but because – as a mid-sized German city that has received a substantial number of asylum-seekers since Autumn 2015, and which accordingly set up a wide variety of institutional responses – it represents a highly appropriate context within which to examine the issues at hand.

Our approach has been premised on the observation that contemporary asylum-seeker diversity – from which individuals' distinct needs arise – is comprised of variable combinations of categories. These include: nationality, ethnicity, language(s), religion/sub-tradition, age, gender, health condition or disability, education/training, parental status, pre-migration social position (embracing class, political activity, experience of persecution), and migration history (including mode of travel, channel, duration, and institutional handling prior to arriving in a *Flüchtlingsunterkunft* or refugee accommodation center in Germany). It follows that, what each asylum-seeker immediately requires or requests from local institutions (concerning, for instance, family care, language acquisition, education, job placement, legal processes, health, information, communications and mobility) will vary according to the combination of these categories.

The project accordingly examined: (a) how highly dissimilar, local institutional arrangements for accommodating asylum-seekers condition the nature of services and information available to them; and (b) how the variety of needs and aspirations among asylum-seekers (reflecting a range of social traits and cultural/religious backgrounds) are differentially addressed, met or unmet through the variety of institutional arrangements in the city.

* * *

In this Report, we: 1. address a number of key issues surrounding the accommodation of recent asylum-seekers in German cities; and 2. draw upon a wide-ranging set of qualitative social scientific data to discern and distill key developments in the process of institutional accommodation of asylum-seekers – especially by way of elaborating the views and outlooks of a variety of asylum-seekers themselves.

In text boxes throughout the Report, brief case studies, drawn from the ethnographies, illustrate particular points of note. The Report also includes Annexes describing research methods employed by project researchers, and examples of project information brochures for participants.

Key findings and insights

1. Diversity of Institutional Actors. An asylum-seeker is presented with an often-bewildering array of institutional arrangements for accommodation. Coming from different organizational backgrounds, a broad range of actors and their institutions: offer services in the fields of legal status, social work, educational and cultural services; and provide access to labor market or language classes. Such backgrounds include: governmental institutions with their political and administrative departments; religious institutions and communities; cultural organizations; charity organizations; educational institutions; and volunteers and citizens' initiatives. We identify and discuss over thirty such organizations in Göttingen. While such a range of actors and institutions may be perceived as welcome helpers, many asylum-seekers are at a loss to identify who's who, who can offer what kind of help – and who not, who belongs to the government (or who otherwise might influence an asylum application outcome), or who is simply a friendly person offering assistance. This loss to identify institutional actors may cause no little distress to newcomers.

2. Diversity of Institutional Arrangements. Within ten asylum-seeker accommodation centers in which the project team undertook fieldwork, a complex variety of institutional arrangements were observed. Factors, aspects and configurations – many of them highly spatialized and relating to the quality of access to information and services – are described. Perhaps foremost among observations that we have mapped, monitored and discerned is the finding that: the organizational modes, management strategies, experiences and competences of facility operators (*Betreiber*) are decisive for the total function of any given set of institutional arrangements for asylum-seekers. In many ways, the nature of the facility operator is often the key to the provision of services and information; thereby, facility operators are crucial for creating the conditions that set in course every asylum-seeker's integration or life trajectory. Even within the small set of charitable organizations comprising *Betreiber* in Göttingen, there are marked differences in the ways they operate the accommodation facilities.

3. Diversity of Asylum-Seekers' Social Characteristics. Municipal authorities and administrative staff working with asylum-seeking persons usually categorize

asylum-seekers according to five main traits: nationality, gender, age, health and legal status. However, we make clear that two people who may seem identical according to the five main categories could substantially vary across other categories (including ethnic or linguistic group, type of degree of religiosity, sexuality, family status, class and educational background). An asylum-seeker's immediate needs or requests to local institutions regarding issues like family care, language acquisition, education, job placement, legal processes, health, information, communications and mobility will vary according to the combination of these kinds of secondary, often not-recognized categories.

4. **Diversity of Asylum-Seekers' Needs and Aspirations.** Drawn directly from ethnographic research, interviews and focus groups with asylum-seekers, the project team ascertained a considerable number and range of needs and aspirations (for life in Germany) that impact on daily lives. Grouped together as "abstract" (concerning broad conditions for a good life), these are described as: "normality", autonomy, certainty, communication, health, activities, material and immaterial resources. Within each set of "abstract" needs, the project team distinguish and describe ones that are more "concrete" (specific measures or resources that will immediately improve living conditions). These include goals like finding privacy within or outside of housing centers, getting doctor's appointments, finding a trustworthy translator, gaining access to the Internet, improving mobility, and more. Such needs naturally overlap with aspirations for life in Germany, such as reuniting and building a family, building social networks, and achieving something that be deemed a "normal" life. Social, cultural and individual characteristics of asylum-seekers influence the type, combination and hierarchy of their needs, while the combination of available institutional arrangements has a significant and direct impact on both the satisfaction and creation of abstract and concrete needs.

5. **Matches and Mismatches.** It is not surprising that the project team found a combination of matches and mismatches between some needs of asylum-seekers and the services offered by actors and available through institutional arrangements. Variations surrounding institutional accommodation produce differential results and outputs that may or may not match the existing needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers. This is largely due to the fact that

large institutions have to engage with more generalized categories of people; more individualized services are highly constrained by institutional logics and resource limitations. Given the diversity of asylum-seekers and their needs as described above, it is expected that the services and arrangements offered by different actors – whether state institutions, facility operators or volunteers – might match the needs of some people and neglect the needs of other. Issues concerning perceived failures to meet needs and aspirations are usually tied to a failure to see, or the misrecognition of, the diversity of asylum-seekers. While institutions often rightly stick to their administrative regulations and perceive situations as self-explanatory due to specific regulations in place, asylum-seekers may perceive situations as arbitrary and feel themselves to be at the mercy of random decision-making processes.

6. Mainstreaming Discrepancy. A recommendation that we offer following such an exercise of match/mismatch or disparity identification, between institutional arrangements and asylum-seeker needs and aspirations, is what we call *"mainstreaming discrepancy"*. Similar to other "mainstreaming" strategies, the idea is for institutional actors to incorporate specific issues into all discussions surrounding planning, policies, strategies and practices, including monitoring and review. Here, the issues concern an awareness of: (a) the multiplicity of institutional arrangements for asylum-seekers in a given locality, (b) the complex diversity of asylum-seekers themselves (involving numerous, intersecting social traits reflecting a variety of needs and aspirations), and (c) the fact there are going to be mismatches or discrepancies in the ways institutions address these highly diverse individuals and their needs and aspirations. Given that such issues and awareness are built into policies, infrastructures and practices across a given institution, the discrepancies can at least be better recognized, understood, prepared for and ideally responded to in a more comprehensive manner. Institutional actors and asylum-seekers can be made more aware that there will, realistically, be discrepancies in addressing needs and aspirations – and so, hopefully, with such an up-front cognizance, each will be in a better position to identify and address the gaps.

Why do these findings matter?

As social scientists, we have insisted that there is an urgent need to understand much more clearly the complex nature of asylum-seeker diversities, as well as to examine the ways that local structures, processes and outcomes are able to engage – and ideally offer solutions to problems addressing – the range of needs and aspirations surrounding such diversities. Such knowledge is indispensably required at present, moreover, in order to assess, adjust and improve the capacity of city and voluntary agencies, experiences of migrants (for the long-term integration) and perceptions of local communities. We hope that an improved awareness of asylum-seeker diversity will also influence political discourse and policy, media representations and public understanding on local, state and national levels.

Key terms

Accommodation – a broad concept by which we include the provision of housing and sustenance, financial support, healthcare and legal services. We use it in a similar way as the German word *"Versorgung"* describes the provision of a variety of funds, goods and services that are needed as the basics for living.

Integration – although this is a much debated term in academia, for the purposes of this project we use "integration" as a common shorthand or umbrella for a broad range of processes. These include: the acquisition of German language; gaining access to work, housing, education and training; building social contacts and networks; participation in representative politics; respecting national law and legal authorities; and the adoption of certain civil and cultural practices and values.

Institutional arrangements – infrastructures, services and resources for asylum-seekers provided by public institutions, state authorities and non-government organizations.

Addressing the diversity of asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations

The project, its context and goals

The recent influx of asylum-seekers to Europe, and specifically Germany, is monumental in scale. Since 2015 more than one million people from a variety of backgrounds applied for asylum in Germany (476,649 in 2015 and 745,545 in 2016; BAMF 2017). The political, economic, social and cultural impacts and implications of this influx will be equally significant in both the short and long terms.

Currently German authorities are responsible for providing *accommodation*[1] for this large body of people during the course of their respective asylum determination processes.[2] The sheer logistics of accommodating this number of asylum-seekers represents an immense organizational (and of course financial) undertaking. Federal, state and local authorities have responded by setting up a range of sites, structures (asylum-seekers' housing centers *or Flüchtlingsunterkünfte*) and modes of asylum-seeker accommodation quickly, extensively and painstakingly.[3] Especially at the local level, measures to provide accommodation have proceeded usually efficiently, often experimentally, sometimes ingeniously and typically with very mixed outcomes.

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1   *Accommodation* is used here as an umbrella concept including housing and sustenance, financial support, healthcare and legal services. We use it in a similar way as the German word *"Versorgung"* describes the provision of a variety of funds, goods and services that are needed as the basics for living.

2   In Germany as elsewhere, the determination process is foremost concerned with whether and to what degree individuals are deemed to be at risk of persecution (according to a range of applicable international, domestic and regional standards). After an asylum-seeker's arrival, application for asylum and initial hearing, there is typically a prolonged period of waiting for the determination outcome. During this time, the asylum-seeker is accommodated. The key statuses arising from this decision are: Refugee protection, Right to Asylum (due to political persecution), Subsidiary protection, Denial of asylum/ Prohibition of deportation, or Denial of asylum/Deportation. For many, it is widely reckoned that the determination process will take at least 18 months. After a determination decision, however, there arise possibilities for a number of sequences and courts of appeal – which may also take a considerable amount of time.

3   There have been numerous studies researching refugee camps in both the global north as well the global south (notably Hyndman 2000; Inhetveen 2010; Pieper 2013; Szczepanikova 2013). There is a more limited number of studies which engage with the current accommodation of asylum-seekers in Germany (e.g., Aumüller et al. 2015, Dilger, Dohrn 2016).

Despite mixed outcomes, as well as still-changing approaches among local authorities, most of the basic challenges of asylum-seeker accommodation have largely been met. Practically all of the huge number of asylum-seekers in Germany have been housed and provided for, however minimally or thoroughly. Immediately following-on from and entangled with aspects of accommodation, however, there arise considerable challenges of *"integration"*.[4]

In much public understanding, the onus of "integration" is on asylum-seekers themselves (that is, many politicians and members of the public believe that the asylum-seekers have to take all the steps toward integrating themselves). It is far less recognized that many fundamental conditions for successful integration processes stem decisively from the ***institutional arrangements***[5] that have been created around asylum-seeker accommodation at *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte*. Institutional arrangements tend to vary greatly at each *Flüchtlingsunterkunft*, and directly account for the nature and degree of asylum-seekers' access to ***services and information***.[6] Services and information, in turn, are absolutely crucial for meeting

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4   In ways that are highly debated among academics, policy-makers and civil society groups, 'integration' is a contested term, surrounding which there is a considerable literature (*inter alia*, Castles et al. 2002; Esser 2006; Hess, Binder and Moser 2009; Bommes 2007; Mecheril 2011; Vertovec 2011; Schönwälder 2013; Alba & Foner 2014; Loch 2014, Wieviorka 2014). The term is often criticized for conveying presumptions that, through a singular process, outsiders become accepted into a pre-existing society that is imagined to be homogeneous. In a variety of ways, such presumptions run counter to much sociological theory. While we share such terminological and conceptual criticism, for the purposes of this project we use 'integration' as a common shorthand or umbrella for a broad range of processes. These include: the acquisition of German language; gaining access to work, housing, education and training; building social contacts and networks; participation in representative politics; respecting national law and legal authorities; and the adoption of certain civil and cultural practices and values.

5   Here we refer to infrastructures and resources provided by public institutions and authorities. Such *institutional arrangements* include the following (also see below):
    • the size, spatial layout and specifications of buildings;
    • location (with respect to civil offices, education and training centers, sports and leisure facilities, parks, shops and other public spaces);
    • number and distribution of asylum-seekers (by age, gender, family/single persons, language, nationality, religion, ethnicity and '*Bleibeperspektive'* or chances of residence permission);
    • availability of various provisions, amenities and resources, and opportunities for encounter and learning, usually offered by volunteer agencies;
    • facility personnel and modes of everyday facility management.

6   *Services and information* particularly pertain to:
    • language learning • job training • family and women's support • health care

asylum-seekers' diverse needs and aspirations in addition to setting on course and shaping practically all measures of, and processes for, "successful" integration outcomes – however measured.

Socio-culturally, economically, demographically and politically, it is ultimately the outcome of asylum-seeker integration that will have enormous significance for Germany (as well, of course, for the asylum-seekers themselves). The nature of institutional arrangements during the phase of accommodation *is* decisive for structuring and conditioning ensuing processes of integration. Well-conceived, delivered and managed institutional arrangements can set asylum-seekers on an accelerated and positive course of adaptation and participation in Germany; poorly-conceived, delivered and managed institutional arrangements may well place asylum-seekers at great disadvantage, putting the latter in structural positions that severely impede integration processes and prospects.

Since the largescale migratory influx commencing in 2015, the process and infrastructures of institutional accommodation have been under stress. Much of the stress among city and voluntary workers has been due to the sheer numbers of arriving asylum-seekers in a relatively short period of time. Beyond immediate logistical challenges such as providing accommodation and sustenance for large numbers of people, "first line" personnel assisting in asylum accommodations (including city officials, social, voluntary and healthcare workers) have been confronted with the tremendous diversity of needs, concerns and goals among the highly dissimilar newcomers.

Contemporary asylum-seekers' diversity – from which individuals' distinct needs and aspirations arise – comprises variable combinations of nationality, ethnicity, language(s), religion, age, gender, socio-economic status, health condition or disability, education/training, parental status, pre-migration social position (embracing class, political activity, experience of persecution) and migration history (including mode of travel, channel, duration, and institutional handling prior to arriving in an asylum accommodation in Germany). What each asylum-seeker immediately requires or requests from local institutions concerning, for instance, family care, language acquisition, education, job placement, legal processes, health, information, communications and mobility will vary according to a combination of different socio-cultural traits and, accordingly, different needs and aspirations.

- individual mobility and security
- legal and administrative advice
- local urban infrastructure
- opportunities for activities and engagement with local residents
- translation

The ways that state, municipal and voluntary agencies structure themselves and respond to this diversity of needs and aspirations are vital not just for dealing with a substantial inflow of people, but also for setting the conditions and course for processes of "integration" and the shaping of migrants' future experiences in Germany. However, it is evident that there has been a lack of understanding with regard to the diversity and complexity of recent asylum-seeder's socio-cultural traits and concomitant needs and aspirations.

This lack of understanding is empirically evident in the simplistic calls to separate groups in asylum accommodation by nationality, ethnicity or religion – as if these are always fundamentally migrants' foremost lines of identity, association, value, purpose, reason and motivation. The few, limited studies of recent asylum-seekers in Germany that have been undertaken (Dilger, Dohrn 2016, Bendel 2016) provide only little overview of asylum-seekers' varied and imperative needs and aspirations – and how these are patterned, now and in the future.

Following a successful funding application to the Volkswagen Foundation in October 2015, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity launched a pilot research project to study these issues in February 2016. The project contributes to understanding more clearly the complex nature of asylum-seeker diversities and the ways that local structures, processes and outcomes are able to engage – and ideally offer solutions to problems addressing – the range of needs and aspirations surrounding such diversities. The pilot project asked how asylum-seekers' complex diversities are manifested in their needs, concerns and aspirations and how infrastructures and services engage and develop with regard to these complex diversities. Hence, the two main goals of the project were:

(1) to understand better the wide range of needs and aspirations among the recent asylum-seekers – concerning, for instance, their everyday living conditions, education, family life, legal processes and labor market access – and how these needs and aspirations reflect social differences such as gender, age, class, ethnicity and religion;

(2) to account for how local municipal, civil and voluntary institutions arrange the reception of newcomers in asylum accommodations, where such institutions are managing logistical challenges, providing services and variably responding to the diverse needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers.

Counter to presumptions that nationality, ethnicity and/or religion can be assumed as the foremost determinants of reception and integration processes, it should be recognized that asylum-seekers in Germany encompass a wide variety of character-

istics. Beyond nationality, ethnicity and religion, traits such as age, class and gender have a great deal to do with identities, values and motivations. The combination or intersection of such traits has a great deal to do with shaping the needs, orientation, practices and aspirations of asylum-seekers. While city workers and volunteers are already challenged to meet common needs among asylum-seekers, it becomes ever more testing to find ways to engage highly discrepant ones.

Given this challenge, the Volkswagen Foundation-funded project at the Max Planck Institute undertook research to better discern patterns or complex combinations of diversity needs and aspirations, and to more clearly observe ways these have been understood and dealt with – or not – by municipal and voluntary agencies. While the research methods used within this project are detailed in Annex I of this Report, the following sections describe the project's key findings by way of describing key institutional arrangements and actors involved with the accommodation of asylum-seekers, the foremost needs and aspirations as voiced by asylum-seekers, and the perceived matches and mismatches between the institutional arrangements and the actual needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers. The Report's Conclusion includes some reflections and recommendations arising from the project findings.

Asylum-Seekers in Göttingen

The study was conducted in the city of Göttingen (pop. 116,891), which is located in the German federal state of Lower Saxony. The city was chosen particularly for expediency and practicality, since the Max Planck Institute is located there. However, the team members believe that, especially for a pilot project, Göttingen represents a suitable sample site due to a variety of reasons including size, location, political structure, class and ethnic/migration background profile.

While the study focused on the local context of asylum reception and accommodation, the national and federal levels always need to be considered for analyzing local contexts. Asylum accommodation is a multilayered process that is strongly influenced by national and federal legal regulations. Asylum-seekers are distributed among 16 federal states through a dispersal system (the *Königsteiner Schlüssel*) that allocates a specific percentage of asylum applicants to each of the federal states based on their tax revenue and population numbers. These federal states are then responsible for the first reception of asylum-seeking persons. According to this quota, Lower Sax-

ony received around 9% of all asylum-seekers registered in Germany (BAMF 2016). For a period of up to six months, asylum-seekers have been housed in five initial reception centers (*Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen*) in Lower Saxony – namely Friedland, Bramsche, Oldenburg, Osnabruück and Braunschweig. Here they are required to submit their applications to the responsible branch of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), which then engages a process to determine whether an applicant meets specific requirements for refugee status.

After an asylum application has been filed,[7] asylum-seekers are sent to specific cities and municipalities, such as Göttingen. Cities and municipalities are responsible for a wide range of services and tasks related to the reception and accommodation of asylum-seekers in their territory including housing, medical treatment, financial allowance and access to education. Consequently, they take on responsibility for an important phase of the asylum-seekers life course in Germany. As explored by Doomernik and Glorius (2017), throughout Europe the accommodation of asylum-seekers is highly contextualized by local circumstances, discourses and structures. This project was especially interested in the locally situated arrangements and structures that evolved around the newly arrived asylum-seekers in Göttingen.

Well before the recent influx of asylum-seekers, Göttingen has been home to people from more than 160 different countries. Göttingen's university and five Max Planck Institutes attract students and researchers from all over the world. In 2015, nearly 30,000 people with migrant background lived in Göttingen, which is around 22% of the total population (source: Göttinger Statistisches Informationssystem). By the end of 2016, the city also hosted 1,450 asylum-seekers and 81 unaccompanied minors (representing four times as many as in 2014. Of the total number of asylum-seekers in Göttingen, around two-thirds were male and the large majority was younger than 30 years (Stadt Göttingen 2016). The largest numbers of asylum-seekers have come from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan.

Like other municipalities, Göttingen is responsible for providing accommodation and services for arriving asylum-seekers. In 2014, political representatives in the City Council of Göttingen had agreed to decentralize accommodation of asylum-seekers,

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7   Recent changes in German asylum law (Asylum Procedure Acceleration Act, November 2015; Integration Law, July 2016) have institutionalized the distinction between asylum-seeking persons 'with a good perspective to stay' and those 'without a perspective to stay'. The latter are supposed to be excluded from measures of integration, for example, integration courses. In addition, asylum-seeking persons without a perspective to stay are supposed to remain in the initial reception centers until their case has been decided.

distributing them across different areas of the city in private apartments. This housing concept was changed in Autumn 2015, when the number of asylum-seekers arriving in the city increased rapidly within a few months. According to city officials, the large number of people in need of housing and the scarcity in the housing market led to changes in the housing concept. Subsequently, asylum-seekers were mainly housed in collective accommodation centers (*Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*). The first newly constructed collective center opened in September 2015: a container construction that can house up to 180 persons. It is intended as a temporary housing estate limited to five years. In addition to such purpose-built municipal authorities started to transform public buildings such as research institutes, schools and industrial halls into collective housing centers.

With some €11.5m purpose-allocated by March 2016 (www.fluechtlingshilfe-goettingen.de), Göttingen has planned, taken on or built over three dozen sites for housing asylum-seekers (see Figure 6 in Annex I). The city's biggest accommodation center opened in May 2016, using a former industrial hall in a remote area in Göttingen that can accommodate up to 400 people.[8] The limited housing situation in Göttingen makes it hard for asylum-seekers to find private apartments. Therefore, many remain in these collective centers for more than a year. The living conditions created in these centers have a significant impact on the daily life of asylum-seekers, as well as their goals and social trajectories.

With the growing number of asylum-seekers arriving in the city since 2015, a number of changes in state and non-state institutions took place. The city employed two more persons at their integration office as well as a responsible person for the coordination of asylum activities. Two broad voluntary initiatives emerged, namely *Göttingen hilft* ("Göttingen helps") and *Flüchtlingshilfe Landkreis Göttingen* ("Refugee help in the administrative district of Göttingen"). They mainly coordinated voluntary activities, organized events and managed donations. Each municipality can freely decide whether the management of asylum-seeker accommodation centers is carried

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8 This center has been widely criticized for a number of reasons. Its remote location and the type of building were the most important, especially that the structure has no windows. The industrial hall is divided into rooms by partitions that do not reach the ceiling, causing noise and artificial light to be permanent in the whole space. In addition, the rooms are shared by up to 14 persons depriving the inhabitants of any form of privacy or a place of retreat from noise or lighting. Because of lack of cooking facilities, asylum-seekers do not have the freedom to cook for themselves and are forced to rely on a catering company that provides three meals a day, and the costs for the catering are deducted from their financial allowance.

out by the local governments themselves or whether this task is transferred to NGOs or professional facility management companies. For the reception, housing and care of asylum-seekers, the city of Göttingen employed additional social workers, but also cooperated with welfare organizations such as the German Red Cross and the humanitarian assistance organization, Johanniter-Unfall-Hilfe e.V. Several local welfare associations in Göttingen joined forces in an organization called *Bonveno* (named after the Esperanto word for "welcome")*,* a purposely created organization comprised of charitable organizations: Arbeiterwohlfahrt Kreisverband Göttingen e.V., Caritasverband für die Stadt und den Landkreis Göttingen e.V., Ev.-luth Kirchenkreis Göttingen, Deutsches Rotes Kreuz Kreisverband Göttingen-Northeim e.V. and the Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Niedersachsen e.V. This organization was created in order to bundle competences and have to gain a competitive advantage for tendering bids and managing such centers.[9] Bonveno manages and operates five large collective housing centers providing services of facility management, social work, interpretation and security.

Although Göttingen is a mid-sized city with a relatively modest number of asylum-seekers, there is a high complexity of accommodation and institutional arrangements as well as a high level of diversity across asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations. In these ways – and due to the fact that its proximity and familiarity with the Max Planck Institute has allowed rapid access to people and institutions – Göttingen has been an ideal location for the pilot project.

The Diversity of Institutional Actors

Asylum-seekers encounter diverse actors in their everyday life – especially on the local level. The institutional actors include members and representatives of governmental and non-governmental, public or private institutions. These actors and their institutions offer services in the fields of legal status, social work, educational and cultural services, provide access to labor market or language classes, and come from different

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9   The management of accommodation facilities is allocated to facility operators or firms through a public bidding process, as regulated by the EU. However, in case of special urgency, those procedures can be accelerated and exceptions are possible, such that a facility operator can be chosen without a bidding process or with special conditions. In Göttingen, the local government decided to place bidding priority for the management of accommodation facilities on organizations that have strong, existing experience and networks in the city. Hence, a limited set of charitable organizations arose as the most suitable bidders as facility operators.

organizational backgrounds. Such backgrounds include: governmental institutions with their political and administrative departments; religious institutions and communities; cultural organizations; charity organizations; educational institutions; and volunteers and citizens' initiatives. The different actors and their services play a vital role for the everyday life of asylum-seekers. In addition to the primary care by governmental actors for accommodation and sustenance, there are on offer to asylum-seekers various kinds and social, religious, cultural and educational services provided by mainly non-state actors. Figure 1 portrays a view of the diversity of local actors in Göttingen – representing quite a bewildering array from the central perspective of a newly-arrived asylum-seeker. While such a range of actors and institutions may be perceived as welcome helpers, many asylum-seekers are at a loss to identify who's who, who can offer what kind of help – and who not, who belongs to the government (or who otherwise might influence an asylum application outcome), or who is simply a friendly person offering assistance. This loss to identify institutional actors may cause no little distress to newcomers.

The graphic below depicts the range of over thirty institutional actors in Göttingen with whom an asylum-seeker will interact. These are categorized by activity fields, or fields of responsibility: educational, social, religious, cultural, political, administrative, and voluntary. It should further be noted that each set of actors and fields are characterized by different motivations, structures, networks, work styles and logics – each of which affect their work with asylum-seekers. These fields or sets of institutional actors are briefly described below.

Voluntary. Volunteers are a diverse group of local actors. They organize themselves either around an accommodation center, such as neighborhood initiatives, or around themes like legal advice, language learning, translation or labor market access. Neighborhood initiatives are also often organized in thematic subgroups such as language learning, leisure activities, searching for private housing and mentoring. Many volunteers organize themselves by regular face-to-face meetings, and online through either the internet platform of Göttingen hilft or by establishing or joining Facebook groups. Additionally to the (self-)organized volunteers, Göttingen also has independent volunteers who interact on a less regular basis for specific asylum-seekers or who offer one specific activity like sewing, bike repairing, cooking or children activities under the organization of a welfare institution involved in refugee work. One major distinction in the self-description of volunteers is that between *Ehrenamtliche* and *Freiwillige*. While the first expression for "volunteers" is mainly associated with

Figure 1: The Diversity of Institutional Actors
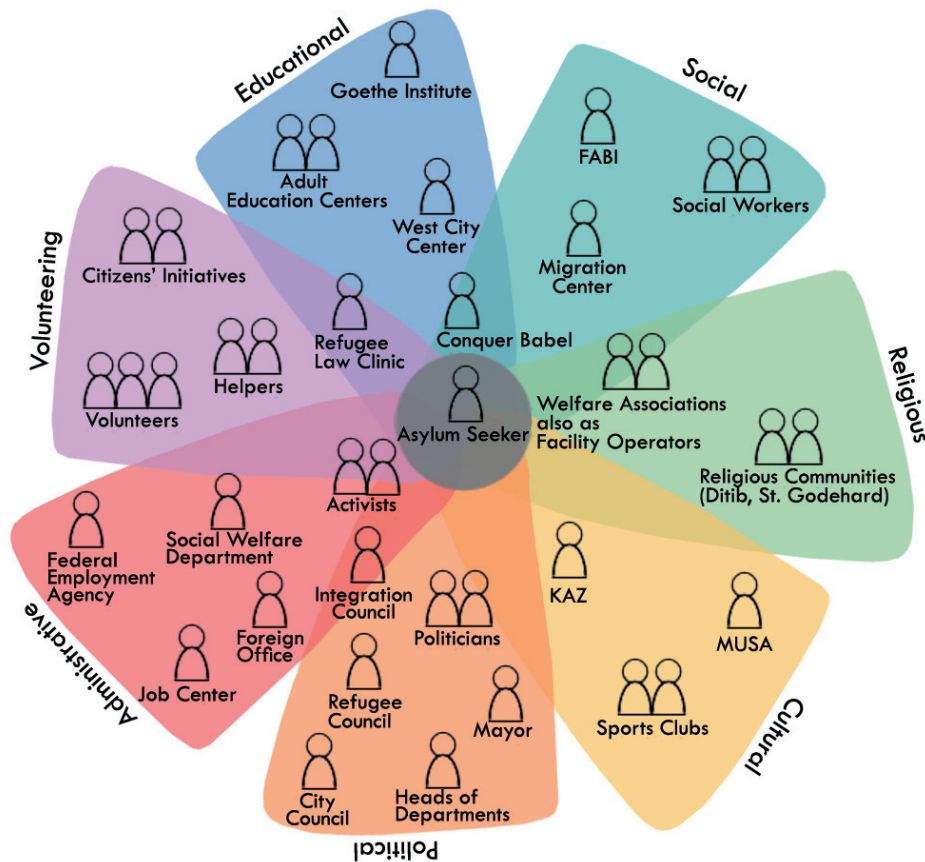
explicit unpolitical charity work, the second expression is associated with political engagement and solidarity. Volunteers who consider themselves to be described by the latter are also often strongly involved in political activities aiming for solidarity with refugee struggles. Due to the diversity of volunteers, their motives, interests, logics and offers vary broadly. It is therefore complicated for asylum-seekers sometimes to identify the differences immediately.

Educational. Different educational actors are involved in the work with asylum-seekers. Some offer services relevant for children and others for adults. While some accommodation centers supply staff and activities for families and young children, older children attend regular local schools. Schools had to react quickly to the rising number of pupils entering their schools and found different individual solutions. While some schools set up separate classes for asylum-seekers' children to teach mainly German language, other schools decided to include asylum-seekers into regular classes to expose them to German-speaking children and regular school pro-

cedures. For adult asylum-seekers, educational actors become especially relevant in terms of language learning and vocational training or university education.

Asylum-seekers have only very limited access to higher education. This is due to their legal status, to the German language skills required by universities, or to a lack of recognition of previous certificates and/or papers. Currently, universities all over Germany offer the possibility for asylum-seekers to become guest students. This, although a positive new development, does not enable asylum-seekers to obtain a degree. In Göttingen, there are measurements in place to facilitate access to universities for asylum-seekers. Göttingen University has set up a task force to coordinate all activities of the university related to asylum-seekers, and offers consultancy to asylum-seekers on how to enter university education.

Main educational actors are institutions that offer German language courses. The landscape of language learning opportunities for asylum-seekers is complex and heterogeneous. Not only with a number of different actors but also with various concepts of language learning for diverging groups of learners. One main actor is Bildungsgenossenschaft (Educational Collective) Niedersachsen, which coordinates integration courses in Göttingen. While this actor is important in the institutional arrangement for asylum-seekers, places and institutions holding the language courses are more visible and relevant to asylum-seekers than the coordinating institution behind it. Therefore, course providers (*Kursträger*) like the local adult education center (*Volkshochschule*) and the Haus der Kulturen (House of Cultures) become relevant actors. Additionally, the local adult education center and the Goethe-Institute can issue officially recognized language certificates that correspond to the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). While only those officially recognized course providers are authorized to issue legally valid language certificates, there is a huge number of local courses provided by charity organizations like Weststadtzentrum, welfare institutions like the Caritas, or by volunteers that teach German language for different levels. The campus group Conquer Babel not only offers German language classes but also offers voluntary translation and interpretation services.

Social. Actors from the social sector include social workers employed by the city as well as by welfare institutions. Their main task is to support asylum-seekers in their everyday-concerns. This includes arranging appointment with doctors, schools or local authorities, finding interpreters, establishing leisure activities, helping with administrative or legal concerns and securing a smooth running of everyday life.

Social workers often become the main contact person for asylum-seekers. While social workers' main task is to support asylum-seekers in satisfying their needs in everyday life, they are also confronted with a general dilemma of social work: while supporting their clients they are employed by institutions that serve state interests (Sebastian 2016). Therefore, social workers have an ambivalent task: on the one hand, they need to serve the state that employs them; on the other hand, their motivation and ambition is to meet needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers. This dilemma was expressed clearly in an interview with a social worker: "At the end of the day, our client is the city and not the asylum-seekers."

__Administrative.__ It is not only social workers who are concerned with social issues regarding asylum. The city administration, especially the Department of Social Affairs (*Fachbereich Soziales*), is also an important actor. They supply information on benefit entitlement, deal with and decide on benefit claims, and pay out the weekly or monthly payments of asylum-seekers. Additionally, they decide about the allocation of housing – making them a highly significant actor within the city where decisions regarding asylum-seekers need to be made. Therefore, they are highly relevant actors to asylum-seekers, whose financial and housing concerns are mostly managed and regulated by the social affairs department of the city.

__Religious.__ Religious actors consist of religious communities, like the St. Godehard church, the Turkish Islamic Union of Ditib, and church-related welfare institutions like the Catholic Caritas or Protestant Diakonie. Religious communities and church-related welfare institutions supply spiritual guidance or pastoral care. They also help gather donations and offer leisure activities and language courses. Some church-related welfare institutions such as Caritas or Diakonie are active members of the facility operator Bonveno (mentioned above), which runs and manages five major accommodation centers for asylum-seekers in Göttingen. Therefore, the many social workers active in accommodation centers are (indirectly) employed by church related welfare institutions.

__Cultural.__ Very active in the work with asylum-seekers are cultural and sport clubs. They offer all sorts of cultural and sports activities like football, swimming, music, game nights, theatre plays, etc. One Göttingen sports club was also managing an emergency accommodation in its sports hall and, therefore, was actively involved in accommodating newly arrived asylum-seekers. Due to this engagement, it still participates in running a newly opened collective housing center for asylum-seekers in Göttingen.

Political. For city politicians, like the mayor or city councilors, direct contact with asylum-seekers is not a daily job routine. However, they significantly influence the lives of asylum-seekers, mainly by creating and approving regulations and setting the overall tone for asylum related topics. The city's *Integrationsrat* (Integration Council), for example, is a political body that represents the interests of migrants (including asylum-seekers) in the city. The *Flüchtlingsrat* (Refugee Council) is a body of the federal state, which is not always visible as an actor on the local level, but is approachable for asylum-seekers if they need support. One active member of this *Flüchtlingsrat*, situated in Göttingen, is an important actor for legal advice in asylum-cases in the city.

The Diversity of Institutional Arrangements

After having surveyed, examined and tracked a variety of accommodation facilities and facility operators, it is clear to the project team that – given the time, scale and resource pressures faced by cities – highly differential configurations of institutional arrangements have developed. These have direct bearing on what happens to asylum-seekers during the process of asylum determination as well as the processes of integration that will continue after an asylum decision is made.

The institutional offers, services and infrastructures available in accommodation centers are very diverse. In the ten accommodation centers where the project's main fieldwork took place, different combinations of the following aspects of institutional arrangements were identified:

- size of the accommodation centers housing, between 30 and 300 asylum-seekers;
- nature of the building: whether purpose-built apartment complexes (containers and wooden construction), apartments in pre-existing apartment buildings, multi-occupant rooms in converted buildings (such as schools and institutes) and partitioned cubicles in large halls of converted buildings (such as warehouses);
- whether accommodation centers are decentralized or centralized;
- composition of allotted asylum-seekers: ethnically/religiously concentrated or highly mixed; good or bad prospects to remain "*Bleibeperspektive*"; gender balance; presence of families vis-à-vis single people;
- existence and nature of facilities on-site: toilets, showers, kitchen, dining rooms, play rooms or areas, sports halls or fields and equipment, community rooms, prayer rooms, TV/video facilities, Internet access, access for the disabled;
- the extent and nature of child care facilities;

- security and maintenance, including housekeeping;
- extent and nature of access to management personnel (for information, complaints, referral to other public services);
- level of qualification, experience and training of facility operators and social workers (including linguistic skills);
- the number of active volunteers, their skills, experience and scheduling;
- extent and nature of access to social workers, legal advisors and healthcare professionals;
- extent and nature of access to translators;
- access to public transportation and postal services;
- provision of multi-lingual information;
- existence and nature of German language teaching;
- existence and nature of other activities (training, games, crafts – including ones specifically for women, children for families);
- existence and nature of bridge-building activities with local Germans, e.g. language tutoring, sports and games, cafes, social activities, accompaniment and mentoring;
- extent and management of volunteer agencies, offerings and services – especially donated items.

In various significant ways, many of the variables listed above present highly spatialized conditions. This refers not only to where a specific accommodation facility is located within the city, but also to the size, layout, users and uses of particular spaces within the accommodations themselves. These spatial aspects play a significant role in the dissemination of information in the facility, the distribution of and access to donations, social behavior, the levels and location of noise, light and heating, as well as the kinds of individual and collective activities that can take place.

Through formal interviews, informal conversations, systematic ethnographic observation, focus groups, policy examination and spatial analysis, the project team has revealed a great deal about the nature and processes of accommodation. Perhaps foremost among the observations that we have mapped, monitored and discerned is the finding that: the organizational modes, management strategies, experiences and competences of facility operators (*Betreiber*) are decisive for the total function of any given set of institutional arrangements for asylum-seekers. In many ways, the nature of the facility operator is often the key to the provision of services and information; thereby, facility operators are crucial for creating the conditions that set in course every asylum-seeker's integration or life trajectory.

Most of the collective accommodation centers in Göttingen are managed by appointed operators. By local decision, the operators in Göttingen are charitable organizations (with Bonveno as the main player). Even within its small set of charitable organizations, there are marked differences in the ways they operate the accommodation facilities. Differences include:

- Care concept (*Betreuungskonzept*): basic provisions, staff – asylum-seeker ratio, personnel hiring and deployment, timetable, staff responsibilities and action plans;
- Philosophies of integration: for example, *"Fördern und Fordern"* vs. *laissez-faire*;
- Treatment of volunteers: entailing degrees of regulation of working hours, access, activities and the level of independence;
- Treatment of asylum-seekers: attitudes towards and ways of communicating with asylum-seekers, including sanctions for undesirable behavior, rationale for room distribution, etc.

The outline above indicates a great deal about the structure and function of accommodation and institutional arrangements surrounding asylum-seekers in Germany. We have also distinguished the diversity of asylum-seekers' as well as their needs and aspirations. While there is naturally much to detail and elaborate ethnographically through descriptive vignettes, case studies and quotations, for our purposes here, we can summarize those in the following sections.

The Diversity of Asylum-seekers

"Every room is its own culture" is a sentence stated by an asylum-seeker about the situation in the accommodation center he lives in. What he is referring to is his experience of diversity in the accommodation center. Our interview partner further explains that there are people from diverse religious and national backgrounds from various states and that some of the people also want to become independent from the states they come from. But he also talks about the big differences in habits of, for example, using kitchen or bathroom facilities. A big issue for many people in the accommodation centers was the question whether standing or sitting on a toilet seat is an appropriate practice. His wife continues the explanation by saying that it seems like they are the only ones who have a university degree, and that most of the others used to be "workers". What becomes visible in this short conversation is that despite

the popular use of the expression "asylum-seekers", asylum-seekers are certainly not a homogenous group.[10]

Municipal authorities and administrative staff working with asylum-seeking persons usually categorize them according to five main traits: namely nationality, gender, age, health and legal status.[11] However, looking closer beyond these categories into other (self-)ascribed categories, living situations and lifestyles, it becomes clear that two people who may seem identical according to the five main categories could substantially vary across other categories. In our research, we were confronted with complex, self-ascribed categories such as people identifying themselves as Baluchi (coming from Baluchistan, a geographical region in the Iranian highlands that stretches across the east of Iran, southern Afghanistan, and the south-west of Pakistan), Kurds or Turkmens. In addition, their religious identity differed significantly from each other: we spoke with persons identifying themselves as Sunnites, Shiites, Jesuits or a mixture of different regional beliefs. Even the category "family status" turned out to be similarly complex. For example, the status of being married could vary across the lines of civil marriage, religious marriage or local marital arrangements. Moreover, many men arrive alone in Germany, but are married in their country of origin or sometimes living in polygamous marital arrangements. Some of them

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10 The large-scale influx and accommodation of asylum-seekers in Germany occurs at a time when there is heightened academic interest in the societal impacts of diversity and the social structuring of difference (e.g., Putnam 2007; Portes, Vickstrom 2011; Vertovec 2012; Benhabib 2015; Johler et al. 2015; Salzbrunn 2014). This topic concerns the ways certain social differences – and their intersections – are embedded in structures of inequality and power, landscapes of constraint and opportunity, status hierarchies, spatial configurations, management strategies, media representations, legal rulings, public sector practices and government policies. They are reproduced in everyday categories and practices of social interaction (Tilly 1998; Lamont, Molnár 2002; Massey 2007); but also, importantly, social structures of difference are in many ways created and shaped by public institutions (from official classifications, laws and rights through bureaucracies, services and procedures). The sum of these processes comprise what has been called, 'the social organization of difference', methodologically addressed by the conceptual framework of 'configurations-representations-encounters' described in Vertovec 2015a; this field and framework underpin the departmental research program at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity.

11 Processes determining the social organization of difference are especially relevant for asylum-seekers, whose social positions are not only ascertained by categories of difference like nationality, gender, religion and age, but importantly by legal status as well (Massey, Bartley 2005; Bauböck 2006; da Lomba 2010; Vertovec 2015b).

would like to bring their spouses and children to Germany; others prefer to send money and hope to return soon.

Figure 2 presents an example of relevant categories of difference. To exemplify the broad scope of differences, two highly dissimilar cases are shown. It shows how extremely different people can be even if they fall into the same administrative categories and therefore appear as similar cases for administrative institutions. From our interviewees, two women come from Syria as asylum-seeking persons in Germany; they are around the same age and have similar health conditions. Both women seem to be quite similar at the first glace. However, taking a closer look, they turned out to be extremely different individuals on many levels. Although both have a Syrian passport, both women belong to different ethnic groups; and although both speak Arabic, they have a different variety of languages that they use in their daily lives. Educational background is often connected to language skills. Whereas, in our example, the woman with a university degree speaks three different languages: Arabic, Kurdish and English; the second woman who attended primary school speaks two languages, namely Turkish and Arabic. This difference in their education level and language skills might be crucial for receiving information in Germany, getting to know Germans or attending events. While English as global lingua franca enables one of the women to interact with volunteers and social workers on a regular basis, the other woman's knowledge of Turkish is often not recognized as a valuable and helpful skill. While the women speaking English participates in discussion forums of the accommodation center she lives in, the Turkish language skills of the other woman are not known to the social workers or volunteers she engages with. She is mainly referred to as an Arabic woman from Syria who will need an Arabic-speaking interpreter. Family status and socio-economic background of individual asylum-seekers also have a similar level of importance. While both women present themselves as Muslims, their degree of religiosity, and its reflection in their clothing and behavior is quite different from each other. The same holds true for their political positionality. Coming from the same country, and even belonging to the same ethnic group, does not necessarily mean that they have similar political opinions on actors involved in civil war or conflicts in their country of origin. Of course this could also mean that these differences may result in arguments or disputes when packed in the same space based on the five main categories.

Figure 2: Asylum-Seekers' Diversity - looking beyond the five main categories
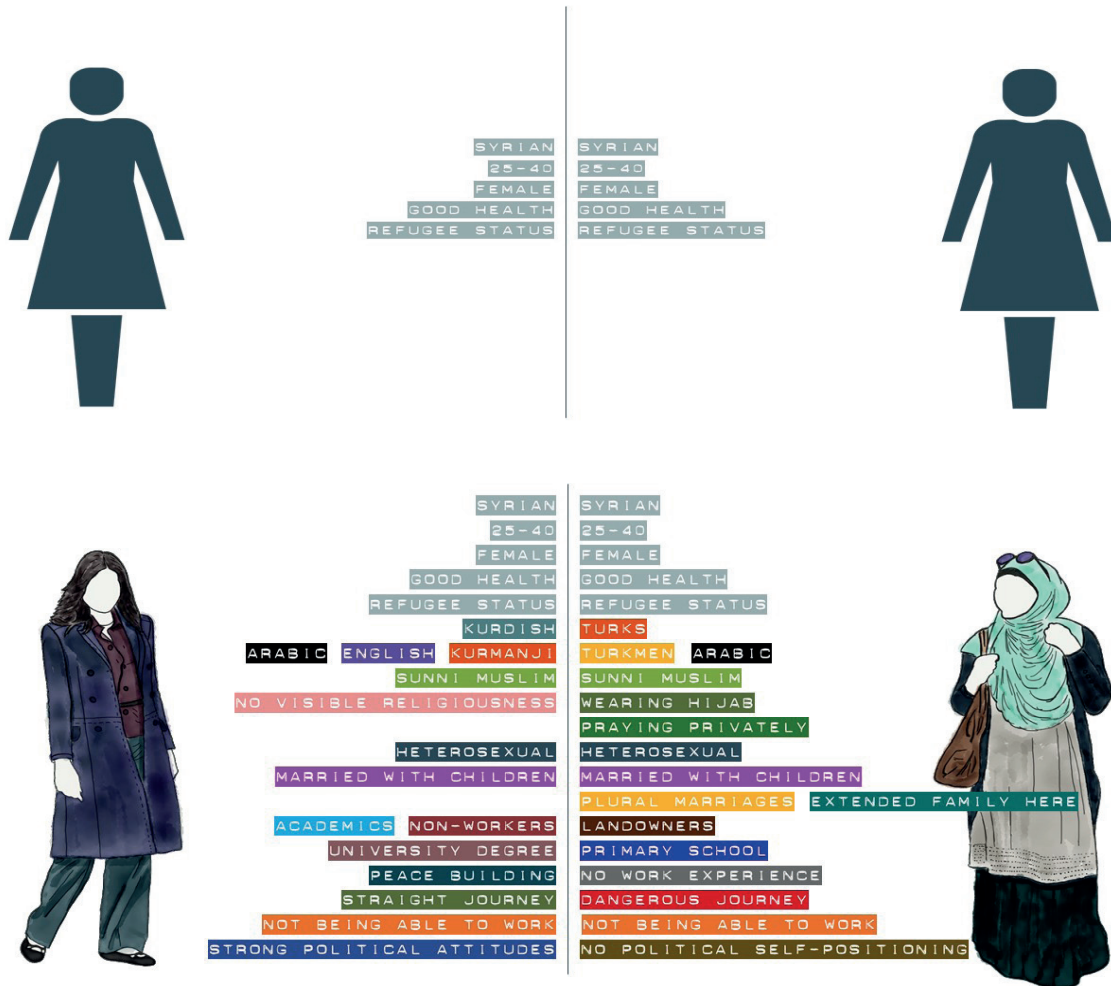
Clearly, these differences, which in many cases are only obvious after talking to people, influence their needs and aspirations significantly. Taking the example of the women depicted in Figure 2, the woman with a strong political attitude and with English skills might get in contact with German activists easier and is more likely to participate in activities and events. Hence, for her it might be easier to establish contacts with German and take part in the German society, at least partly. On the other hand, the woman with a higher degree of religiosity might regularly attend religious

ceremonies at the mosque, using it as a space to meet others who could provide her with support and information. This difference clearly affects their hopes and expectations for the future, but also their life trajectories.

Therefore, the immediate needs or requests of each asylum-seeker from local institutions regarding issues like family care, language acquisition, education, job placement, legal processes, health, information, communications and mobility will vary according to the combination of these kinds of categories.

## The Diversity of Asylum-Seekers' Needs and Aspirations

The diversity of asylum-seekers' social characteristics is directly related to heterogeneous combinations of needs and aspirations. Among the asylum-seekers we have worked with in the Max Planck Institute project, we can categorize the needs that that have been highlighted by informants as either "abstract" (concerning broad conditions for a good life) or "concrete" (specific measures or resources that will immediately improve living conditions).

The needs and aspirations – topics of everyday concern shaping orientations, desires, decisions and life strategies – that were voiced by asylum-seeking interviewees during the project team's fieldwork are shown in Figure 3. The abstract needs are represented by different circles. Those are: "normality", autonomy, certainty, communication, health, activities, material and immaterial resources. Corresponding to the abstract need that they are related to, concrete needs are located within each circle. Some of the concrete needs correspond to more than one abstract need: hence in the graphic, some are located in positions where the circles of the corresponding abstract needs overlap. For example, having a (stable) legal status is part of "normality". However, it is also crucial to have certainty in one's life. "Legal status" is therefore located on the graphic within the overlapping of the circles corresponding to normality and certainty. The diversity of needs and aspirations and how state and voluntary institutions react to them are also illustrated in the text box case studies.[12]

Asylum-seekers' aspirations identified in the project are marked in purple in the graphic. In some cases, needs and aspirations are overlapping.

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12 Personal details in the case studies have been changed in order to maintain informants' anonymity.

Figure 3: Mapping the Diversity of Asylum-Seekers' Needs and Aspirations
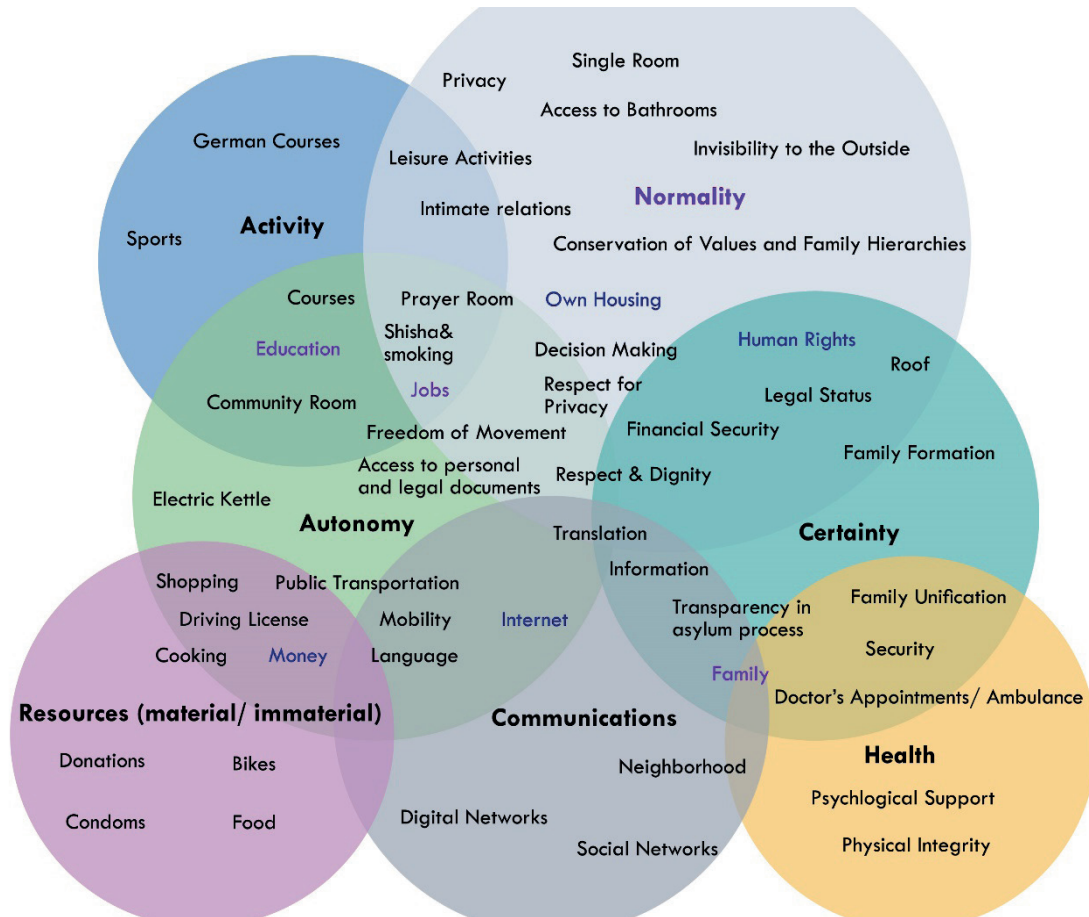
Abstract needs have different meanings for each individual asylum-seeker. What "normality" or a normal life entails, for example, is different for different cultures, lifestyles, biographies and individuals. Through interviews and focus group discussions, asylum-seekers with a range of social traits spoke of their need for normality, which the team tried to break down with their help to concrete needs, such as financial security, conservation of values and family hierarchies, privacy, decision making, having respect and dignity and a stable legal status, etc.

Certainty was a major topic in many conversations and interviews. The need for certainty refers to many different spheres of life crucial for stability and being able to focus on the present and future of individuals. Many asylum-seekers live in situations that produce and reproduce uncertainties in their lives keeping them paralyzed and unable to act. Without transparency in the asylum process and certainty about

the legal status, for example, the asylum-seeker does not know what the future will bring; they do not have access to German or integration courses, to education, the job market, or to family unification, reproducing uncertainty in other aspects of their lives. One important aspect of certainty was financial security. To meet this concrete and basic need, there are state-funded transfer payments secured by German asylum law and social legislations. Additionally a significant willingness to donate for asylum-seekers secures a basic standard of living. By looking beyond those formal measurements to secure basic financial needs it becomes clear that the need for financial security is accompanied by a need of predictability, reliability and transparency.

Autonomy is another important abstract need that was stressed by the research participants. Being dependent on different institutions, departments and individuals is a huge obstacle in the way of taking one's own decisions, following one's preferred pace in daily lives, developing one's life trajectory in their new environment. Access to passports and legal documents, access to the job market, access to the housing market – in addition to mastering the German language – are all concrete needs that contribute to increasing the autonomy of asylum-seekers. While most asylum-seekers are theoretically allowed to work three months after their arrival, the uncertainty of their legal status, lack of recognition of their qualifications and sometimes also racism or discrimination, all contribute to blocking their access to the job mar-

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Case study – privacy vs. exclusion

Mohamed, a 27-year-old Iraqi man, arrived 15 months ago in Germany. He spent his first four months in an initial reception center in Friedland. After that, he was brought to Göttingen. With the help of a social worker in Friedland, he could move into his own apartment which is small and a little outside the city center, but he lives there by himself and hence, can enjoy his privacy. However, when talking to Mohamed, he sometimes wishes to live together with other asylum-seekers in a collective center. There he could build up networks, speak his mother tongue, get support from volunteers (information, services and donations) and most importantly, he would have free access to the internet. Mohamed explains: "Most information is distributed in the camps either by social workers or volunteers. Often, I only receive them after an event is already over or when the deadline for a course had already expired." So on the one hand, he appreciates his privacy and is grateful that he was able to receive his own apartment after such a short time in Germany. On the other hand, he often feels lonely and excluded from social networks, information and services that are available for asylum-seekers in collective housing centers. The institutional arrangements surrounding Mohamed, therefore, hinders his interaction with social networks and attendance of events that may accelerate his integration process.

ket. Without finding jobs and securing their income, they would not be allowed to increase their much-needed autonomy.

The same holds true for language: especially given that most verbal or written communication with state departments takes place in German, asylum-seekers are kept dependent on the availability and qualification level of a translator that would have access to their most private information and life details. Letters sent to asylum-seekers by state departments, which include vital information for their lives and development of their legal status, also need translators – another mode of depriving asylum-seekers of autonomy. Under the abstract need of autonomy, an important concrete and specific need for privacy was emphasized by informants. Legal regulations suggest the fulfilment of privacy at first sight. The German Basic Constitutional Law secures the sanctities of the home and the privacy of correspondence. In addition, housing concepts for asylum-seekers argue in favor of decentralized housing – thereby recognizing the need for privacy. However, according to our interview

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Case study – "normal life" and collective accommodation

Ismael, a father of six young children ageing 3 to 13 years, and his wife Amal made their long journey from Syria to Germany around eight months ago. After spending some weeks in an initial reception center, they were moved to a collective housing center in Göttingen. There they have only two rooms for all eight family members, and have to share bathroom and kitchen with around 20 other asylum-seekers. Soon after their arrival, the children could attend school and Kindergarten while Ismael joined a language course offered by volunteers in the evening. But still they were not happy with their living conditions. According to Amal, the hygiene and the lack of space are major problems. She said: "I am afraid that my children will get sick using the bathrooms, they are not clean. Moreover, they are far away from our rooms and they have to go there at night with all these strangers around. The kitchen is most of the time so crowded and also often so dirty, that we prefer to eat in our room on our beds. The rooms are so small that there is no place even for a table." In addition, they feel that they do not receive enough support by the social workers and volunteers. Ismael complained that they urgently need a dentist appointment for their youngest son, but the social worker refused to call the dentist. They also requested to move to their own apartment, but do not find a place which is sufficient for eight persons. However, Ismael sees that the biggest problem in living in a collective center is the lack of privacy. According to him, it is impossible to have "normal life" when living to close with so many people. In addition, he complains that because they live together only with other asylum-seekers, they have little contact with Germans. He hopes that once they live in "a normal apartment" life could become normal again, also meaning earning his own money by working and not depending on social benefits.

partners in the city council, due to special financial and time restrictions, over the last year it was not always possible to follow these guidelines; consequently many asylum-seekers ended up living in collective housing. Asylum seekers have no authority to influence decisions about who they share their living space with. Although the need for privacy is being considered in the allocation of rooms and by establishing house rules it remains an unfulfilled need. Especially in collective housing centers meeting needs is an ambivalent endeavor: for example, the regulation to ban visitors from shared spaces like kitchens and bathrooms secures privacy for some and means a huge limitation of privacy and autonomy for others.

Communication is one of the important abstract needs about which asylum-seekers talked. Communication with the family in the homeland, communication with relatives and friends who ended up in different cities, communication with state institutions and non-state actors such as volunteers all play a huge role in the daily lives and life trajectories of asylum-seekers. Communication includes the concrete needs for information, translation, various kinds of language skills, digital and social networks that help share information, and – for most, an essential concrete need – is access to the internet. Another need associated with communication is mobility, the capacity to move around the city easily. Mobility plays an important role of increasing personal communication and information-sharing among asylum-seekers and their social networks. Obviously for asylum-seekers, mobility entails the need for accessible and affordable public transportation.

For a lot of asylum-seekers, translation or interpretation is one of the most important communication needs. Germany only garantees legal entitlement to interpreters for limited purposes, such as help with legal procedures. Consequently, there is legal entitlement to an interpreter for the asylum interview at the BAMF, but not for everyday purposes of interacting with administration, health or social services. Therefore, asylum-seekers rely on semi-professional language mediator services financed by the city, volunteers, or interpreters from personal networks. When using the cities' language services, sometimes the language requested is not clear to everyone. While most asylum-seekers speak the offical languages of their country of orgin, other minority languages that are considered as mother tongues by asylum-seekers can be more helpul to address communication needs. Additionally, interpretation is an activity that involves a high level of trust: Asylum-seekers need to talk about political and personal issues that can, in some cases, be used against them either within their local community in Germany or within the political system of their country of orgin. The anxiety to meet policial opponents or country of origin secret service informers

is ominpresent for a number of asylum-seekers. This sometimes leads to the rejection of unknown interpreters out of mistrust and fear. The lack of trust is based on not knowing interpreters as well as on interpreters' non-commitment to long-term working relations. Due to the voluntary character of interpretation services, the ability to work permanently with known interpreters is hardly feasible. Additionally, unclarity about laws and rules on confidentiality on the side of semi-professional interpret-

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Case Study – unmet linguistic needs

Raj, an asylum-seeker from Pakistan, who lives in a collective accommodation center, speaks mainly Urdu and Punjabi. While he was stuck in Greece for several months on his journey to Germany, he learned to speak Greek while he was working on several jobs there. When he arrived in Germany, he wanted to learn German; but as someone with a Pakistani citizenship, and therefore *not* categorized as an asylum seeker with good prospects to remain, he is not entitled to a state-funded German language course. Although he started to attend German language classes offered by German volunteers, learning the German language is not easy for him. He attended school only for a few years in Pakistan, and the notion of learning a language in a classroom, instead of learning it by having to use it on a job, seems very illogical and not very persuasive to him. In addition to struggling with language learning by going to classes, Raj struggles to communicate with German officials, social workers or volunteers.

For his everyday interactions, he relies on a fellow Pakistani who lived with him in the collective accommodation center. Speaking Punjabi, Pashto, Urdu and English, his friend interprets between a group of Pakistanis in the shelter and social workers or other officials. Besides the everyday communication struggles, after 15 months, Raj is still waiting for his asylum interview with the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees since there are big difficulties to find a Punjabi interpreter for him. He refuses to work with an unknown Urdu interpreter.

The case study highlights several findings regarding linguistic needs. Firstly, the huge diversity of linguistic backgrounds of asylum-seekers often remains unnoticed due to the focus on German language learning. Secondly, it hints toward the need for new or different language teaching strategies, especially for people whose socialization involves only little formal schooling. Thirdly, the case study highlights the great need for interpreters for everyday interactions because there are no institutionalized solutions for ad hoc situations. Finally, this case demonstrates the issue of trust between interpreters and asylum-seekers. Since interpretation in an asylum case has life- changing or even life-threating consequences, asylum-seekers either wait for very long times or even refuse interpreters since they are not sure about the political stance of the interpreter. Intentional or unintentional misinterpretations can lead to asylum-seekers having their cases rejected, usually resulting in deportation, and its multiple potential consequences for asylum seekers.

ers as well as on the side of asylum-seekers, together with the external selection of interpreters by social workers or city officals, prevents trusting relationships between interpreters and asylum-seekers. Further, a lack of qualifications among translators sometimes leads to mistranslations of information, which can crucially influence the lives of asylum-seekers. Working with formally unqualified language mediators is accompanied by consequences that are sometimes equal to, if not worse, than not fulfilling the communication need at all.

 Resources, whether material or immaterial, comprise important abstract needs for asylum-seekers. Resources include the concrete basic needs for food, access to donations, being able to cook and shop on one's own. It also includes access to personal means of transport like bikes, or having a driving license. For such concrete needs, money is of course a very important resource itself that can help asylum-seekers access some of their other, needed resources as well as increase their general autonomy.

Abstract needs surrounding <u>health</u> came up several times in the project team's discussions with asylum-seekers. Psychological as well as physical health were identified as important aspects of daily lives of asylum-seekers. Having to wait at least two weeks for doctor's appointments, or not being allowed to call an ambulance in a case they see an emergency, are examples of situations that exacerbate this abstract need. While asylum-seekers are mostly "secure" now that they are outside of war zones, their psychological needs are yet not met – especially in cases where family unification and communication is not possible.

Finally, <u>*activity*</u>, or "*Beschäftigung*", is a very important abstract need described by asylum-seekers. Having their lives on hold while waiting during the asylum process; waiting for the next interview; waiting for the next letter; and waiting for a stable legal status: these kinds of conditions lock asylum-seekers into a life of boredom, a lack of patience and a helpless perspective. While some people are allowed to visit language courses, others are not. Staying in accommodation facilities all day – where there is no privacy anyway – or going to the city does not fulfil the need for activity that asylum-seekers have expressed. Education, German courses, other educational courses, internships or trainings entail concrete needs that help fulfil the more abstract need of activity in one's life. Having a job, working out, having sports activities and social activities are also important to fulfil this need. For social activities to be possible, community rooms and prayer rooms are certainly infrastructures that address activity needs. Spaces where asylum-seekers are allowed to smoke their

cigarettes or shishas were also pronounced as important to fulfil the needs for activity, as well as normality, among asylum-seekers.

As explained in the previous sections, a number of social, cultural and individual characteristics of asylum-seekers influence the type, combination and hierarchy of their needs. The degree and manner of religiosity, marriage and family situation, age, gender, health conditions, education level and class background are some of these significant characteristics. However, and as explained above, the combination of available institutional arrangements can also have a significant and direct impact on both abstract and concrete needs.

The variable configuration of needs and socio-cultural characteristics is also evident in asylum-seekers' aspirations for life in Germany. This was clearly apparent in the focus groups held with asylum-seekers. Figure 4 shows the outcome of a regular focus group that discussed with asylum-seekers their current life situations. While few wish to talk about their pasts (bringing up painful memories of families and friends), discussions about current and future life goals tend to reflect the types and hierarchy of needs that many detailed in discussions and interviews– and that are importantly conditioned by modes of institutional accommodation. While concerns about friends and family who are left behind in the countries of origins were the first and main concern of the asylum-seekers, it was a topic they explicitly did not want to explore in further detail. It seemed for them more feasible to concentrate on issues surrounding their current life in Germany than to dig into problematic emotions surrounding their past lives. While many of the needs mentioned in those discussions focused on their current situation in Germany -- like how to build and maintain social networks or how to live I a collective accommodation center -- aspirations and visions for the future were also discussed. Here also their originally- mentioned family concerns came back into the scene. One main aspiration for the future is to either bring wives and children to Germany or to make sure they can provide for their families back home. Another aspiration, which was also connected to their worries about their families back home, was the hope that their families and friends will be safe where they are at the moment. Connected with their current life in Germany, there is a strong aspiration to earn money and find work. Closely interlinked with that are also educational aspirations, like language or vocational training, which will help them to find jobs. While some health issues affect their current needs, there are also aspirations to improve their mental health over time. Figure 4 positions the mentioned needs and aspiration on a timeline: While the first box symbolized the time before they came to Germany, the box in the middle includes current needs that will

help them to cope with their every-day life in Germany and the third box includes aspirations that were located in the future.[13]

Figure 4: some aspirations of asylum-seekers in Germany
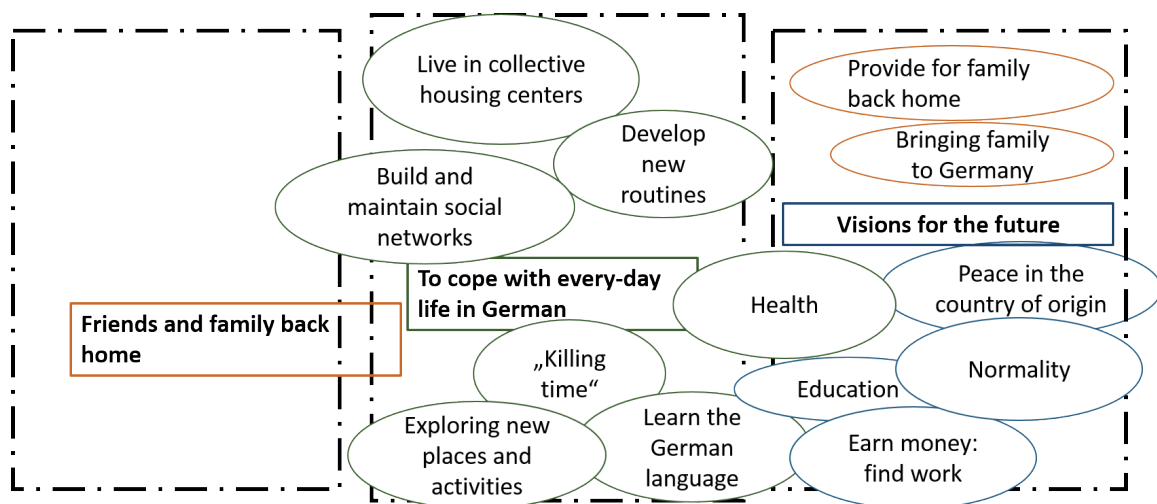
In the research project, we have observed some of the ways in which the failure of institutional arrangements to meet the basic needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers create a context and set of structural conditions that seriously hinder asylum-seekers' processes of integration. This observation pertains to all aspects of integration outlined above: the acquisition of language; gaining access to work, housing, education and training; building social contacts and networks; participation in representative politics; respecting national law and legal authorities; and the adoption of certain civil and cultural practices and values. If needs – such as activity, healthcare, availability of translators, information on language and other training, mobility, and opportunities for communication – are unaddressed in *Flüchtlingsunterkünfte,* or if asylum-seekers are constrained by institutional arrangements from pursuing aspirations – like creating a normal daily routine, finding new activities, making friends, contacting their families or pursuing possibilities to gain education or training – their motivations, chances and prospects for integration can be greatly reduced.

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13 This distinction between needs and aspiration has to be seen as an analytical distinction that was developed in the interpretation process due to the timeframe interview partners subscribed to their needs. Asylum-seekers themselves did not systematically refer to them as needs or aspirations.

Matches and Mismatches

With the described diversity of local actors, institutional arrangements, asylum-seekers and their needs and aspirations, it is not surprising that the project team found a combination of matches and mismatches between some needs of asylum-seekers and the services offered by actors and available through institutional arrangements. Matches between needs and services exist, for example, in the case of security for asylum-seekers fleeing wars and destruction and are in imminent existential danger. It also exists in the case of accommodation, where most asylum-seekers have been assigned to accommodation centers and avoided being homeless. In addition, the state has provided primary care; that is, asylum-seekers have access to food, water and medication. A further, significant match exists by way of the help that asylum-seekers individually receive through being accompanied (by social workers, translators, or volunteers) to doctor appointments, education consultancies or other German institutions alongside the support they receive from such actors in their communication with the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

However, as explained in the previous sections, the bewildering array of state and non-state institutional actors are concerned with different fields and have different logics, motivations, interests, tasks and limitations (bureaucratic, administrative and financial). All these variations surrounding institutional accommodation produce differential results and outputs that may or may not match the existing needs and aspirations of people in general, or asylum-seekers specifically. Administrative officials often work with abstract categorizations and statistics in order to classify people and distribute or restrict resources, rather than personally interact with members of the public –in this case, asylum-seekers. Their logics of implementing tasks is a product of their internal bureaucracies and routines; although such logics may generally respond to external factors, e.g. the refugee influx, institutional logics and structures do not necessarily cater to diverse or individualized needs, but to simplified or generalized basic needs based on categorical assumptions.

Given the diversity of asylum-seekers and their needs as described above, it is expected that the services and arrangements offered by different actors – whether state institutions, facility operators or volunteers – might match the needs of some people and neglect the needs of other. Even the actions taken by some institutional actors, thinking these might fulfil the needs of asylum-seekers, might clash with the understanding and regulations of other actors. An example of this is when volunteers asked the inhabitants of an accommodation center in the city what they need,

> **Case Study – positive arrangements**
>
> Ali is a 29-year-old from Damascus, Syria. He arrived in November 2015 in Göttingen. A social worker picked him up from the train station and brought him to the asylum-seeker accommodation in a middle class neighborhood. Luckily, he was allowed to share his small room with a friend. Together with four others, they share a kitchen, a bathroom with toilet and shower and a washing machine. There is not much privacy, but Ali does not complain. He knows about the situation in other camps (as most asylum-seekers call their shared accommodations). Ali says: "In other camps there are up to 20 people sharing a kitchen and a toilet and some of the camps are really far outside." Another advantage in his current accommodation is his close contact with the social workers. He invites them for tea in his room, from time to time, and they supported him to get a three-month language course at the Goethe Institute. Ali is also in close contact with a group of volunteers who organize sports events or other social gatherings. During the last six months, he built a wide social network of contacts to asylum-seekers with different backgrounds and to Germans who support him in many ways. The institutional arrangements surrounding Ali have given him a head start on his way to integration within German society.

and found out that electric kettles were widely needed to heat water in the rooms instead of sharing one kettle in the kitchen with several people. After campaigning for donations and buying electric kettles for the asylum seekers, the volunteers were later surprised that the social worker of the facility operator collected them from the rooms without explanation to the asylum seekers or the volunteers. While volunteers in this case were driven by the needs of asylum seekers, the facility operator was driven by fire prevention regulations or *Brandschutz*, which determine that having electric kettles in the rooms is a hazard for asylum seekers and therefore is prohibited. In addition to the resulting conflict, this caused a mismatch in meeting the need for electric kettles, and uncovered poor communication between different institutional actors.

In this way, the mismatches are not only between institutions, actors and asylum-seekers but also among the actors themselves. The findings of the project demonstrate clearly that actors and needs are diverse and therefore needs cannot always be meet. Project data suggests that there are some central factors that lead either to "matches"-- fulfilling the needs of asylum-seekers, or to "mismatches" -- discrepancies between asylum-seekers needs and services offered (see Figure 5).

**Figure 5: Institutions and asylum-seekers' needs/aspirations -
Factors for matches and mismatches**

Matches
- National law
- Local regulations
- Voluntary work or donations

Mismatches
- Subjective perception of situations
- Solution just serves one group
- Misrecognition of the diversity of asylum-seekers
- Paternalistic decision-making processes
- Lack of knowledge on the side of decision-makers
- Limited resources (material and personnel)
- Different institutional logics

Factors supporting matches include the following:

National law. The German welfare state and its asylum law grants to asylum-seekers a basic supply of housing, clothing and food: in this way, basic needs are met. Additionally, there are local initiatives to supply more than the minimum provisions that are generally secured by the state.

Local regulations. The city of Göttingen created a concept for asylum accommodation in which the city takes a normative stance about good housing for asylum-seekers: a clear standard of quality is envisioned. In addition, the city put in place a range and extent of German language courses and language mediating services that are beyond basic requirements.

Voluntary work or donations. Another major factor for meeting asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations is represented by volunteers and their direct access to asylum-seekers. While city and institutional administrative staff members only have little time for face-to face interactions with asylum-seekers, volunteers often have more time – and consequently, more trustful relationships – with asylum-seekers to investigate and try to address their needs in more depth. Additionally, social media networks like Facebook groups or local online initiatives play an important role in meeting asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations. Volunteers help with searching for private housing, collect donations and set up childcare or leisure activities.

Although there is a framework in place that secures basic needs, there are many circumstances in which asylum-seekers' needs are either not addressed or cannot be

fulfilled. The research project identified different factors for theses discrepancies or mismatches between needs and services; these include:

Subjective perception of situations. The empirical data of the project indicates that the perception of situations is often very different for asylum-seekers than for institutional actors. While institutions often rightly stick to their administrative regulations and perceive situations as self-explanatory due to specific regulations in place, asylum-seekers perceive situations as arbitrary and feel themselves to be at the mercy of random decision-making processes. Many of our interview partners did not understand why their welfare payments vary over time or differ from other asylum-seekers. Such perceptions result in constant anxiety and insecurity about having less financial resources the next time they collect their payment. Also, irregularities in payoff dates have significant effects on the subjective experience of financial security.

In spite of having secured financial basic needs by law, not experiencing financial security on a subjective level stifles a sense of normality and certainty. This illustrates that meeting some basic need on a formal level often isn't enough; subjective perceptions of asylum-seekers are important when assessing whether needs are met or not.

Case Study – financial uncertainty

Ahmed and his partner Rose met each other in Turkey on their way to Germany. After nearly a year on the road, in November 2015 they finally arrived in Germany. By that time, Rose discovered that she is pregnant. Although not officially married, they lived together in one room in a collective housing center. Once every two weeks, Ahmed got up at 5am to stand in line in front of the town hall to pick up his financial benefits from the social welfare department. Rose joined him later, when he was further in line, so that she would not have to wait that long. However, the main problem was that they received each month a different amount of money: nobody could explain to them why. For that reason, they found it very difficult to budget their money and, for example, to plan how much money they can spend on baby clothes. Nevertheless, they were grateful for the continuous support of volunteers and welfare organizations who provided them with equipment for the baby such as a stroller, bed and chair – but who also supported them through help with access to health care, arranging appointments with officials and translating documents.

<u>Solution just serves one group.</u> Another matter concerning discrepancies between needs and services is raised when an institutional action is taken which only serves one group or social category of asylum-seekers and dismisses the needs of another group. Assuming that it caters to the need for privacy in a collective accommodation center, for example, translucent window stickers have been installed that limit the transparency between the outside and the inside. For women who wear a hijab, this protection from the gaze of strangers on the outside and giving them the freedom to take off their hijab, meeting thereby their need for privacy. However, others whose need for transparency and seeing the outside is greater than their need for privacy, felt robbed of the possibility to see the outside. "It is like a prison in here" one interviewee stated referring to the stickers, illustrating how the same decision was a mismatch to meeting her need to see the outside.

Similarly the use of collective blinds (that cover big windows that span across several "private" compartments) led to a comparable situation in another accommodation center, where different rooms clashed over the opening and closing hours. While some inhabitants wake up and go to sleep early, others stay up at night and wake up late, and therefore needing light and ventilation at different times in the day. Therefore, when the times for opening and closing the blinds were fixed for the whole floor by the facility operator, this matched the needs of one group and dismissed the needs of another.

Issues concerning perceived failures to meet needs and aspirations are usually tied to a failure to see, or the misrecognition of, the diversity of asylum-seekers. While a Dari-speaking interpreter might serve well for one asylum-seeker from Afghanistan, it might hinder another Afghani asylum-seeker who identifies as a Pashto-speaker although he might speak Dari fluently. Sometimes by dismissing linguistic and ethnic self-ascriptions, functional solutions will not actually match the needs of an asylum-seeker. Although there seems to be a match between needs and institutional accommodation services on a first glance, serious discrepancies can be identified on a more detailed level.

<u>Paternalistic decision-making processes.</u> Mismatches also often result from decision-making processes among institutional actors. Firstly, often such decision-making is paternalistic, being grounded in the role of social workers and administrative staff given their additional knowledge, information, regulations and service guidelines that serve determine what is "best" (in the eyes of the

institution) for asylum-seekers. Secondly, we can identify practices that amount to a deprivation of asylum-seekers' own capacities for decision-making. This happens when volunteers or social workers make decisions against an asylum-seeker's will or without their knowledge, arguing that the decision was taken for the asylum-seeker's benefit. We witness this when asylum-seekers are sent to courses or leisure activities for which they are not interested. Due to their legal and linguistic situation, asylum-seekers often rely on social workers to secure their access to doctoral appointments or emergency medical care. This leads to situations in which asylum-seekers ask for emergency services and social workers decide that it is inappropriate to call an emergency for the health problem raised.

Often such decisions by institutional actors are taken in good faith for asylum-seekers' perceived welfare, responding to limitations or regulations of other institutional actors, or are sometimes based on personal interests or relationships such as likeability or favorability. Nevertheless, this mode of decision-making may sometime entail a need being overlooked or wrongly addressed – and in any case, such decisions further exacerbate the need for autonomy and normality.

<u>Lack of knowledge on the side of decision-makers.</u> Another factor promulgating mismatches between needs and services is the lack of geographical, political or other relevant knowledge among decision-makers. This is also connected to the misrecognition of the diversity of asylum-seekers. For example, while for asylum-seekers from the region, the distinction between Sudan and South Sudan makes a substantial difference to culture, politics and a variety of orientations, such a distinction is sometimes unknown to officials. This can lead to circumstances where asylum-seekers have to share the same accommodation with people whom they actually fled from in their home country.

<u>Limited resources (material and personnel).</u> Limited resources that result in personnel or financial shortages also cause mismatches. Although institutions identify certain needs, like extensive counselling or procedural information, they can often not be fulfilled because of existing staff shortages. This means that sometimes needs are correctly identified, but financial or human resources within institutions lead to discrepancies between those needs and their fulfilment.

<u>Different institutional logics.</u> In order to understand why institutional arrangements do not always meet needs, it helps to look at the structure and logic of institutions and organizations. Each institution has its own structure including internal processes, but also networks and external constraints. These internal and external forces allow for certain actions, but restrict others. Hence, complex processes within institutions result in the consequence that only some needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers are met, while others remain unfulfilled. Because asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations are only one part of the institutional interests – but also because institutions are restricted by their own structures and logics – matches and mismatches occur.

Conclusion

Examining the case of Göttingen, the Max Planck Institute project examined the diversity of actors in the field of asylum accommodation. State (particularly municipal) and non-state institutions offer a range of services, facilities and activities for asylum-seekers: these extend beyond meeting the basic needs of asylum-seekers, such as housing and sustenance. At the same time, asylum-seekers are a heterogeneous group of people. While they are usually categorized according to five main traits (namely nationality, gender, age, health and legal status), the research project revealed the diversity of (self-) ascribed categories, living situations and lifestyles. This diversity significantly influences asylum-seekers' broader sets of needs and aspirations.

A breadth of institutional actors encompass asylum-seekers, while asylum-seekers themselves describe a range of needs and aspirations for their lives at present and in the future – needs and aspirations that themselves reflect variable and complex configurations of social characteristics. Within such a variegated field of activity, perhaps it is not surprising that the project team has observed, through an assortment of research techniques, both matches and mismatches between services and facilities offered by various institutions and asylum-seekers' own identified needs and aspirations.

Discrepancies that arise between institutional accommodation and the task of addressing asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations can be explained by different factors. These include: legal and local regulations, the nature of voluntary work or donations, subjective perceptions of situations, misrecognitions of the diversity of asy-

lum-seekers, institutional decision-making processes, limited institutional resources and disparate institutional logics. All of these factors contribute to the fact that some asylum-seeker needs and aspirations are met and some aren't – or, that some seem to be met at a first glance but are actually not. To be sure, all mismatches or discrepancies should not necessarily be deemed mistakes, oversights or failures, however. Particularly given endemic financial, organizational or infrastructural constraints, a degree of discrepancy is indeed to be expected. There is, after all, only so much an institution can provide in terms of individualized services for a large population of people. Yet the question of just where such discrepancies are evident – and where they can be avoided or ameliorated – is one both for research to clarify and for institutions to address in terms of improving services.

A recommendation we offer following such an exercise of match/mismatch or disparity identification, between institutional arrangements and asylum-seeker needs and aspirations, is what we call ***"mainstreaming discrepancy"***. Similar to other "mainstreaming" strategies (such as "gender mainstreaming" or "equality mainstreaming" in public institutions; see Squires 2005, Rees 2006, Bacchi and Eveline 2010), the idea is for institutional actors to incorporate specific issues into all discussions surrounding planning, policies, strategies and practices, including monitoring and review. Here, the issues concern an awareness of: (a) the multiplicity of institutional arrangements for asylum-seekers in a given locality, (b) the complex diversity of asylum-seekers themselves (involving numerous, intersecting social traits reflecting a variety of needs and aspirations), and (c) the fact there are going to be mismatches or discrepancies in the ways institutions address these highly diverse individuals and their needs and aspirations. Given that such issues and awareness are built into policies, infrastructures and practices across an institution, the discrepancies can at least be better recognized, understood, prepared for and ideally responded to in a more comprehensive manner. Institutional actors and asylum-seekers can be made more aware that there will, realistically, be discrepancies in addressing needs and aspirations – and so, hopefully, with such an up-front cognizance, each will be in a better position to identify and address the gaps.

German cities such as Göttingen have undertaken and delivered remarkable measures to accommodate a large number of asylum-seekers in a very short time. Their achievements should be recognized. Much has been accomplished in meeting not only basic, but also many more specific needs of these newcomers who are in highly precarious positions. Many needs – and the more forward-looking aspirations – of asylum-seekers remain un- or inadequately met. Several of these shortcoming are

due wholly to institutional constraints; others are due to policies and practices that can, with certain monitoring and review, no doubt be improved. The Max Planck Institute project on 'addressing the diversity of asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations' has been carried out with a view toward social scientific understanding of institutional infrastructures and processes concerning the accommodation of asylum-seekers at a critical period. As presented in this Report to its funding body, the Volkswagen Foundation, we also offer the project's insights, data and recommendations as contributions toward possibly improving these infrastructures and processes.

As social scientists, we have insisted that there is an urgent need to understand much more clearly the complex nature of asylum-seeker diversities, as well as to examine the ways that local structures, processes and outcomes are able to engage – and ideally offer solutions to problems addressing – the range of needs and aspirations surrounding such diversities. Such knowledge is indispensably required at present, moreover, in order to assess, adjust and improve the capacity of city and voluntary agencies, experiences of migrants (for the long-term integration) and perceptions of local communities. We hope that an improved awareness of asylum-seeker diversity will also influence political discourse and policy, media representations and public understanding on local, state and national levels.

ANNEX I – <u>Research Methods</u>

Under the supervision of Prof. Vertovec, the research team was comprised of three post-doctoral researchers with degrees in social anthropology, sociology and urban planning. Their training and research experience reflects the methods chosen for this project. Those include a variety of complementary ethnographic research methods, including: participant observation in selected asylum accommodations and local events, guided and semi-structured interviews, key informant and expert interviews, focus groups, policy and media analysis, techniques of visual anthropology (e.g. Photovoice), transect walks (mobile interviews with informants as they go through their everyday spaces), spatial analysis and mapping the lives of the asylum-seekers spatially, their activities in and use of public space. The data gathered using these methods helped us understand how institutional arrangements meet the basic needs and aspirations of asylum-seekers and in what way these arrangements create a set of structural conditions that influence asylum-seekers' life trajectories.

After consultation with the various authorities (municipality, city council, department for social affairs, asylum accommodation's facility operators *"Betreiber"* and social workers and receiving their approval), the project team selected successively ten asylum accommodations in Göttingen (see Figure 6). While the primary sample included the major centralized housing centers in Göttingen, the project followed the idea of theoretical sampling for its further choices. Therefore, the project included in a second step contrasting decentralized accommodation that was missing in the primary sample. Each accommodation has its distinctiveness regarding location within the city, size, composition of asylum-seekers, services and amenities offered by various institutions, facility operators and management strategies and practices (also with regard to social workers, security, internet access etc.). A comparison across different sites helps to better discern structural and contextual differences.

Figure 6: Asylum-Seeker accommodations in Gottingen
(source: Stadt Göttingen).
Pilot Project fieldwork locations are circled.
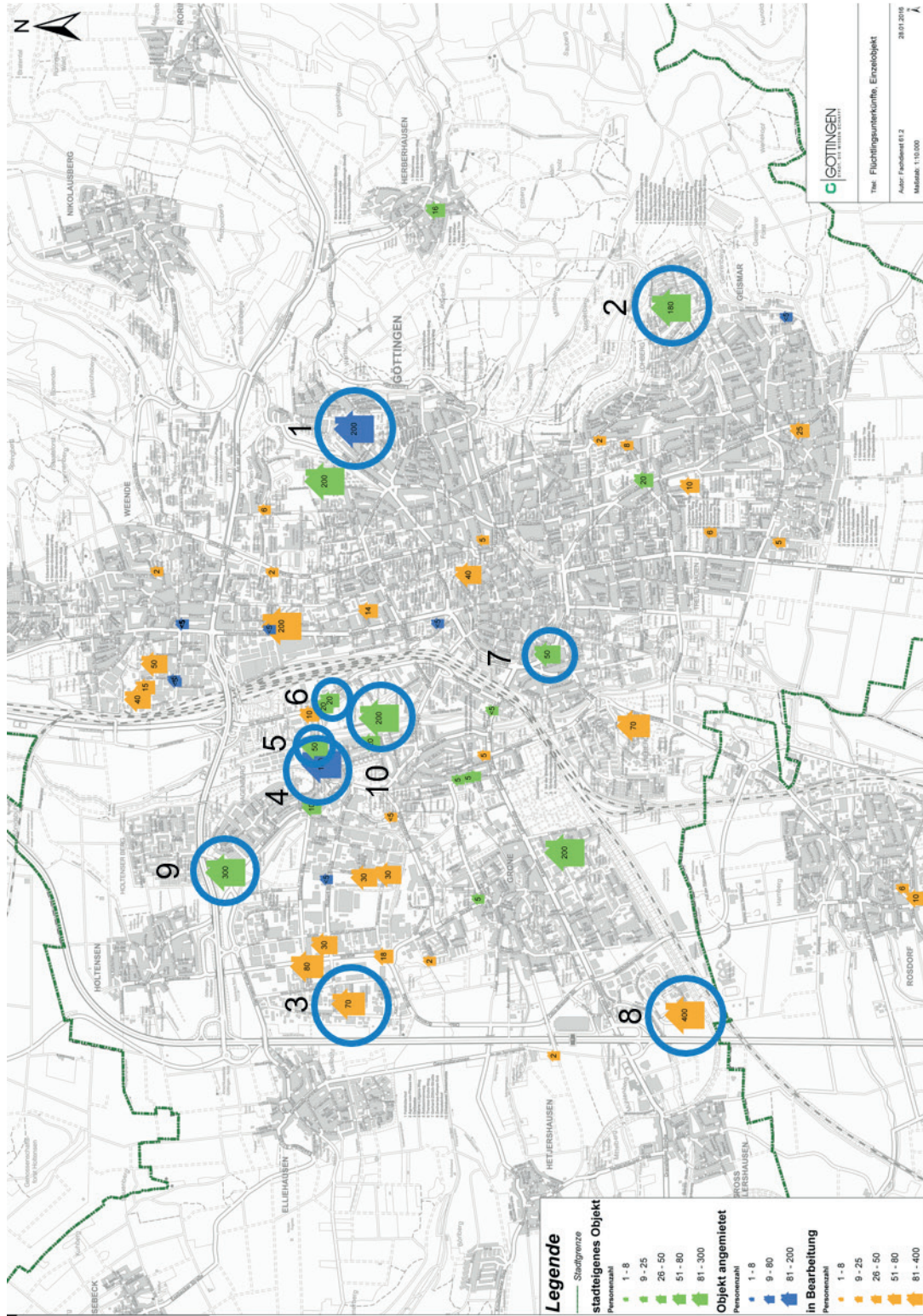
Through initial contacts with asylum-seekers in various accommodations, the team was able to employ two asylum-seekers as language mediators for the project. They came to be an important part of the project: being involved in selecting inter-view partners, establishing new field contacts and providing ideas for further research. In this way, we also incorporated elements of participatory research in the design and implementation of the project. The translators were also involved in translating the project flyer, which explains the reasons for conducting this research, the rights of participants, informed consent, and insurance of anonymity and data protection. The flyer was available in seven languages, namely, German, English, French, Farsi, Urdu, Pashto and Arabic (examples are provided in the Annex below).

Informal conversations, interviews and focus group discussions

The research combined various styles of interviewing. Doing so allowed the team to retain some scope for adaptation to the particular context, while preserving the ability to make rigorous comparisons (Bogner et al. 2009). Initial contacts to asy-lum-seekers were established either in the accommodations, sometimes with the help of social workers, or through our interpreters. Using these first contacts enabled us to establish relationships with other asylum-seekers and speak to them ("snow-ball sampling"). Our qualitative data collection strategy was strongly ethnographic. To understand the day-to-day routine in asylum accommodations, all three post-doctoral researchers spent significant time conducting participant observation. We also relied on a "hanging-out" strategy (Geertz 1998) involving long periods of time spending with asylum-seekers, e.g. going out together, cooking and eating together, listening to their stories, playing with their children or celebrating events. Another major part of our field research was used for voluntary work. Each researcher took over different tasks such as translating, accompanying asylum-seekers to authorities and doctor appointments, providing support to find access to the housing/job mar-kets, to access legal and educational services, or teaching German. These research techniques helped us to build trust, establish relationships and better understand the everyday life of asylum-seekers in the accommodation centers.

Through casual conversations held during these relaxed periods of "hanging out", contacts were established with some 50 asylum-seekers with various backgrounds, about twelve of which developed into strong personal relationships. There were regu-lar meetings with them over a period of six months and many interactions continued despite the "official" end of the fieldwork. Spending time with them enabled us to

examine the diversity of their needs and aspirations. It also showed the matches and mismatches between various needs and services offered.

We also conducted guided interviews with asylum-seekers and members of institutions. This allowed for better comparison across sites and researchers and ensured that we have a firm understanding of contextual similarities and differences. These individual interview techniques were supplemented by longitudinal focus group discussions. Regular discussions on different topics were held over a period of three months with eight asylum-seekers. The pilot project has shown that the practice of developing longitudinal focus groups has been an extremely fruitful approach to deeply discuss their needs and listen to their ideas on how German institutions could respond to their situation. The technique rests on building mutual trust, openness and accountability between researchers and participants, which opens up space for the articulation of both needs and aspirations. At the same time, the discussions offer a long-term perspective that is very difficult to capture in panel surveys due to dropping out of respondents over time.

Expert interviews with professionals working in the field gave insights into processes of how new regulations and laws are created on a national or state level and how they are implemented in everyday practices on the local level. This helped to understand how and by whom institutional arrangements and accommodation are set up as well as to reveal different management strategies of facility operators. The research team carried out expert interviews among city authorities, facility operators, social workers, and members of migrant organizations and volunteer associations.

By applying these various ethnographic methods including participant observation in asylum accommodations, meetings and public events, we were able to explore dynamics and interactions between actors involved, and to understand better the possible tensions and conflicts between professionals, volunteers and asylum-seekers. This research approach made it possible to analyze matches and mismatches between needs and aspirations on the one hand, and services and measures on the other hand.

Participatory visual and spatial methods

Participatory methods like "Photovoice" allowed the research participants to take an active role within the research process (Unger 2014). Although the framework of the project was predetermined, there was a strong attempt to give space to the active involvement of the research participants. At the beginning of the focus group discussions, asylum-seekers were asked for topics they would like to discuss and which ones seemed most relevant to them in the frame of our research project. In each session,

we followed up the topics gathered in the first meeting. Additionally to the verbal expression of their interest, we used Photovoice to give voice to the interests and relevance of the research participants. For Photovoice, participants took pictures of their everyday life. Within the focus group meetings we discussed three pictures of each participant which covered their most urgent topics. In a last step we printed out all the gathered photos and clustered them into themes. With this procedure the asylum-seekers could also partly participate in the interpretation/analysis of the gathered data. These participatory methods not only helped to understand informants" every-day life experiences but also gave insights into the institutional arrangements that they encounter, and the ways they experience them. This enabled researchers to remain in close contact with asylum-seekers over time, partially participate in their daily life and activities and examine the diverse range of aspects commonly understood as integration measures including language courses, labor market access and participation, housing, education and training, social contacts and networks.

The spatial and physical/architectural aspects of the asylum accommodations played an important role in the institutional arrangements that set different asylum-seekers on different trajectories. Therefore, spatial methods such as transect walks and participatory mapping were used to analyze locations of asylum accommodations with regard to the city center, surrounding services and public spaces and their role in facilitating the activities of asylum-seekers in public and their interaction with their host environment. In addition, and by comparing the infrastructures and institutional arrangements of different accommodations, we were able to define the role that these spatial and physical aspects play in facilitating or limiting the daily work of facility operators and the services they provide.

Ethical considerations

Studying asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations is a highly sensitive topic that calls for a considerable sensitivity for questions of research ethics (Mackenzie et al. 2007; Voutira, Dona 2007; Krause 2016).[14] Building up a confidential and trusting relationship between researcher and participants is a crucial undertaking in a research setting like this (given the facts of different actors with different interests, working with people possibly traumatized through experiences of violence, mistrust in institutions and their representatives, and a highly politicized public sphere). The

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14 Research ethics is only an emerging field in German social sciences (von Unger 2014 et al., von Unger et. al 2016). In all points in the research, therefore, we have been oriented by the ethical guidelines for research set out by the American Anthropological Association.

research team could draw on their extensive experiences from previous research with asylum-seekers and migrants. Building-up trust and rapport was time-consuming; working with translators – many of whom have been or still are asylum-seekers themselves – has been a complex task; clarifying the contradicting roles as researchers/volunteers/experts/policy-advisors/(non-)German citizens – which included dealing with emotional involvement of the researchers – was personally challenging. One of the big challenges the team experienced while doing fieldwork was the (non-)fulfilment of expectation. Not only did asylum-seekers' have different expectations from the researchers but also political and institutional actors had clear visions how the research should benefit them. Although the team repeatedly informed participants about the research goals, expectations and their fulfilment always had to be renegotiated in different situations. In addition, the often-dramatic personal situation of individual asylum-seekers made it in some cases difficult not to get emotionally involved. Doing fieldwork "at home" further complicated the situation as researchers met participants in their free time and a clear distinction between work and private life was difficult. These experiences in the field led to a necessity to extend self-reflection within the team. Therefore, the project decided to draw on external expertise by setting up regular group and individual meetings with a psychotherapist. These ethical considerations raise some more general questions concerning methodology and ethics in social sciences, for which we are still discussing possible answers:

- How do we deal with the positionality of the researcher between research and personal involvement?
- How do we manage expectations of participants?
- How can informed consent happen if the concept of research is unknown to research participants?
- Where does the data collection end and personal exchange start, i.e. which data is ethically usable?
- How to deal with a linguistically diverse field, how can we work with interpreters and translators? What is their role in the process and how do we deal with it when we analyze the data?
- What is the best way to exit the field without disappointing participants?

In the project it became clear that working in the field of asylum – and more specifically with asylum-seekers – brings more general ethical and methodological dilemmas and challenges to the forefront in a very condense way. This means that the reflec-

tion of research decisions taken within the project also has implication for research in more general and can help to advance methodological and ethical consideration in social sciences. The question of translation and interpreting is one relevant to a broad scope of research questions in social sciences, which has been under-debated in the field so far. While psychological counselling is a standard procedure in other disciplines like social work or psychology there is no tradition for this in social sciences. This project not only raised the question if or why it is necessary for the specific context of this project but also opened up discussions if psychological counselling should not be an integral part of any research which involved personal research relations.

Dissemination

To conclude the pilot project, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity hosted an event on the 30th November 2016 at the. In this event, preliminary findings were presented and subsequently discussed in working groups with research participants. Those included city officials, administrative staff, professionals and volunteers working with asylum-seekers, facility operators, and asylum-seekers.

Findings from this pilot project have been presented at a variety of academic conferences, workshops and seminars throughout 2016. These include:

- 38th Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Bamberg
- Conference on "Political Theory on Refugees", University of Augsburg
- Netzwerk Flüchtlingsforschung: Erste Tagung des Netzwerks
- European Association of Anthropologists (EASA) Conference 2016
- Summer School on "The Refugee and Migration Crisis in the Euro-Mediterranean Space: Context, Policies and Human Consequences," American University in Cairo

The team has also held exchange meetings for sharing our results in Nürnberg with the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, in Hannover with the Landesbeauftragte für Migration und Teilhabe in Niedersachsen, and in Berlin with the IQ Network of the Bundesministerium des Innern. We are also discussing our research with colleagues in the Max Planck Society, Leibniz and Helmholtz Associations, Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für *Integration* und Migration, and the Netzwerk Flüchtlingsforschung.

In 2017, project findings will be presented at:

- 14th International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe (IMIS-COE) Annual Conference, Rotterdam
- Conference on "Refugees, New Speakers, and Global Law", Tilburg University
- 15th International Metropolis Conference 2017, The Hague

Together and individually, the team is currently writing a number of articles for publication in peer-reviewed social scientific journals.

ANNEX II – Examples of Project Description brochures for Participants

Example 1: German

KONTAKT

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Die Vielfalt der Bedürfnisse und Zukunftsvisionen von Geflüchteten

FORSCHUNGSPROJEKT

PROJEKTBESCHREIBUNG

2015 reisten mehr als eine Million Schutzsuchende nach Deutschland ein. Eine so große Zahl an Neuankömmlingen in einer so kurzen Zeit stellt das Land vor neue Herausforderungen. Deshalb besteht die dringende Notwendigkeit mehr über Asylsuchende, ihre Situation und Lebensumstände zu erfahren. Das Forschungsprojekt hat daher zwei Ziele:

1. Die Vielfalt der Bedürfnisse und Zukunftsvisionen von Geflüchteten soll untersucht werden. Dabei spielen die Wohnsituation, das Familienleben, der Zugang zu (Aus-)Bildung und dem Arbeitsmarkt sowie der Aufenthaltsstatus eine entscheidende Rolle.

2. Das Projekt betrachtet des Weiteren, wie staatliche und nicht-staatliche Akteure auf die Vielfalt der Fluchtbewegungen reagieren, z.B. wie logistische Herausforderungen angegangen werden.

DER ZWECK DER FORSCHUNG

Die Ergebnisse sollen einen Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis der Vielfalt der derzeit Zugewanderten und der Strukturen, mit denen sie konfrontiert werden, leisten. Des Weiteren soll das Projekt dazu beitragen, die Grundlagen für langfristige Partizipation der Geflüchteten an gesellschaftlichen Prozessen zu verstehen.

WER WIR SIND

Das Forschungsteam arbeitet am Max-Planck-Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser und multiethnischer Gesellschaften in Göttingen und setzt sich aus vier Wissenschaftlerinnen und mehreren Assistenten zusammen. Das Projekt wird von der gemeinnützigen Volkswagen-Stiftung gefördert.

IHRE TEILNAHME IST UNS WICHTIG, WEIL

- wir die Situation der Geflüchteten in und um Göttingen umfassend beschreiben wollen,
- wir von Ihren Erfahrungen lernen möchten,
- wir die Vielfalt von Perspektiven darstellen möchten.

Daher möchten wir Interviews/Gespräche mit Geflüchteten sowie mit Angestellten der Stadt, des Landkreises, der Betreibergesellschaften und der Ehrenamtlichen durchführen.

IHRE RECHTE

Sie können das Interview/Gespräch jederzeit beenden, auch ohne einen Grund anzugeben. Falls Sie bestimmte Fragen nicht beantworten möchten, lassen Sie es uns wissen und wir überspringen diese.

P.S.: Das Gespräch/Interview mit uns hat keinen Einfluss auf das Asylverfahren.

WAS PASSIERT MIT DEN INFORMATIONEN?

Sämtliche Informationen werden anonymisiert, d.h. wir verwenden keine Namen oder persönliche Angaben. Sie können demzufolge nicht identifiziert werden. Es werden keine Informationen an dritte Personen weitergegeben. Die gesammelten Daten werden genutzt, um wissenschaftliche Artikel, Dokumentationen und Bücher zu verfassen.

Die Ergebnisse des Projekts werden auf der Webseite www.mmg.mpg.de öffentlich gemacht.

Bitte kontaktieren Sie uns, wenn Sie mehr über das Projekt erfahren möchten oder Fragen haben.

Example 2: English

Diversity of asylum seekers' needs and aspirations

RESEARCH PROJECT

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Since 2015, thousands of refugees and asylum seekers have arrived in Europe as a result of violent conflicts, political persecution and precarious living conditions in many world regions. Because the complexity of the situation, there is an urgent necessity to learn more about the newcomers. Therefore, this new research project has two related goals:

1. seeking to understand better the wide range of needs and aspirations among the recent asylum seekers – concerning, for instance, their everyday living conditions, education, family life, legal processes and labor market access;

2. examining how local municipal, civil and voluntary institutions arrange the reception of newcomers in refugee homes, where such institutions are managing logistical challenges, providing services and responding to the diverse needs and aspirations of asylum seekers.

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WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH?

By investigating these two focuses – asylum-seekers' needs and aspirations along with institutional arrangements for addressing them – we aim to gain clearer and more far-reaching knowledge surrounding the contemporary migration flow into Germany, its complexity and effects.

WHO ARE WE?

The project team – comprised of four professional researchers and several research assistants – is based at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen. The project is funded by the Volkswagen-Foundation, Germany's largest private non-profit organization for the promotion of research and education.

WHY WE NEED YOU TO PARTICIPATE

Because we wish to build a comprehensive picture of the situation in and around Göttingen, we wish to learn from as many people, with as many perspectives, as possible. Therefore, we are interviewing asylum seekers as well as city officials, professionals and volunteers working in refugee accommodations. We hope that you will agree to participate and share your views, experiences, and insights with us.

YOUR RIGHTS

If you would like to withdraw from the research, you can do so at any time. You do not have to answer all of our questions - and even after an interview or conversation, you can request that your material be deleted. You will be able to see any material you have provided at any time.

P.S.: Your participation in, or withdrawal from, this research will in no way influence your asylum application process.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE?

All information collected will be anonymous. That is, your name and personal details will not appear anywhere. All your identifiable information such as age and gender will be coded (i.e. identified with a code number known only to project team members). Any answers you provide will not be passed to any third parties, and will only be used to write articles, reports or books.

Results of the project will be published in local media and academic articles, and will be available online at www.mmg.mpg.de. We will be happy to address any questions you might have: please contact us by way of the details below.

Example 3: Arabic

تعدد احتياجات وتطلعات طالبي اللجوء

مشروع بحث

وصف البحث

منذ عام 2015 حدث ارتفاع متزايد في عدد طالبي اللجوء في اوروبا بسبب الصراعات العنيفة والاضطهاد السياسي وسوء الأحوال المعيشية في مناطق مختلفة من العالم. بسبب سرعة تطور هذه الأحداث وتعقيدها هناك حاجة ماسة لمعرفة المزيد عن القادمين الجدد. لتلك الأسباب يهدف هذا المشروع إلى ما يلي:

1. محاولة فهم مدى التعددية في الاحتياجات والتطلعات المستقبلية لطالبي اللجوء الجدد في ألمانيا بالنسبة مثلا لحياتهم اليومية وأوضاعهم المعيشية والتعليم والحياة الأسرية والإجراءات القانونية والدخول الى سوق العمل.
2. فحص كيفية تنظيم الجهات المحلية والمؤسسات التطوعية لاستقبال القادمين الجدد في منازل اللاجئين حيث تواجه هذه المؤسسات تحديات لوجستية في تقديم الخدمات والتفاعل مع الاحتياجات المختلفة والمتنوعة وتطلعات اللاجئين والاستجابة لها.

للأسئلة والاستفسار الرجاء الاتصال بنا على العنوان التالي:

العنوان: Hermann-Föge-Weg 11, 37073 Göttingen

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المحمول: 61 00 26 83 157 (0) 49+

البريد الالكتروني: refugeediversity@mmg.mpg.de

ما الهدف من البحث؟

ببحث الهدفين المذكورين أعلاه؛ احتياجات وتطلعات اللاجئين من جهة واستعدادات المؤسسات للتفاعل معها من جهة أخرى، نستطيع أن نحصل على صورة أكثر وضوحا عن الهجرة الحالية الى ألمانيا ومدى تعقيدها وتأثيرها.

من نحن؟

فريق البحث المكون من أربعة باحثات مهنيات وعدة مساعدين للبحث يتركز في *مؤسسة ماكس بلانك لدراسة التنوع الديني والعرقي* في مدينة جوتنجن. المشروع ممول من مؤسسة فولكس فاجن وهي أكبر مؤسسة خاصة وغير ربحية لدعم الأبحاث والتعليم في ألمانيا.

لماذا نحتاج مشاركتك؟

لأننا نريد بناء صورة شاملة عن الوضع في مدينة جوتنجن وحولها نود أن نصل لأكبر عدد ممكن من الناس ووجهات النظر. لذلك نحاول أن نتواصل مع طالبي اللجوء والسلطات المحلية وكذلك المتطوعين العاملين في منازل إقامة اللاجئين.

نأمل ان تشاركونا وجهات نظركم وخبراتكم لرصد وفهم احتياجاتكم وتطلعاتكم للمستقبل في ألمانيا.

حقوقك

إن اشتركت في البحث وأردت أن تنسحب فلك ذلك في اي وقت. لا يجب أن تجيب على جميع الأسئلة ويمكنك طلب محو إجاباتك بعد أي محادثة أو مقابلة. لك ان تتأكد برؤية أي معلومات قدمتها في أي وقت.

ملاحظة: اشتراكك في هذا البحث او انسحابك منه ليس له أي علاقة أو تأثير على سير معاملات طلبات اللجوء.

ماذا سيحدث للمعلومات التي تشاركها معنا؟

جميع المعلومات التي يجمعها الباحثون مشفرة. أي ان اسمك و أي معلومات شخصية تخصك مثل العمر والجنس ستكون مسجلة بواسطة شفرة لا يراها أو يفهمها إلا الباحث شخصيا. لا يتم مشاركة أي معلومات نحصل عليها مع أي جهات أخرى وسيتم استخدامها من قبل المؤسسة فقط لإصدار كتب أو تقارير أو مقالات علمية.

سيتم نشر نتائج البحث في الصحف المحلية وكمقالات علمية وستكون متوفرة على صفحة الانترنت الخاصة بالمؤسسة على العنوان التالي: www.mmg.mpg.de.

Example 4: Pashto

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"په پناه ګزینوکي دا تنوع صرورت اؤ ارمانیت"

ریسرچ پروجکت

دا پراجیکټ معلومات

دا کال ۲۰۱۵ نه تر نن ورازے په زرګاؤ مهاجرین اؤ پناه ګزین اروپه ته دا جنګي حالاتؤ یا سیاسي مسلو په وجه راغلي دي. دي حالت کي صرورت دا دي امر دے چي دي مهاجرین دا جواند کولو نه چاروکو خبر شي او ده دي په مسایل باندي پوهه شي. نو ده دي ریسرچ پراجیکټ دوا بنیادي مقاصید دي.

۱. لټون ده پاره دا پوهے چي مهم صروریات او ارمانونه دا پناهګزین سي دي؟ په اره دا معلومات او صرورت دا مهاجرینو دا هره ورخ جوند، تعلیم، دا کور جوند، قانوني مسایل او دا کار روزګار صرورت.

۲. سه رنګه دا محکمي دفتر، حکومت، او خدایي خدمتګار دا محاجرینو خیال ساتي او سه رنګ په دا کورونو کي جوند ورکولیے کیږي. او سنګه دغه خلق په کم وخت کي دا تول صرورت پوره کوبي او محاجرینو ته سهولیات ورکوي او په تنوع کي ده محاجرینو صروریات او ارمانونه پوره کوبي.

دا دي پراجیکټ صرورت سه دے؟

ده دي پراجیکټ په ذریه موګ کتل غوارو چي ده محاجرینو صروریات او ارمانونه سره ده محکماتي ترتیباتو مونږ غوارو چي روښنانه پوهه په المان د خپلي پیچلټیا او اغیزو د معاصر مهاجرت په جریان شاوخوا تر لاسه کري.

مونږ څوک یوؤ؟

دا پراجیکټ ټیم د څلورو مسلکي خبرلرونکو او څو مرستیالانو څخه جوړ دے چي دا ګوتتګن ښنارکي دا ماکس پلانک انستیتیوت سره تعلوک ساتي کم چي مذاهب او قامي تنوع باندي کار کوبي. دغه پراجیکټ له امداد له فولکس واګن فوندیشن له ارخه راخي.

ولي مونږ تاسو ته د ګدون وینه کوؤ؟

څکه مونږ غوارو چي په شاوخوا کي او په بنار کي د وضعی جامع انحور جوړ کري شي او حالات واضیح شي. ور غوارو چي له ډیر نه ډیر خلکو نه خبر شو او حالات مخامخ کرے شي. له همدي امله مونږ شوي کدوال محاجربینو او د بنار چاروکؤ مرکی کو او دا هغه خلکو هم کم چي دا محاجربینو اوسیدو زبنو کي کار کوي. مونګ هیله لرو چي تاسو به خپله پوره مرسته مونک سره کوے.

ستاسو حقوق
ستاسو ملومات سره به سي کیږي؟

تول معلومات به د بي نومه وساتل شي او ستاسو نوم یا ستاسو هس معلومات به چرته هم نه راورادي کیږي. هر خواب تاسو برابر به د کومي دریمي دلي د نه تصویب شي او د بوازي د لیکنو او راپورونو یا کتاب لیکل ده پاره باید استمالیږي. ستاسو هر سوال به خواب مونک به خوشالے ورکږ. مونک سره با داغه ټیلفون نمبر تماس نسیلے شي.

ستاسو حقوق

کله هم تاسو غوارے نو ده دي پراجیکټ نه بیالي دے شي. زا مونګ دا ټولو سوالونو جوابونه را کول ستاسو په مرضسي دي. کله هم تاسو خپلي خبري مونک ته وابلے شي او دبلیت کولے بي شي: ستاسو د ګدون او یا وتڼ به هیڅکله به ستاسو د پناه د غوښتنی درخواست باندي اسر نه کوي.

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