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of Asylum Seekers in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid

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**Kreichauf, René (2014):** In die Kleinstadt gezwungen – Spätaussiedler\_innen in Genthin zwischen Integration und Isolation. In: 99ProzentUrban. No. 2. Berlin.

**Kreichauf, René (2014):** Die Großstadt in der Kleinstadt – Ethnische Segregation in kleinen Städten. PlanerIn. No. 4. Berlin.

**Kreichauf, René et. al. (2014):** Conference Report: Nachwuchsnetzwerk [Young Academics Network] NWNW8 – Diversity and Plurality. Theory and Practice in Spatial Science. In: Forum Qualitative Social Research. Berlin.

**Kreichauf, René (2013):** Who is afraid of Detroit City? In: Stadtaspekte. No. 1. Berlin.

**Kreichauf, René (2012):** Ethnic Segregation in Small Towns? The Case study of Genthin. In: Graue Reihe (Online-Publication of the Technical University of Berlin). Berlin.

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**New Trends in Berlin's Urban Development.** Free University of Berlin, 12<sup>th</sup> of March 2014.

**Ghettos in Small Towns?** The Research on Ethnic Segregation and Stigmatisation Processes in Small Town Germany. Leuphana University Lüneburg, 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2013.

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## Abstract

Die Masterarbeit skizziert anhand der Fallstudien Berlin, Kopenhagen und Madrid die räumlichen Dimensionen sozialer Exklusion anhand der Gruppe der Asylsuchenden. Vor allem mit Bezug auf die lokalen politischen Praktiken und den Lebensbedingungen der Asylsuchenden wird der Einfluss der Art der Unterbringung auf den Integrationsprozess dieser Gruppe analysiert. Die Thesis kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Asylzentren, als dominante und politisch forcierte Wohnform in den Untersuchungsstädten, vor allem durch ihre Ausstattung und Lage, Restriktionen, Kontrolle und Mechanismen der Fremdbestimmung den Integrationsprozess dieser Gruppe negativ beeinflussen und verschiedene Formen von Protesten der sog. Aufnahmegesellschaft und der Flüchtlinge hervorrufen.

Die Forschungsarbeit konstatiert eine fehlgeleitete Integrations- und Wohnungspolitik für Asylsuchende. Sie werden systematisch davon abgehalten von an den mit der „Europäischen Stadt“ in Verbindung gebrachten Merkmalen Freiheit, individuelle Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten und Emanzipation teilzuhaben. Die Europäische Stadt hat sich – so die These der Arbeit – von einer „Integrationsmaschine“ zu einer Festung entwickelt, die „ungewollte“ „Nicht-Bürger\*innen“ vom urbanen Leben ausgrenzt.



**THE  
EUROPEAN  
FORTRESS  
CITY**

THE SOCIO-SPATIAL EXCLUSION OF  
ASYLUM SEEKERS IN COPENHAGEN,  
BERLIN AND MADRID

**BY RENÉ  
KREICHAUF**



“Please, people come outside to the camps and fight for us. Come visit us and see how we cry! Please, come and visit us; hear our tears. We are coming to your country because we have problems in our country. We beg you, come to the camps and see how we are forced to live. See how your country treats us. Come and visit our pains!”

(Single refugee woman, mother of two kids)



## Abstract

Using the case studies of Berlin (Germany), Copenhagen (Denmark), and Madrid (Spain), this research work illustrates the spatial dimensions of exclusionary mechanisms applied to immigrants asking for asylum in the EU. In this context, the thesis illustrates current policies and political decisions on housing on the EU, national, and predominantly on the local level of the case studies. Above all, it debates the role of operators, and presents on what criteria and political intentions the development of housing is decided. Furthermore, it illustrates the spatial characteristics of housing and the “spaces of living” (location, equipment, characteristics of the neighbourhood), and it discusses the conflicts that arise from housing asylum seekers in communities, and forms of resistance by asylum seekers and political activists against the housing policies.

Following findings are exemplified: Asylum centres are the dominant form of housing in the case studies. The political and societal dealings with asylum seekers and, more specifically, the location for housing, forms and mechanisms of heteronomy and control, as well as the material conditions of the housing affect the inclusion process and the image of asylum seekers and their housing. The asylum centre is – in all of the case studies – a politically induced and pushed form of housing to systematically control, displace and disfranchise asylum seekers. The study underlines that there is no integration but an exclusion policy for this particular group. Asylum seekers are strategically excluded and prevented in benefiting of liberation, integration, and emancipation – features, which are often connected with the model of the European city. Hence – and that is the assumption and point of discussion of this thesis –, the European city has developed from an “integration engine” to a fortress by excluding ‘unwanted’ ‘non-citizens’ from the actual urban life.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>10</b>
1.1 APPROACHING THE SUBJECT .....	10
1.2 OBJECTIVES AND ASSUMPTIONS .....	11
1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN .....	12
1.3.1 <i>Accessing the topic</i> .....	12
1.3.2 <i>Selection of Case Studies and the Centres</i> .....	13
1.3.3 <i>Set of Methods</i> .....	14
1.3.4 <i>Reflection on the Research Process and Challenges</i> .....	17
1.4 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS .....	18
<b>2. THE EXCLUSION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS IN EUROPEAN CITIES.....</b>	<b>22</b>
2.1 THE EUROPEAN CITY: FROM AN “INTEGRATION ENGINE” TO A PLACE OF EXCLUSION.....	22
2.2 THE SOCIO-SPATIAL EXCLUSION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS – CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH .....	25
2.3 INTERIM CONCLUSION: ASYLUM SEEKERS EXCLUDED IN EUROPEAN CITIES.....	27
<b>3. THE ASYLUM CENTRE AS THE SPATIAL EXPRESSION OF EXCLUSION – THEORETICAL ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1 THE CENTRE AS AN EXCLUDING SPATIAL STRUCTURE .....	31
3.2 THE CENTRE AS AN EXCLUDING INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE.....	36
3.3 DEVELOPING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING THE ASYLUM CENTRE .....	38
<b>4. THE PROTECTION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS VS. THE PROTECTION OF BORDERS – ASYLUM AND HOUSING POLICIES IN THE EU, DENMARK, GERMANY AND SPAIN .....</b>	<b>42</b>
4.1 ASYLUM POLICY ON THE EU LEVEL – THE HOMOGENISATION OF NATIONAL ASYLUM POLICIES .....	43
4.1.1 <i>The Genesis of the European Asylum Policy</i> .....	43
4.1.2 <i>EU Regulations on the Reception of Asylum Seekers</i> .....	44
4.2 ASYLUM AND HOUSING POLICIES IN DENMARK, GERMANY AND SPAIN .....	46
4.2.1 <i>Denmark</i> .....	46
4.2.2 <i>Germany</i> .....	48
4.2.3 <i>Spain</i> .....	50
4.3 EUROPE’S ASYLUM POLICY VS. NATIONAL LEGISLATIONS.....	52
<b>5. CENTRE LIFE IN COPENHAGEN, BERLIN AND MADRID. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>56</b>
5.1 POLITICAL PRACTICES ON HOUSING ASYLUM SEEKERS IN COPENHAGEN, BERLIN AND MADRID .....	56
5.1.1 <i>Copenhagen – A ‘Zero Commune’ barely accessible for Asylum Seekers</i> .....	56
5.1.2 <i>Berlin – Exclusion due to macro-social trends</i> .....	57
5.1.3 <i>Madrid – The Liberal Housing Policy and its Limits</i> .....	59
5.1.4 <i>Housing in Copenhagen, Berlin, Madrid – The long-term exclusion of asylum seekers</i> .....	61
5.2 TOWARDS A SUPER SYSTEM - THE CENTRE SYSTEMS IN COPENHAGEN, BERLIN AND MADRID.....	62
5.3 THE EXCLUSION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS DUE TO HOUSING .....	64
5.3.1 <i>The Features of the investigated Centres in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid</i> .....	64
5.3.2 <i>Siting of Centres and its Political Motivation</i> .....	66
5.3.3 <i>Exclusionary Mechanisms: Categories of the socio-spatial Exlcusion</i> .....	68
5.3.4 <i>Between Deterrence and Integration – The Socio-Politico Functions of the Centre</i> .....	85
5.3.5 <i>Forms of Exclusion</i> .....	87
5.4 CONFLICTS AND RESISTANCE AS CONSEQUENCES OF HOUSING ASYLUM SEEKERS .....	89
5.4.1 <i>Neighbourhood Protests</i> .....	89
5.4.2 <i>Resistance by Asylum Seekers and Refugees</i> .....	90
5.4.3 <i>The City as the Location for the Negotiation of Interests</i> .....	92

<b>6. BUILDING WALLS AND ESTABLISHING NEW BORDERS IN EUROPEAN CITIES – THE ASYLUM CENTRE AS THE ULTIMATE SPACE OF EXCLUSION.....</b>	<b>96</b>
6.1 THE ASYLUM CENTRE AS A HETEROTOPIAN POROUS TOTAL INSTITUTION .....	96
6.2 THE ASYLUM CENTRE AS A PLACE IN THE CHAIN OF DESTRUCTION .....	98
6.3 THE ASYLUM SEEKERS AS THE URBAN NON CLASS .....	99
6.4 FROM FORTRESS EUROPE TO THE EUROPEAN FORTRESS CITY.....	100
<b>7. REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>105</b>
7.1 LITERATURE.....	105
7.2 LEGISLATIONS.....	109
7.3 LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	110
<b>APPENDIX .....</b>	<b>111</b>
A CATALOGUE OF ISOLATION .....	112
B PRESENTATION OF INVESTIGATED CENTRES .....	117
C PRESENTATION OF THE INTERVIEWEES .....	125
D TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS .....	135
<i>I Copenhagen.....</i>	<i>136</i>
<i>II Berlin.....</i>	<i>178</i>
<i>III Madrid.....</i>	<i>232</i>



Rusha is 33. She flew with her family, her husband (45) and her two daughters (eleven and seven years old), from Egypt to Germany. In June 2014, the family got deported to Spain due to the Dublin convention. Ten policemen and women forced the family out of their room in the asylum centre at five am. Rusha was not prepared; she never received any notification. She refused to leave. Policemen were hitting her and used physical force to pull her out of the room. Rasha is pregnant. Her husband and her kids were hold down forcing to watch the fight between Rusha and the police. "They called me 'Schwein' and 'Müll'. They said to me: 'Du bist ein Schwein, du musst hier weg.' Schwein means pig and Müll means rubbish. The police handcuffed Rusha and her husband on the way from the centre to the airport. The doctor, who accompanied Rusha because of her pregnancy, and the same police men who violently forced the family out of their home sat next to Rusha. She said that the doctor told her that she does not belong to Germany anyways, but in Spain people would have the same skin colour and thus she might be successful working as a prostitute. In Spain, Rusha and her family were housed for the first two weeks in a 15m2 room at the Hostal Welcome. Finally, after 17 days, they moved to CAR Alcobendas. Rusha does not feel good living in a centre. She has a family and young children. All the four of them sharing one room. She wants to raise and educate her daughters, but in the centre she barely has the freedom to make her own decisions or the decisions for her family. One day, Rusha wanted to make pictures of the centre. The security guard, equipped with handcuffs and a baton, ask her to stop it threatening her that her misbehaviour could influence her case. The decision on her life and on the life of her family lies in the hands of others.



Hostal Welcome, Madrid

**What's your story?**

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Approaching the Subject

The number of asylum seekers<sup>1</sup> in the European Union (EU) has been growing significantly in recent years. While there were 200.000 asylum applicants in 2006, the number rose in the EU to more than 330.000 in 2012. In the first two quarters of 2013 (January to July), almost 200.000 people applied for asylum in the countries of the EU, an increase of around 50 per cent compared to the first two quarters of 2012 (UNHCR 2013a). Due to persecution, war, ethnic, tribal and religious violence, as well as on-going conflicts and trying situations in African and Arabian countries, more asylum seekers are expected to flee to the EU in the future. Asylum seekers are distributed unevenly throughout the EU. In individual countries, they are usually allocated to the states/regions of the country, and then to the municipalities and cities due to an allocation key or the disposability of accommodations (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2013). Asylum migration is a global phenomenon, which is regulated on the EU- and national level. However, the specific organisation and arrangements of European and national legislations and the direct consequences for asylum seekers are conducted on the local scale of the communes: the *European City* is thus the scene of this form of migration. It is the cities where integration, accommodation and the struggle for the rights of asylum seekers take place.

Migrants, which flee to the EU to look for protection, are predominantly housed in asylum centres during the oft long-standing asylum procedure. Recent studies by the European Migration Network (2014) illustrate that the housing policy for asylum seekers in the EU member states is mainly characterised by the establishment of a decentralised system of asylum centres. Recently, the reception of asylum seekers and their housing in mass accommodation centres caused not only political debates but also conflicts and protest in the urban space. In autumn 2013, the EU border policy in the Mediterranean region dominated international headlines and pointed out the challenges of refugees trying to access Europe's borders to apply for asylum. Almost 400 refugees drowned on the borders of *Fortress Europe* close to the coast of the Italian isle Lampedusa. Since then, the term "Lampedusa" is used to describe refugees aiming to immigrate to Europe using sea routes across the Mediterranean Sea. The so-called "Lampedusa-Refugees", who occasionally migrate through Italy to other regions of the EU, raise attention to their situation and their treatment under the EU asylum policy, hoping to negotiate their political interests, by occupying public spaces with "Refugee Camps"<sup>2</sup> within several European cities like Berlin, Hamburg and Vienna. The city became the place to discuss the treatment of asylum seekers and the terms of their access to Europe and the society: 'Lampedusa is everywhere' became a slogan used by refugees and activists (Wöllert 2013).

In 2013, a new asylum centre was established in the Berlin district Hellersdorf. Right wing neighbourhood initiatives and parties have protested and attacked the new centre. Left wing activists demonstrated not only against the xenophobic movement but also against the way asylum seekers are treated and accommodated. On New Years Eve 2013, fireworks were shot into the centre and at its residents (Mai 2014). In 2012, asylum seekers that were accommodated in Bavarian centres initiated a 600 kilometres long refugee march from Würzburg to Berlin raising attention to the bad reception conditions in Bavarian asylum centres. In Hørslom, the second wealthiest commune of Denmark, neighbourhood residents have been protesting against the development of a new departure centre for (failed) asylum seekers since summer 2013. The protest is politically driven by the major and certain groups of Hørslom's society claiming that there will be an increase in crime and a decrease of the land values. In 2008, a major movement called "Close the Camps" developed in Denmark driven by thousands of demonstrators and supported by refugee and human rights organisations with the purpose of pointing out the bad and inhumane living conditions of asylum seekers in Denmark's centres (I Grandparents for Asylum 2014). One of the major demonstrations conducted to highlight issues, not only on the national and local but also on the EU level, was the Refugee Protest March from Strasbourg to Brussels in May and June 2014. It involved asylum seekers and refugees from several EU countries demonstrating against EU's border policy, the Dublin Regulation, and the accommodation in the centres.

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<sup>1</sup> An asylum seeker is someone who has asked the government for protection under international law and has not yet had a decision on his or her case. A refugee is someone who has proven that they need protection under international law and the government has granted them refugee status (UNHCR 2013b).

<sup>2</sup> Refugee Camps are temporary protest settlements in public spaces, used by refugees to call attention on their deprived situation and to negotiate their political interests.

For many years, national and international acting refugee organisations like Human Rights Watch, ProAsyl, Refugees Welcome and the Refugee Council have claimed that asylum centres are not an appropriate, humane and socially inclusive way to house asylum seekers. However, the member states stick to this housing policy or even extend it further due to the current rise of asylum seekers. *Why did housing asylum seekers in mass accommodation centres develop into the primary strategy for most of the EU countries and what socio-political functions do the centres have? What effects has this form of housing on the life of asylum seekers and how can the increase in protest movements by asylum seekers, refugees and activists be explained?*

## 1.2 Objectives and Assumptions

Recently, forced migration and asylum migration have been strongly debated due to the increase of refugees and asylum seekers in the European Union (EU). Alternatively, the political dealings with refugees on the EU- and local level have become the centre of the societal discussion. Two major issues characterise the political and media discourse: the access of asylum seekers to the EU at the borders and the local dealings with them once they have arrived and are accommodated in the member states. As shown in chapter 2.2, there are several disciplines and scholars investigating not only migration flows, the causes for migration, and the EU and national asylum laws, but also the explicit obligations and restrictions towards asylum seekers, their living conditions, and the way they are received, accommodated and integrated (or isolated) in the EU and several member states. Nevertheless, the current discussions lack a scientific, comprehensive and comparative examination of the asylum centres (as the main form of housing) and their consequences on the life of asylum seekers not only from a policy view but also more importantly from a socio-spatial perspective. This is required to understand the causes for implementation of this form of housing, the social objectives of the centres, and the poor treatment of asylum seekers. The discourse on asylum migration and asylum policy is shaped and charged by politics and morality. Thus, this thesis aims not only to add to the science on housing asylum seekers and asylum centres as an EU phenomenon, but also to put the issue on the political agenda in a scientific manner.

In this thesis housing policies, in particular the implementation of centres as a form of housing, are used to investigate how, and for what reasons, spaces are installed and maintained for a longer period to systematically accommodate specific groups of people. As Pieper (2008: 566) argues, “the camp is more than just a place to live for the residents, it is the forced centre of life and it has developed into the focal point for the effects of the single laws for migrants without secure residence status” (translated from German into English; Kreichauf). Within this thesis, the asylum centre is thus considered as a location where policies and approaches towards asylum seekers are translated into space. The asylum centre, as a space, reflects the treatment of asylum seekers, but it is also the place where approaches are produced. The research work studies the characteristics of asylum centres, their role in housing policies, to what extent the asylum centre influences the integration process of asylum seekers into the urban society of North, Middle and South European cities, and how asylum seekers act against possible exclusionary mechanisms. On the basis of the analysis of asylum centres in (Greater) Copenhagen (Denmark), Berlin (Germany), and Madrid (Spain), the thesis exemplifies the “system of centres” and different forms of it in respect to national specifics. In this context, the study discusses current policies and political decisions on housing at the EU, national and predominantly at the local level of the case studies. Further, it defines causes for the implementation of this form of housing, and it analyses the socio-political functions of the centres. The conditions of asylum seekers living in these centres are a major focus of this study. It thus illustrates the experiences of asylum seekers, the spatial characteristics of housing, and the “spaces of living” (location, equipment, characteristics of the neighbourhood) to explain the consequences of the centres on the integration process of this group. Finally, this thesis evaluates the asylum centre in the context of social theories and the concept of the European City and its development due to economic and political changes.

Regarding these objectives, this research work explores the following assumptions and leading themes:

- The asylum centre is the dominant form of housing in the case studies.
- It represents the spatial outcome of restrictive EU asylum and external borders policies in the EU, as well as the political and societal treatment of asylum seekers.
- The location, the material conditions, and the socio-political functions of asylum centres affect the integration process and the image of asylum seekers.

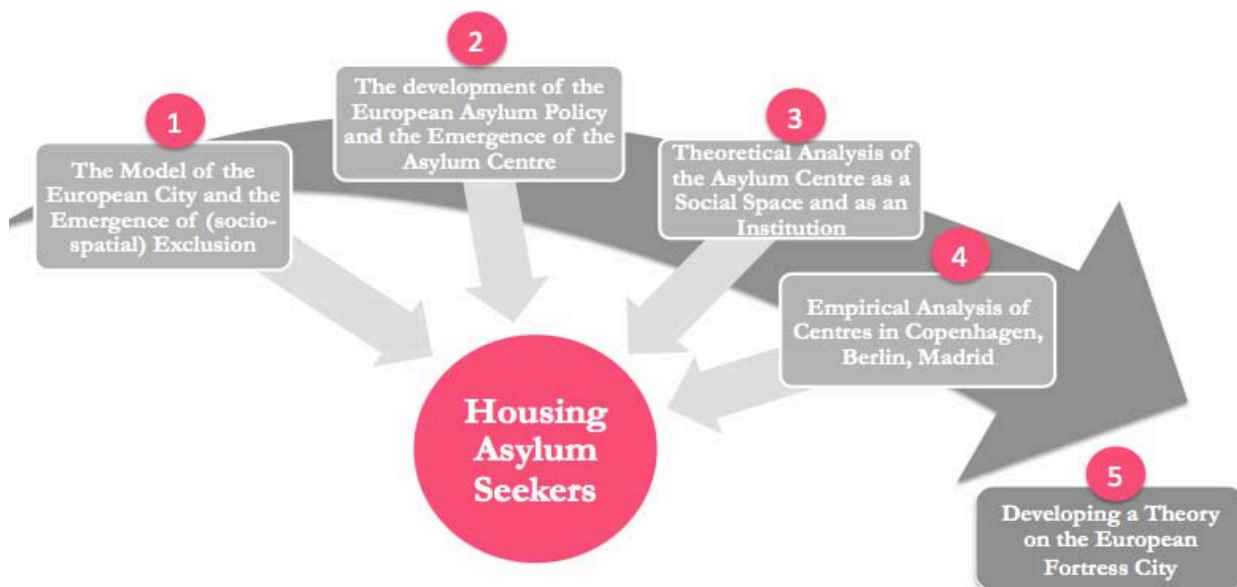
- The asylum centre serves as an exclusionary institution aiming to systematically isolate asylum seekers and prevent them from contributing to the characteristics of the European City. It thus illustrates a socially produced space as an instrument to regulate, place and exclude the ethnical ‘otherness’.

### 1.3 Research Design

This master thesis is set up as a qualitative, comparative and comprehensive study based on the issue of ‘housing asylum seekers in European cities and its impacts on the exclusion of this group’. It aims to investigate following core questions: What effects has housing in asylum centres on the life of asylum seekers in European cities? Why did the asylum centre developed to the dominant housing form and what socio-politico functions does it have? This chapter presents the major perspectives and methods used to investigate these questions.

#### 1.3.1 Accessing the topic

In the two mentioned research questions, following keywords are obvious and give an idea on the several issues of this study: ‘effects’, ‘housing (in asylum centres)’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘European cities’ and ‘socio-politico functions’. They point out the scale of investigation (the European city), the subjects of investigation (asylum seekers), the objects of investigation (asylum centres) and the topic of the study (effects (of housing in centres for asylum seekers in European cities) and the functions of the centres).



**Fig. 1 Accessing the topic of housing asylum seekers; own illustration**

Following four research angles and accesses are used to grasp these dimensions (see figure 1):

- 1) Since Pieper (2008) argues that the development of comprehensive legislations on asylum and housing are increasingly developed and regulated on the EU level, and since the European city is usually perceived as a place of integrating migrants (see for example Siebel 2005; Häußermann, Siebel 2004; Kazepov 2005), the model of the European city focusing on integration and the emergence of (socio-spatial) exclusion is presented.
- 2) To understand and define the phenomenon of the asylum centre, theories of the social space as well as theories on institutions are used to grasp the emergence, different forms, and socio-politico aims of the asylum centres. These first two approaches are used to theoretically access the European city as the scale and to describe the concepts of segregation and exclusion. The disposition of spatial theory and theories on the development of institutional structures further classifies the emergence of asylum centres, interpreting their features and functions.
- 3) The asylum centre is not a naturally developed housing form as it would be, for example, if it were introduced by market structures or housing demand. Both Pieper (2008) and Agamben (1998) veri-

fied that the centre – in the modern context – was developed by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century through the decisions of rulers and authorities. To grasp the emergence and reasons for the centres becoming the major form in housing asylum seekers in Europe, legislations and policies on asylum and the housing of asylum seekers are examined with case studies at the EU scale, the national level, and the local level of Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid.

- 4) The empirical analysis, using a set of qualitative methods, of housing policies related to asylum centres, the characteristics and functions of asylum centres, as well as the living conditions of asylum seekers within these centres. The analysis is thus limited for the following reasons:
  - a) Asylum centres are primarily established to house asylum seekers for a period of time during the procedure of applying for asylum. Usually, once their status is decided, they move out of the centres.
  - b) Asylum seekers are very vulnerable because they only have insecure residence permission and limited access to rights. For asylum seekers, there are usually certain legislations on the EU and the national (even sometimes on the local) level and ‘asylum systems’. Therefore, compared to other migrant groups, a closed and separate benefit system and sets of legislations have been established managing asylum seekers.
  - c) Asylum seekers are an international phenomenon with rights decided at the international level (The Geneva Convention) but, in the end, this phenomenon is translated into the urban space.

### *1.3.2 Selection of Case Studies and the Centres*

The master thesis aims to give a comprehensive understanding of housing policies for asylum seekers in European cities. Within this thesis a broader selection of case studies was limited. Since the EMN (2014) study has proven that the reception conditions of asylum seekers vary along the lines of North, Middle and South European countries, it has been decided to choose three case studies in three different countries in North, Middle and South Europe. The asylum centres were chosen on the basis of local peculiarities, access, and the aim to represent the particular structure of the system of centres. For asylum seekers, there are usually three forms of centres: the reception centre, the accommodation centre and the detention centre (for rejected asylum seekers). Within this thesis it has been impossible to study detention centres because access to them was restricted. Moreover, the study focuses on asylum seekers who are in the state of application and who are in the asylum procedure. It is for these reasons that the reception and accommodation centres are the focus.

In 2013, Germany is the country with the highest number of asylum seekers in the world (UNHCR 2013a). Its capital, Berlin, has had Europe-wide attention due to conflicts over implementing a new centre and related protests by right wing groups, neighbourhood initiative, and left wing activist. With more than 6.000 asylum seekers, Berlin is a hotspot for housing and integrating asylum seekers – not only in Germany but also in the EU. In Berlin, there are 36 asylum centres. Four of them have been selected with the aim of representing Berlin’s diverse structure of asylum centres. Thus, two reception centres, one accommodation centre, and one emergency shelter have been chosen.

Denmark does not perceive itself as a country of immigration. Within the EU policy discourse, Denmark is known for trying to achieve exceptions from EU legislations, especially when it comes to immigration laws (Hedetoft 2006). As a country in the North, it is thus useful to investigate the national and local conditions of housing asylum seekers in Copenhagen in that it is the capital city of a welfare state that is predominantly designed on the basis of a culturally similar citizenry. Centre Sandholm is the centre closest to Copenhagen and it is the only centre in Denmark, which overtakes the functions of first reception, accommodation and detention. Additionally, all of the Danish interviewees argued that the centre might be unique in its structure, but it represents perfectly the Danish asylum and housing system and the location of centres in remote and isolated areas. Due to its functions, its reputation, and its proximity to Copenhagen, Centre Sandholm has been selected.

Spain, as a country on the Mediterranean, is like Italy and Greece in that it is one of the major reception countries for asylum seekers trying to migrate to Europe. Ceuta and Melilla – two Spanish enclaves on the African continent – are especially symbols of strict EU border policies and the partition of Europe towards asylum seekers. Spain has been a country of emigration (largely due to its colonial history) until the 1970s. Nevertheless, it was only a few decades ago that Spain became a country of immigration and

starting to define itself as such. Due to the delay in implementing EU laws (compared to Germany and Denmark; due it is later entry to the EU) and the current economic crisis, it is believed that the asylum laws and regulations on housing vary from those in North European countries (Kreienbrink 2010). Hence, studying Madrid as a focal point of housing asylum seekers (more than half of the asylum seekers are housed in or around Madrid) in the context of crisis, but also in the context of a country that is strongly seeing itself as a country of immigration, is a fundamental part of understanding the complexity of how European cities accommodate and integrate asylum seekers. To illustrate Madrid's relative diversity in the fields of accommodating asylum seekers, three types of centres have been investigated: the two accommodation centres run by the state, the only official reception centre in Madrid and Spain, and two apartments, which are certainly characterised by another setting of housing, but which have, as this study shows, similar functions and aims as the 'usual' accommodation centres.

### *1.3.3 Set of Methods*

How can the centre and the living conditions in the centre be investigated? How can the functions of this form of housing be grasped and how, in this context, can exclusion due to housing be studied empirically? On the one hand, this study relies on given theoretical and empirical material conducted on housing asylum seekers in several countries of the EU, the ideas of the European city as a place of integration and the concepts of socio-spatial inequality, segregation and exclusion. However, the current state of research presented in chapter 2.3 highlights the limits of these classical concepts to the analysis of the effects of housing in asylum centres. The asylum centre is a 'special place', a place of 'forced segregation', of an 'unnatural' and not market driven placing of migrants within one place, politically pushed and conducted by authorities (Pieper 2008). Furthermore, the classical segregation research, especially in regards to its focus on qualitative measures and the development of segregation and dissimilarity indexes, often fails to explain causes, power relations, social hierarchies and the perception of progress (Kreichauf 2012). The asylum centre represents a socio-spatial alterity, which is embedded in societal balances of power, legally produced structures and orders to accommodate 'the others' (Pieper 2008). Hence, it is the centre as a space that is in the focus of this study. Grasping the asylum centre as an instrument of power and the asylum seekers as residents living within this instrument, the thesis focuses on three major methods: the analysis of policies, the theoretical analysis of the centre as a space, and the empirical analysis of the centre.

#### *Analysis of Policies*

The analysis of policies is based on the research of laws, alien acts, directives and regulations on three levels: the EU legislations, the national legislations of the case countries, and the local regulations and political practices. Analysis of legislations on the local level of the case cities is realized based on the following criteria: identifying major legislations and acts and the framework within which the acts are implemented (for example constitution, laws on labour or a separate set of laws); identifying regulations on access to the labour market and access to education and health; the implementation of EU laws on housing, and, most importantly, legal directives and strategies on accommodation. To grasp and further discuss the findings on the policy research, decision-making authorities in the three case studies have been confronted with it using semi-structured interviews. Interviews have been conducted in Copenhagen with the *Udlandingestyrelsen* (Danish Immigration Service), in Berlin with an official of the *Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit und Soziales* (Senate for Health and Social Affairs,) and in Madrid with the head of *S.G. Integración de los Inmigrantes, Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social* (Subdirection for the Integration of Migrants of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs).

#### *Theoretical Analysis of the Centre*

The theoretical analysis of the centre as a space is based on major research work on the production of spaces and spaces of states of exception using two accesses: the centre as a spatial outcome and the centre as an institutional structure or production. The goal of this theoretical analysis is to understand the development of spaces like asylum centres and to empirically study their impacts on the asylum seekers. To really grasp the asylum centre theoretically, it is important to use different theoretical angles and ideas. Hence, the analysis is not limited to one major theory, but it studies different concepts of spaces and institutional structures. Furthermore, the analysis of the theory is used as a framework to empirically study the asylum centre in the case studies. The framework is demonstrated in chapter 3.4.

### *Empirical Analysis of the Living Conditions in the Centre*

The empirical analysis of the centre and its effects on its residents is the major part and angle of this study. To discuss the living conditions of asylum seekers, their access to the urban society, and the characteristics of the asylum centres, the following four qualitative methodologies have been conducted: on-site visits and the spatial analysis of the centre, interviews, participatory observations and exchange of knowledge and discussion of the findings.

The *spatial analysis* covered visits and the spatial investigations of ten asylum centres, one in (Greater) Copenhagen, four in Berlin, and three (plus two apartments) in Madrid. It included a mapping of a centre and a *Catalogue of Isolation* (see Appendix A) on the spatial characteristics of the centre and its surroundings. The catalogue is based on Höpner (2004), who investigates the locations of asylum centres in Berlin and who defines several measures to identify the spatial isolation of both the centre and its residents. However, his measures have been further developed to categories, which describe different forms of isolation and stages of exclusion. The catalogue provides 33 categories in four dimensions of isolation: large-scale isolation, small-scale isolation, symbolic isolation and stigmatisation as well as individual isolation. The large-scale isolation describes the location in the region or the city as well as the spatial distances to urban centres and the accessibility of public transport. The small-scale isolation dimension focuses on the immediate surroundings of the centre and for example the access to schools and facilities of daily uses. The dimension symbolic isolation and stigmatisation is dedicated to the spatial structures of the actual centre and the image and conditions of it. The individual isolation describes the organisation of space in the centre by categories like access to the facilities of the centres and forms of surveillance. The catalogue illustrates an accumulation of both spatial investigation of the centres and information received by the interviewees. Finally, all of the nominal categories of the dimensions have been translated into ordinal measures. These measures exemplify the ratings, which have been combined to an overall evaluation of the spatial characteristics (from inclusion to exclusion). Even though this spatial analysis of the centres presents very complex and detailed findings, it is only used as a part of the *spatial* investigation of the centres. The ‘isolation catalogue’ does not aim to illustrate social structures, power relations and causes, but it is used to categorise and describe the spatial characteristics of the centres.

In social sciences, *qualitative interviews* are very common. The method is used in this thesis to identify expert knowledge, experiences and the subjective perspective of the interviewees towards housing in the case studies. The special achievement of qualitative interviews lies in the opportunity to detect situation, topics and actions, as well as daily routines, interpretations and perception in a very differentiated manner (Hopf 2010). Interviews have been conducted on three levels: decision makers (politicians, administration, operators of the centres), refugee organisations and initiatives, and asylum seekers (see figure 2). The aim of the three-level-division is to develop a broad context of findings from experts that are in charge of decisions on housing. The three-level-division includes experts and active activists, both of whom work within the legal setting as well as with asylum seekers and thus have a rather differentiated insight, and the asylum seekers as the residents with their experiences, daily routines and perceptions of the introduced housing form. Altogether, 34 formal interviews have been conducted: 13 in Copenhagen, eleven in Berlin, and ten in Madrid. Additionally, one focus group discussion with social workers has been performed in Berlin. All of the interviewees are presented in appendix B. The interviews have been evaluated using Mayring’s (2011) methods of content analyses. The content analysis was used to develop categories and codes to study the empirical material.

Level/City	Copenhagen	Berlin	Madrid
Decision Makers	4	7	5 (+3)
Refugee Organisations and Initiatives	6	3	(3)
Asylum Seekers	3	1	2
Total	13	11	10

**Fig. 2: Interviews conducted on different levels in the case studies; own illustration**

There are many different types and procedures of qualitative interviews. Within this study, two types of interviews have been conducted. The first one is the “open and guideline-based interview” (or semi-structured interview) on the basis of a question (Lamnek 2005). The interviews are thus characterised by

an initial question used as a starting point for the interviewees to present impressions and personal experiences (Hopf 2010). The interview guide contains questions that aim to discover facts, experiences, stories and opinions about the issue. However, the guide was not strictly followed in the interviews. The interviews were ‘open’ and thus adapted to the specific interview situation and interviewee, allowing the interviewee to divert the interview in another direction but still within the frame of the interview guide and the question categories. This approach was used for interviewing the first two groups: decision makers and refugee organisations and initiatives. These interviews have been evaluated by the categories/codes in following scheme (see figure 3).

1. Category	Position and involvement in the topic of housing asylum seekers
2. Category	Perception of the history and current trends of asylum migration, asylum policy and the housing situation
3. Category	Description of the causes and consequences of the development of asylum centres
4. Category	Illustration of the conditions of asylum centres (location, operating, equipment)
5. Category	Critiquing the centre: pro and contra arguments for housing in asylum centres
6. Category	Explanation of current urban protests of asylum seekers against conditions in the EU
7. Category	Visions on the future for housing asylum seekers

**Fig. 3: Evaluation scheme for semi-structured interviews; own illustration**

For the third group, the asylum seekers themselves, “unstructured interviews” have been conducted. This method involves the interviewer informally asking open questions about topics, which allow the interviewee to respond freely and in depth (Zhang, Wildemuth 2009). This approach was fundamentally necessary for interviewing the group of asylum seekers as the interview was based on the story and experiences the asylum seeker shared and the interview session aimed to give the asylum seeker the possibility to feel comfortable and to develop trust talking about what he/she thought is necessary to understand his/her situation. Figure 4 illustrates the evaluation scheme<sup>3</sup> for these interviews. Altogether, five unstructured interviews with asylum seekers have been conducted. Nevertheless, many more interviews and informal talks with this group have been carried out which influenced the findings of this study. A lot of these talks were based on trust and the revelation of often very personal experiences. These interviews were not recorded or protocolled and, in respect to the privacy of asylum seekers and in agreement with them, not directly used in this study.

1. Category	Period of time and the centre(s), where the asylum seeker lives and lived
2. Category	Perception of the overall dealings by officials and the ‘host society’
3. Category	Description of the structure and facilities of the space of living
4. Category	Description of the location of living, the access to the city and to facilities of daily needs
5. Category	Illustration of daily activities
6. Category	Explanation of the social atmosphere in the space of living and its surroundings
7. Category	Presentation of personal feelings (anger, pleasure, safety, isolation, disappointments)

**Fig. 4: Evaluation scheme for unstructured interviews; own illustration**

The majority of the other interviews was recorded and transcribed (see appendix). Three expert interviewees in Madrid and all of the asylum seekers did not want to be recorded, but only protocolled. For five asylum seekers, which have been interviewed, short stories based on the protocols have been made (see appendix). These short stories are integrated in the thesis to introduce the asylum seekers and their experiences in a personal and subjective manner. In respect to the privacy and with the consent of the interviewees, all of the interviewees are anonymised in terms of the name of the interviewee in the consistent text, but not in the transcripts and protocols attached to this thesis. As a source, the interview reference is recognizable due to the capital letter ‘T’ for interview at the beginning of the source and the position or institution of the interviewee.

<sup>3</sup> Both of the schemes function as analytical tools. However, in respect to different national and cultural settings and often due to different actors in charge, the schemes can be seen as open frameworks aiming to categories major information and material of the interviews.

The *participatory observation* contained an investigation of the procedures in the centres due to several stays and observations of daily routines. The observations contained the investigation of social interactions, talks, and non-verbal reactions. To experience the daily practices of asylum seekers in the centre, the ethnographical method of “go along” (Kusenbach 2003) was used. This method made it possible perceive the asylum seekers in the environment of the asylum centre, so the interaction between the subject and the physical space. “Go along” opened deep insights in routines and practices of asylum seekers and the direct interactions between asylum seekers and the staff working in the centres. The observations have been written down in a research diary.

Since the issue of housing asylum seekers is a very political topic, it was important to *discuss first findings* within a broader audience. Thus, the results of the thesis were presented and debated at national, European and international scale, at the annual conference “Stadterneuerung und Armut” (urban development and poverty) on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 2014 in Kassel, Germany, at the annual conference of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in the section “Poverty, Class and Inequality” on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 2014 in San Francisco, USA, and at the 54<sup>th</sup> congress of the European Regional Science Association (ERSA) on Regional Development and Globalisation on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 2014. The outcomes of the debates on political solutions were implemented in this research.

### ***1.3.4 Reflection on the Research Process and Challenges***

The access to the empirical field is different in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid. In Denmark, the identification of authorities, the location of asylum centres and the structures of refugee organisations is relatively easily approached due to the relative small numbers of asylum seekers, centres and authorities and organisations involved in the issue of housing asylum seekers. The addresses of the centres are accessible for the public on the website of the Danish Red Cross who is the operator of the centres. Refugee organisations have been generally quite open to conducting interviews. Nevertheless, contacting administrative and political authorities was a major challenge. Only after months of E-Mail and phone conversations could an interview finally be planned and conducted. More importantly, access to the centres and to asylum seekers has been a big challenge due to the remote locations of asylum centres in the hinterland, often not even within reach of public transport. To address this situation, established relations with refugee organisations, especially the initiative “Grandparents for Asylum,” was helpful for both visiting the centre and getting to know asylum seekers. The experts and activists of organisations provided help in accessing the field, but the asylum centres are still not easy to enter. It is necessary to have an appointment or officially visit an asylum seeker in a centre to finally enter it. Due to this boundary, as well as the remote locations of centres very far away from Copenhagen, only one centre, Centre Sandholm in Greater Copenhagen, has been investigated.

In Berlin, the access to all of the groups and places of focus – authorities, organisations, asylum seekers and centres – has been a major challenge. Due to its relatively high number of asylum seekers and centres (36 in Berlin) as well as the complex and diverse administrative structure, the Berlin situation on housing has been hard to grasp. Politicians, authorities and organisations rarely answered E-Mails and phone calls. The location of centres is not published and authorities did not give the addresses so as to “protect asylum seekers” (I Lageso 2014). However, contact with a social worker working in an asylum centre has been fundamentally helpful in accessing the field. Due to the contacts of this social worker both the connection to operators and asylum seekers has been developed. The operators themselves helped to visit the centres and get in contact with asylum seekers. Moreover, the visits helped to develop insights in the routines of living in asylum centres. A whole day tour to four asylum centres including interviews to the housemasters of the centres and asylum seekers has been conducted with the Executive Director of Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), one of the major operators in Berlin. Furthermore, a visit and interviews with social workers and asylum seekers of the commercial operator Gierso has been held. After months of persistent attempts to make contact, interviews have been conducted with the two major authorities in Berlin in charge for housing (Lageso and the Senate for Health and Social Affairs), with the major refugee organisation (The Berlin Refugee Council) and the political party that is currently very active in supporting the rights of asylum seekers (The Pirate Party Berlin).

In Madrid, first approaches to access the empirical field failed due to language difficulties: E-Mails remained unanswered and on the telephone people were not able to understand the researcher. A strategy, which has been proven to be successful, was direct confrontation with administrates and organisations

and ‘just going there and being persistent about getting an interview with persons in charge’. Using this approach, interviews have been conducted with the major responsible parties: the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, the Office for Asylum and Refugees, and the operators. Very good contact and support with the authorities of the ministries further helped to get a hold on the refugee organisations. The access to asylum seekers was mainly enabled in the reception centre, the Hostal Welcome, since it is an open hotel and it is easy to physically enter it compared to the controlled accommodation centres. Nevertheless, language difficulties and the scepticism of interviewees towards the researcher and his questions often limited the access and the conduction of interviews.

To summarise, the issue of housing asylum seekers is a very sensitive politically and morally charged issue in all of the case studies. Therefore, access to the empirical field was generally challenged by first finding the right approach and attitude of the researcher respective to the specific, difficult and often very frustrating situation of asylum seekers. Secondly, understanding and accepting the national and cultural specifics of the structures of the case studies was also, in the end, necessary to access them. Thirdly, language difficulties generally influenced the research process in several ways. The majority of the interviews have been conducted in English, which is, nor the author’s mother tongue or the mother tongue of the interviewees. Naturally, misunderstandings occurred between interviewer and interviewees. Not being able to speak the local language of the authorities or the mother tongue of asylum seekers often created an atmosphere of distance and, in regard to interviews with local authorities, a ‘feeling of not belonging here’. A specific kind of language had to be developed to conduct formal and official interviews with authorities whereas interviews with asylum seekers required a less scientific but more everyday language.

Furthermore, access to key holders and authorities was generally difficult. The researcher used the power-knowledge complex of Foucault (1977) by using his research position at the Arbeitsbereich Urbanistik of the Technical University of Vienna to present himself and his study. Presenting the researcher as a scientific member of the Arbeitsbereich Urbanistik and not as a ‘usual’ Master’s student helped to contact authorities in high positions and to arrange an interview. Finally, the balance between distance and empathy was a major challenge in regards to interviewing asylum seekers. Creating an atmosphere that enables asylum seekers to talk about their situations and problems required trust and patience. Getting to know asylum seekers and their specific living conditions has been a long-term process, which often resulted in friendships forming. However, for the research process, a certain emotional distance and neutrality had to be kept. There are also ethical criteria defining the process. Asylum seekers are persecuted by war or for other reasons that lead them to hope for protection. They often left their homes, families and friends behind. Some are highly affected by the situation in their home countries or by the experiences they made migrating to Europe. What is the researcher’s right to “use” their situations and problems only for the purpose of developing a study research in which they are only cases and codes and not persons with stories? The clear and ambitious aim of this thesis is not only filling research gaps, but to highlight the situation of asylum seekers, to give them a voice with a scientific and empirically grounded study, and to finally contribute to the current political discussion on receiving asylum seekers. In order to protect the anonymity of the asylum seekers, they have been given fake names within these thesis rather than being identified with numbers and codes. Additionally, short stories about some of the asylum seekers have been made to present their specific situations. More importantly, there has been constant exchange and cooperation with asylum seekers and refugee organisations like the Trampoline House, Grandparents for Asylum, Asylret and Refugees Welcome in Copenhagen, the Berlin Refugee Council and the Pirates in Berlin as well as with SOS Racismo and CEAR in Madrid. One intention of this thesis is to give these organisations a scientific and neutral reference helping them to establish their arguments in the debate on housing asylum seekers.

## 1.4 Outline of the Thesis

This first chapter established the main research questions, the objectives of the thesis and the research design. Additionally, chapter 1.3 is not only dedicated to the presentation of used research methods and the mixed-method approach, but also illustrates the aggregation and operationalization of the methods to the empirical findings. To embed the research question within an academic framework, the second chapter presents models and trends of the European city and the current state of research regarding housing asylum seekers in Europe. Chapter Three illustrates the analysis of housing asylum seekers from a theoretical

angle. Concepts of social theories are used to grasp 'space' as a category of inequality and exclusion and to theoretically approach the study object 'asylum centres'. Chapter Three, Part Four highlights the major findings of this analysis by presenting a framework consisting of dimensions and sub-questions to study the empirical reality, which is investigated in Chapter Four and Five. Chapter Four presents the analysis of asylum policies of the EU, Denmark, Germany and Spain. The major part of this thesis is dedicated to chapter five. It contains the empirical findings. Chapter 5.1 focuses on the political practices in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid. Chapters 5.2 presents the investigation of the centre systems. 5.3 deals with the exclusionary characteristics and mechanisms due to housing and chapter 5.4 introduces conflicts that arise from housing asylum seekers. Finally, chapter six summarises the major findings of the centre and its excluding functions (6.1), and its potential to be part of a chain of destruction (6.2), the perception of asylum seekers as an urban non class (6.3) and the establishment of hypotheses on a theory towards the *Fortress European City* (6.4).



# What's your story?

Bilan is 27 years old, gay, and a fashion designer. He is from Pakistan, where, as he argues, there is no official gay life, but a hidden one. He had a relationship with a married man. The relationship lasted almost one year until the wife of his boyfriend found out about their relationship. She informed the whole family of both Bilan and her husband. His boyfriend's family followed him several times aiming murder Bilan. Bilan was able to escape all the time, but he felt more and more unsafe in Pakistan. No matter where he was going or to what place in Pakistan he was fleeing to, the boyfriend's family was chasing him. Bilan could not deal with this situation and the fear on his life any longer. He fled to Germany. In the beginning, he was housed in Berlin's biggest centre Motardstraße until he was distributed to an accommodation centre. In this centre, he was living in a room with three other men from Pakistan. They insulted him for being gay, for not wearing traditional clothes and for his sensitive reactions towards their offenses. Bilan felt always insecure; he could not sleep; he was not hungry; he was afraid. Luckily, Bilan met a supportive social worker, which he trusted. The social worker managed to find a single-room for Bilan in Centre Rhinstraße in Berlin-Lichtenberg. Nevertheless, Bilan feels alone in the centre. He argues that he has nothing to do all day expect for watching films and being on Facebook. He has no friends in Berlin yet and feels excluded. Sometimes he dates guys, but he cannot take them home with him, because the centre does not allow visitors after ten pm. In June 2014, Bilan found an apartment with the help of the social worker. He moved into the apartment in July and is now a bit happier of being able to be himself and to have a private life.



Centre Motardstraße, Berlin

## 2. The Exclusion of Asylum Seekers in European Cities

Urban development and migration are mutually dependent. Today's metropolis emerged through migration, especially in the era of industrialisation. Without migration, cities would currently not experience a population growth. Even population stagnation would be impossible, especially in terms of the on-going demographic change in EU member states (Häußermann 2000). However, there are different forms of migration. On the one hand, there is migration within a country or a political and economic unity and on the other hand there are various forms of immigration to a country respectively the city (from abroad). Migration research defines several forms of immigration depending, for example, on reasons and countries of origin. At the present time, immigration in the European Union is mainly characterised by the following types: family union, labour and education migration, forced migration, and irregular migration (Angenendt, 2009). However, the forms of migration are not only determined by cause, but also by political dealings, EU- and national legislations, and societal attitudes towards migrants. Thus, there is a distinction between “wanted” and “unwanted” immigration which becomes very obvious when considering how recent discussions on how to create a welcoming culture for qualified migrants exists parallel to the political and societal demands to limit forced migration and the reception of asylum seekers (Öztürk, 2013).

Migration has always challenged and influenced urban development and the constitution of the (urban) society in regards to the integration<sup>4</sup> of migrants. Certainly legislations and integration policies are important for the integration process, but actual integration takes place in cities and neighbourhoods. It is for this reason that the city is of major importance for the integration process of migrants. For centuries, towns, cities and metropolitan areas have shaped European society and civilisation – migration has played an important part of that. Nowadays, across Europe's cities, citizens are concerned about the migration and integration of new minorities and especially about new trends in international migration flows (European Commission 2007). Due to the transformation of economy, society and political approaches since the early 1970s, European cities are challenged with new forms of social inequality, the (socio-spatial) integration of migrants, and exclusionary processes towards this group (Kazepov 2005; Mingione 1996).

### 2.1 The European City: From an “Integration Engine” to a Place of Exclusion

In 7.000 years of urbanisation, the European city “marks a deviation from the norm” (Siebel 2005). In Europe, a very specific form of city emerged. Max Weber (1921) defined the occidental city highlighting several characteristics such as the market economy, self-administration, density and size, as well as its fundamental importance for the development of capitalism. Weber distinguishes the city from the rural and the European society from other forms of society. He argues that the city enables the coexistence and life of people that do not know each other. Georg Simmel's article “Metropolis and mental life” (2002) investigates the relationship between the individual aspects of life and those, which transcend the existence of single individuals. Within the context of the European city, Simmel shows how the personality of an individual accommodates itself in adjustment to the external forces of modern life in the metropolis. Simmel's article discusses the position of the individual in the urban life of the new metropolis in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and his psychological coping with its form of existence. On the one hand, he explains the development of several characteristics (for example the “blasé” attitude), which describe the individual and its behaviour in the urban space. On the other hand, Simmel uses the metropolis to illustrate the individual's liberation and emancipation from the binding mentality of the small community. He states that the notions of heterogeneity, density and size, the process of individualisation, emancipation, and the specific characteristics of the big city dweller are the basis for people living together in a small and dense urban space and for the (partial) integration of newcomers. He also describes the challenges of this process: “The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life” (ibid.:11).

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<sup>4</sup> Integration is a very broad concept characterised by political and societal and also individual attitudes and approaches towards immigration and migrants. The understanding of integration can thus have various forms like the assimilation of immigrants (adapting the culture and social norms of the host society) or various concepts on multiculturalism (respecting and “integrating” the different backgrounds, cultures and social norms).

Respecting Simmel's and Weber's early attempts to grasp 'the urban' and the European city, Walter Siebel (2005) suggests five categories which define European cities: the presence of history; the hope of Emancipation (the European city as a place of revolution and of empowering the middle class through anonymity and tolerance); urbanity and the development of the urban lifestyle (the development of a public sphere and a private sphere); form (political, economic and cultural centrality, compactness, mixture of living, working, relaxing), and urban planning (the European city as a planned and regulated city). Siebel argues that, "none of these five characteristics is found exclusively in European cities – and not all five characteristics are found equally in each European city. But in their totality, they characterise an ideal type, allowing one to define the particularity of the European city when compared to cities in other cultural circles" (ibid.: 2).

In their writings, the three authors underline emancipation, diversity and specific features of the urban lifestyle as a basis for the constitution of an urban society. A lot of Europe's metropolises developed in the period of industrialisation. They have been the place, where a new form of industrial society was created and characterised by a new emerging class: the industrial workers. Häußermann (2009) argues that, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the outstanding achievement of European cities was the integration of this class with the development of a comprehensive system of social infrastructures, the emergence of a planning system and the welfare state, as well as a housing policy. The Fordist city developed, which symbolised an 'integration engine' due to industrial growth, mass production and mass consumption. The industrial workers were integrated in a 'levelled middle-class society', which resulted in a relative homogenisation of living conditions and life styles in European cities (suburbanisation processes, social housing developments). Nevertheless, – as Häußermann argues – the model was stressed by economic, political and society changes<sup>5</sup> in the 1970s and that led to Post-Fordist perspectives in economy and society as well as a new political approach: neoliberalism. As a result, forms of community life and the social-spatial structures of cities have changed. Häußermann states that, due to this shift, the European city developed from "an integration engine to new forms of inequality" (148) underpinned by three trends that change the social structure and the social cohesion of European cities for a long term: 1) inequality of income due to the shift from an industrial to a service society, 2) a growing ethnic heterogenisation of society and new challenges for integration and social cohesion, and 3) the economisation of basic technical services and the privatisation of housing supply. These changes have resulted in new forms of segregation and social exclusion. In the passing years, several scholars (for example Frey, Koch 2011; Gelés 2010; Kazepov 2005; Musterd, Ostendorf 1998) argued that the European City has lost its ability to integrate migrants due to economic, political and social changes that have caused inequalities and the social exclusion of migrants increase.

The analysis of social inequality is one of the major research fields in urban sociology. Class, gender, milieus, ethnicity, race and others categories are used to explain processes and mechanisms of inequality (Dangschat 2000). The focus of investigation inequality from an urban perspective is the question of how patterns of social inequality are translated into the urban space and how the uneven distribution of different population groups (based on the mentioned categories) develops. Therefore, in the fields of urban sociology and urban studies, integration and migration are investigated within the context of ethnic segregation (Kreichauf 2012). Ethnic segregation describes the disproportional distribution or socio-spatial differentiation of migrant groups and their residential locations in a city or city region in respect to ethnic characteristics (race, cultural background etc.) (Häußermann, Siebel 2004: 173): Ethnic segregation de-

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<sup>5</sup> Fordism has imploded and replaced by a 'new economy' – a neo- Fordist system underpinned by information technologies and network around the globe and a new political strategy - neoliberalism – that view that the state should have a minimal role as a regulator (Hall, 1988). The most important differences between Fordism and Post-Fordism is the shift from unskilled to skilled labour force, reorganisation of the labour market by free market economy, new technologies (just-in-time-production, niche production), flexibility of labour power, delocalisation of manual labour, increased competition, dualisation of society, social restructuring, and cultural change. These changes are still having an enormous social and societal impact. There is a flexible utilization of labour and new requirements for qualification: New forms of monitoring as well as control and surveillance tasks require highly skilled, flexible, deployable, self-working employees. Trends in the society, like individualisation and the need for self-development, favour this new system. However, the problem of stagnating purchasing power remains. The high unemployment rate leads to the development of a sector of informal and precarious employment. This leads to a polarization of the workforce, which is also reflected in the market: There were cheap mass-produced goods on the one versus luxury goods on the other side. Post-fordism can be seen as one aspect of the increasing role of globalisation and an international orientated economy, but also as the end of the era of the economic growth. Both Fordism and Post-Fordism are very broad-ranging concepts used to analyse changes in the way people work, changes in the way industrial production is structured, and changes in the organisation of society as a whole. They are also key concepts used to study changes and processes in urban development using cities as the scene and mirror of these changes (ibid.).

scribes the socio-spatial concentration of ethnic groups. The segregation of immigrants is often perceived as a failure of urban integration. However, in regards to the studies of the Chicago School<sup>6</sup>, ethnic segregation can be also seen as a ‘natural process’ of the distribution of migrants in a city. Krämer-Badoni (2001) argues that segregation may thus also be seen as a starting point for integration. He states that the integration of immigrants in the modern society often happened due to the segregation without being necessarily excluded from the different dimension of the modern society. The European city, he further explains, always has been characterised by the coexistence of the difference and of the heterogeneity of individuals, groups and locations. Thus, segregation has to be seen as the spatial diversity of a diverse society. Nevertheless, the difference between forced and voluntary segregation has to be respected. While the voluntary segregation might have positive effects on the integration process, forced segregation may result in the deprivation and disadvantage position of migrants. Segregation develops to a problem in integrating migrants, if individual problems are social-spatially accumulated and if unstable socioeconomic living conditions are related to the structure of the (segregated) area. The segregation in a specific location or neighbourhood thus has negative impacts on the integration of migrants. These *neighbourhood effects*<sup>7</sup> further result in the social exclusion of a group determined by the spatial exclusion.

Socio-spatial exclusion can be understood as a complex set of processes and relationships, in which individuals or communities of people are systematically excluded from rights, opportunities and resources (for example housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic participation etc.) in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live and which are key to social integration (Silver 2007). As regards to the spatial aspect, it should be noted that the most socially excluded are also often the most spatially distant. Efforts to explain social-spatial exclusion have for instance focused on measuring the ease (or otherwise) with which people can access what are taken to be core entitlements. As Silver points out, there are several dimension of social exclusion manifested in the urban space. It emerges at the individual level or of the level of a group on majorly four correlated dimension, which Vrooman and Hoff (2012) develop: “material deprivation, limited social participation, inadequate access to basic social rights and a lack of normative integration” (1261). Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman (2007) amplify this dimensions stating that exclusion is thus the combined result of personal risk factors (age, gender, race etc.), macro-societal shifts (developments on the labour market, social changes), and political changes such as new legislations and policies. Tiemann (1993) describes the “phenomena which result from social exclusion therefore include: the resurgence of homelessness, urban crises, ethnic tension, rising long term unemployment, persistent high levels of poverty” (13). Spieker (1998) relates to Tiemann arguing that ‘excluded places’ are characterised by a multidimensional problems, for example the physical decline of the neighbourhood, the economic marginality of the people who live there, social problems such as crime and vandalism, and finally a bad social reputation. Furthermore, he brings another term into the game, which is often not linked to but also mixed with social exclusion: marginalisation. However, he underlines that marginalisation describes people living on the edge of society, whilst the socially excluded have been shut out completely from conventional social norms.

In this context, the socio-spatially excluded people are often understood as the ‘urban underclass’. There are different meanings to this term, which is often used by conservatives and rights to identifying those people that are not able to care for themselves and show an antisocial behaviour (Petersen 1991). Thus, in this context the term is used from a Marxist perspective to define a group shaped and dominated by a society’s economic and political forces but who is systematically, economically, spatially, socially, and socio-psychologically excluded from the integrating institutions of the society. The underclass is the segment of the population that occupies the lowest possible position in a class hierarchy, below the core body of the working class.

Social exclusion is a broad-ranging concept to investigate the development of society and the isolation of groups from the society. The presented studies only illustrate a brief overview of the debate, definitions and concepts on social exclusion. However, the studies demonstrate that social exclusion is translated into the urban space. The outcomes of social exclusion, for example described by Tiemann (1993), are often

<sup>6</sup> The Chicago School was the first major movement of works emerging during the 1920s and 1930s specialising in urban sociology, and the research into the urban environment by combining theory and ethnographic fieldwork in Chicago. The Chicago School developed major concepts, models and research methods, which are influencing the studies on cities until today.

<sup>7</sup> Neighbourhood Effects describe the hypothesis that living in deprived neighbourhoods has a negative effect on resident’s life chances over and above the effect of their individual characteristics (Ham et. al. 2012).

visible in the urban fabric: homelessness, urban crisis and urban deprivation are the ‘spatial results’ of it. Thus, social exclusion is linked to the spatial exclusion: Socially excluded individuals and/or groups are (often) also spatially excluded. The locations, the ‘homes’, the housing, the spaces of daily routines and the neighbourhood of socio-spatially excluded groups are thus the centre of investigating the European city in regards to processes of socio-spatial exclusion.

## **2.2 The socio-spatial Exclusion of Asylum Seekers – Current State of Research**

There are several research works addressing the issue of the exclusion of asylum seekers, especially in regards to restrictive national policies and the housing situation of this group. In respect to the introduction of housing to asylum policies, the distribution of housing and the living conditions of asylum seekers, scholars have investigated the impacts of housing on the quality of living of asylum seekers. This chapter presents recent studies on the socio-spatial exclusion of asylum seekers focussing on investigations on accommodation policies and practices. It distinguishes between studies of organisations and initiatives on general housing situations in European countries, and research work on specific case studies by scholars. Of course, there are plenty of reports, papers and analysis done by NGOs, refugee councils and humanitarian organisations, which broadly illustrate reception policies on the national level of countries concerned and the EU. However, within this chapter they are not perceived as scientific studies and thus not part of the following state of research. Though, they are respected in the empirical part of this thesis.

The study “The Organisation of Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers in different Member States of the European Migration Network (EMN) (2014) gives an overview on different housing forms and practices in the member states of the EU. The study points out the dominant role of asylum centre and different forms that they can take. Further, it classifies the various forms in the context of national and EU asylum policies. The study predominantly argues that mass housing in form of asylum centres characterise asylum policies in almost all EU member states. Furthermore, there are several networks and NGOs investigating Europe’s accommodation situation criticising the establishment of asylum, accommodation and internment centres as inhuman ways of housing asylum seekers. The network *migreurop*, for example, maps all the internment centres in Europe. The network argues that housing in centres in Europe is not aimed primarily to punish or exclude asylum seekers and other migrants, but to demonstrate to the receiving state’s population that migrations are efficiently managed. The state guarantees the protection of its citizens (*migreurop* 2003).

Currently, there is no detailed research work empirically comparing different housing regimes of EU countries by scholars.<sup>8</sup> However, some scholars discussing the asylum centre as an approach of asylum policies in European member states not focussing on specific regions or countries. Wunderlich and Wötzel (2013), for example, describe asylum centres as places of states of exceptions and as border areas, where the state has unfettered power to decide on the inclusion or exclusion of migrants. The centres are conceptualised as places of full control and the social degradation of asylum seekers. In German-speaking Europe, Pieper (2008) illustrates the development of the asylum camp as a social environment. Using empirical data on centres in Berlin, Brandenburg and Lower Saxony as well as social theories, the author describes socio-political functions of the centre and its impacts on its residents. Pieper’s findings are of major importance for the case study of Berlin, Germany in this thesis. Though, the scholar is not primarily focussing on spatial dimensions, he also uses the investigation of the centre to describe the spatial manifestation of restrictive asylum policies and laws. Höpner (2004), instead, analyses the decision on the locations of asylum centres in Berlin. He develops several categories investigating the spatial situation of asylum centre and to what extent these features have influence on the spatial exclusion of both the centre and its residents – findings that are used as a basis for the methodological approach of this thesis. Further, Goerens (2003) describes living situation of asylum seekers defining the asylum centre, its functions and the specific situation in Berlin. Compared to Goerens, Rosenberger and König (2011) focus on the implementation of the EU reception directive in Austria. Based on the analysis of policy documents, house rules and interviews, they illustrate that the reception policy in Austria differs from the EU directive. They

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<sup>8</sup> The analysis of the current state of research has been conducted in English, German and partly in Danish and Spanish in respect to the author’s language skills. Thus, there is always the possibility that research work in languages others than the mentioned ones could not have been seek out. In general, this chapter represents an overview and hence it raises no claims to completeness.

come to the major conclusion that the “‘minimum standards’ (are translated; Kreichauf) into minimum welfare and restricted enjoyment of personal freedom but not into measures supportive of a dignified life for asylum seekers (Rosenberger, König 2011: 537).

In Great Britain, there are many studies analysing the dealings with asylum seekers. Spicer (2008) highlights the importance of the place of residence for the integration process of asylum seekers and refugees. He states that the living conditions are not only depending on the form of housing, but also on the location of accommodation. Phillimore and Goodson (2005) also describe the role of the location, the neighbourhood and everyday spaces for the well being and integration of this group. They point out that centres for asylum seekers in Great Britain are mainly located in deprived neighbourhoods negatively affecting the integration. O'Mahony and Sweeny (2010) further exemplify how the dealings with (failed) asylum seekers result in homelessness due to a passive British housing policy for this group. Interestingly, Hynes (2011) not only explains the distribution of asylum seekers in decentred and deprived neighbourhoods but also the reasons for the decision on these locations. She finds out that there are pragmatic and politically induced aims. On the one hand, deprived neighbourhoods are often areas with higher vacancy rates with housing for the establishment of asylum centres available. On the other hand, asylum seekers are often perceived as an unwanted migrant group and thus there is a political aim to systematically exclude asylum seekers. She concludes that the spatial exclusion leads furthermore to the exclusion of education and medical care, since often the infrastructure concerned is not provided in such neighbourhoods. Ideas and ways of accessing the issue of housing asylum seekers by Hirschler (2013) are further a basis for the development of this thesis. The author investigates the asylum camp as „the very homes of dispersed asylum seekers, where biopolitical control is increasingly expressed as a form of diffuse power exerted by non-state actors in carrying out the sovereign agenda of population management” (ibid.: 1). He refers to Foucault's concept on the biopolitical power of the state to regulate, manage and control its population, as well as Agamben's ideas on the homo sacer to describe that UK's three largest private security firms have taken over the provision of the initial and dispersed accommodation for asylum seekers.

In Italy, Domanski (1997) gives detailed insights on the living situation of asylum seekers in asylum camps in Italy. The author lived in a centre in Latina pointing out the challenges, such as surveillance, control and the lack of privacy, asylum seekers have to deal with living in these shelters. A more recent study on housing in Italy has been conducted by Bolzoni, Gargiulo and Manocchi (2013) dealing with the relationship between access to housing and social inclusion using the case of Turin. The authors state that asylum seekers and refugees experience marginalisation and exclusion in the access to proper accommodation. The study shows how asylum seekers adapt the housing situation and it underlines that “the current system actually leads to indirect forms of socio-spatial exclusion and it calls for concrete policies of inclusion and of access to housing that consider refugees as social actors rather than just victims, burdens or policy objects” (16).

Harrell-Bond (2000) generally discusses the origin of the refugee camp and its specific impacts on children. She argues that there is a consensus in research, NGOs and refugee organisations “that refugee camps are not good for anyone. No one freely chooses to move into a refugee camp to stay. Everyone who can gets out of them as quickly as possible” (ibid.: 1). However, the author argues, „over the past decades, powerful bureaucratic and institutional interests have developed in keeping refugees in camps and dependent on relief” (ibid.: 11). In Finland, Kymäläinen and Nordström (2010) illustrate the ‘temporary geographies of young asylum seekers’ in the city of Turku. The focus of their study is to analyse the urban experience of this group. The authors point out that asylum seekers use the urban space with uncertainty while they wait for the decision about their permission to stay in the country. Their research work is not only relevant because of the investigation of the perception, appropriation and use of urban space by asylum seekers, but more because it also shows that the waiting state of asylum seekers and restrictive policies and prohibitions that they experience while waiting (for the decision on staying in the country or not) is not only translated in the physical place of the asylum centre, but also in the usage of the urban space. Szczepanikova's (2012) research is based on accommodation centres in the Czech Republic. She argues that the centres serve as tools of migration control, and that, in everyday practices, control and assistance are closely intertwined and produce an oppressive environment that engenders asylum seekers' dependency. Thus, the author highlights the relationship and conflict between control and assistance and support by the centre staff and social workers.

### 2.3 Interim Conclusion: Asylum Seekers excluded in European Cities

The European city still might be an integration engine: “A town’s air liberates you” is a phrase developed in medieval times, which is still used today to describe the liberation and emancipating features of European cities. Krämer-Badoni (2001) notes, however, that the city has always been a place not only of integration but also of disintegration. The industrialisation, the development of the welfare state, the strong role of urban policy and the development of public (social) infrastructures changed this relation in a time of comprehensive growth, the development of the middle class (out of the industrial class), and thus the homogenisation of society especially in the two decades of post world war II Europe. However, shifts in economy, social changes, and new (neoliberal) politic approaches have changed the patterns of the ‘engine’ since the 1970s. For more than four decades, European cities have experienced a polarisation and differentiation of urban development (e.g. declining cities, growing cities, upgrading neighbourhoods, deprived neighbourhoods) and urban society that has led to new forms of (ethnic and residential) segregation and the socio-spatial exclusion of certain population groups.

In regards to asylum seekers, it has to be clear that integration and exclusion have to be seen in different terms. Laws exclude this group from the labour market, the common welfare systems, and access to housing and education in most of EU member states and thus in European cities. There is broad-ranging research material with both empirical analysis and theoretical ideas and concepts for grasping the issue of excluding asylum seekers. Almost all of the studies explain the relation between social exclusion and the life in an asylum centre. The centre is predominantly categorised as a space of a state of exception, control, surveillance, and heteronomy. It becomes clear that the authors perceive the centre as an instrument of the state to manage the migration of asylum seekers and refugees. Additionally, some scholars highlight the significance of the location and the urban surroundings of the centre in regards to the exclusion of this migrant group. The research on centres and camps as a form of housing asylum seekers has been established as a study field in several disciplines like sociology, ethnography and geography using different angles to tackle this issue. A lot of aspects as well as theoretical and empirical findings, especially general results and definitions of the centre respectively camp, its socio-politico functions, and the role of the location and the city, are respected and further developed within this thesis. However, the analysed research material reveals three major research gaps:

1. There is no comprehensive comparison on the establishment of centres in respect to asylum and housing policies of different countries. Most of the studies investigate the centre as a general phenomenon (theoretically) or in the context of only one country or region (empirically).
2. Current research lacks a clear differentiation or categorisation of the phenomenon ‘centre’ respective to ‘camp’. Is there a nuance in the formation of centres? To what extent do all centres perform the same functions and can be thus characterised by the same features and to what extent are there differences? Are there specific forms and socio-politico functions of centres as well as aims that are implemented by laws and policies in relation to national/local approaches and policies? In short, is there something like ‘the centre’ or ‘the camp’ or is the reality of centres more differentiated and complex?
3. On the one hand, current protests in Germany, Austria and Denmark illustrate that the housing situation of asylum seekers in centres has led to resistance by migrants who are starting to negotiate their political interests. On the other hand, there are also protests in the mentioned countries by the so-called host society against the development of new centres – not because neighbourhood residents are in solidarity with asylum seekers, but because of xenophobia, social envy and fear. The presented research works only rarely discuss the asylum centre as a place or reason for the emergence of social protests and conflicts in cities.



# What's your story?

Centre Sandholmen, Greater Copenhagen

Mohammed is from Iraq. He is 65 years old and he has been living for more than twelve years in Denmark. He is a craftsman. In Iraq, he had his own company with more than 100 employees, but he refused to go to the military, when there was war in Iraq. His company was disassembled and he was persecuted by the military. In Denmark, his asylum application was rejected – several times. Mohammed is forced to stay in Denmark. Even if he would like to go back to Iraq, he is not allowed to. Denmark has no contract with Iraq on the return of asylum seekers. Thus, Iraq is not accepting returnees from Denmark and Denmark refuses to give asylum to Mohammed. He is caught in an asylum limbo. In the passing years, Mohammed lived in several asylum centres in Denmark. Mohammed was sick of the centre life. After many years living in centres without any hope neither on asylum nor on return, he decided to live underground hosted by friends that he got to know in Denmark. But he was afraid by the police pursuing him and controlling him. Finally, Mohammed returned from the underground, but he changed his life. Mohammed became politically active. He is supporting the organisation Grandparents for Asylum and the organisation supports him. He works voluntarily for the newspaper New Times, where he writes articles on the living situation of asylum seekers trying to enlighten the Danish society on the conditions in Denmark. Today, Mohammed lives again in Sandholmen, Denmark's biggest centre. He has to stay in building for rejected asylum seekers. Even though it is clear that there is no chance to deport Mohammed, he is treated like somebody who is forced to leave the country soon. Mohammed is afraid of the development of the new departure centre Sjaldmark close to Sandholmen. Though, it is an open centre, it is operated by prison guards (not by the Red Cross) and he assumes that there will be even more restrictions on his life in Denmark.

### 3. The Asylum Centre as the spatial Expression of Exclusion – Theoretical Analysis

*“The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed” (Foucault 1984: 1).*

In the twentieth century, there was a turn to space as a research object and tool to understand sociality, power relations, hierarchies and human behavior. Lefebvre (1974), Bourdieu (1977) and De Certeau (1984) predominantly introduced this ‘spatial turn’. Lefebvre’s (1974) conceptual and theoretical framework helps understanding space, not only as perceived and conceived (the abstract and the relative), but also as lived and experienced (the social relational). He argues that the appropriation of both one’s body and one’s space are necessary elements for any possible social change. Bourdieu (1977) points to the power inherent in the spatial-temporal embodiment of practices. Spatial structures, he argues, do not only structure the representation of groups and social agents but also the space. His concept on ‘fields’ or spaces (symbolic, social, physical) developed into a basic theoretical approach for scholars investigating spatial relations, the roles of spaces and spatial appropriation. De Certeau (1984) sees the individual as a user of spaces that uses ‘tactics’ to act in the urban environment developing a specific behaviour, the ‘arts of doing’. The producers of space, on the other hand, use ‘Strategies’. Using this oppositional scheme, he explains the struggle and appropriation of spaces.

To give a holistic view on the reality of the asylum centre and its function and form as a ‘space’, this chapter uses some of the rich contributions and discussions on space with the aim of theoretically exploring the centre from different angles. The centre is understood as a conceptual form as well as a space that accommodates asylum seekers. Pieper (2008) states that it is divided into several subspaces but it also represents a coherent structure of space, which physically and symbolically comprises its residents. Therefore, the centre illustrates a societal exclusion due to the spatial inclusion of asylum seekers. The centre can not be seen as a traditional and static space, within which social spaces, specific manners of life, social interactions and habits develop. It has to be interpreted as a complex interplay between the physical structure and its symbolic constitution due to specific habits and societal as well as institutional structures, hierarchies and power relations (Pieper 2008).

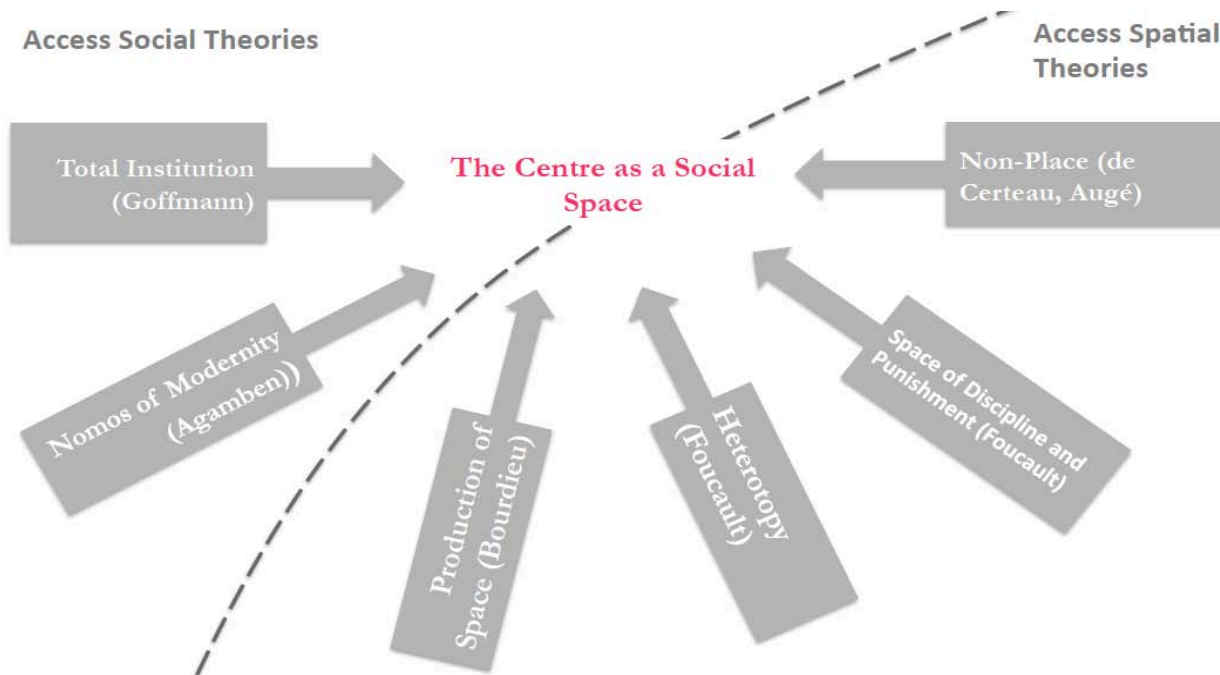


Fig. 5: The Theoretical Analysis of the Centre as a Social Space, own illustration

How do spaces like the asylum centre develop? By what characteristics are they defined, and what are the specific settings and features of the centres? This chapter focuses on both the asylum centre as an ‘excluding spatial structure’ and as an ‘excluding institution’. Using a selection of relevant spatial theories

and concepts from theorists such as Bourdieu, Foucault, de Certeau and Augé, it explains the constitution and the development of the space of asylum centres. Ideas of Agamben and Goffman are taken as the basis to theoretically define the institutional structures and functions of asylum centres. The differentiation between ‘excluding institution’ and ‘excluding spatial structures’ is made to discuss both the spatial characteristics and functions and the ‘insights’, the hidden objectives, of the asylum centre and the spatial features in relation to their influence on the user of the spaces. In this thesis, ‘excluding institution’ refers to a system that relates to structures or processes of social order, training, forming and administrating the behaviour of individuals and groups within a community.

### 3.1 The Centre as an Excluding Spatial Structure

Pierre Bourdieu (1996) states, “there is no space, in a hierarchical society, which is not hierarchized and which does not express social hierarchies and distances in a more or less distorted or euphemized fashion” (ibid.: 12). For him, the modern social world is divided into, what he calls, ‘fields’. He does not only analyse the society based on the division of classes, but also on the basis of his fields. The field is a structured social space with its own rules, hierarchies and specific behaviours. Fields are relatively autonomous from the wider social structure (space), in which people relate and struggle through a complex of connected social relations (both direct and indirect). Physical spaces, symbolic positions and hierarchies in the society have their history and they represent extracts of the society. Societal structures as organisations of institutionalised spaces impose constant changes due to interacting subjects, which reproduce, further develop, and change existing spatial structures. Therefore, encountered, reproduced and maintained structures as well as the individuals within these structures define the constitution of spaces on various levels and scales (global, national, local, neighbourhood, buildings). The organisation of spaces affects the perception of spaces and the opportunity for individual action. Theoretically, they are alterable at any time. Another notion which is relevant to Bourdieu’s concepts on space is the symbolic expression of architecture as the locus of memory and social (gendered) relations. It is through the material symbolism of architecture itself, and the way it serves as a “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu 1977), that one might read into the representations of the space of the centre.

However, what is the specific difference between the physical and social space and how are they related to each other in regards to Bourdieu? Bourdieu (1996) sees human beings as biological beings and social agents “who are constituted as such in and through their relation to a social space” (ibid.: 11). They are like things located in a locus or location, where they occupy a place and ‘exist’. The social space is defined rationally as a position and a rank in an order. It is an “invisible set of relationships, which tends to translate itself, in a more or less direct manner, into physical space in the form of a definite distributional arrangements of agents and properties” (ibid.: 12). It is not only a rhetorical or metaphorical device to illustrate sociological concepts. It refers to the arena of structured relations and representations that exist in the social world. Bourdieu’s social space functions as a ‘field of forces’ due to its being both a space of domination and resistance to domination. Physical space and social space have commonalities and are interlinked. While physical space is characterised by mutual externality of parts, the social space is defined by the mutual exclusion or distinction of positions: “Social agents, but also things as they are appropriated by agents and thus constituted as properties, are situated in a location in social space which can be characterized by its position relative to other locations and by the distance which separates them” (ibid.). This in the end means that a (physical) place occupied by a social agent indicates the position in the social space. The structure of the social space manifests itself in spatial oppositions: “Inhabited (or appropriated) space functioning as a sort of spontaneous metaphor of social space” (ibid.).

Referring to Bourdieu, Pieper (2008) states that the structural fundament for the development of structures of power and domination is the capitalistic mode of production and, interlinked with it, the social division of labour. The basic structures of this social constitution define, in Pieper’s opinion, the social organisation of spaces. However, Bourdieu (1996) further extends economic primacy arguing that the social space is constructed based on the two differentiation principles: economic capital and cultural capital (which are linked with the capitalistic mode of production). Using his ‘capital concept’ developed in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), Bourdieu explains several phenomena. The social agents are more remote the less they share respectively are closer the more they share in Bourdieu’s fields of capital. The differentiation of social activities led to the constitution of social spaces, in which competition centralizes around particular species of capital. Bourdieu explains that structures are collectively con-

stituted and secured. The individual is perceived as relatively weak, whereas collective organisation, forms, processes and social movements have more power to develop and use opportunities for action (to change structures and spatial organisations). He developed a theory of this action centred on his concept of 'habitus'. The habitus is the central mediator between structure and praxis. The structure is, for example, class or societal structures. Practice can be understood as action. Both structure and praxis lead to a strategic practice which reproduces (social) structures. The habitus is thus responsible for the development of specific actions and behaviours. There is a correlation between the habitus and the fields. Due to socialisation in a specific field, the individual, or the social agent, incorporates specific forms of actions, practices and behaviours.

For the analysis of the centre and its exclusionary mechanism, Bourdieu's ideas help not only to illustrate the constitution of the centre as a spatial structure, but also to understand the centre as part of a system (of centres). The *centre system* consists of different forms (or fields) of centres in regards to their socio-political functions and features. The development of these specific forms depends on the specific location, political and societal dealings, and housing policies of the specific states, regions or municipalities. The system is divided into three levels that contain specific forms of spaces. The centre is thus conceptualised within a larger context as well as being divided, internally into subspaces. This abstraction aims to describe the interrelation between the physical place (its architecture, its spatial organisation and physical arrangements) and its consequences for the practices of the residents, their living situations, and the perceptions of the 'surrounding society' as well as the constitution of power relations, hierarchies and social struggles. Furthermore, Bourdieu's thoughts on the field of forces underline the importance of social struggles within a field or a space. Conflicts within centres and protests against the emergence of centres by a host society, or neighbourhood residents, represent power relations and domination practices, but also the organisation of groups. Protests and conflicts also have direct influence on opportunity for actions (Pieper 2008). Hence, the spatial structures of centres can be transformed due to protests by its residents or the residents experience further restrictions and punishment by the dominating power.

Michel de Certeau studies the appropriation of urban space by individuals in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). Michel de Certeau describes two dimensions of urban space. One is defined as the everyday nature of urban space and its special deflective character. By appropriating spaces or elements within spaces, de Certeau argues, people deflect the initial function of productions conceived by the technocratic structures of society. De Certeau studies predominantly walking practices as micro-procedures of creativity by a rebellion against an imposed system. In his examination of the social relationships surrounding these kind of acts of appropriation, de Certeau distinguishes between strategies and tactics. Strategies are made by the "producers" of space (institutions and structures of power), whereas "users" (individuals) use tactics to act in the urban environment. He presents an investigation of the "arts of doing" such as walking, talking, and reading, which are guided by his belief that there exists an element of creative resistance to the strictures enacted by ordinary people: "Though elsewhere it is exploited by a dominant power or simply denied by an ideological discourse, here order is tricked by an art. Into the institution to be served are thus insinuated styles of social exchange, technical invention, and moral resistance, that is, an economy of the "gift" (generosities for which one expects a return), an aesthetics of "tricks" (artists' operations) and an ethics of tenacity (countless ways of refusing to accord the established order the status of a law, a meaning, or a fatality)" (ibid.: 27). The role of the individual in the urban space is of central importance in de Certeau's theory. He illustrates the individual from different angles (for example "the walker") with several characteristics, and explains their spatial tactics and 'behaviour'. More importantly, de Certeau offers a clear definition of the city and urban life: "Finally, the creation of a universal and anonymous subject which is the city itself: it gradually becomes possible to attribute to it, as to its political model, Hobbes' State, all the functions and predicates that were previously scattered and assigned to many different real subjects—groups, associations, or individuals" (ibid.: 95). Hence, de Certeau sees the city as a place of resistance, anonymity, and liberation. Additionally, he describes several spaces of urban modernity, railway navigation for example, as both a symbol of traffic innovation and modernization.

De Certeau's findings are relevant on many levels for the theoretical foundation of this thesis. His distinction between producers and users as well as strategies and tactics can be used as a tool to describe the relationship between politicians, administrative decision makers and centre operators (producers, dominant power) and their decisions on the location, spatial structures, architecture, organisation, minimum standards, the implementing of certain house rules and operating asylum centres (strategies) and the asy-

lum seekers (users) and their appropriation, usage and the development of certain norms and behaviours (tactics) in the asylum centres. Using his concept, it is clear that the asylum centre is a consequence of the power of the producers that develop and design the space. The asylum seekers are the users, which (have to) take, appropriate and use the given space for the purpose of being housed and maybe develop specific “arts of doing” when living in these specific spaces. On the one hand, de Certeau pays major attention to the role on the individual. On the other hand, he argues that there is the potential of a ‘creative resistance’ and an ‘aesthetic of tricks’ to protest against the giving order – obviously by a group of individuals. Even though de Certeau’s writings lack a précised distinction between the possibilities of the individual and social groups (especially compared to Bourdieu and his ideas on the ‘social agents’), he predicts a rather soft form of protest by the users against the strategies of the producers. This is in so far interesting as asylum seekers usually have limited rights to negotiate their demands. Housing in centres is obligatory in a lot of EU states. The residents have to sign contracts, which include house and behaviour rules. Thus, it can be assumed that their ways of protesting (against the spatial composition of the centre, restrictions, limited rights, lack of privacy etc.) are rather indirect and passive. Regarding this ‘spatial’ illustration, de Certeau uses spatial examples as illustrative metaphors for the experience of ‘non-places’ (Augé, 2008) that symbolize anonymity, modernization, as well as a mechanic and organized way of social interactions in the modern metropolis. This become very clear when he writes about the atmosphere in a train: “The unchanging traveller is pigeonholed, numbered, and regulated in the grid of the railway car, which is a perfect actualization of the rational utopia” (De Certeau 1984: 112). De Certeau basically describes a space that is very organised, ahistoric, without any identity, and with no or very limited social interactions: places that are, spoken with de Certeau’s words, not produced by the meaning of the individual, and not an outcome of social interactions.

Marc Augé (2008) refers to the place as being defined as “relational, historical and concerned with a identity” (ibid.: 63). A space, which does not have these characteristics, is, in Augé’s opinion, a non-place<sup>9</sup>. He argues that ‘supermodernity’<sup>10</sup> produces non places, “which are not themselves anthropological places and which (...) do not integrated the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of ‘places of memory’, and assigned to a circumscribes and specific position” (ibid.). For Augé, non-places are a symptom of new trends in society and economy. In his explanation of non-places Augé also refers to refugee camps: “A world where people are home in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shantytowns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); (...) a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral, offers the anthropologist (and others) a new abject (...)” (ibid.). Further, instructions for use (prescriptive, prohibitive or informative, which are often conducted in a universal langue) define non-places setting a certain frame on the usage of space. Specific organisation tools are implemented to ensure the function of the non-place: “Since non-places are there to be passed through, they are measured in units of rime. Itineraries do not work without timetables, lists of departure and arrival times in which a corner is always found for a mention of possible delays” (ibid.: 84). In contrast, the anthropological places are formed by complicities of language, local references, and the unformulated rules of living know-how. For de Augé, there is a contract between the user and the provider/producer of the space. Using spaces like airports, trains etc., he describes that users have to identify themselves and/or have to have a ticket (as a form of permission) to access the non-place. He states that, “in a way, the user of the non-place is always required to prove his innocence. But the innocence itself is something else again: a person entering the space of non-place is relieved of his usual determinants” (ibid.: 82). In the non-place, however, the user experiences

<sup>9</sup> Compared to de Certeau, who opposes space to place, Augé’s distinction between space and place is rather vague. This becomes obvious in his definition of place: “If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity then a *space* which cannot be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity will be a non-place” (Augé 2008: 63). However, referring to Augé’s writings, space is the quality of a town which is in transience, always changing and allowing us to pass through it, whereas place is the result of specific and unique characteristics which make one area distinct from any other. These might be physical and long lasting or based in cultural and historical events. Augé further points out that places and spaces as well as places and non-places intertwine and tangle together.

<sup>10</sup>For Augé, supermodernity is a type or a mode of society, which is an intensified outcome of modernity. With the concept, Augé aims to describe a world in which all aspects of life have been professionalized (birth, death, eating, driving) and packaged (as product or service). It is characterised by excess, a charged surplus in the three domains philosophical and anthropological thought has come to rely on as its cornerstones: time, space, and the individual. It represents excess of time, accelerated history, overabundance of events, loss of memory, as well as foreshortened space.

a temporary anonymity. On the surface, the non-place thus represents an exclusive space with specific sets of rules that might vary from usual rules of daily life. It is only possible to enter this form of space with some sort of identification and a right of access. Inwards, the non-place creates anonymity and limited forms of social interaction. Another feature is the relation between, referring to de Certeau, the users and producers of non-places. Augé argues that the user is alone, but one of many and he/she is in a contractual relation with the non-place or the powers that govern it. To sum up, Augé states that, “the non-place is the opposite of Utopia: it exists, and it does not contain any organic society (ibid.: 90).

What kind of place is the asylum centre? Augé’s findings are relevant to the analysis of the asylum centre’s spatial form. The centre and its inner constitution may be a non-place that is divided and excluded from the usual society. To understand the asylum centre from this perspective, it is necessary to highlight the temporality (asylum centres are developed to temporarily house asylum seekers until they either receive asylum or do not) of this space and its specific characteristics. These characteristics are congruent with Augé’s description of non-places as being not relational, ahistorical, and not concerned with a identity. Like a non-place, the asylum centre is as a space of specific instructions and organisation tools. It has limited access and excluding characteristics and specifically limits different forms of social interactions and control as well as relationships between producer and user. However, referring to refugee camps in Africa, Herz (2008) critiques the categorisation of camps as non-places. He argues that this perspective “ignores social, legal and economic interrelations that exist on the ground and the immediate physical context that refugee camps are located within” (ibid.: 276). He further argues that the non-place concept is blind in terms of the problems that are triggered on a political level and the development level. For him, space becomes a medium for politics and “refugee camps are probably the most direct translation of politics into space. (...) The camp is politics having become space” (Herz 2002: 14). In his view, Augé’s non-place lacks the important role of politics in implementing, conducting and operating these places. Indeed, Augé does not discuss the specific constitution and development of non-places in direct respect to economic, societal and political trends. Though, between the lines, Augé always distinguish between the ones that use the space (the individuals) and the ones that provide and operate the space. The providers and operators of space can be seen political actors, which decisions are directly transferred and reflected in the space. But of course, compared to Bourdieu and de Certeau, Augé’s ideas do not contain a clear explanation of the place (or non-place) as a political space of the negotiation of interests and political demands. Hence, Augé’s non-place can be therefore seen as an apolitical space without social interactions (as the basis for political actions), struggles and opportunities of changes (in Certeau’s words: space of tactics; in Bourdieu’s words: space of forces). Is the asylum centre an apolitical place, which is only a spatial translation of political practices or is it itself a place of negotiating political demands and interests? Is it thus a space, where the residents (users) are excluded from any political (inter-)actions? Augé’s non-place is certainly a part of the bigger context of space and place. They relate to each other and, as Augé highlights, they do in reality not exist in pure forms. The non-place and the place are *ideal types*<sup>11</sup> used by him to explain several trends in the supermodern society. Thus, his concept is not used to clearly and spatially categorise the asylum centre, but to grasp certain characteristics to discuss the emergence and socio-político functions of the centre.

In his writings, Michel Foucault aims to analyse the disciplining techniques and mechanisms of the ‘microphysics of power’, where the society and the state control, regulate, differentiate, define and classify individuals and groups and how these techniques are implemented in space. Especially his works *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias* (1984) introduces the theoretical framework for this kind of places. It is further elaborated in his core writing *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) as well as in his analyses on *The Birth of the Asylum (in Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason)* (1964).

Foucault (1984) introduces another form of space: the other space of *utopias* and *heterotopias*. Utopias are, in his perspective, sites with no real place: “They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down, but in any case these utopias are fundamentally unreal spaces” (ibid.: 3). In contrast,

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<sup>11</sup> Ideal type is a key conceptual tool to approach reality. Max Weber developed this abstract model to explain underlying concept and structures behind surface phenomena: “An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (...) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality” (Weber 1903-1917/1949).

Foucault defines heterotopias as places and spaces that function in non-hegemonic conditions. The heterotopia is a physical realisation of a utopia. For him, these places are outside of all other places; it is a real place, which stands outside of known space and usual social standards. They thus can reduce the autonomy and identity of the individual or the user of the space. Society and culture have power to define the subject through his differentiation from general society: "There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias" (ibid.). Each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can have one function or another. Foucault sees the heterotopias as being separated from their surroundings and as control tools to regulate, discipline and punish the different, the deviant and abnormal behaviours. The heterotopia is linked to the manner in which ideology is reproducing, creating and imposing its norm on its members. This process of social construction, Foucault says, has the capacity of separating the normal from the abnormal and through this to constitute a group's identity as well as the private identity of each of its members.

In his *heterotopology*, Foucault describes the characteristics of heterotopias with six principles that he distinguishes between 'heterotopias of crisis', of primitive societies ("privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis" (ibid.: 4)) and 'heterotopias of deviation', institutions, where the society places individuals whose behaviour is outside the norm. The latter ones are replacing the heterotopias of crisis and are places like hospitals, asylums, prisons, rest homes, and cemeteries. Heterotopias are able to change their functions due to societal trends and can be a single real place that juxtaposes several spaces. Further, he argues that heterotopias are 'heterotopias of time', which exist in time but also outside of time because they are built and preserved to be physically insusceptible to time's ravages: "The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time" (ibid.: 6). Another principle of heterotopias is that they presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates the users and makes them penetrable. The heterotopic site is therefore not as accessible as public spaces are. Foucault says that, "either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures" (ibid.: 7). Finally, he argues that the heterotopia has a function, in relation to all of the remaining spaces, which is defined by two extreme poles: the heterotopia of illusion and the heterotopia of compensation. The heterotopia of illusion creates a space of illusion that exposes every real space and the heterotopia of compensation is to create a real space – a space that is other. By Foucault's definition, the asylum centre would be a heterotopian space outside of the norm and the space of the usual society, defining the subject in divergence from the general society, and characterised by a different time set as well as exclusive access. Most importantly, the asylum center has the specific function to classify and discipline its users according to specific rules and norms.

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault further explains spaces as ensembles that contain techniques of dressage, control and surveillance aiming to socially control and form the individual to a preferable 'normal acting' subject through torture, punishment and discipline: "Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" (ibid.:138). Hence, Foucault determines that these spaces aim to train the individual to be exploitable in the capitalistic mode of production. Pieper (2008) argues that Foucault's ideas offer a central theoretical method by which to analyse the system of asylum centres. In his study on asylum centres in Germany, he finds that administrative dealings with asylum seekers aim not to train asylum seekers to be economically exploited, but 'only' to discipline and control and strategically disintegrate them. In Germany, they are treated as being economically useless. Nevertheless, Foucault's explanation illustrates core accordance with the central functions of asylum centres: the placing and control of the group of asylum seekers. Apart from several disciplining and educating effects explained by Foucault in his writings (for example observation and the 'unequal gaze', the (spatial) assertion of the power of the state and its authority), he highlights the function of placing and 'partitioning' individuals to specific places: "It does this first of all on the principle of elemen-

tary location or partitioning. Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual. Avoid distributions in groups; break up collective dispositions; analyse confused, massive or transient pluralities. Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed. One must eliminate the effects of imprecise distributions, the uncontrolled disappearance of individuals, their diffuse circulation, their unusable and dangerous coagulation; it was a tactic of anti-desertion, anti-vagabondage, anti-concentration” (ibid.:143). This ‘cellular’ spatial distribution of the ‘bodies’ becomes very obvious when investigating the asylum centre system that is divided into different forms and various parcels and subspaces. Within this system, an asylum seeker is steadily controlled and distributed to a particular place – within the system of centres as well as within the centre itself. Bourdieu’s ‘fields’ are characterised by the same subdivision<sup>12</sup>. Both theoretical approaches help to understand the relation between the space and its incorporated functions, but Foucault’s theories address the placing of individuals as a strategy to ensure observation, control and repression.

Foucault’s studies allow a grasp of the asylum centres and their specific socio-political function as spaces for excluding a specific group of people from the society. Using Foucault’s theory, the asylum centre is investigated as a heterotopian space of specific social norms and interactions with the possible function being systematically isolating, devaluating, dispersing, placing, observing and regulating migrants seeking asylum. His concepts are analysed to understand the emergence of centres as homes for this group, not only in terms of their administrative function and objective in housing asylum seekers, but also in regard to the concrete effects of the living situation of this group of migrants.

Another spatial perspective on housing asylum seekers has been introduced in studies on the development of refugee camps as a form of urbanisation and city. In the fields of refugee studies, there are several scholars investigating refugee camps in African and Asian countries. There are relevant differences between camps in regions outside of Europe and the asylum centres in Europe. However, the study of refugee camps opens theoretical approaches to understanding the subject of asylum centres. Agier (2002), for example, studies the phenomenon of refugee camps as an urban ethnographic case. He argues that social and cultural complexities emerge “with the formation of the novel socio-spatial form of ‘city-camps’ in which new identities crystallize and subjectivation takes root” (ibid.: 318). He compares the constitution of the camp with the model of the city: “the city is in the camp but always only in the form of sketches that are perpetually aborted” (ibid.: 337). He sees the development of camps as a specific type of urbanization and as a waiting zone outside of society. Even though Agier focuses on another region, his ethnographical approach to combining ideas about the development of refugee camps, exclusion, urbanization and the city is relevant for the emergence of this thesis. Herz (2008) studies refugee camps in Chad. He argues that – after a phase of development – camps, like Amboko and Gondje, can develop to permanent settlements. Herz states that the “the refugee camps are not of an urban character” (ibid.: 288), because they occupy vast areas, they are of low density, and there is no concentration towards a centre. Due to their homogeneity, low density, and the lack of a cultural and social life, he calls these places suburbs without a corresponding city, “just a space for containing people” (ibid.). Diken and Laustsen (2005) research work “The Culture of Exception – Sociology Facing the Camp” breaks with the tradition in social theory of investigating shelters for asylum seekers as anomalous and exceptional places on the margins of society. In their opinion, in contemporary society, ‘the camp’ has become the rule. Thus, Diken and Laustsen think that a new interrogation of its logic is necessary. The authors explain the paradox of the camp as a representation of both a fear of enclosure and a new dream of belonging. They illustrate their arguments by drawing on contemporary sites of exemption – such as refugee camps, rape camps and favelas – as well as sites of self-exemption including gated communities, party tourism and celebrity cultures. They aim to develop a ‘sociology after the camp’ arguing that the contemporary society is characterised by exception as the rule and by the generalisation of the camp: “What today’s post-politics represses is the camp that has become the rule” (ibid.:147).

### 3.2 The Centre as an excluding institutional structure

Erving Goffman (1961) created the concept of total institution in his essay *On the Characteristics of Total*

<sup>12</sup> Bringing Bourdieu’s ‘fields’ together with Foucault’s ‘partitioning’ does not intend to compare both approaches, since they are developed in different contexts and aim to explain different phenomena. However, both approaches can be seen as a basis to understand the system of centres, its various (sub) forms and the spatial distribution of asylum seekers to places.

*Institutions* published in *Asylums*. Total institutions are social hybrids, part residential community and part formal organization intended for the bureaucratic management of large groups of people. Goffman (1961) defines total institutions as “a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life” (ibid.: xiii). For him, they are characterised by the barrier to social intercourse with the outside, which is often built right into the physical plant. Locked doors, high walls, barbed wire etc. hence spatially define total institutions. He classifies five categories of these institutions:

- 1) Institutions to establish care for persons,
- 2) Places established for people thought to be not capable of caring for themselves,
- 3) Institutions organised to protect to community against what and whom is considered as dangerous for it,
- 4) Places established to pursue technical tasks and
- 5) Establishments designed as retreats from the world or as training stations for the religious.

Further, Goffman develops ‘totalistic features’ that explain these insinuations. Major characteristics of total institutions are: the conduction of all aspects of life in the same place and under the same single authority and in the immediate company of a large batch of others, tight scheduling of activities, surveillance of activities, restricted contact to the outside world, the takeover of responsibilities by the stuff of total institution and the inmates relying on them, inmate’s suffer of boredom due to lack of (sophisticated) activities, the loss of a “meaningful domestic existence” (ibid.: 3), the disciplining of the inmates by the stuff, house rules, restrictions, rewards, dependencies by the inmate to the stuff (on things such as food, social support etc.), forms of punishment if rules in the institution are broken, and the development of standard social processes and interactions (for example the emergence of a specific language between inmate and stuff member). Goffman further explains that the living in a total institution leads to the disintegration and demoralisation of the inmates: “In the inmate group of many total institutions there is a strong feeling that time spent in the establishment is time wasted or destroyed or taken from one’s life; it is time that must be written off. It is something that must be “done” or “marked” or “put in” or “built” or “pulled”... As such, this time is something that its doers have bracketed off for constant conscious consideration in a way not quite found on the outside. And as a result, the inmate tends to feel that for the duration of his required stay – his sentence – he has been totally exiled from living. It is in this context that we can appreciate something of the demoralizing influence of an indefinite sentence or a very long one” (ibid.: 10). Thus, Goffman concludes that persons in total institutions experience a civil death that denies them adult-like autonomy and control over their fate. From the most mundane or trivial matters to important life decisions, inmates no longer act with agency or self-determination. Hence, the official function of (some) total institutions to care, protect, rehabilitate and support inmates with resetting their self-regulatory mechanism after leaving the setting is “seldom realized” (ibid.: 11).

Giorgio Agamben (1998) instead further develops the concept of *biopower*<sup>13</sup> in his work *Homo Sacer*. Biopower is understood in its broadest sense as power over life. “It can even be said that the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power” (ibid. 12). Thus, the fundament of Agamben’s studies is the structure of sovereignty and the relation between societal norms and power. The power of the sovereignty is characterised by the possibility to abolish usual laws and orders for the sake of securing the state power. The sovereign is he who decides when the rule of law is suspended: “the sovereign, having the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, legally places himself outside the law” (ibid. 17). The conduction of executive violence to establish the order characterises the relationship between the sovereign and the subject. As long as the order persists, the law protects the life of the individual. However, in times of unrest the relationship between violence and law becomes visible. Thus, Agamben argues that, in a state of exception, the single individual is at the mercy of the sovereign. It is reduced to his, how Agamben says, *bare life* in the figure of the *Homo Sacer* (sacred man). However, due to the changes in the structure of domination from a central power, the sovereign, to a hierarchically structured, decentred and omnipresent system of power with the modern state as the physical centre (as it can be found in today’s mass democracies), the relation between the sovereign and the bare life changes. According to Agamben, the place where the bare life is to the sovereign, the state of exception, is changed developing to the usual

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault has initially developed the idea of biopower. Foucault used this term to designate the mechanisms through which disciplinary strategies were replaced in modern times by a biopolitics whose power was the regulation of the life of populations. Agamben extends and modifies his concept.

societal structure. This means that in modern society the state of exception is the common state. There is an overall involvement of the bare life of the individual to the modern capitalistic society.

Following Agamben's idea, the asylum centre or camp is the total biopolitical space, where within the exception of state is realised and spatially defined. The centre is the place of controlling the individual body, and thus the space of the implementation of the biopolitical paradigm: "A humanitarianism separated from politics cannot fail to reproduce the isolation of sacred life at the basis of sovereignty, and the camp – which is to say, the pure space of exception – is the biopolitical paradigm that it cannot master (ibid.: 78). Because of Agamben's hypothesis that biopolitics have been established in the modern mass democracies and thus the state of exception developed to the general condition, which structures the society, he states that the camp or centre developed to the political paradigm of modernity: "Today it is not the city but rather the camp that is the fundamental biopolitical paradigm of the West" (ibid.: 102). Governments, for example, suspend essential civil liberties in times of social crisis and decide who can be excluded and who can be included. In this sense, the logic of the camp is transformed into a form of sociality and is generalized. Consequently, the camp signifies a state of exception that is normalized in the contemporary social space. In the state of exception or what Agamben calls "a zone of irreducible indistinction" (ibid.: 9), the originary relation of law to life is not application but abandonment. Agamben sees a continuity in the development of centres/camps for displaced people: the development of the modern camps at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the colonial wars, early concentration camps in the 1920s for Jewish, the concentration and death camps in Nazi Germany and the modern centres and camps for refugees in the Western society. Nevertheless, Agamben argues that, "instead of deducing the definition of the camp from the events that took place there, we will ask: What is a camp, what is its juridico-political structure, that such events could take place there? This will lead us to regard the camp not as a historical fact and an anomaly belonging to the past (even if still verifiable) but in some way as the hidden matrix and nomos of the political space in which we are still living" (ibid.: 95). Thus, in regards to Agamben, the camp is not just singular, juridico-political structure, nor is its presence to be understood as either exceptional or historical in scope (Downey 2008); the camp is the *nomos of modernity* and he warns that these nomos are still present in the society – not only expressed by the camp, but everywhere. To conclude, Agamben's abstraction of the relation between sovereign, power and the state of exception as well as the camps as places of the suppression of rights is seen as a valuable analysis for this thesis. However, Agamben's hypothesis that not the city but the camp is the paradigm of today's society can not be further investigated within this thesis, since, in the opinion of the author, a comparison of spaces of different forms and functions would be necessary.

Both Goffman and Agamben provide concepts to understand the 'insights' and the 'hidden functions' of asylum centres. Goffman's totalistic features draw a theoretical circle on the issue of asylum centres; they expose the embraced aims that the development of asylum centres might have and they help to study to relationship between the centre and forms of control, surveillance, daily routines as well as the relationship between the, what he calls, inmates and the stuff working in the centre. Goffman underlines the distinct exclusion of inmates of total institutions to the outside world. Both Goffman and Agamben highlight the exclusionary mechanisms towards the outside due to the inclusion of inmates in the inside, which is of course physically and spatially translated. Their distinction between the inside and the outside, processes of disintegration, the (forced) accommodation and especially the dependencies between inmates and stuff (or users and producers) as well as the limitation of freedom and personal responsibility are evaluated as major clues investigating the structure of asylum centres and the life of asylum seekers.

### 3.3 Developing an Analytical Framework for Investigating the Asylum Centre

The theoretical framework of this thesis takes space as an access and as a tool to analyse social phenomena. As a result, this means that the investigation is focused on the subject, the way it uses space and the negotiations in developing spatial structures. The theoretical analysis of the asylum centre provides core elements not only for investigating but also for understanding the characteristics, functions and structures of the asylum centre. Focussing on these findings, this chapter aims to develop a framework to empirically study the asylum centre. Hence, the analysis of asylum centres is based on the usage of different angles focussing on following study dimensions.

#### 1. Types and Forms of the Centre

What is the asylum centre and what forms can it take in the empirical reality? The asylum centre is investigated in three dimensions: the centre system as a network of centres creating a macro-space of centres, the individual centre and its function in the system, and single spaces within the centre, the subspaces, which are having specific characteristics and who are creating the overall centre space. In regards to Bourdieu, the centre is thus conceptualised as both being a part of a bigger network of spaces (the system of centres) and the establishment of different subspaces (rooms, facilities) within the centre. Further, using Foucault's ideas on heterotopias, Goffman's total institution, Augé's non-place and Agamben's description of the 'nomos of modernity' different possible forms of asylum centres in regards to their characteristics are used to investigate the empirical reality of the asylum centre.

## *2. The socio-spatial Characteristics of the Centres*

What are the social and spatial features of asylum centres in the case studies and how can they be explained? The theoretical findings are predominantly orientated towards the production, appropriation, social relations and (inner) functions of space. However, Phillimore and Goodson (2005), Spicer (2008), O'Mahony and Sweeny (2010), Hynes (2011) and Pieper (2008) underline the significance of the location of centres and the features of the buildings. All of these scholars argue that there is a fundamental link between the location and the development of social relations. Especially, the findings from the British scholars highlight that the location of asylum centres in remote areas or deprived neighbourhoods considerably leads to the social exclusion of this group. Hence, the socio-spatial characteristics of the centres are a fundamental analytical dimension to investigate the exclusion process of asylum seekers.

## *3. The socio-spatial Production of the Centre*

De Certeau, partly Augé, Foucault, Agamben and Goffman focus their research work on the production of space and the consequences for users. De Certeau's 'producers', Foucault's and Goffman's findings on the state power in producing 'specific' spaces but also Bourdieu's ideas on the production and reproduction of spaces due to the development of his capital concept and the idea of the habitus provide analytical tools to investigate the production of the phenomenon asylum centre. Following the theoretical findings, the analytical dimension "socio-spatial production of the centre" underlines the relation between social and physical production of the space of asylum centres and the responsibilities in charge: How and by whom are asylum centres developed to the dominant housing form in European cities?

## *4. The socio-political Functions of the Centre*

Pieper (2008), Wunderlich and Wötzel (2013), Hirschler (2013) and Szczepanikova (2012) find out that the asylum centres are characterised by control and surveillance of their residents. Especially, Pieper (2008) states the centre in Germany overtakes the socio-political function of organising and controlling migration. The centre thus, he argues, is implemented to control, disfranchise and differentiate asylum seekers. In the British context, researchers argue that the centre functions as an instrument to socially and spatially exclude asylum seekers. Using Goffman's, Agamben's and Foucault's ideas on spaces of control, restrictions and punishment, this dimension studies the reasons and aims of officials in implementing asylum centres as a form of housing and why it is socially tolerated.

## *5. Forms and Dimensions Exclusion*

To what extent leads the asylum centre to the exclusion of asylum seekers and what forms and dimensions does the exclusion have? Research work, which has been done on housing asylum seekers, generally argue that the centre leads to the exclusion of this group. While Phillimore and Goodson (2005), O'Mahony and Sweeny (2010), Höpner (2004) as well as Hynes (2011) focus on spatial forms of exclusion (for example due to the location of the centre), Pieper's (2008) work is one of the few studies that directly focuses on exclusionary mechanism developed from the life in the centre itself. He defines the centre as the scene of 'microphysics of power', as a 'semi-open camp' and as a 'semi-open total institution'. However, the EMN-study (2014) illustrates that EU member states have truly developed centres as a main and common form of housing, but it also highlights differences between the member states in terms of conditions, application and functions of the centre in regards to national legislations and specific dealings. Thus, this dimension of research aims to define possible different forms of exclusion, because of different types of centres and their characteristics respecting the national context: To what extent is it possible to generalise 'socio-spatial exclusion' or is it necessary to develop a broader concept to epistemologically investigate mechanisms of exclusion? What different forms and dimensions of exclusion do exist in accordance to the empirical reality?



Reyaz has lived in Centre Kongelund south of Copenhagen for two years, but he stayed in Centre Sandholm in the beginning. He says that the centre life makes him sick and he feels criminalised. He says that he only sleeps two hours a night, because it is always noisy and it is impossible for him to calm down. Living in a centre for him is the same like living in a prison. Reyaz cannot decide on his life; he has not access to the labour or housing market. For two years, Reyaz is waiting on a decision on his case. He still hopes for the good, but he has no plan for the future: "I do not know, what will happen tomorrow, or next year or in then years. I am just waiting. That is all I can do." Reyaz is active in Copenhagen's Trampoline House. He enjoys the activities and the contacts to other people, especially to Danes there. And it helps to give Reyaz a voice! On the Copenhagen Festival for Asylum, he took the stage presenting facts of the work of the Trampoline House and on the situation of asylum seekers in Denmark. He wants that the people in Denmark know, how asylum seekers are treated: "They treat us like animals and like crazy people. But we are not crazy. We have problems, but they do not help us. Instead, we are pushed outside of the cities into the country side."



Festival For Fair Asyl, Copenhagen

What's your story?

#### 4. The Protection of Asylum Seekers vs. the Protection of Borders – Asylum and Housing Policies in the EU, Denmark, Germany and Spain

In 2013, 398.200 asylum seekers applied for asylum in the member states of the EU. The number increased to 32 per cent compared to 2012 (301.000 applications). In the majority of European countries the number of people asking for asylum increased significantly. Especially Southeast European countries experience often a growth of more than 100 per cent. But also Germany, Spain, Italy and Poland are characterised by increasing numbers of asylum seekers between 50 and 100 per cent compared to 2012 (see Fig. 6). The main nationalities of asylum seekers in 2013 were Syrian Arab Republic, Russian Federation, Afghanistan, Iraq, Serbia, Islamic Republic of Iran, and Somalia (UNHCR 2014a).

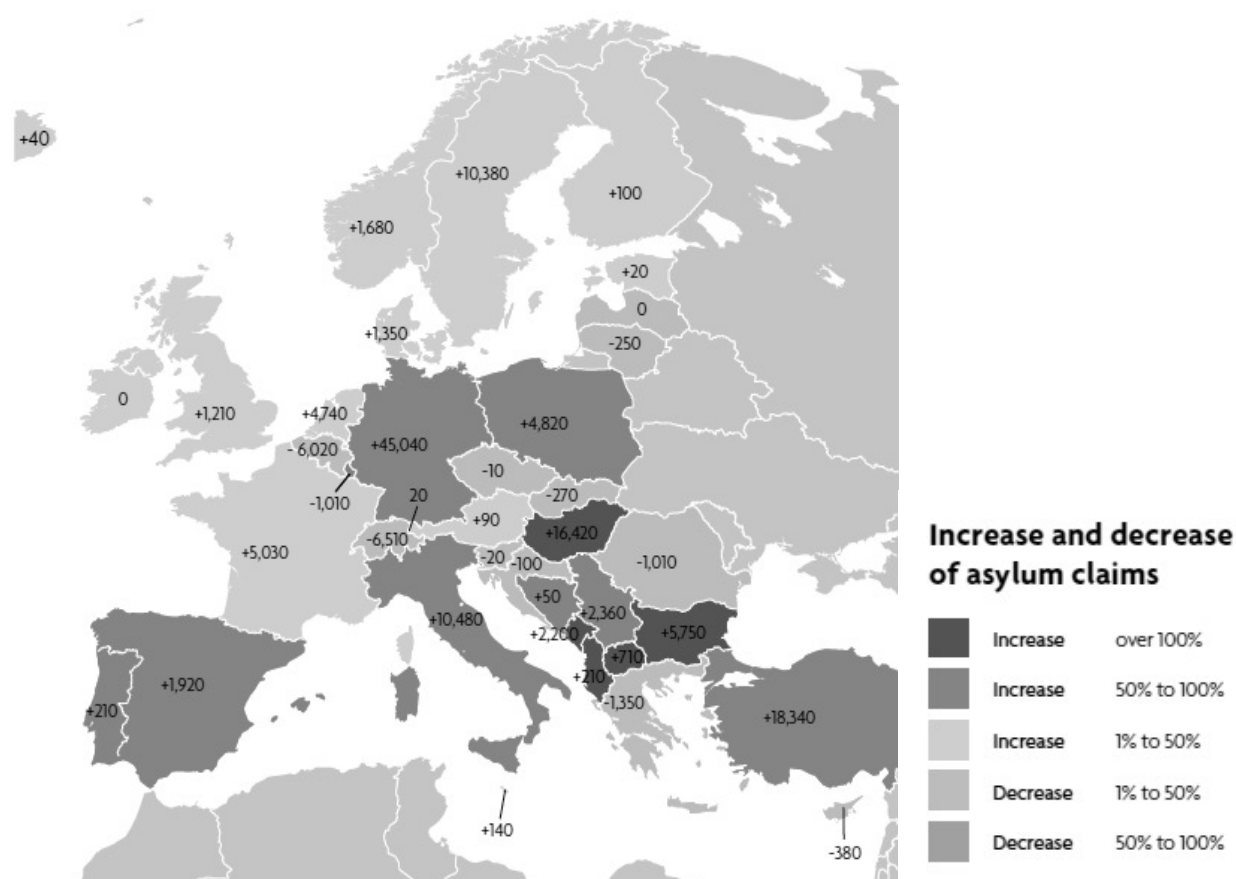


Fig. 6: Increase and Decrease of Asylum Claims in European Countries, UNHCR 2014a

The fundamental basis for the asylum policy in the EU and elsewhere in the developed world is the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, first signed in Geneva in 1951, and the Protocol that followed in 1967. It has two key objectives. The first article defines a refugee as someone who is outside his or her country of normal residence and who is unable or unwilling to return to it owing to a well-founded fear of persecution. The second (Article 33) is that no person who has claimed asylum under the Convention should be forcibly returned to a territory where he or she may be at risk of persecution – the so-called principle of non-refoulement. Any asylum claim submitted in a signatory state must be considered under due process irrespective of the whether the applicant entered the country legally or not. Thus the Convention provides access to asylum procedures for an unlimited number of applicants, once having gained access to the territory, irrespective of whether they enter legally or not (UNHCR 2011).

This chapter analyses the development of European asylum policies and the legislations and acts of the case studies of Denmark, Germany and Spain focussing on major events, paradigm shifts as well as main legislations and approaches on housing.

## 4.1 Asylum Policy on the EU Level – The Homogenisation of national Asylum Policies

In Europe, traditionally, the national states were responsible for migration and asylum policies. However, the efforts to develop a more and better economic and political cooperation between the member states and the harmonisation within the EU have led to a common political practice on asylum seekers, which is defined by border protection, the standardisation of the asylum procedure, the allocation of asylum seekers and also specific directives on living and reception conditions. Nevertheless, protection standards differ substantially across Europe. Some countries have highly developed legal frameworks, while in others asylum and protection systems are still in the process of development. The adoption in June 2013, under the framework of the European Union's Common European Asylum System (CEAS), of recast asylum laws is an important step forward in refugee protection. The CEAS sets common standards for Member States of the EU (UNHCR 2014b, EMN 2014).

### 4.1.1 *The Genesis of the European Asylum Policy*

The first fundamentals for the development of a common European asylum policy were already conducted in early legislations of the European Community. Since the foundation of the European Community (EC), the free transfer of labour power, goods and services and thus the migration of EC member state citizens was one major objective. In 1985, Schengen I introduced the destruction of Europe's inner borders. The development of a borderless EU domestic market also forced the EU and member states to develop a common policy on the other borders and in regards to the "third countries" (Müller 2010). The 1980s and 1990s were characterised by several events. The European Act of 1986 and Schengen II of 1990 implemented the common European domestic market.

In 1992, the Maastricht treaty declared asylum policy, issues of border control and immigration policy to issues of common European interest. Especially, the Dublin regulation (Dublin I), which became applicable in 1997, plays a leading role in the European asylum policy. Its central object is the "One-State-Only"-principle, which limits illegal further migration and applying multiple applications in several member states of the EU. Hence, only one member state (that state which firstly received the asylum seeker or the state where the asylum seeker initially applied for asylum) is in charge for the asylum procedure. The Amsterdam treaty of 1999 transferred the issues of asylum, immigration and the control of external borders to the supranational authority of the EU<sup>14</sup>. It accomplished the legal framework for the development of a European asylum policy, which was further fleshed out by the Tampere Program of 1999. Initially, the treaty was followed by the commitment to the Geneva Convention: "The European Council reaffirms the importance the Union and Member States attach to absolute respect of the right to seek asylum. It has agreed to work towards establishing a Common European Asylum System (CEAS), based on the full and inclusive application of the Geneva Convention, thus ensuring that nobody is sent back to persecution, i.e. maintaining the principle of non-refoulement" (European Parliament 1999).

However, the objectives of the Tempere Program were weakly implemented into the EU legislation (Bendel 2006: 126). Furthermore, the conclusions to the objectives of the program contradict not only the initial aims, but also the commitment to the Geneva Convention. The European Commission states now that "At the same time there is a need for an integrated approach involving efficient administrative decision-making procedures on returns, reintegration schemes and entry procedures that deter unfounded requests and combat networks of people traffickers. This approach is all the more important as the victims of abuses of the system are often genuine refugees" (Commission of the European Communities 2004: 10). Hence, the conclusions on the Tempere Program symbolise a paradigm shift in the EU asylum policy (Müller 2010) and its new focus on "returns", "reintegration schemes" and "deterrent".

In 2003, the Dublin-II-regulation, which has only a few new features, was adopted. In 2004, the two-stage Haager Program further developed the objectives of Dublin II. The program is dominated by security regulations aiming to strengthen the protection and control of Europe's external borders and illegal

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<sup>14</sup> When referring the "EU", this does not mean that the author perceives the EU as a single actor with only one specific position and set of interests. The EU is seen as an actor consisting of different bodies (European Commission, European Council, Council of Ministries, European Parliament) and different, often contradicting, interests. However, this thesis does not investigate the negotiations between several bodies and interests in developing EU legislations. It focuses on the direct outcomes in form of treaties, contracts and directives. These results are treated as EU positions.

immigration. Hence, the “European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders (Frontex)” was established. It took the responsibility of protecting borders from the member states to the level of the EU. Furthermore, the first stage of the program contained the development of the “Council Directive 2003/9/EC” on the reception of asylum seekers, the “Council Directive 2004/84/EC” on the qualification and status of asylum seekers and the “Council Directive 2005/85/EC” on the asylum procedure. These directives are so far the climax of the common European asylum policy. They predominantly regulate the criteria for the status of asylum seekers, the minimum standards for social benefits and the legal process for the asylum procedure. The Lisbon Treaty ratified these directives.

Since 2007, the second stage of the Haager Program aims to further develop the CEAS (European Commission 2014) as the completion of the EU asylum regime (Haase, Jugl 2007). In June 2013, the legislation for the determination of the countries responsible for the asylum procedure (Dublin-III), for the establishment of the identity (EURODAC directive), the development of the European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR), the reception conditions and the conditions to recognize asylum seekers have entered into force. Thus, the creation of CEAS is accomplished on the legal level of the EU. However, the legislations have to be implemented in the national legislations of the member states (BMI 2014).

Human rights organisations, the United Nations, lawyers, and refugee organisations have strongly criticised the EU asylum policy in the passing years. Especially, the Dublin directives, the border control by FRONTEX and the legal treatment of asylum seekers in the EU are in the centre of critique (ProAsyl 2009; Haase, Jugl 2007). In the context of a growing number of asylum seekers and humanitarian crises at Europe’s borders, new discussions on the EU’s attitude and approach towards migrants looking for protection raised. The very complex and detailed critique to the EU policy cannot be further illustrated within this thesis. However, investigating the development of the asylum policy and its legislations, it is clear that regulations on internal borders, the development on the external border protection and security policies characterise the EU laws and directives (Luft 2013). The EU’s priorities regarding migration and asylum policy have focused mainly on sealing its borders rather than its human rights obligations. This can be clearly seen in the distribution of EU funds giving for several measures managing migration to the EU. A study of Amnesty International (2014: 9) states that “the Directorate-General for Home Affairs of the European Commission allocated almost four billion euro for the period 2007-2013 to the four funding instruments under the Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme (SOLID) to support member states’ activities on asylum, integration, return of third country nationals and border control.” As illustrated in figure seven, almost half of the amount of funds (€1,820 billion) was allocated for infrastructure focusing on control of the external borders of the Schengen area. Only 17 per cent (€700 million) was allocated to support asylum procedures, reception services, and the integration of refugees (European Commission 2014). Hence, the EU asylum policy is defined by an integration of EU citizens within the EU and an exclusion of refugees and asylum seekers to the outside. Europe’s migration policy aims to make it harder for migrants to access the EU (Luft 2013). The objectives to protect Europe’s borders and “the need to protect states from the growing international refugee burden” (Fekete 2005: 65) have priority over the protection of refugees.

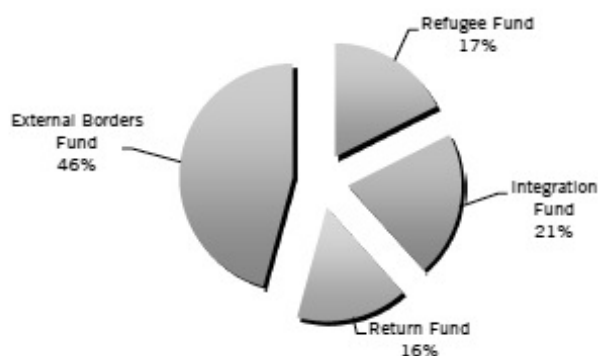


Fig. 7: Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme, Amnesty International 2014

#### 4.1.2 EU Regulations on the Reception of Asylum Seekers

The “communitarisation” of asylum policies on the EU level contained also directives on the reception and housing. The “Council Directive 2003/9/EC” covers general regulations and minimum standards in

regards to housing, education, employment and the treatment of very vulnerable asylum seekers (for example unaccompanied minors) aiming to “ensure them a dignified standard of living and comparable living conditions in all Member States” (European Commission 2003). Chapter 1, article 14 states that the host country is responsible for providing housing. The article further defines two types of housing during the asylum procedure: “accommodation centres which guarantee an adequate standard of living; private houses, flats, hotels or other premises adapted for housing applicants” (European Commission, 2003). In regards to requirements of housing and care, the directive describes some minimum standards related to, for example, the protection of family life, the possibility of communication with legal advisors, relatives and NGOs, and the training and education of people working in the asylum centres. However, this directive does not explain specific standards on the housing conditions and spatial aspects of the centres, size and capacities, operators as well as the care situation. The majority of the standards set within the directive are thus very unspecific. For example, there is no definition of an “adequate standard of living” for asylum seekers. Furthermore, the termination “premises adapted for housing applicants” in article 14 (1c) create the impression that the capability of housing in private houses, flat and others has to be further examined, whilst it seems that the housing in accommodation centres is an adequate and uncontroversial form of accommodating asylum seekers.

The EU directive on the reception and housing asylum seekers outlines a very vague and shallow framework. Altogether, it barely contains specific standards. Member states have huge liberties and influences to implement and realise this framework and to follow national policies that already have been conducted. Additionally, the directive gives certain rights to the member states to systematically exclude seekers. This is very obvious in article 7 on education, article 11 on the labour market, and article 14 on housing. These articles allow the member states to materially provide asylum seekers on a very low level and to socially isolate them by housing in centres, residential obligation and the exclusion of the labour market. Further, article 14(8) provides member states with the possibility to „exceptionally set modalities for material reception conditions different from those provided for in this Article, for a reasonable period which shall be as short as possible.” This statement theoretically legitimate member states to implement other (and lower) qualities of housing for asylum seekers, especially because terms like “reasonable period” and “modalities (...) different from those provided in this article” are not explained. Further, article 17 empowers member states to adhere to already establish (national) forms of accommodation, which are not defined by the EU directive. Additionally and most crucially, article 16 allows the member states “to reduce or withdraw reception conditions”, for example if the asylum seeker is not cooperating within the asylum procedure, if s/he leaves the centre without informing the centre administration, or if house rules are broken. This means de facto that member states have the right to deny asylum seekers the right to have access to housing. Because of the fact that EU legislation gives ample scope to member states in formulating housing forms and conditions, the investigation of national implementation of this directive, the national housing practices and institutional logics and processes are of major importance.

Even though the EU directive describes two forms of housing, the study *The Organisation of Reception Facilities for Asylum Seekers in different Member States* by the European Migration Network (EMN) argues that practice of accommodating asylum seekers in the member states is predominantly characterised by three types: accommodation centres or private housing, reception centres, and facilities for very vulnerable and deprived groups like traumatised asylum seekers or unaccompanied minors. The study states that housing asylum seekers takes various forms depending on the member state. However, it outlines that accommodation centres in forms of reception centres and communal accommodation (=asylum centre) dominate the housing policy in almost all of the member states. Thus, the housing policy is mainly characterised by decentred mass housing systems involving accommodations for the first reception, centres for the period of the asylum procedure, and facilities for special groups (EMN, 2014).

Why are accommodation centres and the development of decentred mass housing systems the dominant form of housing for asylum seekers in the EU member states? As described above, the European asylum policy is mainly characterised by an integration of the citizens of the member states and by isolation towards migrants. The EU asylum policy, carried and co-determined by the member states, symbolises a desire to control and regulate asylum migration flows at the external borders. The asylum centre seems to be the perfect instrument and space to pursue this objective also within the EU.

## 4.2 Asylum and Housing Policies in Denmark, Germany and Spain

In regards to the number of asylum seekers, development of asylum policies and directives on housing asylum seekers, Denmark, Germany and Spain illustrate different characteristics and trends, which are influenced by the size, location and the socio-political contexts of the countries. With 109.600 new asylum applications registered in 2013, Germany was for the first time since 1999 the largest single recipient of new asylum claims among the group of industrialized countries. Denmark received 7.540 asylum seekers and in Spain 4.500 migrants were asking for asylum in 2013 (UNHCR 2014a). To illustrate the development and characteristics of the centres and their local developments and implications in the case studies, it is important to understand its embedding in the broader context of the country's self-understanding towards migration and asylum, the development and main characteristics of the asylum policies and the emergence of the asylum centre within national legislations. Hence, this chapter focuses on the presentation of main events and legislations along the development of each country's asylum legislation and predominantly housing.

### 4.2.1 *Denmark*

Traditionally, Denmark has not regarded itself as a country of immigration, mainly because of its relatively homogeneous population of 5.4 million, a strong sense of national identity, and the fact that, until recently, immigration flows were moderate. The guest worker program in the 1970s gave some access to migrants to the Danish society and further led to a growing number of immigrants, mainly due to family dependents of former „guest workers“. In the passing years, most immigrants came from other Nordic or Western countries, and generally it experienced more emigration than migration. Thus, Denmark's welfare state is predominantly designed on the basis of a culturally similar citizenry. However, growing number of immigrants in the passing years challenged the status quo (Hedetoft 2006).

Since 2006, immigration in Denmark consists particularly of asylum seekers and persons who arrive as family dependents and in accordance with laws regulating family reunification. In addition, Denmark annually receives a number of citizens from Western countries, notably Scandinavian countries, the EU, and North America, who usually come to work or study for a limited period of time. Although it has become more difficult for refugees and immigrants to gain residence in Denmark, the number of immigrants and their descendants has increased in the 1990s. In 2001, around 12.000 migrants applied for asylum. Since 2007, the number of applicants increased again (UNHCR 2014a).

In 2006, Denmark abstained from membership in the Common European Asylum System. As Denmark is not part of the EU common legal framework for justice and home affairs, it is in a position to opt out of any EU decisions made about foreigners in Denmark. Nevertheless, Denmark has been an enthusiastic proponent of this policy all along, contrary to the position of the majority of the current EU states. However, on the EU level, Denmark recommends the re-focusing of aid to refugees, so that all processing of applications for asylum would take place outside of the EU, in so-called „nearby areas“ (I Refugees Welcome). Further, the Danish asylum policy is characterised by a special definition of refugees and asylum seekers: Denmark demands that a person is individually persecuted (Article 19(1)(i) Alien Act). The individual has to prove he or she is personally in a specific danger (I Asylret). This is not stated in the Refugee Convention or the guidelines by UNHCR, who find it sufficient to belong to a persecuted group or come from a very insecure area. Denmark's legal framework is based on its first Alien Act of 1983, the Decree No. 539 of 1999, and the Aliens (Consolidation) Act no.539 1999. Since 2011, the Alien Act has been revised focussing on reforming immigration and asylum policy (Jensen 2012). The new legislation implied the abolishment of the former Immigration Ministry, with a redistribution of duties under the Justice and Social Affairs departments.

To summarise, the major changes of Denmark's immigration policy since 2011 are addressing the fields of employment and housing. Before, asylum seekers were not allowed to work during the asylum procedure and they were forced to live in asylum centres. Since the new legislation, they are theoretically able to work (Article 14a(1)(ii)) and are offered accommodation outside the asylum centre (Article 42k. (1)(i)) after

staying six months in Denmark if they cooperate<sup>15</sup> with the officials. In regards to social benefits and education, Denmark established a parallel social support system based on the Aliens Act. Asylum seekers living in centres have very limited access to social benefits. They receive meals and cloths and are provided with a “pocket money” of approximately €160 per month (Article 42b. (2)(i)). All asylum seekers do not have access to language training and (higher) education. Even children attend at special asylum schools with very limited levels for 1-2 first years, and afterwards only some of some are entitled to go to local schools (I Refugees Welcome) depending on the decision of the Minister for Children and Education (Article 42g.(1)). Thus, children are often “specially educated” in the centres not attending local schools.

In regard to the asylum process, Denmark does not participate in the EU Qualification Directive 2004/83/EC. The asylum procedure is characterised by a four-stage process (see Figure 8 and explanation, attachment). It strikes that asylum seekers have no access to a lawyer in the first two stages. Furthermore, the translators, which shall support asylum seekers in the application process, are not certified or examined, and the Refugee Board, which deals with the case after the first rejection, is being characterised by several institutions as a non-independent decision institution. Asylum seekers have no right to complain on their issue on a higher instance. The second decision (after first rejection) is final and cannot be appealed further (Bendixen 2008).

According to the housing of asylum seekers, they receive board and lodging during the determination period. These tasks include managing the one reception centres for adult asylum seekers or families in Denmark. The reception facilities are open, with asylum seekers free to come and go. Generally, the housing system in Denmark is characterised by four different housing types. The Sandholm Centre is on the one hand a reception centre. It houses approximately 600 asylum seekers. On the other hand, it is also an accommodation centre as well as a detention centre for failed asylum seekers. Currently (July 2014), a new detention centre is built 30km north of Copenhagen close to Centre Sandholm in Hørsolm. Further, Denmark has 19 accommodation centres, sometimes with special functions for special asylum seeker groups. Altogether, Denmark has established a decentralised centre system. However, the majority of the centres are located on Zealand. The Danish Red Cross operates most of the centres; communes run two centres. Contracted by the Danish Immigration Service, the Danish Red Cross is managing all humanitarian aspects of the accommodation of asylum seekers in Denmark including the operation and management of the reception centre in Sandholm (Article 42(5) Alien Act). The Danish Ministry of Justice and its subordinated authority of the Danish Immigration Service are administrable in charge for housing asylum seekers. They decide on the legal regulation, locations of centres and housing standards. The average duration of stay in a centre is three years. However, since Denmark is not able to deport failed asylum seekers to some countries, approximately 500 migrants are forced to live in centres for a long time, sometimes up to 15 years. Currently, 4,911 asylum seekers live in Denmark’s centres (I Immigration Service). The stay in a centre is an obligatory part of the Danish asylum procedure. After six months in the centre, asylum seekers theoretically have the opportunity to move to an apartment. This novelty was introduced with the latest revised alien act. However, this option is linked to restrictions (for example the subscription of a contract for an immediate departure if the asylum is not granted) and thus the majority of asylum seekers do not take advantage of it. There is no asylum centre in Copenhagen. For the distribution of the different asylum centres in Denmark see figure nine.

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<sup>15</sup> The cooperation includes a contract between the Immigration Office and the asylum seeker, which declares that “the alien cooperates in obtaining information for the assessment of his application for a residence permit (...) and, upon refusal or waiver of the application for a residence permit, cooperates in his departure without undue delay (...)” (42k.(vi)(5)). In practice, this paragraph prevents asylum seekers to use this possibility of living outside the centres, since signing the contract means an immediate departure after the first rejection of the case. Thus, the Danish legislation offers theoretically ways to live outside the centres. However, the opportunities are combined with tough restrictions and thus not used by asylum seekers (Bendixen 2012).

## Distribution of Centres in Denmark

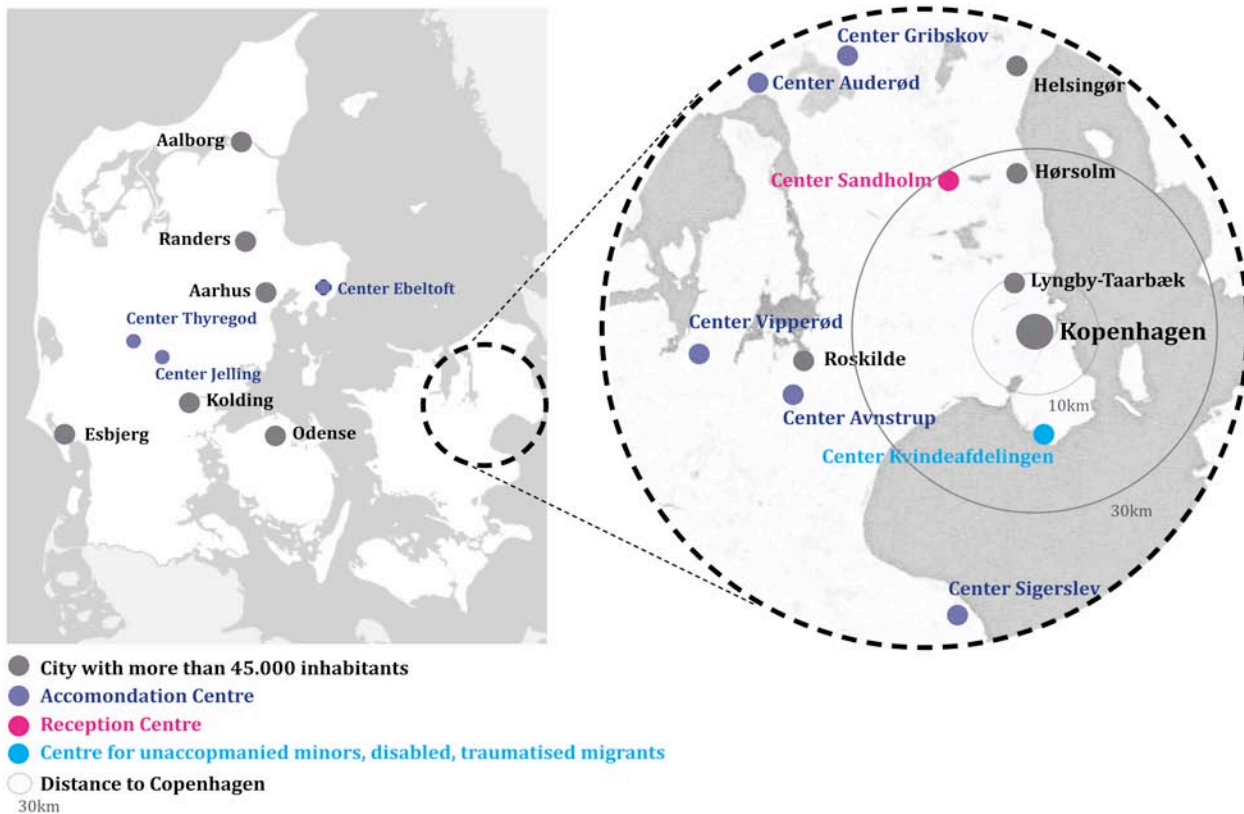


Fig. 9: Distribution of Centres in Denmark, own illustration based on GoogleMaps

### 4.2.2 Germany

*„The jungle drums in Africa shall signalize: Don't come to Germany, you have to live in a camp here”  
Lothar Späth (CDU).*

Even though Germany's history and the recent development is characterised by partly huge immigration flows (especially by “guest workers” in the 1960s and 1970s and by migrants from East Europe in the 1980s and especially after 1990), it was for a long time a political and societal consensus not to perceive Germany as a country of immigration and thus, Germany's immigration policy was characterised by restrictive alien acts. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the social democratic and green party government introduced a paradigm shift at least in accepting the reality of Germany being an immigration society. Though, Germany experienced discursive changes, its immigration and asylum policy is still defined by controversial legislations (Pieper 2006).

Until 1993, the constitution of Germany (Article 16) guaranteed an unrestricted and individually actionable fundamental right on asylum, which did not allow rejecting refugees on German borders. It exceeded the international humanitarian law and it enabled the state to grant asylum. The development of this liberal right to asylum was a direct consequence of the experiences of political refugees during the period of National Socialism in Germany. However, in the middle of the 1970s, a political and societal discourse on the abuse of asylum emerged. Political parties argued that there is an “asylum crisis” (Höfling-Semnar 1995: 120), which lead to new legislations and directives “to prevent the abuse of asylum” in the 1980s. The main objective of the introduction of two acceleration laws was to systematically weaken the situation of asylum seekers by deteriorating their living conditions (Wolken 1988). The new Law on Asylum Procedure of 1982 (*Asylverfahrensgesetz*) introduced for example the housing of asylum seekers in accommodation centres, the residential obligation<sup>16</sup> (§56), limitations of employment and cut-

<sup>16</sup> The residential obligation declares that Asylum seekers are only free to move within the boundaries of the local district to which they have been allocated. For travel beyond the allocated area, a permit must be obtained from the local aliens authorities.

tings of social benefits if asylum seekers do not cooperate in the asylum process. However, the restrictive laws to limit forced migration remained unsuccessful; the number of asylum seekers rose in the 1980s and led to doubts on the constitution of Germany guaranteeing the right to asylum.

In 1992 and 1993, the so-called *Asylum Compromise* changed not only the fundamental right on asylum in the constitution, but also the political attitude towards migrants and refugees. The limitless right to asylum was transferred from Article 16(2) to Article 16a containing following restrictions: the implementation of the so-called *safe-third-country regulation*<sup>17</sup>, the *one-state-only-principle* (asylum seekers, which migrate to Germany using travel routes through countries of the EU or already applied for asylum in another EU country, do not have a right on asylum in Germany), the introduction of the concept of *safe countries of origin*<sup>18</sup>, and limitations on the legal protection. Thus, critique states that the right to asylum and the legal forced migration to Germany were de facto annulled (Pieper 2006; Herbert 2001; UNHCR 2000). Furthermore, the Asylum Compromise contained the development of the Asylum Seeker's Benefits Act (*Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz*), which defines the amounts and forms of social benefits and which further worsened the living conditions of asylum seekers. This law is excluded from the social legislation. Thus, it represents a parallel legislation on social benefits for asylum seekers, which is under the level of social benefits regulated in the social legislation. The legislation aimed to reduce the benefits in order to prevent migration flows to Germany (BVerfG 2012). In 2012, Germany's Supreme Court declared that the Asylum Seekers Benefits Act contravenes the constitution. The court said the allowance for asylum seekers, which is 40 per cent lower than that for recipients of the miserly *Hartz IV* welfare benefits, the supposed subsistence level in Germany, was "evidently insufficient". The allowance had not been increased since 1993, regardless of which coalition government was in power and despite the general rate of inflation amounting to more than 30 per cent during this period (Zimmermann 2012).

In short, the asylum policy is characterised by following main characteristics that directly affect the life of asylum seekers in Germany: the prohibition from work in the first nine months<sup>19</sup>, compulsory housing in asylum centres, benefits that are not meeting the needs of asylum seekers, involuntary distribution of asylum seekers to the states (*Länder*), limitations to medical access and higher education as well as the very strict conduction of the Dublin directive.

Germany's restrictive asylum policy is closely related to the EU legislations. It is not only implementing EU laws on asylum, but also pushing own existing legislations to be introduced to the EU policy. Some directives (for example the one-state-only-principle and the safe-third-country regulation) were firstly implemented in Germany before they became a part of the EU policy (especially in the Dublin regulations). Germany incorporated core elements of the EU legislations such as the Qualification Directive and the Procedure Directive.

Understanding Germany's accommodation strategy is not possible without having the development of its asylum policy, the debate on asylum abuse, the systematically weakening of the rights of asylum seekers, the aim to reduce the numbers of asylum seekers due to a restrictive policy and low standards as well as the Asylum Compromise in mind. The Law on Asylum Procedure of 1982 introduced a system of centres in Germany as the obligatory housing form for asylum seekers. It consists of reception centres and accommodation centres. Compared to Denmark, Germany introduced quotas for the reception of asylum seekers on the level of the states (the German *Länder*), the so-called *Königssteiner Schlüssel*. In practice, this means, that asylum seekers are – based on the quotes of the *Länder* – distributed due to the "EASY"-system<sup>20</sup> to the reception centres of the federal states (*Landesaufnahmeeinrichtung*). Thus, if an asylum seeker arrives in a state of Germany, he/she is firstly accommodated in the reception centre of the state until the EASY-System distributes him/her to the reception centre of the state that is in charge for his/her asylum

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<sup>17</sup> The "safe third country rule" is directed to asylum seekers who lived in or even travelled through another country deemed to give protection to refugees. Whether the "safe" country really is ready to grant protection is irrelevant in most of the cases. The safe third country rule is regarded as assumption. Only in some cases and/or countries of asylum this assumption is refutable (Lambert 2012).

<sup>18</sup> The safe country of origin concept is a presumption that certain countries can be designated as generally safe for their nationals. The presumption is, therefore, that an application for international protection by an applicant from a "safe country of origin" is likely to be unfounded (UNHCR 1991).

<sup>19</sup> After nine months, asylum seekers are officially allowed to work. However, the chances to receive a job are limited due to the prior access of Germans, EU citizens and recognized refugees. After four years, they are able to work without this limitation (ProAsyl 2014).

<sup>20</sup> The EASY-system is an IT application used for the first distribution of asylum seekers to the federal states in regards to the *Königssteiner Schlüssel*. It contains information on the asylum seekers.

procedure. Asylum seekers have to live in the reception centre for six weeks but not longer than three months (AsylVerfG, §47). Afterwards, they are housed for several months or years in the accommodation centres (*Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*) depending on the county/commune distribution. Even though §53(1) of the Law on the Asylum Procedure states that asylum seekers “shall be housed in accommodation centres during the asylum process”, the interpretation of the act is charged by the states. In Berlin, for example, asylum seekers have theoretically the possibility to rent private apartments after three months living in the reception centre.

In 2013, more than 150.000 asylum seekers (EMN 2014) lived in approximately 500 asylum centres<sup>21</sup>. Germany established a decentralised system of mass housing for asylum seekers. The decentralised distribution of this migrant group is ensured by the residential obligation, which limits the mobility of an asylum seeker on the administrative area of the county the asylum seeker lives in. Furthermore, the low social benefits for asylum seekers (Asylum Seeker’s Benefits Act) made a life outside of the centres practically impossible until 2012, and thus they helped to establish the asylum centre as the dominant form of housing.

### 4.2.3 Spain

For centuries, Spain’s migration history was predominantly characterised by emigration to Latin America until the late 1950s due to Spain’s colonisation history and to North European countries in the 1960s and 1970s due to recruitment agreements between North European states and Spain. In the 1970s the country was experiencing migration flows from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay. Since the 1980s, Spain has experienced huge immigration flows (especially after the fall of the iron curtain) from East European countries and from North Africa, especially Morocco, but also from Peru and the Dominican Republic (I CEAR 2014). The massive influx changed the Spanish society dramatically. In 1975, 200.000 migrants lived in Spain. However, especially the last two decades symbolise a turning point in Spain migration history. In 2000, one million people were migrating to the country. Just ten years later, Spain had almost six million migrants, 11,3 per cent of its total population. Despite the economic crisis in Spain since 2007, Spain is one of Europe’s biggest countries of immigration. Further, the immigration is predominantly responsible for Spain’s population growth in recent years. The reasons for the shift from an emigration to an immigrating country are very complex and predominantly characterised by the prosperous economy and its permanent need for labour, Spain’s attraction for Latin American migrants (especially since other European countries or the USA have implemented restrictive policies on migration in the 1970s) and due to the cultural and societal relations between Spain and South American countries), its relatively close proximity to the African continent, but also by an almost non-defined migration and integration policy with hardly no limits to immigration until the middle of the 1980s (Kreienbrink 2010). However, especially compared to Germany, Spain has never been an attractive country of asylum. Thus, it is characterised by relatively low application numbers in the 1980s (between 1.000 and 4.000), a small increase in the 1990s (8.000 to 12.000 due to the fall of the iron curtain and conflicts in Colombia and Algeria) and a slowly rising number in the 2000s (5.000 to 9.000 applicants). Approximately 4.500 migrants were applying for asylum in 2013 (UNHCR 2014a). Hence, since 1984 177,949 people have applied for asylum in Spain.

Following legislations are characterising Spain’s asylum policy: In 1978, Asylum became part of the Spanish constitution, Article 13. It contains the status of refugees based on the Geneva Convention, forms of asylum and reception regulations. Because of its very generous acceptance conditions, and the possibility of a humanitarian asylum, it has been characterised as a liberal asylum legislation (Kreienbrink 2008). However, this changed with the introduction of the Law in Asylum in 1984 and revisions in the 1990s due to the abolishment of the humanitarian asylum, and the implementation of EU regulations (especially Dublin I, the one-state-only principle and the safe-third-country-regulation). Furthermore, the law involved new consequences in the case of rejection. Before the law, asylum seekers were allowed to stay in the country. After the implementation, the rejected migrants get deported. The Asylum Law, last revised in 2009, generally regulates the Right to Seek Asylum and the Subsidiary Protection (Substitutes Law 5/1984 of March 26 on the Right of Asylum and the Refugee Status, also modified by Law 9/1994 of 19 of May) and establishes that the national authority mainly responsible of the asylum issues is the Office of

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<sup>21</sup> The number of asylum centres in Germany is an estimate based on the calculation of ProAsyl (2014). There are no numbers, which are publicly accessible.

Asylum and Refuge (OAR). Generally several ministries and sub directions are in charge for the asylum policies. The Ministry of Interior (due to the OAR) and the Ministry of Employment and Social Security (responsible for accommodation) are the main state actors though. Furthermore, the Asylum Regulation approved by Royal Decree 203/95 from 1995 ensures that asylum seekers will have access to legal counsel, administrative procedures in which they will be able to launch their asylum claim, and the possibility of appeal at the judicial level (UNHCR 2000; Ministry of Justice 2008). Additionally, the Instruction 3/98 of 1998 by the Secretariat for State Security regarding stowaways and the Law 29/98 of 1998 on the jurisdiction for suits under the administrative law are defining the legislations on asylum. One significant feature in Spain is the so-called “inadmissibility procedure”. This determines that all asylum applications have to go through an initial screening to decide whether they are allowed to proceed (and finally apply for asylum and receiving the status of an asylum seeker) or not (Jubany-Baucells 2002). In 2013, over 70 per cent of applications have been refused admission to the procedure leaving the asylum seeker as an irregular immigrant not being able to access any benefits (Australian Human Rights Commission 2013).

In short, the Spanish asylum policy is characterised by a very strict acceptance rate (only 3 per cent in 2013), strict border protection to Africa (especially supported by the EU and FRONTEX) a work permit after six months, access to social services that depends on the specific ministries, including education in the public system, and an integration program. The integration program can be seen as the heart of Spain’s asylum policy. It is relatively unique compared to the treatment of asylum seekers in Denmark and Germany. It consists of four stages: reception, integration and autonomy.



**Fig. 10: The Spanish Integration Program, own illustration**

A central part of the program is the housing in the asylum centre, where asylum seekers receive language and labour market tuition, course on social skills, guidance and intermediation for vocational training and job placement and advices on accessing the health care and social system. Thus, once in the asylum procedure, asylum seekers are perceived as potential newcomers to the Spanish society and thus supported in becoming a part of it. In regards to the low acceptance rate, this approach initially seems to be contradictory. Nevertheless, Spain has very weak legislations on deporting failed asylum seekers. Thus, in case of rejection, they remain illegal, but they are often not detained or returned to their country of origin. Integration approaches are thus directed to asylum seekers because officials assume that often they are going to stay in Spain anyways despite their status. Even though low restrictions to asylum seekers, at least once they are in the procedure, for example in terms of access to the labour market, and the integration program might have positive affects on the living conditions of asylum seekers, the current economic crisis in Spain has immense impacts: the integration through the labour market is failing, funds for education, care and accommodation have been cut. In 2013, for example, the Ministry of Employment and Social Security limited the period of time that an asylum seeker can stay in an accommodation centre to six months. In practice, this means that – even though there is the possibility to extend this period by officials - asylum seekers have to leave the centre without having housing at all. Due to the cuts in the accommodation system, there is currently a backlog of asylum seekers waiting for a place in the centre. In the mean-

time, they are often housed in homeless shelters receiving only small financial support of €175 monthly not covering the needs of asylum seekers (source).

These circumstances illustrate that there is a lack of sensibility as well as a large public and political debate and specific rights on asylum and for refugees in Spain. The discussion on asylum is only a small part of general negotiations on immigration and integration. The public often perceives asylum seekers as labour migrants and not as refugees looking for protection and having specific rights and needs. Further, refugees – especially from African countries – are not aware of the opportunity to legally migrate to Spain as a migrant seeking for asylum, but they use illegal ways to reach Spanish territory or they are – due to the strict screening process – not defined as asylum seekers. Especially, border controls in Ceuta and Melilla do not distinguish and respect this difference. Officials (police, administration) often not explain the possibility of applying for asylum to migrants fleeing to Spain. Spain's rejection rate is high, and its screening procedure fails to strictly distinguish between refugee and migrant. As a result, 'potential' asylum seekers are systematically illegalised, criminalised, disfranchised, detained and deported as "illegal migrants". The expansion of border protection, and the control of immigrants are celebrated in Spain as a "fight against illegal migration". However, it is a symptom of an anti-refugee bunker mentality, which violates human rights and the rights of refugees (ProAsyl 2010).

Spain's accommodation policy is based on the Law of Asylum (revised in 2009) and the Order of Accommodation of 1989. Article 30 of Law on Asylum states, "applicants for international protection will be provided with the necessary social and reception services to ensure that their basic needs are met, provided that they themselves lack the financial resources". It further established (Article 31) that this reception will be provided primarily "through the competent ministry's own centres and through the subsidised centres of non-governmental organisations". The Order of Accommodation further defines responsibilities and conditions. Spain's reception system takes the form of a mixed system, which distinguishes between a public network of migration centres (Refugee Reception Centres – CAR – and Temporary Migrant Accommodation Centres – CETI of Ceuta and Melilla,) and other reception facilities and schemes providing care for asylum applicants managed by NGOs that receive funding from the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. Additionally, it involves one reception centre in Madrid in a hostel, where asylum seekers stay for the first two weeks, and detention centres<sup>22</sup> for failed asylum seekers. The system of the CARs (equal to accommodation centres in Germany and Denmark) takes care of beneficiaries from the moment they file their application for asylum up to six months (months extendable to six more months and exceptionally to eighteen months, depending on their especial needs and circumstances). Places are allocated according to availability and applicant profile (In general, applicants or beneficiaries of international protection are not permitted to choose the type of accommodation to which they will be assigned.). The body responsible for the development and management of the reception system is the Secretariat General for Immigration and Emigration (SGIE), Directorate General for Migration (DGM) through the Ministry of Employment and Social Security. The allocation of asylum seekers is organised by the OAR (Ministry of Interior). There four CARs in Spain: Alcobendas (Madrid), Vallecas (Madrid), Seville and Valencia. The NGOs Accem, Spanish Red Cross and CEAR run the non-state centres. There is no difference between the CARs and the centres of the NGOs. Additionally, the NGOs provide private apartments as another form of housing, especially for younger grown ups. Though, the centre is still the dominant form of housing. In Spain, it is not obligatory to live in the asylum centres (EMN 2013). Nevertheless, accommodation is part of Spain's integration program and if the asylum seeker decides against living in a centre, he/she is cut off from social benefits.

### 4.3 Europe's Asylum Policy vs. National Legislations

The EU legislations increasingly gain in importance for national legislations on immigration and asylum. Western European countries have been at the front line in developing instruments designed to control refugee flows since the 1970s (Smilevska 2012). This is very obvious analysing the Danish and German asylum policy. Whereas in Denmark, the development of the asylum legislation can be more or less seen as an reaction to "protect" its homogenous society, in Germany the implementation of restrictive policies

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<sup>22</sup> Failed asylum seekers stay usually six weeks in detention centres. Afterwards, they can be theoretically deported. In practice, this is rarely the case. Failed asylum seekers do often stay in Spain as "illegal migrants".

is an answer on increasing numbers of asylum seekers and the fear of abusing Germany's social welfare system. Germany has been a pusher in the development of the EU policy. Due to its economic and political power within the EU, it is a driving force in the development of the EU legal framework. However, like Denmark, Germany aims to implement only very low minimum levels due to its own restrictive policy. Denmark further resists on implementing even some minimum standards. Their policy responses subsequently set a standard or pattern for other, 'new' asylum countries or transit countries on Europe's borders, like Spain, and at the same time influencing towards more restrictive policies in this area. Common EU approaches, like the Dublin regulations and the development of strict border protection and control have restructured the access and the allocation of asylum seekers in Europe making it often more difficult for the forced migrants to reach "Fortress Europe" and benefit from asylum.

In regards to housing policies, the influences of EU directives are visible, but due to its very vague and low standards, the accommodation conditions differ in Germany, Denmark and Spain. However, all of the three countries have developed centre systems. The majority of asylum seekers are housed in centre to regulate and control migration flows. Nevertheless, the objectives of the centres differ. Whereas Denmark's and Germany's asylum policy is established to house asylum seekers in a pragmatic, efficient and institutionalised way to discourage asylum seekers to enter these countries or to voluntarily leave them, the Spanish accommodation centre is a fundamental part the integration program for asylum seekers aiming to assimilate, train, educate and "lead them quickly into autonomy" (Cruz Fajardo Vizcayno 2014: 3).



Sirah is a girl from Afghanistan. She is around 30 years old and she has been living for four months in the CAR Alcobendas. She arrived at the airport in Madrid and was firstly accommodated at the airport by the Red Cross, then she lived in the Hostal Welcome and finally she was distributed to one of Madrid's public asylum centres. For her, living in Spain is very new and different compared to her life in Afghanistan. She says that sometimes she feels challenged and insecure, when she is alone in the city or even outside the centre. She did not know a lot about Spain before she arrived, but she had a visa for Spain and thus she decided to flee from her problems in Afghanistan. In the centre, she feels safe but she also says that it is very exhausting and stressful to live in the centre because of the fluctuation of people and mainly because of the fact that she has no privacy. Sirah shares one room with three other girls. She detects that it is okay for her to live with these girls, because she always shared rooms with other people, but she is very confused by the procedures and the permanent control of her actions in the centre: "There is a dining room and we get food, but you cannot eat when the kitchen is closed, so you always have to eat and the time they want you to. I cannot cook for myself, but I want to. But there is no kitchen and I also only get little money, so I cannot even buy the things, I would like to eat." Sirah has to make appointments when she wants to do laundry. She states, "everything I do in the centre is under surveillance by cameras, the guards and the centre stuff." She says that the stuff and the social worker of the centre are treating her very kindly and she, on the one hand, enjoys the activities that are provided for the centre residents. On the other hand, she notes that there is the feeling of having to do the activities because otherwise it could affect your case: "You have to go to the language classes and to the workshops, even though sometimes you don't want to, but you feel pressured to do. Sometimes I just want to rest."

CAR Alcobendas, Madrid

What's your story?

## 5. Centre Life in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid. Empirical Analysis

This chapter aims to illustrate the impacts of the asylum centre on the exclusion of asylum seekers in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid. It will thus analyse the political practices on housing in these case studies (5.1), the characteristics of the centre systems (5.2), the exclusion of asylum seekers due to housing and the implementation of the centres as the dominant form of housing in the case studies (5.3) and conflicts and protests as a consequence of housing asylum seekers (5.4). This section focuses on the analysis of local policies and the empirical analysis of the centre and its exclusionary mechanisms.

### 5.1 Political Practices on Housing Asylum Seekers in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid

In regards to local politics and political practices, there is one major structural difference between the case studies. In Denmark and Spain, the policies on housing are conducted centrally on the country-level by one administrative body. In Denmark, the Immigration Service (*Udlandsservice*) (as a sub-institution of the ministry of justice) is responsible for the asylum procedure and housing asylum seekers. The immigration service contracts operators like the Danish Red Cross and communes to conduct the accommodation. In Spain, the integration department (*Subdirectora General Adjunta de Integración de los Inmigrantes*) of the ministry for employment and social affairs directly operates the centres or gives funds to NGOs to organise housing. However, in Germany, there is also a national organisation of housing determined in the Law on Asylum Procedure and Asylum Seeker's Benefits Act, but the detailed configuration and implementation of housing forms is rest on the federal states (*Länder*). In Berlin, the Senate for Health and Social Affairs and its sub-department *Lageso* (*Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales*) are responsible for housing. As a consequence, the housing situation and conditions, operators, local characteristics, decisions on the location of housing and sometimes also housing forms are very much depending on the state policy. Considering Germany's relatively high number of asylum seekers and the establishment of more than 500 asylum centres, it is presumed that the conditions and local dealing with asylum seekers are more differentiated than in Spain and Denmark. For the investigation of political practices on the local level, this means that the housing patterns in Berlin are crucially shaped by Berlin's politics and by political decisions on the level of the Berlin state, whereas in (Greater) Copenhagen and Madrid housing is exclusively determined on the country level. Thus, this chapter presents the consequences and implementation of state policies in Copenhagen and Madrid as well as the constitution of Berlin's regulations on housing.

#### 5.1.1 Copenhagen – A 'Zero Commune' barely accessible for Asylum Seekers

The majority of asylum shelters in Denmark are located remote from any urban settlements, predominantly in former military bases and hospitals in forests and sometimes even on isles. The distribution of centres is linked to Denmark's "Kommunekvoter", which is a quota introduced to regulate the allocation of migrants in Denmark. The quota states that Denmark's big cities with Copenhagen, Aarhus and Aalborg leading the way, are so called "Zero Communes" meaning that no migrant can move or can be distributed to these cities. The quota has been introduced to distribute the burdens and duties of the integration of asylum seekers and to limit the number of migrants in the bigger cities, since authorities believe there are already too much. So this is the free and open argument, because there are too many already in these places. It affects the distribution of asylum seekers in two aspects. Firstly, asylum seekers can only be located in areas and municipalities with a low percentage of foreign population – usually remote areas in the countryside. Secondly, also when asylum seekers get the refugee status, they are distributed in Denmark on the basis of this quota. The Danish refugee organisation Asylret argues that, "the Danish authorities will put up housing for refugees. You have to accept, where the officials put you (...). You are officially not a free person, even if it is officially proved that you have the right to be there. You are still in a subcategory compared to a normal Danish citizen" (Asylret 2014: 3). Consequently, there is no asylum centre in the municipality of Copenhagen; neither asylum seekers nor acknowledge refugees have the legal opportunity to live in Copenhagen. Thence, asylum seekers are segregated due to the asylum centre and refugees are dispersed by reasons of the mechanism of the quota. The closest centres to Denmark's capital city Center Kvindeafdelingen (20km to Copenhagen's centre) and Center Sandholm (30km North of Copenhagen).

Nevertheless, the public life of asylum seekers is centred in Copenhagen (I Trampoline House 2014) due to the location of major support and refugee organisations like Refugees Welcome, Danish Refugee Council and Asylret as well as migrant networks visited by asylum seekers. Until 2013, the language school by the Danish Red Cross offering Danish and English language classes was in Frederiksberg resulting in asylum seekers traveling to Copenhagen's centre to attend to these classes. The asylum seekers were equipped with monthly transport cards, which they were able to use to get to the school and also for leisure and activities in the centre. The provision of transport cards enabled asylum seekers to travel to the centre not only participating in language classes but also in Copenhagen's urban life. Several organisations and projects were profiting from it and the language school established to a relevant element attracting asylum seekers to leave and participate in activities outside of the centres. However, due to high costs for the transportation tickets, the school was closed in spring 2013. Since then, there is a school on the outskirts of Copenhagen; the provision of transport cards was terminated. Now, a private bus picks up the asylum seekers in the camps and also brings them back after classes. An asylum seeker states: "I once attended at the school, but they pushed the school out of the city and now it is in the countryside. Everybody must travel more than one hour to the school, while in Copenhagen it was more central" (Asylfestival 2014: 1). Asylum seekers and refugee organisation arguing that the only possible and affordable access for asylum seekers is cancelled critique the cut off of transport card supply. Some organisation like *New Times* and the *Trampoline House* started trying to provide asylum seekers with cards. *New Times*, for example, is a newspaper on the issues of asylum and refuge, which is affiliated to the Danish Red Cross and situated in Frederiksberg close to the metro station Forum. Twelve asylum seekers working voluntarily as journalists and editors at *New Times* focussing on the illustration of the situation of asylum seekers in Denmark. The major project for asylum seekers in Copenhagen is the Trampoline House, which is an open house as well as a cultural and social project aiming to "deisolate asylum seekers and include them in the urban society" (Trampoline House 2014: 1) and to finally help to emancipated and negotiate their interests. The non-profit, self-organized, user-driven culture house is a direct answer to the spatial exclusion of asylum seekers in the remotely located centres and "a platform to have a dialog for both Danes and asylum seekers creating a natural place for both to get together. The Trampoline House is located in Copenhagen's inner city district Nørrebro. It involves three major characteristics: it is a café and an event place, an advice centre providing legal support and guidance for asylum seekers as well as a platform for activities such as language classes, sport classes, and the women's club. Core element of the house is the 'house meeting', where decisions for example on cleaning and new projects are made.

Copenhagen is certainly not an engine for the integration of asylum seekers. Thanks to their distribution in the hinterland of Copenhagen, the lack of funding transportation tickets and high transportation costs, which rarely can be paid by asylum seekers in Denmark as well as the close down of the language school asylum seekers obstruct their access to the city. The Trampoline House plays a core (but also the only) role in attracting, supporting and emancipating asylum seekers to come from the centres to the city. It acknowledges the importance of the city, the urban space as well as the dialog and contact between Danes and asylum seekers for the inclusion and acceptance of this group. Even though the government meanwhile funds the house, there are no major efforts to strengthen the access of asylum seekers to the cities on the political level which deeply lies in Denmark's understanding and political will to isolate asylum seekers in centres located in remote areas. Hence, Copenhagen is exclusive towards asylum seekers mainly because of the state's strategy in 'protecting' Denmark's cities from huge migration and asylum seeker flows (I Trampoline Huset 2014; I Major Hørsolm 2014).

### 5.1.2 Berlin – Exclusion due to macro-social trends

The Senate for Health and Social Affairs and its sub-department *Lageso* (*Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales*) shape Berlin's housing policy. The Senate defines the political strategy that is administrable conducted by the Lageso. In Berlin, two housing forms are possible: the housing in centres and rent of private apartments. The number of centres in Berlin has been growing significantly in the past six years due to the increase of asylum seekers and the tension on Berlin's housing market. In 2008 only six centres were open. Today, Berlin is characterised by the establishment of a decentralised centre system containing 36 centres that are distributed in the city (see figure 11). For operating the centres, the Lageso has developed minimum standards on the physical characteristics of the centres, on the service and the personnel working in the centre. It includes for example regulations on the size of the rooms (6m<sup>2</sup> per person), the equipment

and cleaning of the rooms, and the profession of the personnel. All operators are required to implement the standards and all centres have to meet the requirements. Four forms of centres define the system: 16 accommodation, two official reception centres, twelve emergency shelters and three contract-free centres. The development of emergency centres is a result on the on-going increase of asylum seekers and the challenges in housing them. The Lageso has implemented an accelerated procedure to circumvent the conversion permission, which is actually required in Berlin to develop an asylum centre.<sup>23</sup> This approach is used to quickly develop centres in times of growing numbers of asylum seekers. Due to their fast development, they are often not meeting the minimum standards. Nevertheless, the Lageso gradually transforms the emergence centres into regular asylum centres through renovation, converting the usage and respecting the standards. The contract-free centre is also a form to guarantee quick and uncomplicated short-term housing for asylum seekers. The Lageso has agreements with usual guesthouses and hotel, who accommodate asylum seekers in case of need. Compared to the common operators, the Lageso has no contract with the provider on a place (room, bed) in the guesthouse, but the provider is paid for the period of time an asylum seeker is housed there (I Lageso 2014: 1).

## Distribution of Centres in Berlin

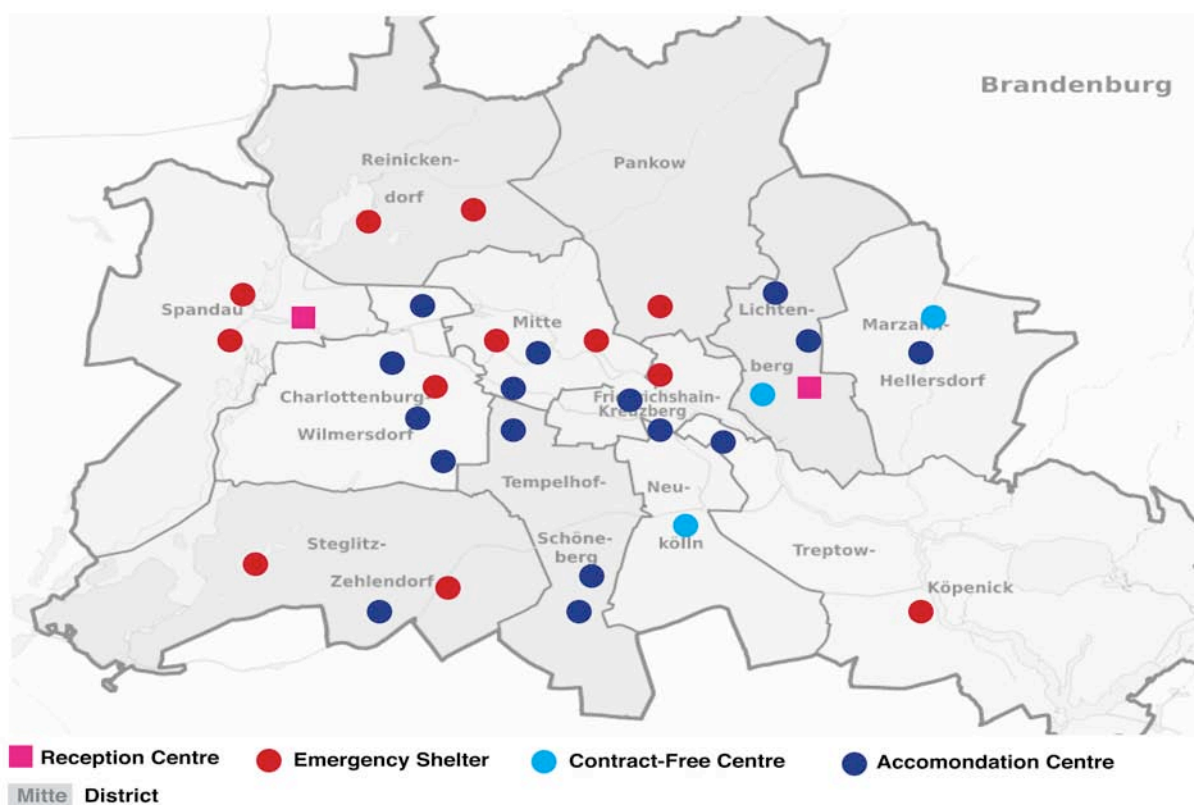


Fig. 11: The Distribution of Centres in Berlin, own illustration based on GoogleMaps

For the reception and accommodation centres as well as the emergency shelters, the Lageso contracts operators to provide and conduct the housing in the centres. There are two types of operators: non-commercial and private operators. Private operators conduct 18 of the centres with the major players Gierso and Presod. Also 18 (including the two official reception centres) are operated by non-commercial association; AWO (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) is the biggest one. The Lageso argues that there are no major differences in regards to the operation of the centres and the conditions of the buildings. However, the Berlin refugee council (*Berliner Flüchtlingsrat*) states that, since the commercial operators are acting profit-orientated, there are differences in the quality of social work, the service and also the conditions of the centres. In 2013, the refugee council revealed corruptions of the operator Gierso, which hired less social

<sup>23</sup> In the land use and development plans of Berlin, asylum centres are defined as social service providers. Thus, in order to develop and open a new centre, the use of the building has to be legally converted into a facility of social service.

worker as agreed in the contract with the Lageso but received full payment. Further, Gierso has been critiqued for not giving access to the centre to aid-initiatives and for not achieving the minimum standards imposed by the Lageso. Nevertheless, the critique is not only directed to single operators, but also towards the Lageso, which is not able to control the minimum standards and the requirements stated in the contract with the operators (I Lageso 2014; I Social Worker 2014; I Bündnis gegen Lager 2014).

German's capital city is an exception in the accommodation of asylum seekers. Contradicting federal law on accommodation (AsylVerfG, §53(1)), it implemented an act (AV Wohn-AsylbLG) allowing and supporting housing in private apartments after three months in the reception/accommodation centre in 2002/2003. Hence, Berlin officially allows asylum seekers to live outside of the centres and to rent an apartment. Until 2009, the majority (80%) of Berlin's asylum seekers lived in private apartments. However, the growing number of asylum seekers and – more importantly – the tension and the rent increases on the housing market have changed the possibilities of this group finding and affording apartments (I Flüchtlingsrat 2014). The Senate and Lageso have reacted on this situation. Since 2011, there is a cooperation contract between the six public housing companies WBM, degewo, GESOBAU, STADT UND LAND, GEWOBA and wie HOWOGE and the Senate on providing 275 apartments each year exclusively for asylum seekers and refugees. The Lageso developed an agency to organise the allocation of the apartments to the asylum seekers and to generally help and give advices to asylum seekers in finding apartments on the housing market. The agency is conducted by the EJF (Evangelisches Jugend- und Fürsorgehilfswerk), a non-commercial organisation. However, politicians (I Pirate Party Berlin 2014), administrators (I Lageso 2014; I Senate for Integration; I Senate for Health and Social Affairs), refugee organisations (I Flüchtlingsrat Berlin 2014) and more importantly asylum seekers (I AS B 2014) underline the challenges for this group finding an apartment in Berlin. The Berlin Refugee Council sums up: “Berlin lacks a segment for asylum seekers and refugees on the housing market, because affordable housing is declining – not only for asylum seekers, but also for unemployed and students. The availability for affordable housing is declining. So, generally Berlin currently has not housing policy and the weakest and most vulnerable population groups have to suffer” (I Flüchtlingsrat Berlin 2014: 5). As a consequence, asylum seekers stuck in the centres, often even their status is declared positive.

Nevertheless, compared to Greater Copenhagen and Madrid, Berlin's housing policy for asylum seekers still is characterised by the theoretical and partly practical possibility of apartment housing for asylum seekers. Further, Berlin's asylum centre system is defined by a relatively equal distribution to the entire city area – also in the inner city. The location of the centres *in* the city and the still relatively high number of asylum seekers in apartments allows asylum seekers to participate in the urban life (I Flüchtlingsrat Berlin 2014; I AS B 2014). Social worker and the Refugee council argue that the location of the centres in the city, the structure of Berlin being a metropolis and the funding for public transport tickets enable asylum seekers to be mobile and to use chances to integrate into Berlin's society. A social worker states that, “Berlin offers asylum seekers more chances because of its structure as a metropolis compared to smaller towns in the hinterland. Asylum seekers have the opportunity to be independently mobile, use education services, meet friends and to learn German. Additionally, Berlin is characterised by strong ethnic communities, who help asylum seekers” (I Social Worker 2014: 2).

### *5.1.3 Madrid – The Liberal Housing Policy and its Limits*

Like in Greater Copenhagen, there is no local housing policy for asylum seekers in Madrid. The state and state-contracted NGOs are responsible for the accommodation. Nevertheless, almost half of Spain's asylum seekers are – at least in the first months after arrival – housed in Madrid (I CEAR I 2014). The capital is thus the major scene for housing and integration as well as a central location in the Spanish reception system: two (of four) CARS, a centre by Accem, a detention centre, some apartments by the NGO “La merce d'migraciones” and the reception centre “Hostal Welcome” are located in Spanish capital. As in Berlin, there is no spatial isolation of the centres like in Copenhagen. Except for the reception centre “Hostal Welcome”, the centres are located in communities, but on the outskirts of Madrid. There is no centre in the inner city (see figure 12).

## Distribution of Centres in Madrid

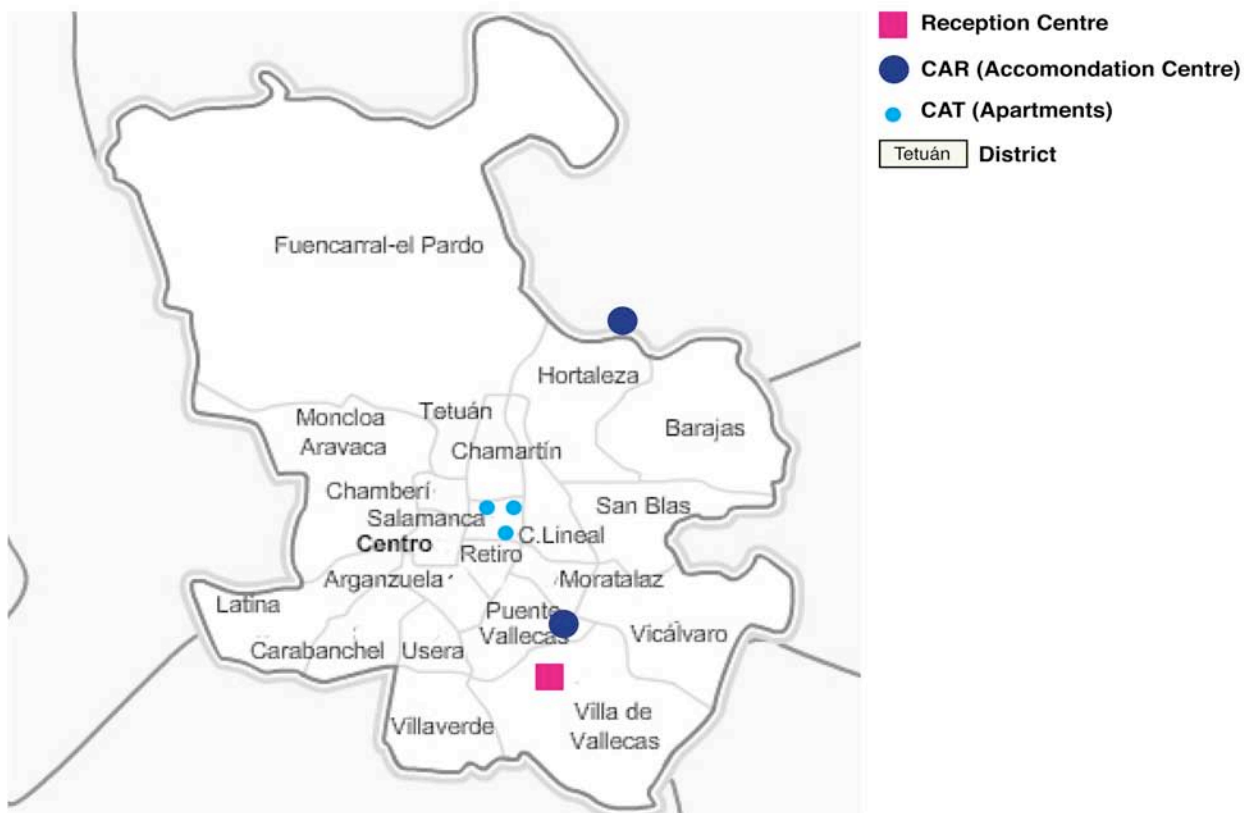


Fig. 12: The Distribution of Centre in Madrid, own illustration based on GoogleMaps

Spain's political and legal approach as well as Madrid's practical dealings with housing asylum seekers is fundamentally different to Greater Copenhagen and Berlin. In Copenhagen and Berlin housing has the pragmatic function to temporarily accommodate asylum seekers until they are either accepted and have access to the society and integrating intuitions (easier access to the labour market, health care, education and housing outside of the centres) or rejected. In Madrid, instead, housing (no matter if in centres or apartments) has the function of including and educating asylum seekers to participate in the Spanish society. The accommodation of asylum seekers is part of an integration program that is divided into three phases: The first phase of accommodation involves the housing in an asylum centre, maintenance, psychological and legal assistance, and financial help for the language classes. It lasts six months. The second phase is the phase of integration and it includes aids for housing (in apartments of the rental market), education and support in finding a job and it lasts six to nine months. The third phase is called "phase of autonomy", where asylum seekers get less support but are prepared to finally leave the integration program. The third phase ideally lasts four to five months (I Integración de los Inmigrantes 2014). The integration program is a direct answer on the consequences of the crisis and the accomplishment of international claims for the dealings with asylum seekers.

Before the crisis, the Spanish labour market was is continuous and unlimited need of labour power. Asylum seekers quickly found a job, left centres early or did not even live in the centres, because they were able to afford private apartments. But why does Spain put so much effort in integration asylum seekers whilst German and Danish policies are developed to socially exclude them? The head of the Spanish integration department (a sub direction of the ministry of labour and social affairs) argues that, "we (the Spanish responsible, author's note) don't send the people back. So, the people stay here. And we know that they are going to stay here. So, we want them to stay in the better situation to survive. And also we don't have any social system to support them after that, so we have to try to help them as much as possible. We know that after that they don't have anything. They don't have the support of the social services or the municipalities or of anybody. And also, because they are not going to be sent back to their countries, they are going to live here, so they need to know how to live and how to survive" (I Integración de los Inmi-

grantes 2014: 4). Upon request in regards to Spain's relatively high rejection rate of 70 per cent, strict border policies and police control, the interviewee argues that, "(...) they don't leave. We do not send them back by force. Only if they want, but nobody wants. The ministry of interior, who is in chafe of return, usually don't sent back people. But the people are then out of the asylum system and they don't get any support. But of course the police can stop you and decide to return you to your country" (ibid.). Within this thesis, it cannot be further investigated to what extend deportation is executed in strict manners or – as the interviewee argues – not. However, the fact that Spanish authorities recognize that asylum seekers stay and further live in Spain and Madrid despite their status and thus the development of the approach to not perceive asylum seekers as temporary residents is unique in the European context. Nevertheless, this strategy produces a group of illegal(ised) migrants, who might be successful living and working in Spain, but who in the end have no rights and legal accesses to the integrating Spanish institutions and who are in the continuous situation of fearing deportation or detention. On top of that, they are neither part of the asylum benefit system nor the regular Spanish social welfare system. Thus, rejected asylum seekers are systematically led to illegalisation and often poverty.

For housing, this liberal but morally questionable approach has following impacts: Housing in asylum centres is not obligatory at any time. Asylum seekers can deny living in centres and receive other means of financial support and advices. Asylum seekers are distributed to the public centres, the centres of the NGOs or apartments of the NGOs depending on availability of rooms and often also on the preferences of the asylum seekers. The apartments function like centres but for smaller groups of people: An NGO rents an apartment or house and accommodates asylum seekers within the same phases of the integration program. The maximum period for living in the centres is six months. This period has been cut by the state in late 2012 in the context of a general cutting of funds in asylum policy. The 'technical team' of the centre, which is constituted by the social worker and the housemaster, is able to extend this period. However, it is completely depending on their decision. The asylum seeker has no right on housing after these six months. Additionally, officials can force asylum seekers to not only move out of the centre but also get excluded from the integration program, if "he or she is aggressive to other residents" (ibid.:5). "In the case they have committed something bad, you can not be protected anymore, you are out of the program", argues an employee of the integration department (ibid.). The complete program ends after 24 months. Afterwards, the asylum seeker (or refugee, depending if the status is already decided) is transferred to the Spanish social welfare system, which causes problems as the head of the integration department points out: "It depends on the community if they get support afterwards. And there are so many people who are for applying for it, all Spanish people. It is social support. And it takes sometimes three years until you get something" (ibid.: 3). Hence, after the period of the integration program, asylum seekers and refugees only have limited access to social benefits and to housing, when they did not manage to find a job within the program period. The disadvantage of the integration program is that it is completely implemented on finding a job. Asylum seekers are informed, educated and trained for finding a job. However, the current economic crisis and huge unemployment rates made it practically impossible for asylum seekers to find one. The head of the integration department sums up, "This program is not working due to the crisis" (ibid.). As a result, asylum seekers leave Spain, when they received the refugee status, but "then they are forced to come back because of Dublin" (ibid.).

#### *5.1.4 Housing in Copenhagen, Berlin, Madrid – The long-term exclusion of asylum seekers*

Denmark's asylum system and the 'Kommunekvoter' are created to systematically isolate asylum seekers from urban settlements and especially from bigger cities like Copenhagen. Copenhagen is not accessible for asylum seekers; hence, there is no local policy for this group. Nevertheless, asylum seekers find ways to participate in Copenhagen's urban life supported by refugee organisations and projects. Berlin and Madrid, instead, are national hot spots for asylum seeker. Due to Berlin's duty and relative sovereignty as a city-state, it developed a – in the German context – unique housing policy allowing asylum seekers to live in apartments in Berlin after three months in the centre. However, in reality, this possibility is lacking a clear political support. Due to the increase of rents, the tensions on the housing market, discrimination and the limited benefits, which asylum seekers receive, asylum seekers are in the end forced to stay in centres. The political strategies in Denmark as well as the structural exclusion in Berlin lacking comprehensive political solutions lead to a more or less forced or at least tolerated housing of asylum seekers in centres. However,

in Madrid, asylum seekers participate in an integration program; the centre is seen as a house of integration and as a necessary instrument within the integration program. Nevertheless, after the end of the program, asylum seekers are often confronted with not receiving any support.

National approaches and local dealings in regards to housing asylum seekers do vary. Nevertheless, they often result in the long-term exclusion of asylum seekers. The problematic housing situation in Berlin, Denmark's Kommunekvoter and Spain's economic crisis and on-going cuts of benefits affect the lives of asylum seekers even beyond their grant for asylum.

## **5.2 Towards a Super System - The Centre Systems in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid**

The case studies are characterised by the establishment of centre systems, a comprehensive network in arranging migrant flows and housing for asylum seekers. Generally each national respectively local system consists of three kinds, which are necessarily interlinked with each other: reception centres, accommodation centres and detentions centres. They overtake the same applications in all of the case studies. The reception centre works as a central notion receiving arriving migrants until their further process (for example immediate distribution to another reception centre in the country, or even to another country due to the Dublin regulation) is decided. The accommodation centre is arranged as a place of longer housing and thus it is characterised by mostly better conditions than the reception centres (see chapter 5.3). Usually, asylum seekers are housed in these centres until the decision on their asylum request has been made. The detention or departure centre is another central notion in the asylum system developed to detain rejected asylum seekers. This triangle of reception, accommodation and detention has proved itself successfully in strategically organising asylum migration and controlling the housing and movement of asylum seekers.

In Copenhagen, the reception centre Sandholm is a central space in the system. As the only reception centre, every asylum seeker has to pass through Sandholm. Additionally, it represents an accommodation centre and a detention centre. Hence, Sandholm is unique illustrating a Danish trend in centralising the system within one space (which is divided into several subspaces). In 2013, the ministry of law decided to develop a new detention centre in the surrounding of Sandholm, Centre Sjaeldmark. It is also an old military base in the Hørsolm Commune. The new detention centre will be mainly established due to the rise of residents in Sandholm (I Immigration Service 2014). Nevertheless, the functions of reception and detention are concentrated in close proximity. The major of Hørsolm argues, "So it is making sense for them (the immigration service; Kreichauf) to concentrate everything in one area, making it (the organisation of asylum seekers; Kreichauf) more easy.

The tendency of concentrating the functions is also obvious in Berlin's centre system. As mentioned in chapter 5.1.2, housing in Germany is regulated on the level of the state (*Länder*). Since Berlin is a city-state, the establishment of its own centre system defines it. Officially, Berlin has two reception centres, Refugium Motardstraße and Refugium Rhinstraße. However, due to the increase of asylum seekers and full capacities (see figure 13, attachment) in the centres (I Lageso 2014), asylum seekers are often housed more than the official three months in the reception centre. Additionally, accommodation centres, like Centre Klingsorstraße, overtake the reception function and often asylum seekers are deported from the accommodation centre without being housed in a detention centre before the deportation (I Gierso 2014).

In Madrid, instead, the difference between reception, accommodation and detention centre stick strictly to this separation, mainly because the reception centre Welcome Hostel functions like a hotel and not like a centre and it is part of the integration program like the accommodation centres. The system in Madrid and Spain is defined by a different approach in managing asylum seekers. Asylum seekers are organised within the system to be integrated into the Spanish society. However, Madrid appears to be a central landmark in the Spanish system, concentrating the biggest number of asylum seekers and offering all the three functions of the centre system. Even though, there is a differentiation in regards to the functions of the centres within the system, a spatial concentration of these functions in Madrid are visible.

A major difference in the centre systems is the approach on operating them. Whilst in Greater Copenhagen the majority of centres are operated by the Danish Red Cross, the structure of operators is more diverse in Madrid and especially in Berlin. In Madrid, the two main centres, the CARs, are run exclusively by the state. The state is thus directly operating and organising housing and it thus has direct access and

impact on the life of asylum seekers. The Spanish Red Cross conducts the reception centre. The NGOs, who have also centres in Spain, play only a minor role in Madrid. They are mainly active the field of apartment housing. In Berlin, there are currently 16 operators for 36 asylum centres. Half of the operators are commercial ones, who are orientated towards making profit with the provision of centres. All of the systems are characterised by the implementation of minimum standards aiming to guarantee equal housing conditions. However, despite the fact that there are accusations towards some operators not fulfilling the standards, Berlin is the only city that has implemented a comprehensive set of standards for all of its centres.

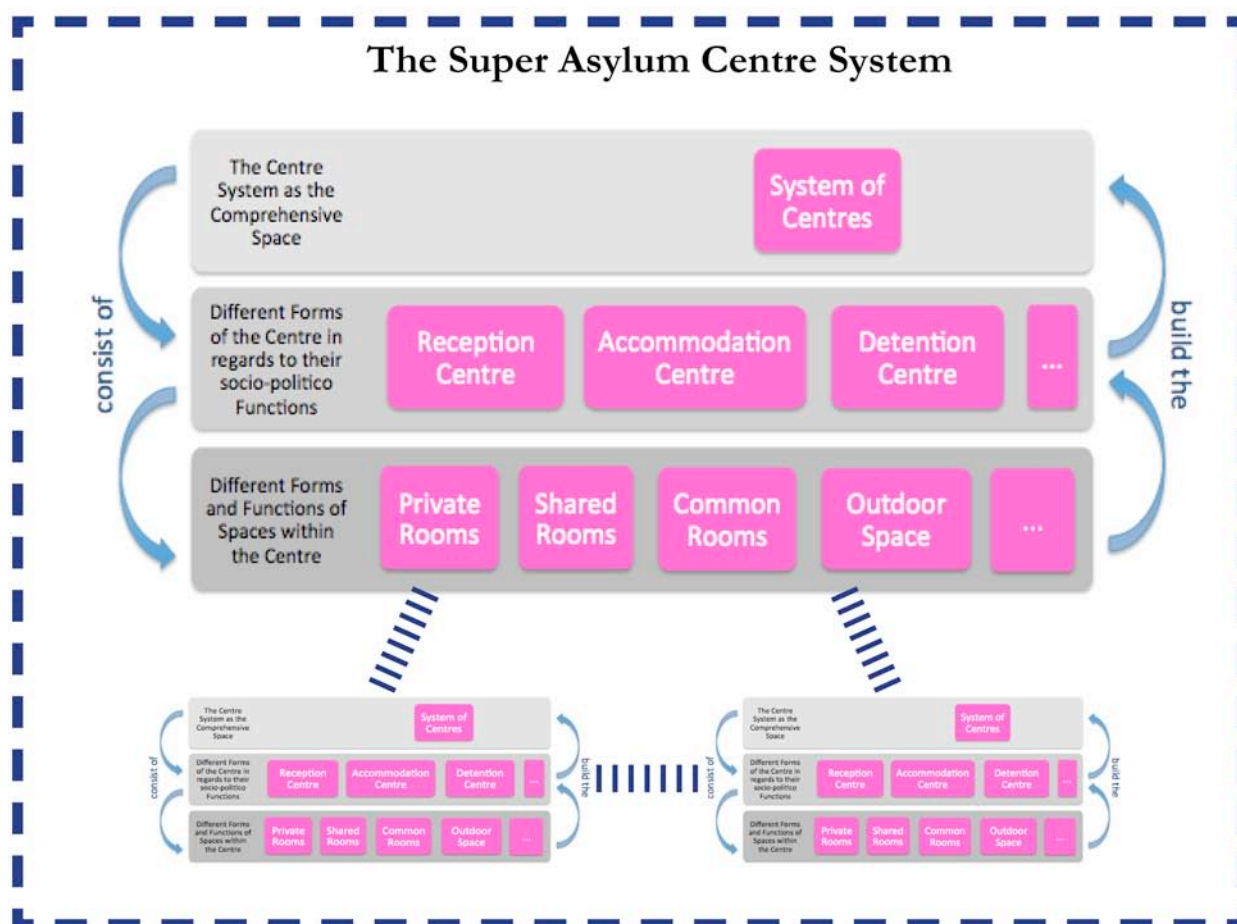


Fig. 14: The Super Asylum Centre System, own illustration

Even though there are obvious differences in the concrete patterns of the (national and local) systems, they are structured by the same triangle of centres. The establishment of each of the national systems has its origin in both the reproduction of proved historic approaches in housing migrants (Pieper 2008) and the homogenisation of housing policies due to the EU Council Directive 2003/9/EC. Because of the ongoing development of a comprehensive European asylum policy and the adaption of EU regulations on the asylum procedure and housing (but with some freedom for the member states), national housing policies and conditions might be further equalised in the future. However, already today, common practices, like the implementation of the Dublin regulations illustrate that the systems are indeed working independently but also that they are interlinked. Asylum seekers, which are for example deported from Germany to Spain due to Dublin III do end up in a similar system but in another country. Often they are directly housed in an accommodation centre skipping the reception centre because they already went through the process conducted in the reception centre of the country they were deported from. The emergence and the establishment of centre systems with the centre as the dominant form of housing and the development of asylum centres as a common European strategy for housing (and thus the implementation of centres) develops to – what I call – a *Super Asylum Centre System*, a Europe-wide and increasingly interlinked network of centres to organise asylum migration and to house asylum seekers.

### 5.3 The Exclusion of Asylum Seekers due to Housing

Housing generally plays an important role in the integration of migrants into the society (Häußermann 2005). Due to the relatively weak position of asylum seekers in the society because of the ban from the labour market and education, housing is considered to have an even more important meaning in the integration respectively exclusion of this group (Pieper 2008). Respecting the illustrated legislations on housing, this chapter presents the investigated centres, the siting of centres, the exclusionary mechanisms that developed from being housed in an asylum centre as well as its socio-political functions and dimensions of exclusion.

#### 5.3.1 *The Features of the investigated Centres in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid*

Following chapter contains short presentations of the ten investigated centres focussing briefly on their major characteristics: Centre Sandholm (Copenhagen), Refugium Motardstraße, Refugium Rhinstraße, Refugium Kaiserdamm, Centre Klingsorstraße (Berlin), CAR de Alcobendas, CAR de Vallecas, Hostal Welcome, Apartment Castelar and Apartment Cartagena (Madrid).

##### *Center Sandholm (Greater Copenhagen)*

The reception and departure centre for asylum-seekers, Sandholm Accommodation Centre, is located some 30 kilometres north of Copenhagen. The old yellow military barracks were built in 1909-12 and functioned to house the Royal Life Guards from 1945 to 1985. In 1985 the Danish Red Cross bought the barracks, which reopened in 1986 as an accommodation centre for asylum-seekers run by the Danish Red Cross. The centre is one of the biggest of its kind. It accommodates around 600 individuals, who are either awaiting a decision on their application for asylum or have had their application rejected and are awaiting departure from Denmark. Security personnel guard the centre around the clock. It also houses the immigration section of the Danish National Police and the Immigration Service. The Danish Prison and Probation Service runs Ellebækhus, the institution for detained asylum-seekers waiting deportation from Denmark. This is a separate section behind perimeter fencing, with its own access road from Ellebækvej. However, it is a part of the area of the Sandholm Centre. Centre Sandholm symbolises the concentration of all possible forms of accommodating asylum seekers: it is the only reception centre in Denmark, an accommodation centre<sup>24</sup> and a detention centre. Sandholm is not only a centre, but a whole settlement created to house asylum seekers. Thus, it is characterised by several forms of housing, social and cultural infrastructures as well as leisure facilities. Altogether, it consists of more than 60 buildings including housing units for families with private bathrooms, two buildings with rooms for four people and shared bathrooms, six new buildings with double bedrooms and private bathrooms as well as a container settlement consisting of approximately 20 containers without bathrooms and kitchens. Moreover, there is a health clinic, a canteen, a café, several laundrettes, three huge playgrounds, a soccer field and other facilities. A military base and a forest surround the Sandholm centre.

##### *Hostal Welcome (Madrid)*

The Hostal Welcome is the only official reception centre for asylum seekers migrating to Spain. It is located on the southwest edge of Madrid, in an industrial area and business park of the district Vallecas. For a maximum of two weeks, asylum seekers are housed in this hostel. The Hostal Welcome cannot be identified as a typical reception centre. It symbolises a temporary accommodation and it is not intended to house asylum seekers for long periods. The hostel is generally accessible; everybody can book hotel rooms online for Euro 15 to 35 per night depending on the equipment. The Spanish Red Cross has a contract with the operator of the hostel on the usage of 50 per cent of the rooms. In 2013, more than 1,200 asylum seekers lived in this reception centre, which is predominantly characterised by its very decent location, video surveillance, its relative accessibility, and its non-recognisability as an asylum centre.

##### *CAR de Alcobendas and CAR de Vallecas (Madrid)*

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<sup>24</sup> Officially, Centre Sandholm is not an accommodation centre established for the longer-term housing of asylum seekers. Nevertheless, asylum seekers do spend often several weeks and months in Sandholm before they are distributed to actual accommodation centres. Thus, Sandholm is defined as an accommodation centre within this thesis.

In Madrid, there are two of a total of four CARs, the public accommodation centres run by the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs. Compared to the Welcome Hostel, they are installed as longer-term housing forms. Nevertheless, the maximum period that an asylum seeker is able to live in the centres is limited to six months. Both centres are centrally located in residential areas of the municipality Alcobendas respectively the Madrid district Vallecas. On the large scale though, Alcobendas is situated at the edge of Madrid in the municipality of Alcobendas, 20 kilometres away from Madrid's city centre; the CAR Vallecas is located in a more urban neighbourhood nine kilometres away from the centre. 80 residents live in the CAR Alcobendas; 96 live in the CAR Vallecas, which is one of the biggest accommodation centres in Spain. Both centres are spatially mainly characterised by grills in the first floors, video surveillance, security guards, a canteen, good accesses to public transport (both bus and train) and their relatively physical integration in the urban surroundings.

#### *Apartment Castelar and Apartment Cartagena*

In the narrow sense, the apartments Castelar and Cartagena are not asylum centres. However, they are characterised as ones by the OAR and they are defined by objectives and features equal to asylum centres: housing migrants on a relatively small space with the purpose of integrating this group, the assistance of social workers and specific house rules similar to the ones in asylum centres. Around 20 residents are housed in each of the apartments, which are run by the NGO "La Merced Migraciones". Compared to the centres, only men between 16 and 25 are accommodated. Moreover, the apartments are accessible for different (legal and illegal) migrant groups. With three asylum seekers in each of the department, this group is the minority. Generally, the apartments are characterised by the absence of obvious forms of control (no security guard, no video surveillance), their central location in Madrid's inner city neighbourhood Salamanca and of course their relatively small size and number of residents. Altogether, the physical space is an apartment, but the social relations, the distribution of asylum seekers to shared rooms, the food supply by a cook, and the close guidance by the social workers, who have an office in the apartment, are establishing an 'inner-centre character'.

#### *Refugium Motardstraße – Zentrale Aufnahmestelle für Flüchtlinge (Central Reception for Refugees) (Berlin-Spandau)*

The Refugium Motardstraße is one of Berlin's two official reception centres and the oldest asylum centre of the city located decentred in an industrial area, seven kilometres away from the city centre and operated by the AWO. The container settlement was established in 1989 as a stopgap to house refugees from the former GDR and ethnic German resettler. Since 1995, the centre is used to house asylum seekers. Around 450 migrants live in the centre, which is built to house only 400. It is characterised by a large-scale isolation due to its remote location in an industrial area, fences, walls, the bad physical conditions of the building, food supply but without a canteen, security guards and the permanent overcrowding. Hence, the centre is also described as a departure centre, since the conditions force migrants to move out and stop their asylum process.

#### *Refugium Rhinstraße (Berlin-Lichtenberg)*

This centre is the second official reception centre in Berlin. It is located in Berlin's district Lichtenberg in a housing unit of a ten-floor housing block surrounded by a business park. It accommodates 350 residents. It is operated by the AWO and it is mainly characterised by the decentred location and its implementation in a housing block consisting of former apartments.

#### *Refugium Kaiserdamm (Berlin-Charlottenburg)*

The Refugium Kaiserdamm an emergency shelter, introduced in late 2013 and operated by the AWO. The centre is in a vacant hotel in Berlin's inner city. The five-story building accommodates 120 asylum seekers. The size of the rooms and the square metres per person are not in line with Berlin's minimum quality standards for asylum centres. The hotel atmosphere and temporality, the architectural integration in the urban surrounding, the location in the city and the access to public transport and facilities of daily needs define the emergency shelter.

#### *Centre Klingsorstraße (Berlin-Steglitz)*

Located in Berlin's wealthy south-western district Steglitz, this asylum centre is implemented in an old villa in a residential area, nine kilometres away from Berlin's city centre but in close distance to the sub centre of Steglitz. The four-story building houses 106 asylum seekers and it is characterised by physical integration in the neighbourhood, a wall and a fence, the security personnel, which guard the centre around the

clock, a relatively big exterior space and different forms and sizes of rooms. From the outside, it rarely can be perceived as an asylum centre.

### *5.3.2 Siting of Centres and its Political Motivation*

On the surface, the siting of asylum centres seems to be decided based on pragmatic reasons: the availability of empty buildings that are able to accommodate a high number of people, the financial feasibility, and the administrative and legal access to buildings and parcels of lands. However, in the debate with persons responsible and predominantly with NGOs, activists and refugee organisations another significant motive becomes obvious: the systematic isolation of asylum seekers in centres outside or on the edge of the cities.

In Greater Copenhagen, the Immigration Service states that, “the first is to find a building that actually has the capacity or that it is reasonable to change and adapt so these people can be housed there. Secondly, are we allowed to be there and how could we be allowed to be there. And the third thing is who would operate this. And it is very hard to find a new place, very hard. And it is often military barracks because the rooms are easy to convert” (I Immigration Service 2014: 2). Further, it argues that the placing of asylum seekers in centres and the location is a, “political decision by the ministry. We have some room to interpret regulations, but we always go back to what the Justice Ministry says. We have to do what they say, but we have the authority responsibility of making it” (Ibid.). Truly, the ministry implemented the *kommunequoter*, which naturally distributes asylum seekers (and centres) to regions without high numbers of migrants. However, the Immigration Service is in the end in charge to decide not only on the specific location of centres, but also on the siting of asylum seekers once they get granted asylum: “We decide on the operators, the conditions and locations. We have the responsibility of housing and we own most of the centres” (ibid.). The Immigration Service argues that it would not be feasible to open a centre in Copenhagen, since Copenhagen is a so-called ‘zero commune’, “Copenhagen is a zero municipality. And that is a big reason why we do not have an asylum centre here in Copenhagen. Asylum seekers would never have a future in Copenhagen and that is why there are also no centres here (...). So even if there would be a centre in Copenhagen it is clear that refugees can not live in Copenhagen after their status is decided and that is why we are not opening a centre in Copenhagen” (ibid.). Officially, the *kommunequoter* is used to justify the location of asylum centres. Nevertheless, this argument is inconsistent. Asylum seekers with the refugee status get allocated to other municipalities of Denmark either way. Their preferences and the location of the centre, where they lived during the application process, are not taken into account. Moreover, there is a consequent attitude against the implementation of smaller centres or the further promotion of housing asylum seekers in apartments due to financial reasons: “But the thing is it (the implementation of smaller centres; *Kreichauf*) applies a total new setup of people and staff and also other housing costs. We have found that smaller units are not very well and expensive to have. In the light, of all the cut downs, specifically in the asylum centre area, it is impossible to implement something like this. We have to cut down. So we cannot have the small units” (ibid.: 3). A place for one asylum seeker in a centre is 5.600 kroner (around 750 Euro) at the average (I Refugees Welcome 2014). To accommodate a family of four family members in an asylum centre thus ‘costs’ 22.400 kroner (around 3.000 Euro) every month. The immense costs of centres should be actually an argument against the further development of this form of housing and to promote housing in apartments. But despite the costs and the protests, the immigration service sums up that, “we are going in the right direction” (I Immigration Service 2014: 4) and also the Danish Red Cross as the main operator argues, “I have seen most of the asylum systems in Europe. If I were an asylum seeker, I would prefer going to Denmark. Because I think the centres are ok” (I Danish Red Cross 2014: 4).

The statements of the bodies responsible elucidate that the location of centres is a highly political issue. Currently, there is no will to change the strategy of placing asylum seekers in former military barracks and hospitals outside of any settlements. On top of that, the officials believe that this strategy is good accepting the spatial isolation of asylum seekers. However, Danish refugee organisations and activists highly critique the centre and the decision of siting asylum centres. A representative of the organisation ‘Refugees Welcome’, who has worked for more than 20 years with asylum seekers argues elaborately that she thinks there are three reasons for this strategy: “One is we tend to use facilities that are cheap and already empty for other reasons, like closed down military camps, where you have a lot of empty space. The second reason is, that for many years there has been this attempt to keep asylum seekers away from the public, because then it is much easier to deport them. It is much easier to make them live on a very low level, be-

cause there is nobody there to watch. You avoid public protests and resistance towards it. The government is trying to avoid situations like that, because the fewer Danes that actually know what is going on, the easier it is to have this very strict and inhuman policy. The location of the asylum centre helps to establish an image on asylum seekers as being criminal and that they are scary. This image is overtaken by some parts of the Danish society. Danes thus get the picture that there are too many asylum seekers and that they are causing problems and that we should have more strict rules (...). But of course it is a political will: If you want them to be housed in Copenhagen, it would be possible. But nobody really wants to do anything about it. It's not up on the municipality to decide. It depends on the state and the government and especially the immigration service and they do not want it" (I Refugees Welcome 2014: 2pp.).

The assumption that there is a strategy, which systematically aims to isolate asylum seekers is shared by all interviewed refugee organisations and activists (see I Asylret 2014; I Danish Refugee Council 2014, I Grandparents for Asylum 2014). The founder of the Trampoline Huset encapsulates, "we are fed up with politicians, because they use people's lives. And the reasons they can do it is that asylum seekers cannot vote. So, they have nothing to lose. The strategy of isolating refugees in camps establishes a situation, where it is possible to treat asylum seekers like they do. Because if you keep people in camps and alienate them and make them somebody else and nobody really knows them, then it is easy to tell the story about these masses that attack your country and use all your welfare. You have a system that is creating clients; it is a factory of clients. I know why: they don't need these people at all. So there is a lot of populist politics going on" (I Trampoline Huset 2014: 1).

In Berlin, the siting of centres and its political motivation is more diverse, mainly because of the official's attempts to theoretically allow asylum seekers the access to the housing market. There is no specific spatial pattern in regards to the distribution of centres. Moreover, on the level of decision makers and operators, different approaches for the location of centres are obvious. The Lageso, the body in charge for the centres and their location, argues that the siting of centres is relatively involuntarily and spontaneous. Like in Greater Copenhagen, centres are opened on the criteria of whether potential buildings can house a big number of asylum seekers and if the city has access to these buildings. The current increase of asylum seekers pressures the Lageso in finding new and suitable place. This is obvious in the emergence of emergency shelters, which are often quickly developed to spontaneously react on new flows of asylum seekers and which often do not match the minimum standards. Further, the operators have the possibility with a property at the Lageso. However, the Lageso confesses that, "centres are located in in real estates in a bad state. Asylum centres are not beautiful properties. Old schools, old retirement homes and old administration buildings are often the properties, which are reused as asylum centres. So, basically real estates that are not adhocly exploitable are usually the buildings reused for asylum centres (...). Certainly, asylum centres are the worst housing conditions for people in general, especially having in mind that asylum seekers live there often for years" (I Lageso 2014; translated into English). Moreover, the Lageso argues that the siting of centres highly depends on the willingness and cooperation of Berlin's districts, since they in the end have the planning sovereignty in opening a centre. Nevertheless, city planning currently allows asylum centres only to be located in residential areas or mixed areas, since by law, they are real estates of social usage. In regards to Centre Motardstraße, the Lageso argues, "what have been realised there years ago, would not be possible to realise today due to laws in urban planning" (ibid.).

The AWO introduced a set of guidelines in regards to the siting of its centres. It argues that the accommodation of asylum seekers in inhabited areas, the implementation of relatively small centres for small number of residents between 40 and 60 and close proximities to public transport are major criteria for the location of a centre. However, in practice, the AWO is limited in realising these obligations. It sums up that the finding new locations and implementing asylum centres is mainly depending on two factors: the political will and the financing of the centre: "It is a political decision. It is always a political decision. It is a deceptive cadence to believe that the operators are in charge for this decision. Truly, the operator can influence it, but it is not in charge of it. Further, we have to refinance the centres and this is mostly possible with the opening of centre for huge numbers of residents rather than it is for small numbers" (I AWO 2014; translated into English). The Gierso, one of the major commercial operators, seems to have other criteria for the location: "It would be better if residential buildings would not be next to the centre. Residents should not surround the centre, but it also should not be too decentral. That would be perfect, because if you have residents surrounding the centre, there are always problems" (I Gierso; translated into English). This perspective is rather frustrating, since it shows that the interviewee does not argue from the

perspective of asylum seekers, but from view on whether the neighbourhood is troubled or not. However, in reality, all of the current four centres of the Gierso – including the investigated one, Centre Klingensorstraße – are located in residential areas.

On the level of refugee organisations and activists, the location of centres is perceived differently. On the one hand, the relatively equal distribution of centre in city is highlighted. On the other hand, there is critique in regards to some centres for being decentrally located and for a general tendency to site centre in more remote areas (I KUB; I Alliance against camps). Especially, the location of Centre Motardstraße in an remote industrial area detached from any urban settlement is in the focus of critique – interestingly by all of the interviews on different levels. The operator AWO and the refugee organisations argue that the centre should have been closed a long time ago, but the administrative bodies and politicians would cherish to use it as an reception centre because it discourages and demotivates asylum seekers arriving in Berlin (I AWO; I Refugee Council Berlin).

However, generally it seems that the location for centres in Berlin is predominantly decided on the pragmatic decisions on finding ‘appropriate’ and accessible properties to develop asylum centres rather than systematically isolate asylum seekers like it is the case in Greater Copenhagen.

Madrid’s centre system has been stable in the passing years. Compared to Greater Copenhagen and Berlin, the two CARs have been implemented already 20 years ago. However, CEAR argues that the decision to site the CARs in the centre of residential areas in Alcobendas and Madrid-Vallecas is closely inter-linked with the Spanish approach of perceiving the centres as places of integration. Thus, a central location of them is necessary to guarantee the integration of asylum seekers in the society (I CEAR I). An employee of the CAR argues that locating the centre in the middle of Madrid would be too expensive, since the rents are higher in the city centre.<sup>25</sup> The OAR states that accommodating asylum seekers in smaller communities is more helpful to integrate them because the access to institutions of the municipalities is easier. However, the interviewee admits, the needs of the asylum seekers are very diverse and some of them want to live in Madrid and thus it would be good to react on these needs with opening a centre in the city. Like in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin, it is suspicious that the reception centre, the Hostal Welcome, is situated on the edge of Madrid in an industrial area. CEAR indicates that, “the Welcome Hostel is too far out. It is very difficult to have access to the city. Before, we used to have it in Downtown, but it was closed” (I CEAR 2). Having Spain’s integration approach in mind, the location of the reception centre is in so far reasonable as the first reception of asylum seekers is not a part of the integration program. Thus, the contemporary housing in the Hostal is not perceived as an attempt to integration but as a waiting state until asylum seekers are further distributed to the CARs. However, this state takes place without the society noticing it.

### 5.3.3 *Exclusionary Mechanisms: Categories of the socio-spatial Exclusion*

*„You could kill a person with a home just as you could with an axe“ (Heinrich Zille).*

When investigating the exclusionary aspects of the centre, it has to be respected that the asylum legislations in all of the case studies and on the EU level have been established to place asylum seekers in a less favourable position in the society. They are, by the laws, migrants with insecure residence permissions, which have to prove within the asylum procedure that they are entitled to be integrated into the society. The centre is both a part of these laws and an instrument of examination of the asylum seeker to prove his/her eligibility to become a part of the society and it is the place, in which the legislations are spatially translated and manifested. Thus, the study of the asylum centre as a space and its impacts on the exclusion of asylum seekers contains not only the spatial and social characteristics like location, social relationships and daily routines, but also the transfer of policies into the socio-spatial setting. This approach helps to understand not only exclusionary socio-spatial settings of the centres, but also the direct impacts on the life of asylum seekers and the hidden socio-political functions.

This chapter introduces mechanisms and characteristics of exclusion and their configurations in respect to the case studies by investigating the relation between space and political motivations and social interactions by presenting following dimensions/mechanisms of exclusion: 1) Spatial Isolation, 2) Control, 3)

<sup>25</sup> This statement is contradictory, since it is the state that owns and operates the CAR and it might have an easier access to state-owned buildings in the city of Madrid.

Repression, 4) Heteronomy, 5) Disciplining, 6) Loss of Identity and Prospects, 7) Stigmatisation and 8) Continuation of Exclusion.

### *1. In the Middle of Nowhere? – The Spatial Isolation of the Centres and their Residents*

Asylum seekers are particularly affected by their marginal position in the society. Especially, in the beginning after arrival, they usually do not have contacts or social resources. Due to limited financial means and the more or less obligatory accommodation in asylum centres, their possibilities to participate in the society are limited. In this situation, it is important for asylum seekers to have access to facilities of daily life and to leave the centre to conduct a self organised life. The contact and proximity to consulting institutions and refugee organisations as well as accidental contacts are of major importance for the integration of this group (Höpner 2004). Contacts to the host society, but also to the same and other ethnic groups and to support organisations usually happen in central urban areas. The editor of New Times states, “my personal dream scenario would be to offer housing in the big cities. The big cities are the place of integration and of course work for the asylum seekers” (I New Times 2014: 3) All of the interviewed asylum seekers state the proximity to the urban areas and the accessibility of super markets, schools and administrative bodies is important to them. Especially, asylum seekers in Berlin underlined the significance of reaching migrant neighbourhoods. Hence, the location of the centre, the accessibility and reachability of the city and urban structures are fundamental criteria to investigate the integration or exclusion process of this group.

To evaluate the location of asylum centres and its role in (spatially) integrating or excluding asylum seekers, a *Catalogue of Isolation* (see figure 14, attachment) has been conducted for all of the presented centres defining different categories and their impacts on the spatial isolation of the centres.

Overall, the centres illustrate a relatively differentiate image in regards to the different dimensions of isolation. Greater Copenhagen’s Sandholm Centre is particularly characterised by the spatial sequestration of both the city centre and its surroundings. Its huge distance to Copenhagen (30km; 50min with public transport), its remote location outside of any urban settlement and the relatively poor access to public transport highlight the large-scale isolation of the centre. Further, it is manifested due to the cuts for transport tickets explained in chapter 5.2.1: “In my eyes it is also a problem that it is so expensive to get into town. And a lot of people want to go to the town because they want to see what is going on. But it cost so much to go there. But you don't have the money. People don't come when they run out of money” (I Asylret 2014: 4). An activist further argues, “asylum seekers have problems to go the centre and to organizations and facilities supporting asylum seekers but also difficulties in using the opportunities that a big city can offer” (Grandparents for Asylum 2014: 3). On the small-scale, Sandholm is the only actual settlement in the ultimate hinterland surrounded by woods and fields, only accessible by a country road. Additionally, a shooting range of the Danish military is located next to the centre giving the impression of being not a ‘normal’ place to live. Since it is officially a social facility, it is thus not integrated at all in its environment; facilities of daily needs are not located in close proximities to the centre. In regards to the symbolic isolation dimension, the centre is relatively outstanding due to the type of buildings and the features of the actual facilities: The centre is distinctly marked by its former function as a military base, the distinction due to fences, the monitoring of the area by security guards and the stuff of the operator Danish Red Cross, walls and buildings as well as strict identity controls for the residents and people visiting. Even though the exterior space is well kept, the setting of this asylum centre helps establishing an image of exclusion, temporality and a hostile living environment. In the narrower sense, Sandholm works not an asylum centre but as an asylum settlement or camp defined by its own infrastructure facilities, a specific kind of centrality (the central ‘historic’ barrack part due to its facilities and essential infrastructures for asylum seekers like a medical centre and an office of the Immigration Service) and its insularity. On the dimension of individual exclusion, the centre has the highest number of residents of all investigated centres. Due to its size, different structures and types of buildings (for example the old barracks, terrace houses for families, containers) and functions of buildings (first reception, accommodation, leisure infrastructures, detention etc.), the asylum camp is distinguished by various forms of segregation: functional segregation (maintenance, areas for leisure activities, medical care), the segregation in regards to its surroundings due to its clear demarcation and a social segregation (depending on the status, the legal characteristics as well as characteristics in regards to race, gender, age and family status of the asylum seekers). Hence, Centre Sandholm obviously appears to the outside world as a place to accommodate ‘the other-

ness' and 'the aliens', which do not belong to the Danish society (yet). This image is not only established because asylum seekers are housed in living standards below any average housing standards of Danish residents, but also the perception of people being sheltered in an old military barrack in a closed settlement surrounded by shooting ranges and woods clearly strengthens the development of a state of perception for people, which do not deserve to be housed better. Additionally, the socio-spatial structure of the camp and the concentration of specific groups depending on their status and demographic aspect represent the general position of an asylum seeker not only in the centre but also in the asylum centre. Mohammed, who lives in Sandholm for several years, is accommodated in a prefabricated building that houses only rejected but not deportable male asylum seekers in rooms of four people. The building is right on the edge of the camp next to the shooting range. Newcomers are often housed in containers on the south border of the centre. Families are located in relatively central single-family terrace houses. The major sport facilities (the biggest playground, soccer field etc.) are also located towards the borders of the centre: "In Sandholm, in the kindergarden, you can look to the prison for the people that have to leave the country" (I Asylret 2014: 4).

Even though Centre Sandholm is the only spatially investigated centre in Denmark, all persons interviewed in Denmark highlight the importance of the spatial isolation of all of the centres. An activist argues, "Konguluen is also a military base. Avnstrup is in the middle of the forest. It is a former hospital for tuberculosis in the 1930s and 1940s. Now there are a lot of asylum seekers" (I Grandparents for Asylum 2014: 2). Also figure nine shows that the majority of asylum centres in Denmark is usually located outside of an urban settlement and at least 15 kilometres away from the Danish big cities Copenhagen, Aarhus and Aalborg.

In Berlin, the location and integration of the asylum centres is more diverse. Nevertheless, the reception centre Refugium Motardstraße shows some similarities to Centre Sandholm, especially in small-scale isolation, symbolic isolation and individual isolation dimension. Even though, it has a relatively good access to public transport (both bus and metro), it is developed seven kilometres away from Berlin's central districts. On the small-scale, its location in an industrial area, accessed by an industrial street and the distances to any social or urban infrastructure characterise the centre. The Berlin centre is a container settlement; the conditions of the six buildings are very decrepit; the exterior space is untended. Moreover, Refugium Motardstraße is characterised by walls and fences symbolising the boundaries to the urban environment. Security guards control the identity of residents and visitors entering the centre. The fencing and the site security have been further extended in 2013, since former residents mugging current asylum seekers entered the asylum centre (I AWO 2014). The container structure, the bad conditions of the buildings and the exterior space as well as the fences physically exclude the residents and the centre from the surroundings. Also the reception centre Refugium Rhinstraße is relatively decentred located. However, due to its location in an residential building and the lack of boundaries like fences it is – on the small scale - relatively integrated in its urban environment. However, on the individual scale it is also defined by a high amount of residents living on a small space and the lack of privacy of the residents. The two investigated accommodation centres Refugium Kaiserdamm and Centre Klingsorstraße are different in terms of their large-scale location and their building structure. Whilst the former hotel Kaiserdamm is in the centre of (West) Berlin, centrally located to Busses, Metro, S-Trains and facilities of daily needs, Centre Klingsorstraße is integrated in a villa and located in a residential area nine kilometres away from the city centre. Nevertheless, both centres are included in the physical environment. A fence and a wall separate centre Klingsorstraße from its surroundings. Kaiserdamm is in need for renovation and it does not matches Berlin's minimum standards for centres, which leave the centre as a temporary emergency shelter. Compared to the reception centres Sandholm and Motardstraße, they are not visible as asylum centres, but in the individual isolation dimension they show significant similarities especially in regards to the lack of single rooms and the accommodation of residents on a very limited space.

The surface impression of Madrid's centres shows a better situation of the centres in the large-scale, small-scale and symbolic isolation dimension. Madrid's two state-operated CARs are located in the centre of the neighbourhood Madrid-Vallecas and the suburb Alcobendas. Even though both centres are relatively remotely located towards Madrid's city centre (CAR Alcobendas: 20km), they have a fairly good access to public transport, both bus and metro respectively s-train. On the small-scale, they are characterised by their location in residential areas and in the actual neighbourhood. Physically, they are integrated in their urban environment and they are barely discernable as asylum centres. On the symbolic isolation di-

mension, walls, fences and a gate define CAR De Vallecas. The strict identity control, when accessing both areas, is striking. In regards to the individual isolation, both centres differ from the centres in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin due to the lack of cooking facilities, and predominantly due to complete video surveillance of all of common rooms and grills in the ground floor, highly limiting the free development of the individuals. Sirah, who lives in CAR Alcobendas sums up that everything she does in the centre is under the surveillance of cameras, the guards and the centre staff. Also Madrid's reception centre Hostal Welcome is defined by video surveillance of all common rooms and the lack of cooking facilities; food is provided in a canteen. However, the Hostal Welcome is not an asylum centre in the narrower sense. It is an hostel and theoretically open for any visitors. The actual hotel-function of the building is also reflected in its isolation-dimension. In regards to the symbolic isolation dimension, it is not noticeable as an asylum centre; there are no fences, security guards and identity control on the entrance and in the buildings physically excluding the centre from its surroundings. Asylum seekers can freely enter and leave the centre and are generally treated like hotel guests. However, this underlines the perception of being a temporary and emergency situation form of housing. On the large-scale and small-scale isolation dimension, Hostal Welcome illustrates the same features as the reception centres in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin do: It is 15 kilometres and 45 minutes (with public transport) away from Madrid's city centre located in an industrial area without access to social facilities or facilities of every day needs. Its physical characteristic of being an hotel further physically and visually separates the centre from its environment dominated by industrial undertakings and commerce.

Madrid is the only case studies, in which NGOs, financially funded by the state, have established apartments for asylum centres. However, within the Spanish regulations and in the perception of decision makers and authorities, the apartments are overtaking the role of 'small accommodation centres'. On the large-scale, small-scale and symbolic isolation dimensions, the apartments are fundamentally different to the asylum centres. Both of the apartments, operated by 'La Merced Migraciones', are located centrally in residential areas in Madrid's inner city with low distances to public transport, supermarkets and social infrastructures. The apartments are not perceivable as centres; they are no security guards (only social workers), surveillance and obvious barriers towards their surroundings. Nevertheless, the 'inner structure' of the apartments are partly equivalent to the 'big asylum centres': There are no private rooms; four to five residents share one room; it has a shared kitchen, which is conducted by a cook. Thus, the live in the apartments is also characterised by limited privacy and opportunities to conduct individual daily schedules and routines. Certainly, the residents in the centre gave a positive impression of living there. A reason for that might be that the majority of the people living in the apartments are not asylum seekers, but migrants with troubled backgrounds (for example illegal migrants, migrants that have been homeless before) satisfied having a shelter.

To sum up, the centres present different characteristics in regards to the four dimensions of isolation. Significantly, all of the centres are generally defined by low measured values in the dimension individual isolation, especially due to the facts that relatively large numbers of people are housed on a relatively small space and due to limited access to facilities in the centre that prevent asylum seekers from having a self-organised life and daily routines. In particular, the reception centres show similar conditions in regards to their large-scale isolation to urban settlements and due to their location either in the countryside or in industrial areas. Centre Sandholm is evaluated with an over all value of 4,2 and thus it shows the highest 'rate of isolation'. In terms of its inner structure and the large-scale and small-scale isolation dimension, Sandholm is truly an exception. It represents a settlement of different centres overtaking several functions for different groups. Berlin's Centre Motardstraße is also evaluated with 3,9. In terms of the overall rate of isolation, three of ten investigated centres are evaluated with a value of 2 – 'spatially integrated'. Two of these three centres are the apartments. Five of the centres have been rated with 3 – 'partly integrated'. This spatial analysis shows that – in terms of the spatial features – eight of ten centres are relatively integrated in their surroundings. However, two centres, Centre Sandholm and Refugium Motardstraße are spatially isolated. The location of these centres hence does not function as an area for living.

Even though most of the centres are to some extent spatially integrated into their neighbourhood, all of the centres do reveal inhibition levels and (partly invisible) boundaries due to control mechanisms and surveillance of the asylum seekers. This is further reinforced by the symbolic isolation and stigmatisation of the centres. Thus, the possibilities to break out from the isolating situation in the centres are not only limited by the actual spatial location, but also by symbolic borders and tendencies of stigmatisation of the

residents due to the way they are housed. The urban space and the placement of the centre has – depending on its specific manifestation – an interceding as well as a limiting function to the residents of the centre.

## *2. Big Brother is Watching You – Control, Identification and the Elimination of Privacy*

Living in an asylum centre is a life under constant control and surveillance. In almost all of the centres in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid, there are significant control mechanisms influencing the life of asylum seekers. These mechanisms overtake various forms in the reality: The control of the entrance, the control of the activities of asylum seekers in the centre and also the control of asylum seekers outside of the centre. These mechanisms are highly interlinked with the actual asylum process. They have been established not only to organise and manage asylum seekers, but also to punish them if necessary. Generally, the asylum laws allow a total access on the information and life. This is not just limited to the investigation of the reasons of asylum seekers to look for protection. It is also directed to surveil the asylum seeker's life during the application process. In the language of the officials, control is translated as 'protection'. All of the interviewed persons responsible argue that a specific form of control is necessary to protect asylum seekers (see I Immigration Service 2014, I Lageso 2014 and I CAR 2014).

### *Direct Forms of Control*

In Centre Sandholm, this form of protection is guaranteed by strict identity controls of residents and visitors entering the centre. The security guard owns a copy of the temporary ID/residence permit of the asylum seeker. Entering the centre, the asylum seeker has to show his/her residence permit, which is compared to the copy. As a visitor, you are only allowed to access Sandholm if you have an appointment with a resident. A copy of the visitor's ID is made once you officially enter the centre. Thus, not only the incoming of asylum seekers is controlled, but also their visitors, friends and lawyers having contact with the asylum seeker. Also in the centres in Berlin and Madrid, security guards controlling the residence permit and ID surveil the entrance of asylum seekers and visitors to the centre. Physical boundaries like fences and walls affirm not only the entrance control but also the border between public life and the surveiled private life in the centre. In Madrid, direct forms of control are even further extended. The reception centre and the two CARs are equipped with video cameras in the common rooms and at the entrance making the total control of the life and activities of asylum seekers in the centre possible. The check on attendance is the most obvious mean of control, which is dominating the centre life. It is not only conducted at the entrance by checking the in and out of asylum seekers, it is conducted within the centre itself: Theoretically, the staff in all of the case studies is allowed to enter the rooms of asylum seekers anytime and often without the notification of the residents as a social worker in Berlin argues: "In a state of emergence, we always are allowed to enter the rooms. And after one to three days, we have to enter it. We are not allowed, we must. But the state of emergence is not really defined" (I KUB).

In the three case studies, the officials argue that they perceive the centre as the homes of asylum seekers and thus not everybody should be able freely enter it. Following dialog with a representative of the Senate of Health and Social Affairs shows the limited empathy for the consequences of the control on the life of asylum seekers:

Interviewee 1: Of course, they have to show their IDs to enter the Centre. We also have to do that in that building (the office of the Senate; Kreichauf) here.

Interviewer: Yes, but this is your place of work and not where you live.

Interviewee 1: Yes, of course, but I use this place and the place is given to me. And the centre is given to them. I don't think it is too much to claim that they have to show their ID. It is about the security and protection to the outside in order that the wrong people don't enter (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs).

The representative from the centre operator AWO has a more comprehensive view on the issue of control and protection: "I think it is a question of who is protected and in what forms. If it is a protection that says 'I am here, I listen to you, to worry' that it is good. For women, this form of protection is good and they also ask for it. Also, in our centres, there is a strict ban on weapons of all kind. In other centres, they often have bats and riot sticks. The security guards should not be implemented to conduct physical vio-

lence” (I AWO). Surely, a certain form of protection is necessary to enable a sense of security by the asylum seekers. When there was an attack by right wing groups and neighbourhood residents towards a new centre opened in Berlin-Hellersdorf in summer 2013, security guards controlling the entrance and the building were essential. But when do authorities cross the thin line between protection and control and does the presence of security guards and other forms of control really help establishing a feeling of ‘being home’ by the asylum seekers?

### *Indirect Forms of Control*

An asylum seeker in Denmark argues that he feels not only controlled by the guards at the entrance, but also in regards to his daily life: “You have to be there every fourth day to receive your mails” (I Refugee 2014: 2). He states that everything he does in the centre, when he leaves it, when he comes back, when he receives his mails, when he wants to do laundry is surveiled by the stuff of the centre and the security guards: “You really do not have the feeling of being home, because you have no privacy in what you are doing” (ibid.). The intrusion in the privacy of the asylum seekers is a consequence of the control and it opens various aspects of indirect forms and mechanisms of control and surveillance: the control by the stuff of the centre on the actions conducted in the centre and outside of it, the control by other asylum seekers and the development of a specific form of self-control.

A language teacher working for several years with asylum seekers explains the control by the stuff. She states: “The Danish Red Cross runs some activities in the camps. And then there is a thing called “Cleaning”. Used to control the behaviour, I would say. Because you have to do it, and if you are not doing it, your money will be cut. But I think there are too many people to clean the centre. It is very difficult to do that. People have different means of cleaning and of course it depends how attached you feel to the place that you are living in” (I Language Teacher). This approach indirectly affirms the presence of the asylum seeker in the centre but also the behaviour and the motivation. In Berlin’s centre Klingsorstraße, the social workers and the stuff of the centre have the mobile phone numbers of the residents: “We call them, if we have’nt seen them for some days” (I Gierso; translated into English). Further a Gierso employee states that, “we are always in contact with the asylum seekers and we walk through the house several times a day to see how they are doing. We see if they don’t adhere to the laundry schedule and then we ask other residents, whether they have seen the one we are looking for or not” (ibid.).

The security guards further carry out a specific indirect form of control, especially in centres in Berlin and Madrid. In Centre Klingsorstraße in Berlin the security guard overtakes the role of a social worker without being educated as such: “The security guards are a big support. They are supporting us for example when it comes to the distribution of food for the asylum seekers. In this centre, the security guards overtake the surveillance of the washing machines and the dryers; otherwise we would have to do it. And after our work, they are the first contact persons for our residents. Thus, they are looked after around the clock (...). They are also doing social work, when no social worker is there and if they would not do it, the residents would be left by themselves (...). And there are incidents, where we need security guards, for example when there are conflicts between the residents or when they are bringing us in dangerous situations. I’ve experienced a lot of treats by asylum seekers. I also think that within some ethnical groups, the word of the woman is not acknowledged and thus, they don’t understand when I communicate them what we expect and what we offer” (I Gierso). This quote underlines the malfeasance of the security guards but also of the stuff and social worker accepting and even promoting it, the 24 hour surveillance of the asylum seekers in all of their daily routines (eating, doing laundry) and also racist brandings by the interviewee illustrating that the asylum centre is not home where this group needs to be protected, but where the employees want to be protected and where the asylum seekers are constantly controlled. Generally, food is provided in all of the reception centres in the case studies controlling and structuring the daily routines of asylum seekers. One asylum seeker in CAR Alcobendas argues: “There is a dining room and we get food, but you cannot eat when the kitchen is closed, so you always have to eat and the time they want you to” (I Sirah).

The lack of privacy and the constant presence of other residents further influences the life in a centre. One asylum seeker in Denmark explains: “I share my room with three other people. I have a kitchen that I share with 60 other people. It is like in a hotel. Many many people complain to be housed in the middle of nowhere and sharing rooms with people that they do not like and know. With people who smoke and drink and so on. It can be very hard. You do not have a private place. You are always surrounded by peo-

ple” (I Refugee C). The permanent control due to the attendance of housemates apparently has impacts on the behaviour resulting in a severe self-control of the individual as an asylum seeker in Berlin explains: “Motardstraße was really bad. At first, I was alone in my room. Then one Pakistani come and then another one. But they were drinking all time and smoking all time. But I was afraid of them and I always had to hide who I am” (I asylum seeker B). Additionally, most of the bathrooms are shared bathrooms. In the apartments of La Merced Migraciones in Madrid, the social workers even decide on one residents, “who is in charge of controlling” the daily routines of the housemates creating a hierarchy within the group of residents. This resident for example monitors that everybody has entered the centre by eleven pm and if not, he reports it to the social worker (I La Merced Migraciones).

### *The Importance of Control Mechanisms*

During the asylum procedure, the asylum seeker has an insecure residence status. A decision on his/her asylum application can be made theoretically everyday. Thus, the centre implements – as the Refugee Council Berlin argues – “always forms of control. Control in this context means the direct access on the asylum seeker for the purpose of his or her deportation” (I Refugee Council Berlin). Also the head of the Trampoline House encapsulates: “The camp itself is an institution that reflects the negative and strict policies of control on the asylum seeker to possibly deport him” (I Trampoline House). Hence, the centre stuff has to ensure that the asylum seekers are actually in the centres – at least at night – and it has to guarantee the access of the police. A Gierso employee sums up: “The police comes early in the morning, between 4 and 5am. The asylum seekers then have an half hour to get dressed and then they have to leave” (I Gierso). The Berlin Refugee Council concludes: “This in the end means that the state has an ultimate access and control on the private living conditions of the asylum seekers and this is politically wanted” (I Refugee Council Berlin). This fact might be even more relevant in Spain, where the CARs are directly operated by the state.

### *3. Being Repressed – Forms of Domination and Intimidation in the Centres*

*“The more quite you are, the less trouble you make” (I Trampoline Huset 2014: 3)*

The asylum centre is a space of social hierarchies between the residents and the centre stuff but also within the group of asylum seekers. The vulnerable position of asylum seekers in the society is translated into the space of the centre like a statement of a representative of the Berlin Senate for Health and Social Affairs makes obvious: “You have to communicate to the people (the asylum seeker; Kreichauf) that everything is better than lying on the street. It is about protection (...). And these are benefits that have to be paid. And we also have Germans, who are not doing well. So we give benefits to people, who never achieved something for our society” (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs). The perception of a group, which is at the bottom-line of society and thus it should be grateful for the benefits and the housing, is drawn through all of the interviews with the bodies responsible and it is often used for the implementation of centres and the living conditions of asylum seekers. The exclusion from the labour market and housing naturally leads to the asylum seekers overtaken a role as ‘recipients’, whereas the officials (decision makers, operators but also social workers) have a role as ‘givers’. This distribution of roles is implemented in the centre and in the living situations of asylum seekers consequently resulting in a state, in which the ‘givers’ have power over the ‘recipients’. This relationship and the uneven distribution of power are not only visible in the forms of control (the direct access on the asylum seeker and the unlimited intrusion into his/her private sphere), but also in the constitution of space and in the social interactions in the centres. Following quote of a social worker working Gierso’s centre Klingsorstraße exemplarily describes the power of the centres stuff over the asylum seekers: “We received an E-Mail from the Lageso with the information that they introduced housing counselling for asylum seekers. They asked us that we should not give this information to all of the asylum seekers, because there are limited consultation hours” (I Gierso). Hence, the centre stuff has the power to decide to whom it forwards essential information or who will be strategically excluded from receiving it.

The relatively bad conditions of the reception centres in all of the case studies (compared to the accommodation centres) are used to show the asylum seeker what to expect and what role in the society they play. The interviewee of the Senate for Social Affairs and Health states: “The people come here and then they are disappointed, because they had a complete different imagination of Germany and they did not know that they are not allowed to work and that they are accommodated in the centres. That leads to frustration of the asylum seekers” (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs). In Centre Sandholm, the domination over the individual and the forms of intimidation are spatially even more apparent. A member of Asylret critiques: “For me the problem in Sandholm is that it is military that is there. Every morning they start to shoot at six in the morning right next to people who escaped from war. This is disgusting” (I Asylret). Not only that a shooting range surrounds Sandholm, it also is a former military basis, which’s history is still present in the architecture, the structure of space and in the arrangement of buildings. Centre Sandholm is the most obvious spatial expression of the asylum centre representing a place of domination, control and submission. However, these characteristics are also detectable in Berlin and Madrid.

In Madrid’s CARs the domination is visible in the implementation of bars in front of the windows in the ground and first floor. An asylum seeker can potentially be forced to leave the centre “because you did something against the house rules” (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). The state represents its dominance over the asylum seeker withdrawing one of the major human needs. To guarantee the punishment of misbehaviour, the explained control forms are necessary. Additionally, there are loudspeakers in the centre used to inform asylum seekers, when they miss activities they are forced to participate to. The implementation of these loudspeakers necessarily creates a power inequality between the one that are able to use it (centre stuff, social workers) and the ones that have to listen to it. Furthermore, it is a measure of intimidation and punishment blaming an asylum seeker for not attending to classes since it is audible for everyone the centre stuff and the social worker of the asylum seeker and for the other residents.

Power structures are also visible within the group of asylum seekers. Naturally, the asylum procedure (the application process itself, but also access to housing, legal advices, support and the access to the ‘right’ information) leads to competition and the emergence of hierarchical social structures. Bilan, an asylum in Berlin, is repressed by his roommates for his sexual orientation: “I lived with many different people in the centre. Pakistani, Serbia, Bosnia, Tchechenia. And I am wearing this shorts for Sprachschule (language school; Kreichauf) and Tchetchnia gay said: You Muslim? Me: Yes. And he said: Why are you wearing this? Who are you? Are you gay?” (I Asylum Seeker B). The involuntarily intense contacts between asylum seekers because they are housed on a very small space results not only in conflicts but also in the establishment of hierarchies and domination, which are further pushed by the officials. An asylum seeker, who has lived in Sandholm, states: “You have to contribute to your case and you don’t have to make trouble: then you get better living conditions” (I Refugee). Favouring some asylum seekers, because ‘they do not make trouble’ leads to the disadvantage of others creating not only conflicts but also envy and frustrations. Further, it results in the intimidation of asylum seekers, since they fear that possible misbehaviours and not favoured positions has direct effects on the evaluation of their case. Rusha, an asylum seeker accommodated in CAR Alcobendas, told that the security guard threaten her for taking pictures of rooms in the centres.<sup>26</sup> The guard told her that he will report this situation to the social worker and it could affect her asylum procedure (I Rusha). Furthermore, the centre stuff of the CARs conducts ‘technical meetings’ with three selected asylum seekers, who are in charge to forward decisions and information to the other residents of the centre consequently creating an imbalance between those that have the information and those that do not (I CAR).

Due to their weak position in the society and their limited rights because of restrictive asylum laws, asylum seekers are exposed to power of officials, operators and the centre’s stuff having the power of the ultimate decision on the life of asylum seekers. The special power relations and the intimidation due to the power of the officials and the settings of the centres are guaranteed by means of control and result in the heteronomy and incapacitation of asylum seekers.

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<sup>26</sup> Taking pictures in Madrid’s asylum centres is strictly prohibited for both residents and visitors.

#### *4. The Loss of Autonomy: The Centre as a place of Heteronomy, Dependencies and Incapacitation*

Once the asylum seeker started the application process for asylum, his/her life is almost completely externally controlled. The major concerns of life – food, housing, care of the family – are conducted by someone else. The asylum seeker has only minor influence on the conduct of life. The establishment of heteronomy begins with the distribution after arrival. They are first accommodated in the reception centres Sandholm, Motardstraße, Rhinestraße and Hostal Welcome. The asylum seekers have no influence on their further distribution to the accommodation centres as the representative of the Berlin Lageso states: “They don’t have any influence. It is totally heteronomous. The computer distributes the asylum seekers” (I Lageso). Their specific needs are not taken into account, often resulting in inappropriate situations for the asylum seekers: “And then you have a person in a wheel chair, who suddenly ends up being housed in a not-handicapped-suited centre” (I Refugee Council Berlin). The implementation of the centres systems further leads to a constant movement of asylum seekers resulting in feeling of fear and the lack belonging as former resident of Sandholm argues: “We have no influence on the housing. They can send you all over the country, if they want to. I lived in many centres here in Denmark. And everytime, when you have to leave one, you think that they will deport you. You cannot understand the decision of them sending you to a new place” (I Refugee). In a focus group discussion conducted with social workers of Centre Rhinestraße, one social worker highlights further challenges for both the asylum seeker and the social worker in the house movement: “It is hard to work with the people, when they often have to change the centre, because they have to develop trust in us so that we can help them. But if for example a family with children is sent to another centre, they have to start from the beginning with another social worker. The children have been already going to school in this district. And now they are sent to another one and have to start there again (I Social Workers; translated into English). The interviewed asylum seekers in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin have to move to another centre at least two times. Nobody received an explanation. Only in Madrid, asylum seekers usually stay in one and the same centre until they move out. The reason for this might be the integration approach and the belief that the asylum seeker needs to be integrated in the community. A house moving would hamper this process.

Due to the principle of benefits in kind, food and other means are provided for the first three months in Berlin and Greater Copenhagen. In Madrid’s centres, this principle is implemented for the whole period of an asylum seeker living in a centre. An employee of CEAR summarises: “I’m telling you, in the centre, they are given the food, they have the housing and they get money for clothing when they arrive or when the season changes. Winter and summer. While they are in the reception centre and they need medicine, we provide it. If you need transportation ticket to go to the OAR, they get a small money for pocket money. They all get the same money. One Person 55,60 Euro per month. For clothing and shoes 181, 71 Euro two times a year winter and summer. It is for all the centres” (I CEAR 2). In the beginning, the coverage of all the basic needs help the asylum seekers to arrive and to settle. However, after a specific time both of the interviewed asylum seekers living in CAR Alcobendas feel limited in the conduct of their lives. Sirah gives an impression on this situation: “I cannot cook for myself, but I want to. But there is no kitchen and I also only get little money, so I cannot even buy the things, I would like to eat” (I Sirah).

The principle of allowance causes a state of dependence towards the centre stuff. But even after the period of allowance, asylum seekers are made dependent by the mechanisms of the centre life. The Danish teacher states: “I think a lot of people feel that their independence and the feel of acting – also as a family – is sort of taking away, because you cannot do anything without asking somebody else for the key or for a ticket to go somewhere” (I Language Teacher). Bilan, who lived in Motardstraße and Rhinestraße, states that even when asylum seekers get financial means, they are fundamentally contingent on allowance of the centre stuff: “Everything. If you want to wash your close, you need an appointment. If you want to change your bed, you must ask them. So, I take appointment and you get it on Friday. They chose the appointment. And one time, I was in the cab. I wanted to meet someone and bring him to my home. But it was not possible to bring him to the Heim (cen-

tre; Kreichauf), because after 10pm, you cannot bring strangers to the Heim. The security didn't allow it. So, I never can bring home a guy" (I Asylum Seeker). The usage of facilities and the entrance of visitors are in all centres in all of the case studies regulated by the centre stuff. Asylum seekers have to ask for permission, put their names in specific schedules (for example for doing laundry) or ask for keys to use facilities or some common rooms resulting in dependencies towards the centre stuff and social workers, who potentially can deny the asylum seeker the access to these means.

The incapacitation of asylum seekers to decide on their own routines and develop own schedules is further extended in Madrid's centres. The head of the Integration Department of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs being administratively in charge for housing even promotes the development of these dependencies: "Everything is done for them. Everything is managed by the centre stuff. The asylum seekers don't need to worry about anything" (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). Nevertheless, the interview admits that these circumstances result to the fact that asylum seekers have "no control and decisions on things that are going on in the centres. It means a cutting of from freedom and it takes responsibility from the asylum seekers" (ibid.). Interestingly, in Madrid, the integration program and the strong creation of dependencies have also effects on the further living situation of asylum seekers once they moved out: "But the normal thing is that people want to stay around the reception centre. Why? Because they know the municipality, they know the people, the kids are in school" (I CEAR 2). Even in the apartments run by the NGO La Merced Migraciones, a cook provides food. Additionally, there are strict eating hours even though the kitchen is accessible for asylum seekers, but the ones that do not eat at the eating hours cannot eat later (I La Merced Migraciones).

The heteronomy of the asylum seekers due to the principle of allowance and the organisation of the centre life has huge impacts of the life and the privacy of asylum seekers. It opens a set of rules, restrictions and dependencies the residents have to deal with. It detains asylum seekers from having an autonomous life and from perceiving the centre as a home. This state is highly critiqued by refugee organisations. The Berlin Alliance against Camps argues that the heteronomy results in the "disenfranchisement of asylum seekers, who are perceived as being incapable of conducting their own lives. On the long run, this state really makes them incapable of living independently" (I Alliance against Camps). Refugees Welcome concludes: Someone else organizes their life: they cannot move, they can't do anything serious during the day. Slowly, they start realizing that they are trapped in the middle of nowhere. Nothing happens" (I Refugees Welcome).

### *5. Disciplining: The Centre as a Place of Training and Degradation*

Even though the investigated centres in the case studies of Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid have some common characteristics in regards to the spatial settings, control mechanisms as well as the domination and the heteronomy of asylum seekers, the organisation of the lives and daily routines vary depending on the understanding of the role of the centres and the perception of the asylum applicants within the asylum process.

In the Berlin centres, centre stuff and social workers provide leisure activities aiming to "occupy asylum seekers" (I Gierso; I Awo). A considerable role in the organisation of leisure and education activities is overtaken by volunteer organisations. Multitude, for example, is an organisation that conducts German classes in several centres. Further, there is a notable number of neighbourhood and welcome initiatives offering leisure activities and language classes (I AWO; I Gierso; I Refugee Council Berlin). The role of the volunteer initiatives and their approaches are highlighted by most of the Berlin interviewees. The representative of the Senate for Integration sums up: "In the passing years, the atmosphere towards asylum seekers has changed. Meanwhile, there are around 20 welcome and neighbourhood initiatives from the civil society welcoming and supporting asylum seekers in their daily life" (I Senate Integration). The activities and classes by both the centre and by organisations are not obligatory.

In Greater Copenhagen and Madrid, the forms of activities and their functions are categorically different. Even though also in Centre Sandholm, volunteer organisations serve classes and activities, the 'activation program' by the Danish Red Cross is strongly reviewed by refugee organisations and asylum seekers. The language teacher who has been working in Centre Sandholm describes the conduction of activities and the consequences for the asylum seekers comprehensively: "There is a thing called "Cleaning". Used

to control the behaviour, I would say. Because you have to do it, and if you are not doing it, your money will be cut (...). And then you have activation within the centre, which as far as I know could be opening and closing the room of the washing machines - completely silly, you don't learn anything. And the whole idea is that people have a dignified waiting time, where they get "qualifications" that enables them either to have a good time here or to return. This is the formula in the Red Cross. People are prepared to leave Denmark" (I Language Teacher). To summarise, she argues that the activities have mainly three functions: keeping the asylum seekers somehow occupied, degrading and chicaning them with unchallenging activities, punish them if activities are not conducted and finally to prepare them with 'qualifications' they can use after their deportation. The interviewed asylum seekers argue that these means of disciplining and degradation were not obvious for them in the beginning. They thought things have to be that way and also they were happy to experience protection and care. But after a while, they started to feel not taken seriously in who they are and what they are actually capable of (I Refugee).

In Madrid's CARs, activities, education and training is incorporated in the functions and objectives of the centres, because "this is not a centre for sleeping and eating, this is a centre with a program for work with asylum seeker to give them skills" (I CAR). The Head of the Integration Department encapsulates: "They have duties: they have to start working, they shall not have time to relax, they have to learn the language. The integration program for the asylum seekers consists of language classes, job training, classes on the Spanish society and activities with the commune. Participating at these activities is mandatory and the condition to live in the centre. The integration program is perfectly embedded in the socio-spatial structure of centre as a place of almost unlimited control and dependencies. Integration is arranged within a training program that aims to leads the asylum seekers to full autonomy, once the program is finished (usually after six months, which is equivalent to the aimed period of time asylum seekers spend in the CARs). Being part of the integration program correlates with many obligations and duties as following quote by a social worker working in CAR Alcobendas exemplifies: "For example, after one moth, they must know three social resources of the municipality. They must participate at least at three activities of freedom time. They must participate in at least three workshops that we organize in order to give them information about the society. We established a program of working with them with activities that they must do every month. We think this way is good for them, because they must feel the obligation of doing something. Because sometimes, they don't participate. You have to call them by microphone. And if you don't do these things, this has consequence. We can reduce your financial aids, because you are not participating in the program. We can limit the time in the centre. We are not going to certificate that you have done these activities. We believe that these things are good for them. So, it is very important that they must participate and they know these kinds of things. There is an obligatory meeting by three residences, me and the boss of the centre once a month, where we inform to the people through these three residents about the activities that we organize and we give them one document with the information of the workshops and we say to them that it is obligatory" (I CAR). Within this interview, the social worker mentioned 46 times the phrases "they have to" and "they must" in relation to the activities and the obligations of the program. The quote illustrates three major aspects: Firstly, asylum seekers have to conduct the integration program in order to have access to housing. Secondly, the residents get punished if they do not follow the program by cutting financial means or even by the forced move out of the centre. And thirdly, the asylum seekers are exposed in front of other residents, the centre stuff and the social worker due to the reminder of participation by the centre microphone. Furthermore, teaching asylum seekers in the dealings with money and financial resources are part of the programme: "They get 51 Euro pocket money monthly. But it is given in parts. Sometimes every week, after some time every two weeks and then after two months, because they need to find out how to manage the money and they are taught how to use their money and how to eat" (I ACCEM).

Generally, it seems that the integration programme has implemented a very top-down thinking, which further underlines the mentioned domination of asylum seekers as 'recipients'. The social worker mentioned twelve times the phrase "it is good for them", apparently justifying the strict regulations and consequences. However, within this thesis the impacts of this program on the asylum seekers could not be investigated in detail, but the interviewed asylum seekers stated that they often feel under pressure due to the obligations of the program but also because they are constantly clued up with the fact that they have to leave the centre after six months and thus they have to be prepared. Moreover, the current crisis obviously weakens the success of the program, since the asylum seekers are educated for something that cur-

rently does not exist: the access to the labour market. A CEAR employee further states that integration in the Spanish context often means assimilation: “We will show you how things are and how your behaviour has to be” (I CEAR). This quote manifests the impression of the integration program being very one-dimensional and implemented to train the asylum seekers rather than developing their individual abilities and skills.

Due to restrictive legislations in all of the case studies including the denied access to the labour market, housing and integrating activities (at least in the first months of the asylum process), asylum seekers are hogtied in their way of life. Hence, activities – especially those that are orientated towards the integration of asylum seekers (language, skills for the labour market, knowledge on the integrating institutions of society, education) are necessary to give asylum seekers a feeling of being welcomed and at least some means of integration. Nevertheless, asylum seekers do not define themselves as a group but as individuals with specific needs and demands. This has to be respected in the work with asylum seekers. The Madrid model on integrating asylum seekers is unique and progressive compared to Greater Copenhagen and Berlin. The asylum policy is understood as an integration policy theoretically aiming to provide the access to the society. Housing and the direct access on the asylum seeker to educate him/her is a fundamental part of it. However, this integration approach focuses firstly on the economic integration of asylum seekers and secondly it is characterised by aspects of repression and punishment. Both features might be a barrier in the inclusion of this ‘group’ failing to respect their particular situations and their desire to the unfettered conduct of their lives.

## 6. The Slow Death – The Elimination of Identity, Belonging and Prospects

*“The asylum centre is like a concentration camp. The only different is that they don't burn people. They let them gradually die” (I Asylret 2014: 4).*

Asylum seekers flee from states of persecution, war or other conflicts leaving their ‘old lives’ behind often not knowing what to expect at their destination. The interviewed asylum seekers state that after their arrival, they felt mostly pleased to experience protection. An asylum seeker, who migrated from Africa to Denmark, points out: “The camps here are like in paradise. The conditions are better than in Africa. But the personal situation they put the people in is very bad” (I Refugee C). The Danish language teacher adds: “In the beginning asylum seekers perceive it often as okay to be housed like that. But after some time, you get ambitious about yourself, because you want to start a normal life or you simply are not capable anymore to endure these circumstance” (I Language Teacher). A lot of the refugee organisations and asylum seekers argue in the interviews that the state of insecurity and of waiting affects the life and the attitude of an asylum seeker. Once they applied for asylum, their cases depend on the evaluation of the official bodies deciding whether the asylum seeker gets granted asylum or not. The average time until the asylum seekers receive a decision is between six months to three years in all of the case studies. Thus, waiting, insecurity, stress and hope are the major features characterising the life of an asylum seeker and transforming the space of the centre into a waiting room.

Especially, refugee organisations but also asylum seekers critique the length of the asylum procedure. Refugees Welcome states: “But of course, the first problem is that the procedure is too slow. It causes many asylum seekers to live in the camps for a long time” (I Refugees Welcome). The longer the asylum seekers stay in the centre, the longer they are socio-spatially excluded and limited in their own decisions. An activist of Grandparents for Asylum sums up: “They can just sit and wait. They have no perspectives on work and housing, so all they can do is wait to either stay here or to get deported. People wasting years in this situation of waiting” (I Grandparents for Asylum). Bilal states: “I can do nothing. It is boring. I am on Facebook. Skype. Watching movies. Waiting. I sit outside sometimes. Waiting” (I Asylum Seeker B). The language teacher further argues that the state of waiting and – interlinked with it – the long-time exclusion from society result in the development of a sub-privileged group, which is due to the centre life not able to be integrated anymore – neither in Denmark nor in their ‘home country’ if they get deported. Interestingly, this argument is shared by the Berlin Refugee Council: “The long-time exclusion due to housing and the denied access to the labour market leads to physical and psychological diseases. Living in a centre has consequences on the individual’s health. It does not lead to ‘voluntarily return’ of asylum seekers like these means are aiming to, but it leads the fact they get sick and immobile and that they are in a status, where they are not even able to go voluntarily back. And the result is, that you have failed exist-

ences and that you make people fail and to decay them and this is the total opposite of integration” (I Refugee Council Berlin). This mechanism affects even more the group of asylum seekers who gets rejected but who cannot be deported. Some countries of origin do not have contracts with the country, where the asylum seeker applied for asylum. In Denmark for example, there are more than 100 rejected asylum seekers from Iraq, who can by Danish law not be returned to Iraq because Denmark and Iraq do not have an agreement on returnees. Hence, the rejected asylum seekers stay in the asylum system but they have no prospect on both getting a residence permit in Denmark or getting deported to Iraq. Mohammed, an rejected Iraqi, lives in Centre Sandholm and he has been in the Danish asylum system for more than twelve years not having any rights to work or proper housing.

The intense contact of people who share the same situation and often suffer from the same problems and traumata consequently causes the multiplication of problem and stress. Again the head of Refugees Welcome points out: “The reason why they come here is that they have huge problems in their home countries. But the problems are different. When we put people with serious problems together in a small area and a very remote area where there have no contact to people with not so much problems, then they nothing else except of problems and worries and trauma. There is nothing else. It makes them even sicker and it creates conflicts that are not necessary. You can just make an example of one room of single men. Single men will always be put together in one room. So take 4 to 8 people and you imagine that these men are of different age, language, culture and religion and they all of their personal worries. One is gay, one left his whole family, one has escaped the military, got tortured and is traumatized. These people in one room just make each other crazy. It is obvious to anybody. I think it is really amazing that the state doesn't realize that this is creating new problems. It is like stepping on people who are already lying down. Making everything much worse” (I Refugees Welcome). Reyaz, who has lived in Centre Sandholm, concludes: “Most of the people suffering from stress and later on depression (...). A lot of people have sleeping problems. I sleep only two to three hours per night (...). We came here normal, with problems, yes, but normal, and now we are crazy. The long waiting time does extremely stress the people. It is years of hoping and waiting but basically you lost your hope” (I Festival for fair Asyl).

This causal chain of troubled people – waiting – getting sick – social stress reinforces the further exclusion of this group and has direct impacts on the asylum seeker. Moreover, it creates an atmosphere of ‘not belonging to a place’ – neither in the country where the asylum seeker was fleeing from, or in the host country, where the asylum seeker is systematically excluded. The interviewed asylum seekers – even Mohammed, who has lived in centres for twelve years– do not perceive the centre as home, but as stopovers. They do not feel attached to the place also because they are not able to really develop an own independent lifestyle in the centre. Further, the centre is perceived as a degrading space that underlines the weak legal and social positions of the asylum seekers.

The ‘lost of hope’, which Reyaz explains, is furthermore not only connected to the period of time waiting for the decision on asylum, but also to the general insecurity and lack of prospects for the future. No matter if in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin or Madrid, the chances to get included into the society are rather weak. In Berlin, acknowledged refugees often have to stay in the centres, because they do not find housing. In Greater Copenhagen, the integration program, which starts after the positive decision on asylum implies (again) the distribution to a specific commune, the forced participation in language and education classes and macro-social mechanisms (for example discrimination on the labour market or under qualification). In Madrid, the economic crisis strongly has an impact on the asylum seekers as one of the weakest groups in society. The lack of future perspectives result in the further frustration and isolation of asylum seekers as the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs points out: “They start to be less motivated, because people know that they don't find a job. Everything has changed” (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). An activist of Asylret argues that asylum seekers are kept in a situation, where they on the long run lose hope to conduct a ‘normal life’: “You deny people their future” (I Asylret). To conclude, a member of the Berlin Advice Centre for Refugees encapsulates: “It is important that asylum seekers have perspectives. If they for example would know that they would get an apartment after three months in the centre or if they would have a real chance to get a job, people would just persevere this period because they see a perspective. But the current situation eliminates their prospects and hope” (I KUB, translated into English).

## *7. Between Invisibility and Stigmatisation: The Criminalisation and Illegalisation of Asylum Seekers*

On the one hand, one major consequence of the spatial isolation of asylum seekers in centres is the invisibility of the asylum seekers as a group in the society and their living situations in the centres. In Greater Copenhagen, the centres are not easy to seek out and the remote locations of the centres prevent asylum seekers to go the cities. A member of Asylret argues that there it is not only a strategy to spatially isolate asylum seekers but there is policy that officials “do not want people to know what is going on in the camp (...) If they (the asylum seekers; Kreichauf) would have access to that (the society; Kreichauf), people would get in contact with them. And actually others would understand the situation of asylum seekers. This should be in the normal society so that people would see that things are not going well. And what they do is they make sure that people do not interacted because we are not exposed to each other.” (I Asylret 2014: 2). The Danish Refugee Council further argues that the centre life and the reality of asylum seekers is not directly noticed by the society. The remote location of the centres generally declines the role and position of asylum seekers not being able to participate and interact with Danish citizens (I Danish Refugee Council 2014). The strategy on ‘making asylum seekers invisible’ goes hand in hand with a politically pushed exclusion from the society as the Danish Refugee Council further argues: “The logic of the Danish migrant system is that as long as you are an asylum seeker we will try to keep you out as hard as we can, you will be placed as far away as we can and you will not learn Danish, you will not be able to get a job” (I Danish Refugee Council 2014: 3).

In regards to Berlin, also the head of AWO argues that the spatial isolation of the centre tends to create “people that are invisible for the rest of the society” (I AWO). The head of AWO further explains: “We learned from Motardstraße that you cannot make people invisible. It further excludes them from the society, because the society does not acknowledges them. But the invisibility of this group due to remote locations leaves the people without a chance of getting integrated. Motardstraße is because of its location completely isolated. Asylum seekers are not visible. They do not exist for the society” (I AWO, translated into English). In Madrid, bodies responsible and NGOs argue that the Spanish society generally is not aware of the specific situation and motives of asylum seekers migrating to Madrid. An employee of CEAR argues: “They are invisible and they have no rights and they are not reflected in the social discussion” (I CEAR). Thus, asylum seekers are perceived as ‘normal’ or even illegal immigrants as the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs sums up: “But I think the society is not really concerned by the asylum seekers. As the numbers are very low. They don't know about it and that is why they are not concerned. The society is only concerned by migration in general. But for asylum seekers not. If you ask somebody in the street, what a refugee or an asylum seeker is, they don't know it” (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). The state of being invisible for the society opens the room for much speculation.

On the other hand, the centre, its location and its spatial characteristics result in the stigmatisation of asylum seekers as a representative of Refugees Welcome illustrates referring to Centre Sandholm: “The way people are housed affects the image of the public on asylum seekers. People perceive them as prisoners. Especially because often asylum centres are old military barracks, you easily get the impression of centres being concentration camps for people that do not belong and are unwanted in the society” (I Refugees Welcome). Also the Danish Refugee Council uses the comparison to concentration camps. The accommodation of asylum seekers in former military camps or old hospitals underpins the perception of asylum seekers as being abnormal, different and at the bottom of social hierarchies. The inhuman and uncommon way of housing people in these places results the perception of asylum seekers as being inhuman and ‘not like us’. A Refugees Welcome activist further explains: “The location of the asylum centre helps to establish an image on asylum seekers as being criminal and that they are scary. This image is overtaken by some parts of the Danish society. Danes thus get the picture that there are too many asylum seekers and that they are causing problems and that we should have more strict rules” (I Refugees Welcome). The stigmatisation of asylum seekers due to their lives in centres is predominantly obvious in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin. The Berlin Refugee Council explains the causes for the development of stigmas: “The centre stigmatises asylum seekers to the outside world, because the structure and image of the centre illustrates that other people live there in bad conditions. And the society often does not call this situation into question, but it believes that asylum seekers deserve to live like that. They get an impression of the asylum seekers being unwanted and worthless. The whole constitution of the centre space like barriers, the entrance control, the fact that people live jammed together on a very small space helps to down-

grade asylum seekers in the perception of society and thus they are stigmatised as subhuman beings (I Refugee Council Berlin).

The prison-like and camp-like housing, like especially the Danish and German refugee organisations describe the centres, cherishes the perception of asylum seekers being poor, potentially criminal, subprime and dangerous migrants. Especially, the fear of higher criminality due to the presence of asylum seekers is widespread in Berlin and Greater Copenhagen and it has become obvious in the neighbourhood and political protests against the development of new centres in both city regions. The following extract of an interview conducted with the major of Hørsolm (I Major Hørsolm), a city is close proximity to Centre Sandholm and a location for the development of a new asylum centre, makes this stigma abundantly clear:

Interviewee: "There is more criminality. The police has a lot more to do out there."

Interviewer: "Out there or also here in the city?"

Interviewee: "Also in the city. There is the crime effect."

Interviewer: "Do you know what kind of crime it is?"

Interviewee: "It is making people feel uncomfortable. People are afraid taking the bus when people in the bus are yelling at them."

Interviewer: "Do you experience that asylum seekers participate in the life in Hørsolm? Are they present here in the city?"

Interviewee: "You will not see an asylum seeker here. Very few. But probably nobody. They take the train to Copenhagen."

The major is not able to identify an increase in crime. He only describes feelings of fear and reservations, but no actual facts. Moreover, he admits that in the end asylum seekers are not even in the city of Hørsolm to potentially conduct any crime. However, the current tense situation in Hørsolm is a consequence of the populist political propaganda against the development of a new centre. The Danish Refugee Council says: "The local protest in Hørsolm is mainly on unfounded fear of crime and the reduction of land values" (I Danish Refugee Council). The protest against the establishment of the centre is in so far comprehensible as it will be a prison-like detention centre rejected asylum seekers run by Danish prison authorities. It will house up to 800 people. The protest is not directed towards the centre as a form of housing but it is directed towards the concentration of asylum seekers. Asylum seekers are stigmatised, criminalised and used for populist arguments against the opening of the centre. The centre itself, its constitution and image supports this perception.

Nevertheless, the deprived situation, the spatial exclusion and the denied access to the labour market often forces asylum seekers to commit offences and small delicts. The Language teacher highlights that "due to the cut in transportation, you can not leave the centres easily anymore. People are encouraged to go on the train without having a ticket" (I Language Teacher). An activist of Asylret states: "Some of them (the asylum seekers, Kreichauf) are having a black job. I know all of them. In 1991, I came here as a refugee. But if people don't become a black job, they are not able to pay for transport and for access to the city. That is why they do little businesses" (I Asylret). The poor financial situation and the spatial isolation in the centres result in asylum seekers trying to find other ways to become a part of the society and to liberate themselves from the exclusionary mechanisms of the centre life. However, refugee organisations in all of the case studies argue that statistically asylum seekers do not conduct more crime than any other resident. Thus, the fear of crime due to the presence of asylum seekers is certainly unjustified and used as to hide xenophobic reservations.

In Madrid, the crisis has immense impacts on the life of asylum seekers. Benefits and grants have been decreased, the period of time asylum seekers can stay in the centres has been limited to six months and NGOs experienced job cuts due to the lack of public funding. Usually, asylum seekers has an easy access to the labour market due to Spain unlimited need for labour before the crisis. The implementation of the integration programme is a consequence of the tensions on the labour market aiming to support asylum seekers getting integrated in the labour market. However, in respects to Spain's relatively high rejection rate of 70 per cent, it is remarkable that authorities implemented this programme for asylum seekers. Following excerpt explains the causes, advantages and disadvantages of this approach:

Interviewer: I think it is interesting that even though the status is not decided, you put a lot of work in terms of integration. Why do you think it is like it?

Interviewee 2: I think the reason is that we don't send the people back. So, the people stay here. And we know that they are going to stay here. So, we want them to stay in the better situation to survive. And also we don't have any social system to support them after that, so we have to try to help them as much as possible (...).

Interviewer: But the percentage of the people that have to leave the country is actually quite high. Isn't it around 70 per cent?

Interviewee 2: Yes, but they don't leave. We do not send them back by force. Only if they want, but nobody wants.

Interviewer: So they have an illegal status, but still they have somehow the knowledge on finding a job?

Interviewee 1: Yes. But of course, some people are returned to their countries compulsory. The ministry of interior, who is in charge of return, usually don't send back people. But the people are then out of the asylum system and they don't get any support.

Interviewee 2: They give you the negative decision. But of course the police can stop you and decide to return to your country.

On the one hand, the assumed less strict deportation policy of Spanish officials enables (rejected) asylum seekers to stay in the country using their developed knowledge of the society and the labour market to theoretically find a job and housing. On the other hand, it creates a group of illegal(ised) migrants, which potentially could be deported any time. Furthermore, the illegal status of rejected asylum seekers excludes them from the formal institutions of society and any means of social support and forces them to find informal ways to conduct their lives (black market, illegal work with no employment rights etc.). Before the crisis, the Spanish labour market and also the informal economy were absorbing illegal migrants. In 2008, the informal economy had an impact of 23 per cent on Spain's gross domestic product; approximately one million illegal migrants were working in the shadow economy. The economic decline hit illegal labourers and migrants particularly hard (Frenzel 2009). Illegal migrants are thus the most vulnerable group on the labour markets experiencing unemployment in times of the crisis and are affected by means of total exclusion due to poverty and homelessness. In that case, the asylum centre as being part of the integration program serves as a training centre for the development of a group of illegal(ised) migrants.

## *7. Losing Track ... Forever – The Manifestation of Exclusion*

The mechanisms and characteristics of the asylum procedure and the long-term accommodation in asylum centres have sustainable impacts on the life of asylum seekers. The mechanism of distribution, heteronomy, dependencies and social exclusion are effective even beyond the status as an asylum seeker.

In Greater Copenhagen, asylum seekers have the possibility to work and live in an apartment after being for six months in the country. However, the Danish Refugee Council argues that it is only a theoretical access, which has no major relevance in practice: "Our main critique that you are forced to cooperate and that the possibilities are mostly giving to families - which is good - but single men living most of the time in the worse conditions and they are not tackled by these new regulations. Almost nobody actually profits from it. It is not used due to some limitations. For example, you have to sign the cooperation contract. Only twelve working permits were handed out to asylum seekers since the new directive was implemented in 2013" (I Danish Refugee Council). The Danish teacher mentions another significant fact: "But the thing is there is no money to get out of it. Cause you will have to pay for living in the asylum centre and it is 6.000 kroner per month. No asylum seeker, who has a job, can practically afford that" (I Language Teacher). Generally, she argues asylum seekers have huge problems finding a job, since they do not have appropriate accesses to education and language classes. Hence, asylum seekers do stay in the Danish centres, even though they theoretically have the opportunity to leave them. The restrictions towards them – signing a contract guaranteeing on the voluntary return if you get rejected, limited support in finding an apartment and macro-social trends (for example low wages) – manifests not only their excluded position in the Danish society but it turns the question of responsibility for this situations. Since legally they have means to work and to house outside of the centres, asylum seekers are blamed for not taking the chance it.

This becomes obvious in an interview with the Danish Immigration Service: “But one of our main arguments is that if they are scared about signing it, it is the perspective that they don't know what is in it” (I Immigration Service).

Once the status of an asylum seeker is accepted and he/she is officially a refugee, he/she gets distributed to a commune. Asylret explains the procedure: “The Danish authorities will put up housing for refugees. You have to accept where the officials put you (...). But of course, you are officially not a free person, even if it is officially proved that you have the right to be there. You are still in a subcategory compared to a normal Danish citizen. The argument is that there is a limit on how many asylum seekers a city like Copenhagen can absorb. So this is the free and open argument, because there are too many already here” (I Asylret). The distribution from the centre to housing in apartments or houses provided by the commune is conducted by the total arbitrariness of the officials. The asylum seeker has no say in making the decision of his/her future place of residents. The kommunekvoter ensures that the asylum seeker is only allocated to smaller cities without high numbers of residents with migrant background. Consequently, asylum seekers can be distributed to cities and regions, “where you do not find a job, which is far away and where people are not really happy about aliens” (I Asylret). The heteronomy by the officials over the asylum seekers is thus further continued, when asylum seekers get granted asylum. The new place of residence can have further affects on the exclusion of refugees from the labour market and society without the refugee having influence on it, since he/she is forced to stay at the place, where they are distributed.

Also in Berlin, the asylum process and restrictive legislations puts asylum seekers in a state of permanent exclusion even though they have access to the housing market after three months and to the labour market after nine months. The search for housing is further limited by macro-social trends due to the intense situation of Berlin's housing market. The Evangelic Youth and Aid Organisation (EJF), which is put in charge by the Lageso to support asylum seekers and refugees in finding an apartment and to distribute apartments of the housing associations, declares that “Berlin is unique for allowing asylum seekers to move into private apartments of the housing market after three months. However, in practice, there are a lot of challenges, like the lack of affordable housing and the insecure status of the asylum seekers. After three months, the Lageso sends them a letter informing the asylum seekers on the possibilities of housing outside of the centres. They are really happy in the beginning, because nobody who comes here wants to live in the centre. All of them want to leave it. They come to us sometimes every second day with a new housing supply. But in the end, it is the group that is at the bottom of the hierarchy when it comes to housing” (I EJF). A social worker of Gierso however states that she would like to know how the Lageso communicates the possibility of housing, since the asylum seekers at Centre Klingsorstraße, where she works, do not know about this opportunity (I Gierso). She further argues that “it is almost impossible to find housing for them, since there are so many restrictions like the limit of rent set by the asylum legislation and the temporary residence permission. And as soon as they find an apartment, which matches the formal requirements, we are standing with them in a lane of 50 people to visit the apartment” (ibid.).

The Refugee Council explains that generally there is no housing policy in Berlin that tackles low-income households (I Refugee Council Berlin) and also the spokesperson for asylum policy and refugees on the Berlin Pirate Party argues that “there are two possibilities for asylum seekers to move out of the centres. The first one is the protected segment of the housing association, but the number of 275 apartments each year for this group is simply not enough and the contract between the Senate and the associations has been not further extended to the supply of more apartments. Secondly, there is the possibility that they look for apartments by themselves. But asylum seekers are a deprived group because of their financial situation, their status, their ethnic background and the lack of German language skills. The Senate is not doing anything to strengthen the role of the asylum seekers on the housing market” (I Pirate Party Berlin). Bilan, who had success in finding an apartment describes his experiences: “First, I got a document and I could have find a place for 450 Euros. But nobody took me. I was looking a lot. But then they give me a number and then they called me after eight months, they called me and I visit the place. But it was really complicated” (I Asylum Seeker B). Interestingly, the Lageso openly acknowledges that almost one third of the 8.000 asylum seekers that currently live in centres in Berlin are by law not allowed to stay in the centres, since they have the refugee status and the Berlin districts are responsible in housing them. However, the districts are not able to provide housing and due to the intense situation on the housing market, even acknowledged asylum seekers are forced to live in the centres.

In regards to the labour markets, the Refugee Council outlines that not even one per cent of the asylum seekers is employed and “if they succeed to work, they often work in precarious working conditions below their actual qualifications” (I Refugee Council Berlin). Hence, also the possibility on working after nine months staying in Berlin is apparently only a rule on paper without major importance for the life of asylum seekers.

In Madrid, the voluntary accommodation in the CARs theoretically enables asylum seekers to break out of the exclusionary mechanisms of the centres. However, since it is part of the integration program and because of the crisis in Spain, they stay in the centre to profit from both the program and having a shelter. Generally, the restrictions towards asylum seeker are lower in Madrid, but the crisis has weakened not only their position on both the housing market and the labour market, but also in regards to the receipt of social benefits: the period of time staying in the centre has been cut from twelve to six months; the financial aid for people living outside of the centres decreased; and the access to the welfare and health system for acknowledged asylum seekers has been declined. The representative of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs points out that as long as asylum seekers stay in the CARs, their major needs (accommodation, provision of food and pocket money) are covered, but once they (have to) leave the centres, “they get financial support provided by the NGOs through funding from the state. It is for five people or more 766 Euro and below that for four people it is 700 and 650 for three people and 594 for two people and for single persons it is 537 Euro” (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). These monthly benefits are supposed to cover all the expenses (including rent) of the asylum seekers. The low financial means, the representative further explains, “are not enough to pay a rent here in Madrid. So, they must share the apartment with other people. It is not very easy, because the housing market is not very friendly towards immigrants. And they usually don't have a job. So people who sublet the apartment are not comfortable with people not having a job” (ibid.). An employee of CEAR argues that the cuts of benefits and the regulations on the accommodation are against EU directives and the Geneva Convention. The EU directives state that the member states have to be responsible for housing asylum seeker during the period of the asylum process. An employee of the Office for Asylum Seeker and Refugees states that poverty and deprivation among asylum seekers and refugees is a common problem due to the cuts and the failure of the labour market as an integrating institution: “They have work permit and get some financial aids, but it is not enough to cover their needs” (I OAR). Compared to Greater Copenhagen and Berlin, where accommodation leads to the exclusion of asylum seekers, the housing situation and the general position of asylum seekers once they have to leave the centres is even worse: the low aids and the lack of guaranteeing housing potentially leads to poverty and homelessness. If the asylum seekers do not succeed to get somehow integrated in the labour market and find place where they can share the rent and live together with other residents, they end up being totally excluded from any major means of society and human existence.

### *5.3.4 Between Deterrence and Integration – The Socio-Political Functions of the Centre*

The categories of exclusion already indicate the functions and causes for the development of asylum centres to house asylum seekers: It is an efficient way of housing a large number of people to guarantee the identification, constant control and the direct access on the asylum seeker for the sake of his/her deportation. But how can the main mechanisms of the centres as spaces of domination, heteronomy and repression, degradation, the demoralisation of prospects and belonging as well as the stigmatisation of asylum seekers be explained?

In all of the case studies, the decision makers and bodies responsible adhere to this strategy often openly accepting the consequences for the asylum seekers. The Berlin Lageso states that housing asylum seekers is the easiest way to accommodate and that “there is a pure pragmatism. There is no shift in the policy of housing detectable, because implementing other strategies of housing is not on the agenda of politicians” (I Lageso). Also the Senate for Health and Social Affairs argues that “there are practical manners” to favour asylum centres for housing this group (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs). Also, in Greater Copenhagen, the Immigration Service explains that centres are necessary because of the high number of asylum seekers and to offer this group immediately after arrival a shelter (I Immigration Service). Certainly, on the first view, the centre appears to be the most uncomplicated form of accommodating masses of people. However, the relatively high costs of the centres, the constant search for new locations, conflicts when opening a centre and the organisation of asylum seekers on that scale challenges the authorities as explained earlier.

Having the emergence of the centre as the dominant form of housing in mind, another function and cause for its implementation becomes obvious. The Alliance against Camps elucidates that “in the 1980s when centres were implemented as an obligatory form of housing, the declared aim was to deter asylum seekers to come to the country to look for asylum. Today, this approach is still apparent, but the implementation of the centre results also from a lack of empathy and solidarity of the officials and the having-a-roof-over-ones-head-mentality meaning that officials argue that asylum seekers should be fortunate to have even low means of being housed” (I Alliance against Camps). Also the Berlin Refugee Council points out that, “deterrence is the declared and political aim and you can read that in the laws. In the social welfare law for asylum seekers deterrence is the justification for restrictive asylum laws in general and for the development of centres in particular” (I Refugee Council Berlin). In Germany, housing in centres became obligatory with the introduction of the social welfare law for asylum seekers and the ‘asylum compromise’ of 1992/1993. Deterrence and the introduction of bad living standards in the centres is a repressive element of the asylum laws – at least in Denmark and Germany – aiming to make it as unattractive as possible for asylum seekers to migrate and seek for asylum. This approach has been reproduced several times in the passing decades but under other auspices. Whilst in the 1980s in Denmark and Germany publicly argued to fight against the abuse of asylum by asylum seekers and thus deter them by implementing restrictive laws and bad living conditions, the rhetoric is different today: Asylum seekers are in the immediate state of seeking for protection and the centres can guarantee this protection, but because of the fact that it is a ‘high’ number of asylum seekers, the centre is the most appropriate and fastest solution as the Senate for Health and Social Affairs makes obvious: “That is the dictate of the moment because of the mere hardship” (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs). A member of the Advice Centre for Refugees argues: “If you would have the political will today, you could of course change it. But there is no will to change it and authorities strictly stick to the legislations. And even though the language on that changed today, it was and is implemented to deter people and to scare them away” (I KUB).

In Denmark, the discussion of the potential abuse of the asylum and the Danish welfare system was and still very much is obvious today. All of the interviewed refugee organisations highlight that there is a public perception of the asylum seekers not coming to Denmark to look for protection but only to benefit from Danish welfare system. Following quote from an employee of the Danish Refugee Council sums up this attitude very well: “The politicians have not conducted a lot of legislations because they think it works. It has been implemented because they have to be tough on crime, tough on migration. They have to do it, because they think that otherwise people will migrate here from everywhere. So it acts as a deterrent. They do not want to make them feel comfortable, because they are afraid that more refugees would come. This is very persistent in the society of Denmark. It is a very nationalistic discussion on how to protect the Danish society. The main assumption here in Denmark on Asylum seekers is that they come here to get money and to get protection” (I Danish Refugee Council).

However, the increasing number in the entire EU member states – also in Germany and Denmark – show that the approach of deterrence does not prevent asylum seekers to migrate to these countries. They do so, because they *are* in need of protection hazzarding the consequences of these strict approaches. Nevertheless, the centre and its deterrent function does not result in the absent of asylum migration, but it leads to the approval of the exclusion of this group and the bad conditions in the centre surely causes frustrations and desperations of the refugees. The head of AWO says that “we have asylum seekers, which first arrive at Centre Motardstraße and they cry and they don’t want to be housed there, because it is so bad for them” (I AWO). Also the Senate for Health and Social Affairs explains that “the conditions here in Berlin result in the frustration of asylum seekers that are disappointed about the conditions because they did not know that they are not allowed to work here and that they are housed in centres” (I Senate for Health and Social Affairs; translated into English). Razir, who was accommodated in Denmark’s Centre Sandholm explains that “when I arrived there, I was really shocked about the building. I did not want to be there, but what was I supposed to do? It was clear that I can not go anywhere else and I needed safety and I needed to rest, so you are trying to deal with it, but then you notice that it is actually really bad and that things will not get better (I Festival for Fair Asyl).

The centres in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin are implemented to intimidate and deter asylum seekers to migrate to Denmark and Germany. The exclusionary mechanisms of control, domination, heteronomy, elimination of prospects and the feeling for belonging as well as the long-term effects of these mechanisms are in line with this socio-politico function of the centre. The deterrent-character is informal-

ly and unofficially used to implement and justify the way asylum seekers are treated due to housing in the centres. In Greater Copenhagen and Berlin, the centre thus can be evaluated as the spatial translation and manifestation of restrictive policies that aim to scare migrants away but that result exclusion repression of asylum seekers.

The function of the Spanish centre is different, but the consequences and the living conditions are ultimately similar. Due to its implementation in the integration program, the provision of means of integration and the theoretically free choice of the asylum seeker whether he/she wants to stay in the centre or not, it is not working as a place of deterrence. It has the socio-political function of a training camp aiming to prepare the asylum seekers for the participation in the society rather than taking the means of integration away. An employee of the Ministry for Employment and Social Affairs underlines that the “the program is very much implemented on finding a job to get the autonomy” (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs). The intense conduct of integration, the heteronomy, control as well as disciplining and punishment if integration duties are not fulfilled are thus introduced to quickly lead asylum seekers to (financial) independency and out of the benefit system. Of course, this approach implies advantages for asylum seekers getting faster and easier integrated into society. Especially, in terms of the crisis and the general cuts of social benefits, this approach seems reasonable to not pressure and financially burden the social welfare system. However, the current crisis circumvents the success of the Spanish approach, since it is predominantly focused on the economic integration rather than on the social one or the liberation of the individual and its interests. Consequently, to maintain the function of the centre as a place of training the same means are used to guarantee the participation of the asylum seeker in the program. The exclusion of asylum seekers in Madrid’s centres is hence underpinned by macro-social trends, the orientation of the centre as a place of training on how to get economically integrated into the society and the failure of this approach in times of crisis, the perception of the asylum seeker as an economic object and the inhibition of the asylum seekers to individually and socially develop into a direction that potentially contradicts the Spanish integration attempts.

### *5.3.5 Forms of Exclusion*

In regards to Spicker (1998), who argues that socio-spatially excluded people are completely shut out from conventional social norms, it is obvious that the life of asylum seekers in centres results in the socio-spatial exclusion of this group. The asylum centre as a form of housing and its characteristics (spatial isolation, control, the heteronomy of the residents) is not related to any social norms of society. Moreover, the asylum centre is the general spatial outcome of excluding approaches towards this group: It is the place, where the exclusion from the labour market, the status as a migrant with an insecure residence permit, and the development of a separate benefit system (next to the social welfare system of the society) are spatially apparent. The asylum centre is both part of strict asylum laws (directives that make centre housing obligatory for asylum seekers) and the spatial scene of the impacts of legislations on the living situations of asylum seekers (management of migration flows, control, training etc.). Hence, the concept of social-spatial exclusion as a process that segregates an individual or a group of society from the integrating institutions and means of society (housing, labour market, health care, education) can be generally applied to housing asylum seekers in centres: The asylum centre is an instrument that illustrates and guarantees the exclusion of asylum seekers from the society in all of the case studies and in regards to the various forms and characteristics of centres. However, due to its socio-spatial settings and its socio-political functions it is not only ensuring exclusion but also it helps to further reinforce it.

However, the research work on exclusion lacks a clear approach and understanding to detect different forms of exclusion within the umbrella of the general exclusion: Even though the measures of exclusion in Berlin and Madrid might be the same, it is – as the empirical investigation illustrates – something different to be excluded in Berlin than to be excluded in Madrid. To understand and explain different shapes of exclusion in the case studies, the concept of exclusion needs to be further developed by defining sub-categories or forms of exclusion that respect the different implementations. The detailed configurations of these measures and dimensions of exclusion (chapter 5.3.3) sometimes vary in the cities and also among the centres depending on these three aspects: the socio-political functions of the centre and the causes for implementing it (macro level), the specific characteristics of the centres within the local centre system (meso level) and the concrete socio-spatial features of the centre itself (micro level). Hence, not only the centre and its ‘inner’ social structure influences exclusionary mechanisms, but also trends on the macro and

meso level have impacts on the micro level. This means that, for example, the implementation of centres as means of deterrence (macro level) has impacts on the socio-spatial structure of the single asylum centre (micro level). Thus, the way the mechanisms of exclusion act towards the asylum seekers appears to be diverse (even though they are in the general framework of socio-spatial exclusion).

Having this trichotomy in mind, following forms of exclusion are developed on the basis of the empirical investigation to further extend the concept of exclusion respecting different mechanisms and consequences of it: impoverishment, debasement, seclusion/imprisonment and invisibilisation.

- *Impoverishment* defines the state of an asylum seeker, who is socially and economically excluded from the general society. In this case, the exclusion of the asylum seeker results in his/her socially and financially negligence by the society. It contains unemployment and cut off from social benefits, crime, homelessness and economic exploitation (illegal work situations).
- *Debasement* means economic, social and individual degradation of an asylum seeker as a human being as well as his/her stigmatisation and perception of a subhuman being and not worth to live and participate in a society. In the dimension of debasement, asylum seekers are not perceived as a person but as a thing (a number, a case) or an animal (inhumanisation).
- *Seclusion/Imprisonment* contains the social and spatial isolation of an asylum seeker, which leads to a total segregation of the individual and/or the group and the ultimate separation from the society and its including institutions but under the surveillance and control of the authorities and the state. It is a process that further leads to solitude and to the state of 'being abandoned and left alone'.
- *Invisibilisation* describes the process of making asylum seekers and their particular situation invisible. The asylum seeker is not perceived as a member of society, because he/she is not 'present' in it. The asylum seeker, his specific needs and problems and his specific position as a migrant who has rights to a fair asylum process are not detectable.

These forms of exclusion are not hierarchically structured; they are in relation to each other but they can also appear alone. Applying these forms on the case studies, it becomes clear that all of the centres in the cities overtake tendencies of the seclusion form. The majority of interviewed asylum seekers in the cities experiences separation from society and solitude. The structure of the centre, its functions and its socio-spatial characteristics foster the seclusion. This tendency is even intensified if there is a large-scale isolation of centres like it is the case in Greater Copenhagen or in Berlin's Centre Motardstraße.

The state of debasement might appear in Greater Copenhagen and Madrid. Even though Madrid has a strong integration program aiming to include asylum seekers in the society on the basis of their economic integration into the labour market, the failure of the program due to the on-going crisis, the exclusion of asylum seekers from social benefits once they leave the program and the general perception of this group as 'illegal migrants' result in the degradation of this group. The asylum seeker is not economically exploitable and thus he/she appears to be a burden for the society rather than a benefit for social innovations. In Greater Copenhagen, the perception of asylum seekers as 'the others' and 'these kind of citizens' is the starting point for the debasement of them. Asylum seekers do not contribute to the society (because they are kept away from it) and thus they are stigmatised as dangerous elements endanger the strong social welfare system.

The process of invisibilisation is also apparent in all of the case studies but on different levels. In Madrid, it is predominantly a social issue resulting from a lack of sensitivity and understanding of the phenomena of asylum seekers and refugees and their perception as illegal migrants. The society is not aware of this specific form of migration. In Copenhagen and Berlin instead, invisibilisation is directly linked to the centre life. The remote locations of the centres in Greater Copenhagen and the challenges to entre bigger cities and the urban society and the location and constitution of Centre Motardstraße prevents the society from being aware of asylum seekers and their situations. In the urban society, they are not present and they are not enabled to negotiate their interests. However, being 'invisible' in Copenhagen and Berlin does not necessarily mean that the society is not aware of the fact that 'they are there', but it can also mean that the society does not want 'them' and thus it is making asylum seekers invisible.

Finally, the impoverishment is majorly visible in Madrid and Copenhagen due to the strict conduction of the benefit-in-kind principle but also due to disadvantage economic position of asylum seekers once they leave the centres (Madrid).

The presentation of these forms of exclusion is a proposal for understanding different realities and consequences of exclusion. That does not necessarily mean that they consequently affect asylums seekers.

## 5.4 Conflicts and Resistance as Consequences of Housing Asylum Seekers

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, housing asylum seekers causes tension in the society. In 1992, riots in the German city Rostock caused international attention for being the biggest racist motivated attacks in post-war Germany. Around 100 extreme right-wingers attacked Rostock's reception centre and the accommodation centre next to it throwing Molotov cocktails in the centres and setting them on fire. More than 1.000 viewers applauded preventing police and the fire service to stop the attack. Several centre residents and police officers were injured. Protests and attacks are interlinked political discussions on asylum and with the blame asylum seekers would use the welfare system. The attacks in Rostock took place in a time, where there was an intense public discussion on the abuse of social benefits and the challenges of the rising numbers of asylum seekers. There is the reproach that these populist debates fostered the attack and the attack was later used to implement stricter laws on asylum within the so-called asylum compromise of 1992/1993 (Bürgerinitiative Bund statt Braun e.V. 2004). This extreme case reflects the social challenges in receiving, housing and integrating asylum seekers, the stigmatisation of this group, racist attitudes in the society and populist politics, and more importantly: It underlines that the centre is the focal point of the emergence of conflicts and discrimination towards asylum seekers.

In the passing years, conflicts and protests by neighbourhoods and the so-called host society raised again caused by the increasing number of migrants seeking for asylum, the opening of new asylum centres and new discussions on the possible abuse of the welfare system by asylum migration. However, a relatively new phenomenon is that also asylum seekers and refugees have started to protest against discriminatory practices, their housing situations and generally the way they are treated by the host society. This chapter focuses on these two trends highlighting the role of the asylum centre in the development of these protests.

Nevertheless, in Madrid, neighbourhood protests and resistance or movements by asylum seekers could not be identified, probably for three reasons: Firstly, the centres, especially the CARs and the apartments, are not detectable as a housing form that accommodates migrants due to its physical integration in the urban environment. Secondly, the two CARs in Madrid were already opened around twenty years ago. The presence of the centre and its residents is established in the neighbourhood. New centres are currently not developed. Thirdly, in relation to Spain's total population the number of asylum applicants is relatively low. An employee of the ministry for Employment and Social Affairs explains that "we have no protest against the centres. I think the society is not really concerned by the asylum seekers as the numbers are very low. They don't know about it and that is why they are not concerned. The society is only concerned by migration in general. But for asylum seekers not" (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs).

### 5.4.1 *Neighbourhood Protests*

In Berlin, there is an increase of neighbourhood conflicts on the opening of new centres. Particularly, the development of an accommodation centre in Berlin-Hellersdorf in Summer 2013 gained media and public attention. Local residents were concerned that the location of the centre in the neighbourhood results in an increase of crime and dangerous situations for children having to pass the centre. However, the movement was overtaken and primarily dominated by right-wing initiatives and the Nationalistic Party of Germany (NPD). The protest resulted in social unrests and daily demonstrations against both the centre and its residents (Camperl 2013). Also operator Gierso experienced resistance when it opened a centre in Berlin's district Westend, a relatively wealthy neighbourhood in West Berlin. The interviewee of Gierso argues that these events generally highlight xenophobic attitudes, sceptics and reservations of residents in some neighbourhoods. In regards to the protests in Westend, she argues, "there have been big protests in the beginning. These are the people from the Westend. They are well heeled. They were afraid that the development of a centre in their neighbourhood has negative impacts on their land values. The majority of the protesters were elderly people demonstrating, collecting signatures against the development" (I Gierso).

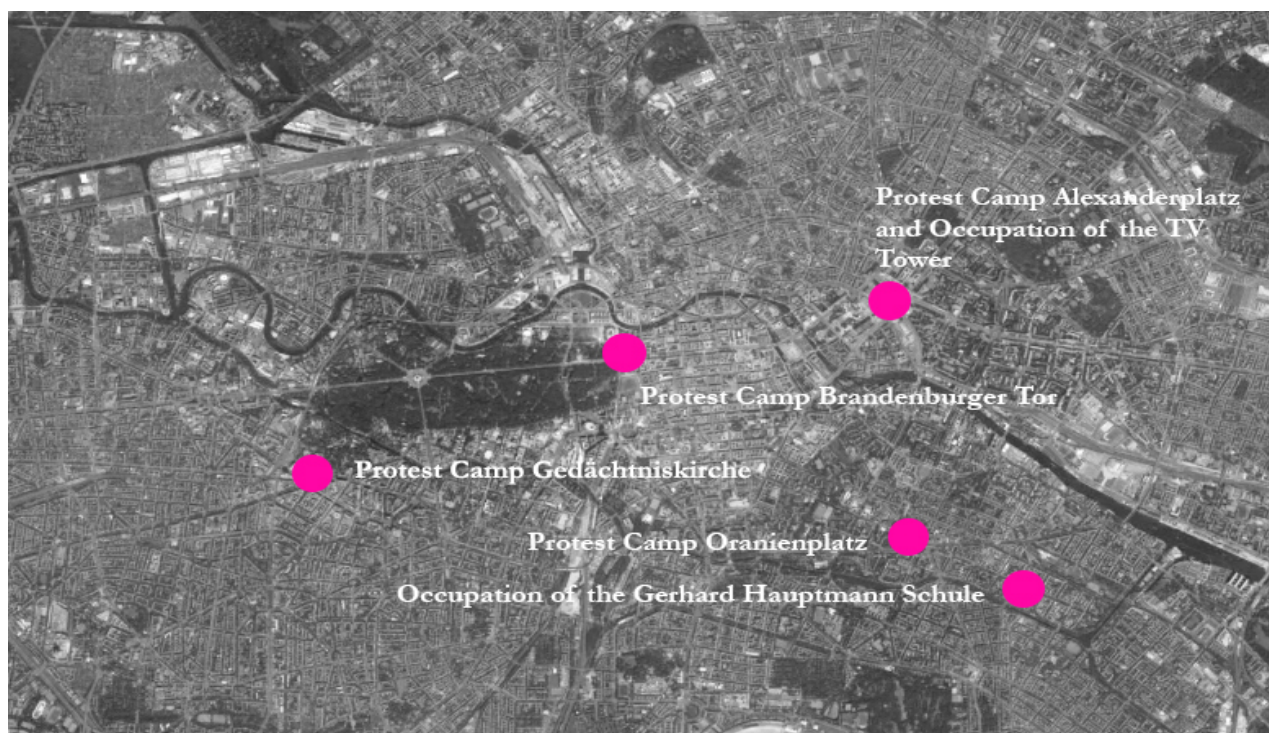
Almost the exact same form of protest with similar motives is conducted in Hørsolm, Denmark's second wealthiest commune around 30 kilometres north of Copenhagen and in close proximity to Centre Sandholm. The Immigration Service and the Ministry of Law decided to transform the old military barrack Sjaeldmark into a detention centre for around 700 rejected asylum seekers. In regards to this the future opening of the centre in Hørsolm, the interviewed Major states: "So we are really upset and fighting it

right now. Yes, we are one of the richest parts in Denmark and we don't have unemployment and if we are open the centre there, we have no idea on how to get people to work there because we don't have unemployment (...). Of course, there is a higher criminality. Another thing, which we think is quite strange, is that we have no debate on this. Nobody has been talking about how we are going to do that with the asylum seekers. My commune is now seeking insight into the documents on that in the ministry. Because nobody communicates with us. We haven't had a hearing period" (I Major Hørsolm). In Hørsolm, the conflict mainly developed due to the federal decision on placing the centre without the participation of the commune and general reservations of in the commune towards the asylum seekers as following quote of the Major underlines: "There is a lot of protest in the newspapers. And people are very clear that they don't want that. There are surveys and for sure, we don't want it. That is what the local people says. It makes people feel insecure of course of something new. But also knowing that it will be people who are going out of Denmark. People are afraid of it and uncomfortable with that kind of citizens going around" (ibid.). The notion "these kind of citizens going around" underlines the xenophobic attitude of the major but also a lack of information and knowledge on the asylum seekers. This group is perceived as criminals and indeed, some asylum seekers that are going to be housed in Centre Sjaeldmark have conducted crime and are thus detained, but the majority will be accommodated in the Centre only because they got rejected as a refugee and thus get deported. In regards to the situation in Hørsolm, the head of Refugees Welcome argues that "the people are really worried about the price of their house. That is the main factor. And the next problem is that it is not just any kind of asylum camp. It is a detention camp (...) for rejected asylum seekers together with refugees that conducted crime but who cannot be deported (I Refugees Welcome).

However, the xenophobic attitudes and reservations of neighbourhood residents and even officials in Greater Copenhagen and Berlin illustrate a fear and a stigmatisation of 'the others' as being criminals (see chapter 5.3.3) and potential introducers into the community of the neighbourhood resulting from one-dimensional media and political discourse as the editor of New Times, a newspaper on asylum seekers and refugees, elaborates: "It is fear coming from the fact that people do not know the group. Then it is because they think people use the asylum system and that they do something criminal. Journalism here only looks on the back facts" (I New Times). Moreover, it shows an individual selfish fear on the decline of land values and a lack of solidarity towards the migrants applying for asylum. Hence, protests by neighbourhood residents do also arise because of the centre being the spatial outcome of exclusionary and stigmatising mechanisms and the politically pushed image of asylum seekers as illegal migrants that are only in the country to abuse the welfare system. Further, the development of the centres in Copenhagen and Berlin lacks a clear participation and enlightenment of the residents on the circumstances of asylum seekers and their motives to immigrate.

#### *5.4.2 Resistance by Asylum Seekers and Refugees*

In the passing two years, Berlin developed to a major scene for the negotiation of the interests of asylum seekers and refugees from all over Germany. In 2012, 2013 and 2014, asylum seekers and refugees have started to develop refugee protest camps occupying public spaces with tent settlement. The protest groups favour central and prominent places like Brandenburger Gate or the Gedächtniskirche. In June 2012, the refugee protest march implied asylum seekers marching from Bavaria to Berlin to raise attention on their situation. Arrived in Berlin, refugees and asylum seekers occupied like the forecourt of the Brandenburger Gate. They stayed for nine days in a hunger strike while they negotiated with politicians about their demands. In July 2014, 30 refugees occupied the observation deck of the TV Tower, one of Berlin's major landmarks and sight demanding to negotiate with politicians on their individual situation and cases.



**Fig. 15: The Geography of Resistance – Protest Camps in Berlin, own illustration based on GoogleMaps**

However, the major spots of protests are the Oranienplatz and the Gerhard Hauptmann Schule, which is a former school building in Berlin-Kreuzberg. The Oranienplatz was occupied for one and a half years until April 2014. Until June 2014, more than 200 refugees and asylum seekers occupied the school and lived in the vacant building. The situation escalated in June, when the Berlin district Kreuzberg aimed to evict the building. The majority of the occupants left ‘voluntarily’ and were housed in Berlin’s asylum centres. Nevertheless, around 30 refugees and asylum seekers stayed in the building and fought against its eviction. For more than one week, the neighbourhood, in which the school is located, was a place of exception. Nearly 1.000 policemen sealed off the major parts of the neighbourhood; only residents were able to enter the zone. Several activists and protesters demonstrated against the planned eviction every day. In the end, there was an agreement between district and the occupants allowing them to stay in the building. Both occupations caused public attention on the situation of asylum seekers. Furthermore, they helped asylum seekers and refugees to develop a voice for their problems, to negotiate their interests and to finally succeed in achieving agreements with the officials – at least temporarily.

All of the mentioned protest camps in Berlin are developed by the asylum seekers and refugees to raise attention on their deprived situation and to demand the consideration of their individual asylum cases. Further, the bad housing conditions and the accommodation in centres are a focus of the protest. However, migrants being accommodated in Berlin do not specifically indicate the protests. Instead, asylum seekers and refugees from other regions of Germany use Berlin as the capital with its symbolic and political importance (I Senate for Integration). Furthermore, a member of the Berlin Advice Centre for Refugees mentions another significant fact that has to be taken into account when investigating these movements: “The people, which are at the Oranienplatz, are lacking prospects. They are often rejected asylum seekers, who get deported and who fight against their deportation. Thus, they often demand individual solutions for their individual cases. I would guess that 95 per cent of the asylum seekers living in the centres in Berlin have no clue that these protest camps are going on. Especially, in the first months after their arrival, they don’t have this lack of perspectives yet as the refugees of Oranienplatz and in the school have. The group of asylum seekers is also very diverse and not all of them have a sense for what happens at these protest camps” (I KUB).

Also in Greater Copenhagen, asylum seekers and refugees occupied several places. In 2010, there was a hunger strike by Syrians and Iranians in front of the Danish parliament occupying the space with tenants. In 2012, Iranians were conducting a hunger strike in a church in Nørrebro, one of Copenhagen’s inner city neighbourhoods. A member of Asylret remembers: “It was a very successful action because people showed sympathy. It caused a lot of attention and so the topic was put on the media and political agenda.

But there was a lot of solidarity and we suddenly were able to explain their situation to others. Everybody got asylum. And the conditions in Iran and in Denmark became public” (I Asylret). A major demonstration against centres as a form of housing and particularly against Centre Sandholm was conducted by refugees, asylum seekers, activities and political initiatives in 2008. The “Close the Camp” demonstration took place in front of Sandholm; more than 3.000 people participated. For several years, the organisation Grandparents for Asylum has been demonstrating against the bad living conditions for asylum seekers in the centre every second Sunday of a month in front of Centre Sandholm. However, despite this constant protest, there are no major protests in Copenhagen at the moment.

#### *5.4.3 The City as the Location for the Negotiation of Interests*

The conduction of protests, especially the one by migrants, takes place in the city. Asylum seekers and refugees, who have been socio-spatially isolated, use the urban space to illustrate their demands and needs. Successively, they start what they have been prevented from because of the characteristics of the centres: They organise themselves, raise their voices and run against the conditions they were put into. Nevertheless, the spatial isolation, control, heteronomy and dependencies do prevent asylum seekers from showing resistance against the exclusionary structures, discrimination and inequality. The restrictive policies and the centre life lead them to a state, where they have not the ability to independently fight for their rights: Who denies the feeding hand? This might be also the reason, why particularly refugees and asylum seekers in very precarious situations (for example in danger of immediate deportation) initiate protests because they have nothing to lose. Consequently, these people resort to drastic measures to firstly demand their interests and to secondly show their dead-ended situation.

Finally, it becomes clear that protests need urban structures. The Language teacher concludes: “They need the urban space to become visible and to politically raise awareness on their situation. This does not happen in the centres, but only in the big cities. Hence, it might be a cause why the centres are located in the middle of nowhere. The decision makers ensure that protests do not arise and that the conditions of the asylum seekers remain invisible” (I Language Teacher).





„All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood“ (United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

"The EU is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities" (European Constitution, Article 1(2)).

„Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar. Sie zu achten und zu schützen ist Verpflichtung aller staatlichen Gewalt“ (Grundgesetz, Art. 1)

„La dignidad de la persona, los derechos inviolables que le son inherentes, el libre desarrollo de la personalidad, el respeto a la ley y a los derechos de los demás son fundamento del orden político y de la paz social“ (Constitución española de 1978, artículo 10(1))

## 6. Building Walls and Establishing New Borders in European Cities – The Asylum Centre as the Ultimate Space of Exclusion

Housing asylum seekers in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid is predominantly characterised by the asylum centres. The centre is the dominant and partly obligatory form of housing asylum seekers. It is implemented into EU and national legislations resulting in the development of a system of centres existing of basically three types of centres – reception, accommodation and detention centres – to systematically house, organise and control huge numbers of migrants applying for asylum. The centre is a mass housing form and thus it is characterised by accommodating relatively high numbers of people on a very small space.

In the three case studies, asylum centres were implemented in the 1980s as a reaction on growing numbers of asylum seekers. Nevertheless, the objectives and reasons why the centres were introduced differ. Whereas Denmark's and Germany's asylum policies are established to house asylum seekers in a pragmatic, efficient and institutionalised way to discourage asylum seekers to enter these countries or to voluntarily leave them, the Spanish accommodation centre overtakes the function of assimilating, training and educating asylum seekers to ensure their access to the labour market and their economic exploitation.

Despite different socio-political functions, the centre has a relevant impact on the living conditions of asylum seekers and their integration in the society. Within this thesis, it became clear that the centre is more than just a place for housing asylum seekers. It is the forced centre of their lives and it represents the translation of asylum policies, political and societal treatments into space. The centre is thus the spatial manifestation of the position of asylum seekers in the society. The asylum legislations on the EU level and on the level of Denmark, Germany and Spain are characterised by exclusionary elements like the ban from work, the benefit in kind principle, the restricted access to education and health care or the possibility to vote aiming to strategically isolate asylum seekers and to exclude them from the relevant integrating institutions of society.

Asylum seekers have insecure residence permission; they are not (yet) citizens of the country that conducts their asylum procedures. The asylum seeker has to prove that he/she 'deserves' protection and thus a temporary or permanent residence permission and the access to the society. Due to the mostly long-lasting process, asylum seekers are thus excluded, disfranchised (due to limited rights and accesses compared to the citizens of the host society) and degraded for several months or, more often, even years. The centre as the space of living for asylum seekers is a place, where asylum seekers experience this exclusion and where means of socio-spatial isolation are implemented justified by the repressive asylum laws. Hence, even though spatially they are in a member state of the EU and live in an European city, the obstacles of living in an asylum centre prevent asylum seekers from participating in the urban society.

This chapter concludes the major findings of this thesis aiming to propose a descriptive and partly analytical concept of the *European Fortress City* respecting the interrelationship between policies, the space of the centres, the categorisation of asylum seekers and the model of the European city.

### 6.1 The Asylum Centre as a Heterotopian Porous Total Institution

*"It doesn't matter if the cage is golden; it is still a cage" (Trampoline House 2014).*

In the empirical reality of these theses, the asylum centre overtakes various forms and characteristics depending on its function within the centre system (reception or accommodation), the socio-political function of the centre in respect to the political motivation to implement it in a country (deterrence, integration, pragmatic organisation of migrant flows) and the specific socio-spatial characteristics of the single centre (the relationship between migrant and centre staff, the location in the urban environment etc.). Interestingly, the functions and characteristics of the centre might vary, all of the centres are characterised by means of control, identification, the organisation and scheduling of several aspects of the life of asylum seekers, the spatial and social separation from society, forms of disciplining, demotivation and the lack of autonomy.

In respects to its characteristics, the asylum centre overtakes partly the function of Augé's *non-place*: "Since non-places are there to be passed through, they are measured in units of time. Itineraries do not work without timetables, lists of departure and arrival times in which a corner is always found for a mention of possible delays" (Augé 2008: 84). The scheduling and organisation of several daily routines is a

nature of the asylum centre. The life of asylum seekers is relatively structured by the centre stuff. Another feature that defines the asylum centre as a non-place is further is the identity control and the “prove of innocence” (ibid.: 82). It is only possible to enter this form of space with some sort of identification and a right of access. Furthermore, Augé’s features of non-places as being not relational, ahistorical and not concerned with an identity, as a space of specific instructions and organisation tools, as having limited access and excluding characteristics and specifically limited or different forms of social interactions and control as well as the relationship between producer and user are fundamental when aiming to define asylum centres as non-places. However, this attempt partly reaches limits when it comes to the explanation of the concrete functions of the asylum centre and the political motivations to develop asylum centres. Augé describes the non-place as an apolitical and ahistorical space. The development of the asylum centre, however, is the outcome of political decision; it is “politics having become space” as Herz (2008: 14) argues. Additionally, the housing conditions in the centres have a huge impact on the growing amount of protests by asylum seekers starting to negotiate their political interests. Furthermore, not the physical single centre itself, but the phenomenon of the asylum centre is linked to historic developments. Understanding the centre is only possible respecting the cause for their implementation and its modification over the years. Centre Sandholm and Centre Motardstraße, for example, do have a history as exceptional places, as places of arrival and places of departure. They developed to historical symbols for the repressive and exclusionary housing policies in Denmark and Germany. Augé’s non-place is characterised by identification and control, but potentially it is not a place that is directed to a specific group. The asylum centre instead is a space and a form of housing developed for the particular purpose of accommodating asylum seekers. Thus, even though the asylum centre shares features with Augé’s concept, it cannot be defined as a non-place, because in the end the centre illustrates characteristics of both places and non-places and it furthermore is characterised by particular functions of the implementation of exclusionary policies, declining autonomy and the emergence of stigmatisation – characteristics that are not taken into account by Augé concept.

The asylum centre is a special place, a place that houses a particular group that differs from the ‘rest of society’ or it is made to differ from the rest of society. Foucault’s ideas on *heterotopias* set a more suitable framework to embedded and explain asylum centres. For him, heterotopias are spaces that are separated from the society and defined by control tools to regulate, train and punish the otherness. It functions to separate the normal from the abnormal or the society from the asylum seekers. Referring to Foucault, the asylum centre is outside of the norm and the space of the usual society. The centre defines the subject in divergence from the general society, characterised by an exclusive access and especially due its specific function to classify and discipline its users due to specific rules and norms that are different to the ones in the society. Further, he argues that “discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)” (ibid.: 138). This characteristic is particularly in Madrid’s centres obvious. The integration program conducted in the centres aims to train and assimilate the asylum seekers to be both economically exploitable on the labour market and obedient in regards to existing power structures and hierarchies. In the centres of Greater Copenhagen and Berlin instead, means of discipline and control are used to strategically disintegrate asylum seekers. In both of the cities, asylum seekers are perceived as being economically useless for the labour market. Foucault’s explanation illustrates core accordance with the central functions of asylum centres: the placing, the cellular distribution of asylum seekers and partitioning of them to specific places (centres, room) to ensure observation, control and repression, the development of social norms and interactions (dependencies, circulation of information, forced activities), the functions of the centre in systematically isolating and devaluating migrants. The asylum centre can thus be evaluated as an empirical evidence for Foucault’s theory on heterotopias.

The asylum centre clearly is a politically and socially produced space. Its main function is to house large numbers of the particular group of the asylum seekers for the purpose of concentrating, excluding and controlling this group. The forms impoverishment, debasement, seclusion/imprisonment and invisibilisation developed in chapter 5.3.5 are inherent patterns of exclusion in regards to the functions and constitution of this type of space. Moreover, the forms developed on the basis of the empirical investigation of the centre in the case studies are illustrating similarities to Goffman’s analytical term of the *total institution*. He defines total institutions as places where large numbers of similar individuals are housed being separated from the society forced to conduct an enclosed life, characterised by physically and symbolically barri-

ers to social intercourse with the outside world. Thus, Locked doors, high walls, barbed wire etc. hence spatially define total institutions (Goffman 1961). Two of his developed five forms of total institutions can be applied to the asylum centres: institutions organised to protect to community against what and whom is considered as dangerous for it and establishments designed as retreats from the world or as training stations for the religious. In the empirical reality the asylum centre appears to be a space where all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority and in the immediate company of a large batch of others. Further, tight scheduling of activities, surveillance of activities, restricted contact to the outside world, the takeover of responsibilities by the stuff (heteronomy) and the asylum seekers relying on them, boredom due to lack of (sophisticated) activities, the disciplining of the asylum seekers by the stuff, house rules, restrictions, dependencies (on things such as food, social support etc.), forms of punishment if rules in the institution are broken define the life in both an asylum centre and in a total institution. These characteristics result in the – what Goffman calls – civil death, because autonomy, liberation and conduction of life decisions have been taken away.

Goffman's total institution implies the total exclusion of the inmates of the institution. However, asylum seekers living in the reception and accommodation centres in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid are per se not incarcerated. The centres are open centres meaning that the asylum seekers can exit and entre the centre whenever he/she wants. Nevertheless, the exclusion of asylum seekers in the centre is conducted due to symbolic barriers and their material isolation from society. The ban of employment and the benefit-in-kind principle limit the action ability of asylum seekers. Additionally, the spatial isolation on the large-scale, small-scale, symbolic scale and individual scale limit the leaving of asylum seekers. However, theoretically they are entitled to leave the centres even though – like in Greater Copenhagen – the location of centres in remote areas with poor access to public transport weakens this opportunity. Also the access to the centre is regulated and restricted, but it is not total. Visitors and friends of the centre residents are allowed to entre the centre even though the access to facilities and the period of time to entre the centre is limited for them. Theoretically, – and that is the major difference to Goffman's analytical term of the total institution – asylum seekers have the possibility to leave the centre and never come back. The exclusionary mechanisms of the asylum centres function in a more passive and indirect manner as the one in the total institution. Dependencies, the domination of the centre stuff, intimidation and punishment and the spatial isolation create a state, where asylum seekers are not able to easily escape from the disastrous living conditions and exclusionary forces. For that reason, the asylum centre is defined within this thesis as a *porous total institution* arguing that the inner structure of the centre function like a total institution, but it is to some extent permeable and potentially asylum seekers have the opportunity to act against the exclusionary mechanisms.

To conclude, even though the characteristics of the centres (especially location, equipment, social settings and the socio-political functions) might vary to some extent, the inner structure of the centre being a social and institutionalised space is defined by exclusionary mechanisms. The centre negatively affects the integration process of migrants seeking for asylum. It serves as an exclusionary institution aiming to systematically isolate asylum seekers and prevent them from contributing in the society. It thus illustrates a socially produced space as an instrument to regulate, place and exclude the ethnical 'otherness'.

## 6.2 The Asylum Centre as a Place in the Chain of Destruction

*"The asylum centre is like a concentration camp. The only difference is that they don't burn people. They let them gradually die"* (I Asylret 2014: 4).

Miller (1996) opens a very different less prominent angle in interpreting the functions of asylum centres. In regards to the 'war on drugs' in USA, he identifies a scheme that – as he argues – illustrates how a group of people is strategically excluded from society. He uses this scheme to explain the consequences of the implementation of restrictive laws on drugs in America resulting in the illegalisation, imprisonment and permanent exclusion of society. The *chain of destruction* consists of five stages, which are interlinked to each other, but which also can occur separately:

1. *Identification*: A group of people is identified as the cause of the problems in the society. People begin to perceive this group as dangerous. The group is degraded due to the identification.
2. *Ostracism*: The group is despised. Means to conduct a humane life are strategically declined. The group faces bad living conditions and it is physically isolated and separated from the rest of society.

3. *Confiscation*: Laws change leading to the disadvantaged position of this group, which loses civil liberties. The laws change so that it becomes easier for people to be searched and for their property to be confiscated, and once you start taking people's property away, it makes it easier to start taking people away.
4. *Concentration*: The State starts to concentrate this undesirable group into facilities such as prisons and camps. People have limited rights and are not allowed to vote anymore. Often their labour is exploited in a systematic form.
5. *Annihilation*: The last stage might be indirect, by withholding medical care, by withholding food, or psychological intimidations. Or it may be direct, where death is inflicted, where people are deliberately killed.

In fact, Miller (1996) developed this model to claim that the war against drug users is a deliberate process of a destruction planned by the government. Each element constitutes a link in the chain of destruction. This process, Miller argues, is comparable to the destruction process that was perpetrated by Nazi Germany against the Jewish people. He alleges that drug users are targets that the United States government deliberately intends to eliminate (Miller 1996).<sup>27</sup>

Miller's scheme is transferable to the exclusion of asylum seekers in Greater Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid with some limitations. His model is directed towards a group, which is/was integrated into the society, but which is due to the definition of problem pushed into a marginalised position. Asylum seekers instead are from the very beginning in this position. Nevertheless, as it becomes obvious in the empirical analysis of housing asylum seekers the chain of destruction can be interpreted as the states aim to systematically weaken their position in the society, especially in regards to the development of restrictive asylum policies and housing regulations. In the 1980s, the abuse of asylum was politically pushed on the agenda justifying the implementation of strict asylum laws that limited the rights and access of asylum seekers to integrate in the labour market and in the society (identification of both the 'problem' and the target group). As a result of these laws, the centre was introduced as an obligatory form of housing this group guaranteeing control and repression. The living conditions resulted in the stigmatisation of this group resulted in ostracising asylum seekers. The despite of asylum seekers become obvious in Germany in the early 1990s (Rostock-Lichtenhagen) and even today in regards to protests against the development of new centres due to motives of xenophobia and social envy (ostracism). Finally, the introduction of restrictive laws on the EU and national levels (the development of strict border controls by FRONTEX, the implementation of the Dublin regulation and the introduction of social welfare laws for asylum seekers, identity control due to finger prints) resulted in the further deprivation of this group (confiscation). With the development of comprehensive and decentred asylum centre systems in the 1990s in Germany, Denmark and Spain, asylum seekers have been strategically concentrated and isolated from the rest of the society. The spatial exclusion and the exclusion due to laws on ban from work and education resulted in Germany and Denmark in a state where asylum seekers are segregated with the purpose of strategically disintegrating this group. However, in Spain, the state often fosters the economic exploration in the informal labour market (concentration). Finally, the denied access to usual health care system in all of the case studies and the psychological consequences of living in the centres results in the annihilation of this group. In mass democratic states, this of course does not happen direct scale. Even though, interviewees in Madrid and Berlin argued that there were cases where asylum seekers were denied the access to see a doctor and then died.

The chain of destruction is rather a descriptive then an analytical model to describe to explain the exclusion of asylum seekers as unwanted immigrants from the society. The model illustrates a process of a systematic riddance and incapacitation of asylum seekers making them needless for the society.

### 6.3 The Asylum Seekers as the Urban Non Class

The legal situation of asylum seekers and their poor position in the society are visible and manifested in the space of the asylum centre. Asylum seekers have insecure residence permission. They are migrants with limited rights to access the labour market, housing market, health care and education, but at the same time this group experiences a huge amount of restrictions. Asylum seekers have to be available any time – for the investigation of their case and their potential deportation. They are not citizens of a society and

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<sup>27</sup>A comparison to the destruction process conducted by the Nazis against Jewish people might belittle and downplay the specific outrage in systematically murdering millions of Jewish people by the Nazis. Hence, the author distances himself from this comparison.

they are also not perceived as such. Asylum seekers are seen as unwanted migrants. By international laws, a country has to receive this group, but the society itself did not decide for it. Due to their motives for migrating being persecuted and mistreated in their home countries, asylum seekers are a very vulnerable group. Housing asylum seekers in centres has immense impacts on their living conditions and on the perception by the society. Officials and decision makers use their weak position to justify means of spatial isolation, control, heteronomy, domination and stigmatisation. The centre is the place that ensures these means and finally the space that helps conducting them. The exclusion and decapitation of this group due to housing and other means help feeding the image of useless and unwanted migrants.

The asylum laws in all of the case studies are not implemented to protect asylum seekers, but to protect the host society from the influx and the inclusion of these migrants. They have been developed to defend the social welfare system and to criminalise asylum seekers blaming that they would abuse it. Structurally, asylum seekers are only integrated in special asylum legislations with regulations that vary from the norm of the society. It exists parallel to common social legislations.

Finally, the restrictive legislations, the stigmatisation of this group in the political and media discourse and most importantly the accommodation in an asylum centre both translating their societal standing into space and reinforcing exclusionary mechanisms and characteristics result in the development of the group of asylum seekers into an *Urban Non-Class*. This class exists parallel to the society but it is structurally, economically, socially, spatially, socio-psychologically and even permanently (beyond the status as an asylum seeker) excluded from the society and its integrating intuitions. This class is accommodated in a housing form, which underpins their separation from society and which developed to an instrument of exclusion aiming to concentrate, regulate, disfranchise, degrade and potentially eliminate the as dangerous perceived ethnical 'otherness'.

In recent years, asylum seekers and refugees started to act against their position as an Urban Non-Class in the society and against the societal and legal treatment towards them. By demonstrating and occupying public spaces *in* the city, this group appropriates the space and the structures they are excluded from. While the centre exemplifies the space of domination and exclusion, the public space functions as a space of liberation and resistance against this domination (Bourdieu 1996). Successively, they start what they have been prevented from in the isolation in the centres: They organise themselves, raise their voices and run against the conditions they were put into. The asylum seekers are not entitled to use the centre as the 'field of forces' (Bourdieu). The centre is the place of living and it is characterised by dependencies. In order to act against these features, they have to use the urban space to raise societal awareness on their situation. The European city as a place of liberation and emancipation (Simmel 2002; Siebel 2005) and the urban space as political space play a major role in conducting these protests. Asylum seekers and refugees depend on the urban structures but also on the urban features to become visible and to escape from their excluded role in the Non-Class.

## 6.4 From Fortress Europe to the European Fortress City

The European asylum policy is particularly characterised by the protection of Europe's outer borders preventing asylum seekers and migrants to flee into the EU. Since 1988, at least 20.257 migrants died at the borders of the EU member states. In 2011, more than 2.500 and in already in the first eight months of 2014 904 migrants died trying to migrate to the EU (Fortress Europe 2014). These are only the numbers of bodies identified. 40.000 migrants who aimed to flee to Europe are reported missing. In this context, the term Fortress Europe describes the EU's isolationist policy towards immigrants by the implementation of strict border patrols and detention centres.

This thesis finally argues that the EU asylum policy, carried and co-determined by the member states, symbolises a desire to control and regulate asylum migration flows at the external borders. The asylum centre is the instrument and space to pursue this objective also within the EU. The means of border control and surveillance, identification of migrants and the desire to regulate asylum migration are translated into the space of the asylum centre: Europe-wide, the centre is implemented as an instrument to guarantee the observation, management and isolation of asylum seekers. Thus, the centre with its spatial, architectural and social structural property overtakes functions of border and migrant control, surveillance and exclusion of migrants *in* the EU. The Europeanization and homogenisation of this trend becomes obvious when investigating the centres systems of the member states. Denmark, Germany and Spain developed

systems that are characterised by the triangle of reception, accommodation and detention. The local (Berlin, Madrid) and national (Denmark) systems are linked with each other creating a common European framework of a Super Centre System that ensures the control and isolation of asylum seekers and refugees in the entire EU. However, in contrast to the external border control aiming to exclude asylum seekers from living in the EU due to an outward differentiation, the asylum centre functions as a border space due to means of an inward differentiations keeping the asylum seekers isolated in the centre to exclude them from the outside society.

Indeed, like the external border policies, also the housing policies for asylum seekers are conducted on the EU and national scale. Berlin is due to its characteristic as a state of Germany the only investigated city that has at least to some extent the power of decision on how to house asylum seekers, but in the end the asylum policy is not an urban policy. Nevertheless, the cities and municipalities are the locations of the exclusion due to housing as well as restrictive policies towards this group. They are the places where the EU and national legislations are conducted and put into practice. Generally, social, political and economic trends are always reflected in the urban fabric – the city is both mirror and incubator of changes and innovations (Harvey 2012).

The implementation of the asylum centre a space of borders and both physical and symbolic walls towards the European city reflects the emergence of the *European Fortress City*. The European Fortress City is characterised by spaces of borders that systematically excludes unwanted non-citizens from participating in the urban life. It uses forms of borders, control and means of identification to ensure that the exclusion is guaranteed. The European Fortress City is exclusive. It denies particular groups the access to it. It is a Fortress city that is indeed defined by possibilities of integration, liberation and emancipation – the urban characteristics have not necessarily changed, but the regulations to access it did. The European Fortress City is a comprehensive phenomenon reflecting trends in Europe to demonise and exclude social groups that are perceived as a danger and problem for the European society and its wealth. City walls do not protect the Fortress European City. It wants to maintain its perception of being open to everybody. Thus, it uses softer but more crucial means of spatial isolation and concentration, disfranchisement, domination and heteronomy as well as xenophobic brandings to eliminate the unwanted non-citizen.

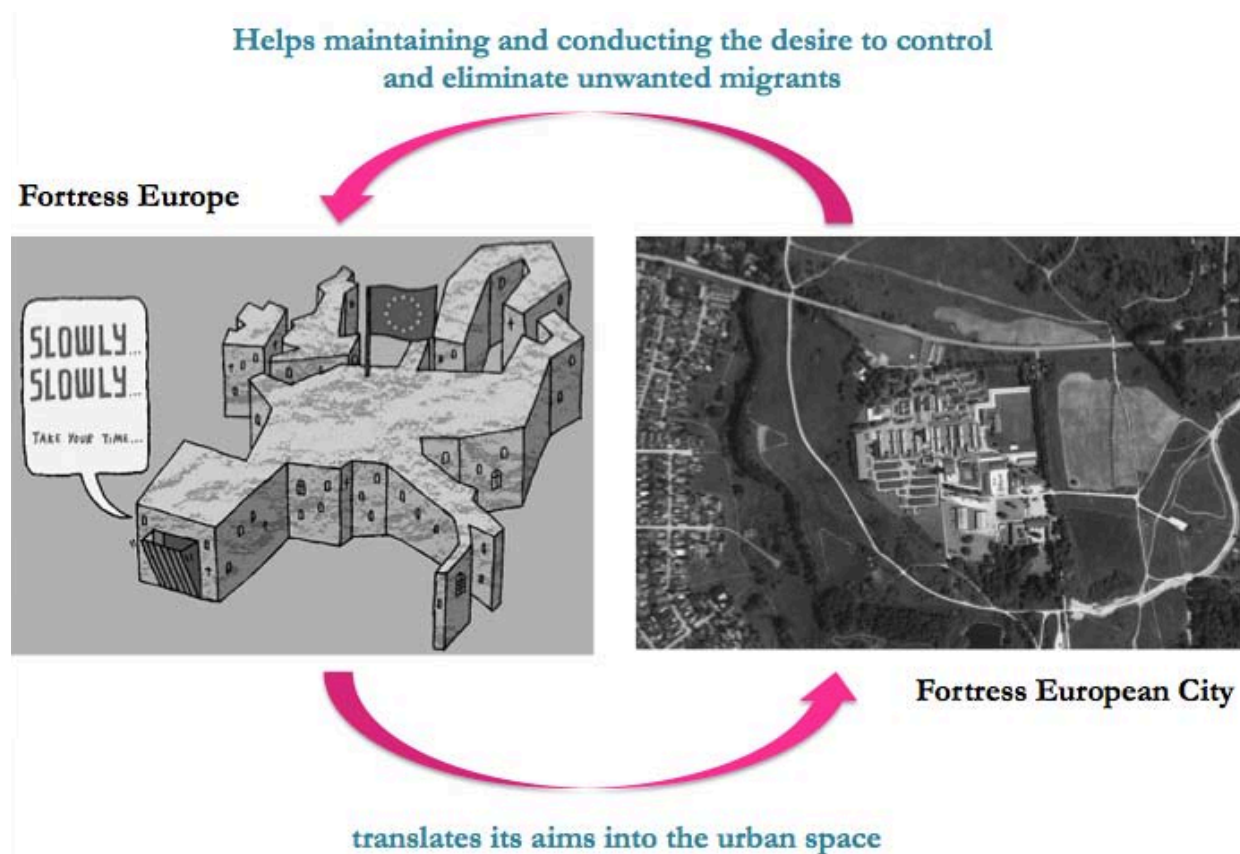


Fig. 16: From Fortress Europe to the European Fortress City, own illustration based on Tava (2014)



“Skin head.  
Dead head.  
Everybody.  
Gone bad.  
Situation.  
Aggravation.  
Everybody.  
Allegation.  
In the suite.  
On the news.  
Everybody.  
Dog food.  
Bang bang.  
Shock dead.  
Everybody's.  
Gone mad.  
All I wanna say is that they don't really care about us.  
(...)  
Tell me what has become of my life.  
I have a wife and two children who love me.  
I'm a victim of police brutality, now.  
I'm tired of bein' the victim of hate.  
Your rapin' me of my pride.  
Oh for God's sake, I look to heaven to fulfil its proph-  
ecy...  
Set me free.  
Tell me what has become of my rights.  
Am I invisible 'cause you ignore me?  
Your proclamation promised me free liberty, now.  
I'm tired of bein' the victim of shame.  
They're throwin' me in a class with a bad name.  
I can't believe this is the land from which I came.  
You know I really do hate to say it.  
The government don't wanna see. (...)  
All I wanna say is that they don't really care about us.”

(Michael Jackson, 1995, They don't care about us)



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## 7.3 List of Tables and Figures

Fig. 1 Accessing the topic of housing asylum seekers; own illustration .....	12
Fig. 2: Interviews conducted on different levels in the case studies; own illustration.....	15
Fig. 3: Evaluation scheme for semi-structured interviews; own illustration .....	16
Fig. 4: Evaluation scheme for unstructured interviews; own illustration .....	16
Fig. 5: The Theoretical Analysis of the Centre as a Social Space, own illustration.....	30
Fig. 6: Increase and Decrease of Asylum Claims in European Countries, UNHCR 2014a.....	42
Fig. 7: Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows Programme, Amnesty International 2014.....	44
Fig. 9: Distribution of Centres in Denmark, own illustration based on GoogleMaps .....	48
Fig. 10: The Spanish Integration Program, own illustration .....	51
Fig. 11: The Distribution of Centres in Berlin, own illustration based on GoogleMaps.....	58
Fig. 12: The Distribution of Centre in Madrid, own illustration based on GoogleMaps .....	60
Fig. 14: The Super Asylum Centre System, own illustration .....	63
Fig. 15: The Geography of Resistance – Protest Camps in Berlin, own illustration based on GoogleMaps .....	91
Fig. 16: From Fortress Europe to the European Fortress City, own illustration based on Tava (2014) ...	101

## APPENDIX

## **A Catalogue of Isolation**

Fig. 12: Catalogue of Isolation - Spatial Characteristics of The Asylum Centres, own illustration

Name	Centre Sandholm	Refugium Motardstraße	Refugium Rhinstraße	Refugium Kaiserdamm	Centre Klingsorstraße
Municipality, District	Liilerød	Berlin-Spandau	Berlin-Lichtenberg	Berlin-Charlottenburg	Berlin Steglitz
Operator	Danish Red Cross	AWO	AWO	AWO	Gierso
Large Scale Isolation					
Access to public transport - bus - metric	200m	700m	100m	100m	100m
Access to public transport - bus - ordinal	2	3	2	2	2
Access to public transport - 'Train*' - metric	4km	700m	1,5km	200m	1km
Access to public transport - 'Train*' - ordinal	5	2	3	1	3
Distance to urban centre** - metric	31km	7km	9km	0km	9km
Distance to urban centre** - ordinal	6	3	4	1	4
Distance to sub centre - metric	4km	4km	3km	0km	1,5km
Distance to sub centre - ordinal	3	3	3	1	2
Traffic time to city centre - metric	50min	32min	30min	0min	30min
Traffic time to city centre - ordinal	6	4	4	1	4
Traffic time to sub centre - metric	10min	20min	12min	0min	10min
Traffic time to sub centre - ordinal	3	4	3	1	2
Small Scale Isolation					
Distance to facilities of daily needs - metric	4km	4km	2km	100m	1,5km
Distance to facilities of daily needs - ordinal	4	4	3	1	2
Distance to kindergarden - metric	4km	4km	3km	300m	500m
Distance to kindergarden - ordinal	4	4	3	1	1
Distance to school - metric	4km	4km	4km	500m	1km
Distnace to school - ordinal	4	4	4	1	2
Distance to (public) park - metric	1km	2km	1km	200m	500m
Distance to (public) park - ordinal	2	3	2	1	2
Street Space - nominal	main street, country street	industrial steet	residential street	main street	residential street
Street Space - ordinal	4	4	2	3	1
Urban and architectural integration - nominal	centre is the only settlement	barracks in industrial are	centre is in a residential buil	centre is in an old hotel	villa in residential area
Urban and architectural integration - ordinal	6	4	2	2	1
Land use of the surroundings - nominal	military installation, forest	industrial area	business park/residential ar	mixed used area	residential area
Land use of the surroundings - ordinal	6	5	4	2	2
Symbolic Isolation, Stigmatisation					
Type of building(s) - nominal	military barrack	container accommodati	industrialised residential bui	hotel building	villa
Type of building(s) - ordinal	6	5	2	3	2
Number of buildings creating the centre - metric	61	6	1	1	1
Year of construction - nominal	1909	1980s	1970s	1960s	beginning of 20th centu
Condition of the building(s) - nominal	varries depending on the buil	decrepit	good	in need of renovation	good
Condition of the building(s) - ordinal	3	5	2	3	2
Exterior spatial qualities - nominal	well kept	untented	untended	no exterior space	well kept
Exterior spatial qualities - ordinal	2	4	3		2
Development of a fence, wall, barriers - nominal	yes, fence, walls, barb wire fen	fence, wall	no	no	wall
Development of a fence, wall, barriers - ordinal	6	5	1	1	3
Security Guards - nominal	at entrance and on territory	at the entrance	at the entrance	no	at entrance and in buildi
Security Guards - ordinal	5	3	2	1	4
Entry Control - nominal	yes, strict identity control	yes, strict identity contro	identity control	identity control	identitiy control
Entry Control - ordinal	5	5	4	3	4
Visibility and identification as an asylum centre - ordinal	6	6	3	2	2

Individual Isolation					
Number of residents - nominal	approx. 650	approx. 450	350	120	106
Number of residents - ordinal	6	6	5	3	3
Shared rooms - nominal	shared rooms only	shared rooms only	shared and single rooms	shared rooms only	shared rooms only
Average number of residents in one shared room - metric	4	3	4	4	3
Average number of residents in one shared room - ordinal	4	3	3	4	5
Average size of shared rooms - metric	20m2	20m2	22m2	18m2	24m2
Average size of shared rooms - ordinal	5	5	5	5	5
Single rooms - nominal	not avaible	not avaiable	avaible, but minority	not avaible	not avaible
Kitchen facilities (cantine, shared kitchen, individual kitchen) - nominal	cantine and shared kitchens	no cantine, no kitchen	cantine and kitchens	cantine	cantine and kitchen
Bathroom facilities (shared bathrooms, individual bathrooms) - nominal	shared bothrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms
Laundry facilities (limited or unlimited access to washing machine) - nominal	only due to appointment	only due to appointmen	due to appointments	due to appointments	due to appointments
Usage of and access to facilities - ordinal	4	5	4	4	4
Average number of social worker in the centre - metric	unknown	8	8	3	4
Video surveilliance - nominal	at entrance and on territory	no	no	no	no
Video surveilliance - ordinal	4	1	1	1	1
Grills - nominal	no	no	no	no	yes, ground floor
Grills - ordinal	1	1	1	1	4
Total	4,2	3,9	2,8	2	3,1

6	Spatially Isolated
5	
4	
3	
2	
1	Spatially Integrated

\* Metro, S-Train, Train  
 \*\* City centre of the case study

CAR de Alcobendas Alcobendas State	CAR de Vallecas Madrid-Vallecas State	Hostal Welcome Madrid-Vallecas Spanish Red Cross	Apartment Castelar Madrid-Salamanca La Merced Migraciones	Apartment Cartagena Madrid-Salamanca La Merced Migraciones	Name Municipality, District Operator
					<b>Large Scale Isolation</b>
300m	20	500m	100m	50m	Access to public transport - bus - metric
2	1	3	2	1	Access to public transport - bus - ordinal
300m	200m	2km	350	350	Access to public transport - 'Train*' - metric
1	1	3	1	1	Access to public transport - 'Train*' - ordinal
20km	9km	15km	2,2km	2km	Distance to urban centre** - metric
5	4	5	2	2	Distance to urban centre** - ordinal
0km	3km	5km	0km	0km	Distance to sub centre - metric
1	3	4	1	1	Distance to sub centre - ordinal
35min	30min	45min	20min	20min	Traffic time to city centre - metric
4	4	5	3	3	Traffic time to city centre - ordinal
0min	15min	25min	0	0	Traffic time to sub centre - metric
1	3	4	1	1	Traffic time to sub centre - ordinal
					<b>Small Scale Isolation</b>
300m	2km	5km	150m	80m	Distance to facilities of daily needs - metric
1	3	4	1	1	Distance to facilities of daily needs - ordinal
1km	2km	no access during stay	no families in the centre	no families in the centre	Distance to kindergarden - metric
2	2				Distance to kindergarden - ordinal
1km	3km	no access during stay	2km	2km	Distance to school - metric
2	3				Distnace to school - ordinal
2km	3km	7km	100m	50m	Distance to (public) park - metric
3	3	5	1	1	Distance to (public) park - ordinal
residential street	residential street	industrial street	residential street	residential street	Street Space - nominal
1	1	4	1	1	Street Space - ordinal
centre integrated in surround	centre integrated in surround	hotel is fragemented area	apartment building	apartment building	Urban and architectural integration - nominal
2	2	3	1	1	Urban and architectural integration - ordinal
residential area	residential area	industrial area	residential area	residential area	Land use of the surroundings - nominal
2	2	5	2	2	Land use of the surroundings - ordinal
					<b>Symbolic Isolation, Stigmatisation</b>
facility building	facility building	hotel building	town house	town house	Type of building(s) - nominal
3	3	3	2	2	Type of building(s) - ordinal
1	2	1	1	1	Number of buildings creating the centre - metric
1989	early 1990s	1990s	beginning of 20th century	beginning of 20th century	Year of construction - nominal
good	good	good	overall good, but some renovations	some renovations necessary	Condition of the building(s) - nominal
2	2	2	3	3	Condition of the building(s) - ordinal
very small, well kept	small, but well kept	no exterior space	small front yard, well kept	no exterior space	Exterior spatial qualities - nominal
3	3		2		Exterior spatial qualities - ordinal
no	wall, fence	no	no	no	Development of a fence, wall, barriers - nominal
1	4	1	1	1	Development of a fence, wall, barriers - ordinal
at entrance and in building	at entrance and in building	no	no	no	Security Guards - nominal
4	4	1	1	1	Security Guards - ordinal
strict identity control	strict identity control	recption	no	no	Entry Control - nominal
4	4	2	1	1	Entry Control - ordinal
3	3	1	1	1	Visibility and identification as an asylum centre - ordinal

					Individual Isolation
80	96	50	21	19	Number of residents - nominal
3	3	3	2	2	Number of residents - ordinal
shared rooms only	shared rooms only	shared rooms only	shared rooms, one single room	shared rooms only	Shared rooms - nominal
4	4	4	4	3	Average number of residents in one shared room - metric
5	5	5	5	4	Average number of residents in one shared room - ordinal
20m2	20m2	25m2	18m2	17m2	Average size of shared rooms - metric
5	5	5	5	5	Average size of shared rooms - ordinal
not avaible	not avaible	not avaiable	one single room	not avaible	Single rooms - nominal
cantine	cantine	cantine	shared kitchen	shared kitchen	Kitchen facilities (cantine, shared kitchen, individual kitchen) - nominal
shared bothrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms	shared bathrooms	Bathroom facilities (shared bathrooms, individual bathrooms) - nominal
due to appointments	due to appointments	unlimited access to the machi	unlimited access to machines	unlimited access to machin	Laundry facilities (limited or unlimited access to washing machine) - nominal
4	4	2	2	2	Usage of and access to facilities - ordinal
1	1	0	1	1	Average number of social worker in the centre - metric
yes, in all common rooms	yes, in all common rooms	yes, in all common rooms	no	no	Video surveilliance - nominal
5	5	5	1	1	Video surveilliance - ordinal
yes, ground floor	yes, ground floor	no	no	no	Grills - nominal
5	5	1	1	1	Grills - ordinal
2,8	3,2	3,3	1,8	1,7	Total

\* Metro, S-Train, Train

\*\* City centre of the case study

6	Spatially Isolated
5	
4	
3	
2	
1	Spatially Integrated

## **B Presentation of Investigated Centres**

# Centre Sandholm, Greater Copenhagen

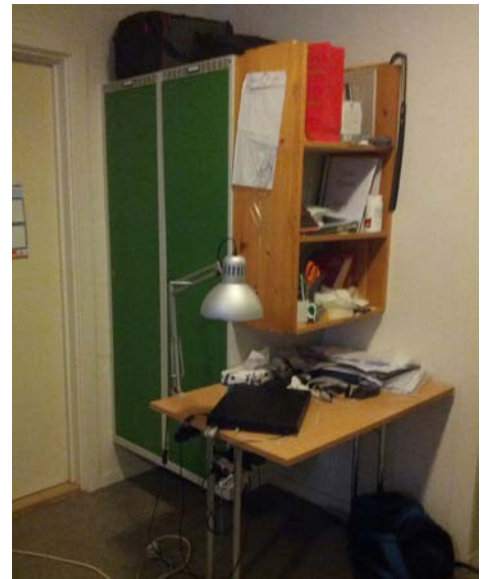


Location of Sandholm, google maps

The reception and departure centre for asylum seekers, Sandholm Accommodation Centre, is located some 30 kilometres north of Copenhagen. The old yellow military barracks were built in 1909-12 and functioned to house the Royal Life Guards from 1945 to 1985. In 1985 the Danish Red Cross bought the barracks, which reopened in 1986 as an accommodation centre for asylum-seekers run by the Danish Red Cross. The centre is one of the biggest of its kind. It accommodates around 600 individuals, who are either awaiting a decision on their application for asylum or have had their application rejected and are awaiting departure from Denmark. Security personnel guard the centre around the clock. It also houses the immigration section of the Danish National Police and the Immigration Service. Centre Sandholm symbolise the concentration of all possible forms of accommodating asylum seekers: it is the only reception centre in Denmark, an accommodation centre and a detention centre. Sandholm is not only a centre, but a whole settlement created to house asylum seekers.



The Entrance, own illustration



In the Centre, own illustration

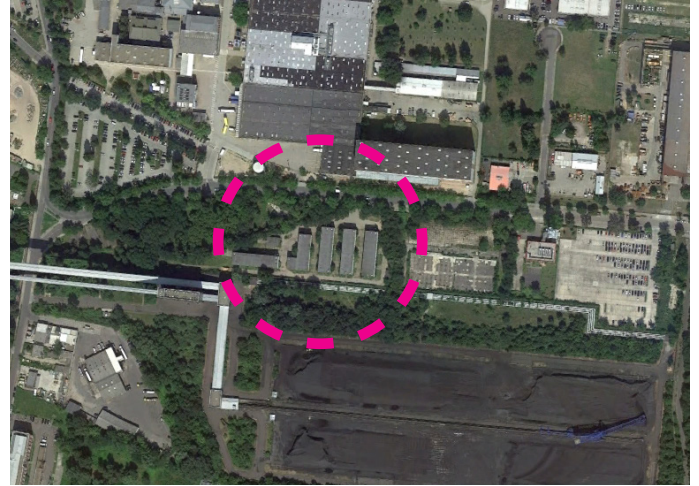


Different Forms of Housing, own illustration

# Centre Motardstraße, Berlin



Location of Centre Motardstraße, google maps



The Refugium Motardstraße is one of Berlin's two official reception centres and the oldest asylum centre of the city located decentred in an industrial area, seven kilometres away from the city centre and operated by the AWO. The container settlement was established in 1989 as a stopgap to house refugees from the former GDR and ethnic German resettler. Since 1995, the centre is used to house asylum seekers. Around 450 migrants live in the centre, which is built to house only 400. It is characterised by a large-scale isolation due to its remote location in an industrial area, fences, walls, the bad physical conditions of the building, food supply but without a canteen, security guards and the permanent overcrowding. Hence, the centre is also described as a departure centre, since the conditions force migrants to move out and stop their asylum process.



Entrance, own illustration

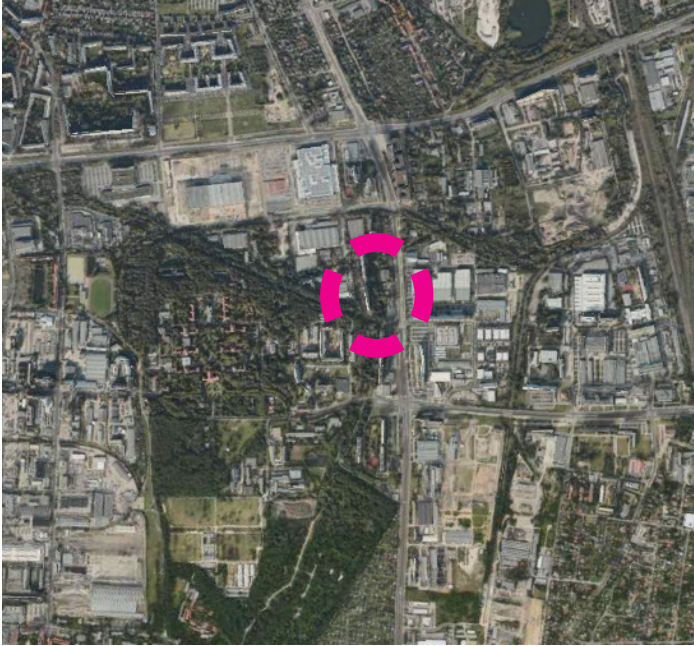


Common Bath Rooms and a typical Room of an Asylum Seekers, own illustration



Art in Architecture, own illustration

# Refugium Rhinestraße, Berlin



Location of Rhinestraße, google maps

This centre is the second official reception centre in Berlin. It is located in Berlin's district Lichtenberg in a housing unit of a ten-floor housing block surrounded by a business park. It accommodates 350 residents. It is operated by the AWO and it is mainly characterised by the decentred location and its implementation in a housing block consisting of former apartments.



Entrance, own illustration



Private room, own illustration



Dining room, own illustration

# Refugium Kaiserdamm, Berlin

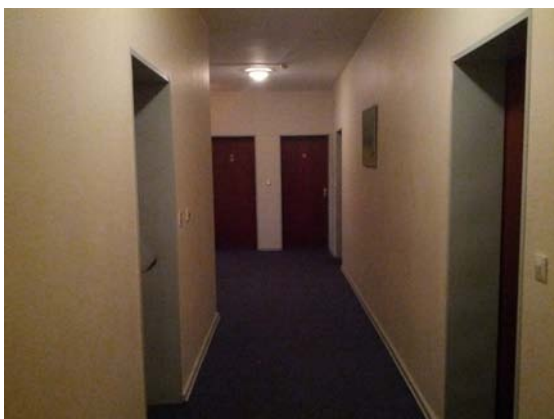


Location, google maps

The Refugium Kaiserdamm an emergency shelter, introduced in late 2013 and operated by the AWO. The centre is in a vacant hotel in Berlin's inner city. The five-story building accommodates 120 asylum seekers. The size of the rooms and the square metres per person are not in line with Berlin's minimum quality standards for asylum centres. The hotel atmosphere and temporality, the architectural integration in the urban surrounding, the location in the city and the accessibility and facilities of daily needs define the emergence shelter.



Private room, own illustration

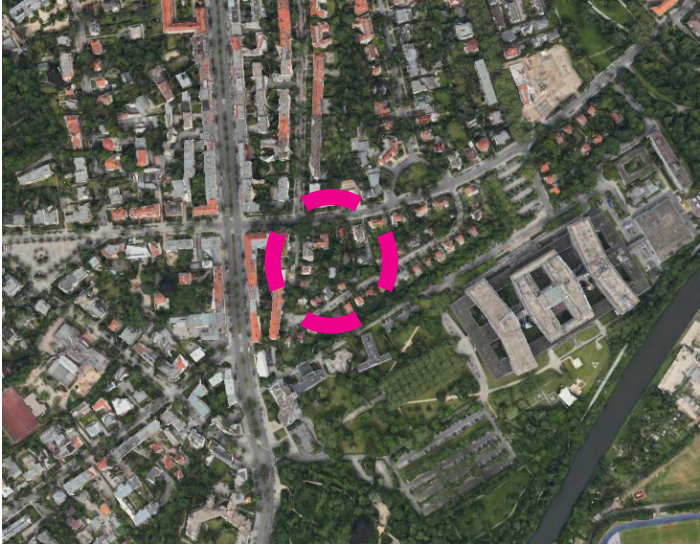


Hallway, own illustration



Dining room, own illustration

# Centre Klingsorstraße, Berlin



Location, google maps

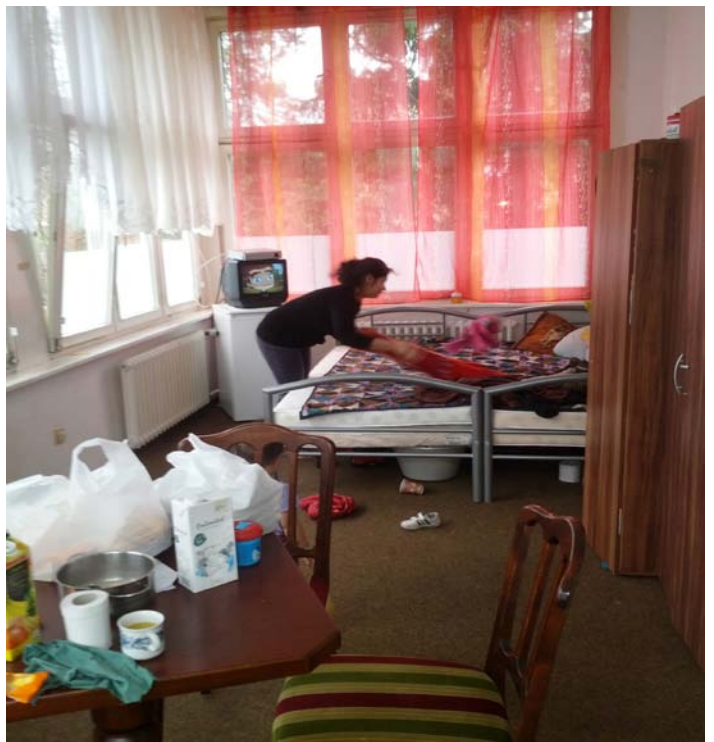
Located in Berlin's wealthy south-western district Steglitz, this asylum centre is implemented in an old villa in a residential area, nine kilometres away from Berlin's city centre but in close distance to the sub centre of Steglitz. The four-story building houses 106 asylum seekers and it is characterised by physical integration in the neighbourhood, a wall and a fence, the security personnel, which guard the centre around the clock, a relatively big exterior space and different forms and sizes of rooms. From the outside, it rarely can be perceived as an asylum centre.



The building from outside, own illustration



Playroom, own illustration



Private room, own illustration

# Hostal Welcome, Madrid

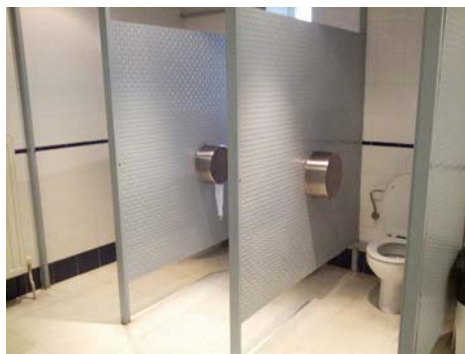


Location of Hostal Welcome, google maps

The Hostal Welcome is the only official reception centre for asylum seekers migrating to Spain. It is located on the southwest edge of Madrid, in an industrial area and business park of the district Vallecas. For a maximum of two weeks, asylum seekers are housed in this hostel. The Hostal Welcome cannot be identified as a typical reception centre. It symbolises a temporary accommodation and it is not intended to house asylum seekers for long periods. The hostel is generally accessible; everybody can book hotel rooms online for Euro 15 to 35 per night depending on the equipment. The Spanish Red Cross has a contract with the operator of the hostel on the usage of 50 per cent of the rooms. In 2013, more than 1.200 asylum seekers lived in this reception centre, which is predominantly characterised by its very decent location, video surveillance, its relative accessibility, and its non-recognisability as an asylum centre.



The Entrance, own illustration



Bathroom own illustration



Video Surveillance



TV room, own illustration



Private room, own illustration

# CAR Alcobendas, Madrid



Location, google maps

In Madrid, there are two of a total of four CARs, the public accommodation centres run by the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs. Compared to the Welcome Hostel, they are installed as longer-term housing forms. Nevertheless, the maximum period that an asylum seeker is able to live in the centres is limited to six months. Both centres are centrally located in residential areas of the municipality Alcobendas respectively the Madrid district Vallecas. On the large scale though, Alcobendas is situated at the edge of Madrid in the municipality of Alcobendas, 20 kilometres away from Madrid's city centre; the CAR Vallecas is located in a more urban neighbourhood nine kilometres away from the centre. 80 residents live in the CAR Alcobendas; 96 live in the CAR Vallecas, which is one of the biggest accommodation centres in Spain. Both centres are spatially mainly characterised by grills in the first floors, video surveillance, security guards, a canteen, good accesses to public transport (both bus and train) and their relatively physical integration in the urban surroundings.



Entrance and facade, own illustration



Private room, own illustration



Dining room, own illustration

## **C Presentation of the Interviewees**

## Level One: Decision Makers, Authorities, and Operators

### *Greater Copenhagen*

#### **Danish Immigration Service (Udlændingestyrelsen)**

„Within the Danish Immigration Service, there is one unit on housing operators and the housing of asylum seekers. We negotiate the contracts with the operators every year and what tasks should be offered by the operators to asylum seekers. And three years ago, there was this new bill on the improvement of the situation of asylum seekers focussing on the cut down of periods of the case handling. And the procedure period really has been shortened. And then we had a new law on the integration program. So once you get granted asylum, you are distributed to a municipality and the municipality is in charge for conducting the integration program. The municipality has to put you into the integration program” (I Danish Immigration Service 2014: 1).

#### **Danish Red Cross**

“The Danish Red Cross is for almost 30 years in charge of housing asylum seekers. It started in 1984. At that time, there was a huge rise of asylum seekers in Denmark. The ministry called the DRC asking to accommodate the asylum seekers. Before, they have just been housed in hotels in Copenhagen. But then there were too many and fewer hotels, and it was not a sustainable solution. The first one was open in 1984 and since then, the system has been further developed and the asylum centre department within the DRC was established. The Danish Red Cross does basically everything that has to do with the everyday life. The basis of everything is the accommodation, and then its everything from blankets to clothes, food, kindergarden, health, social support, language courses, education in the different DRC schools. The asylum department is an own department within the Danish Red Cross and it is only funded by the state, not by aids. More then 5.000 asylum seekers are housed by the Danish Red Cross” (I Danish Red Cross 2014: 1).

#### **Hørsolm’s major Morten Slotved**

Morten Slotved is the major of Denmark’s second richest commune. Only ten kilometres away, Centre Sandholm is placed. In 2013, the Danish Ministry of Law decided to open a detention centre in Sjaeldmark, an old military base on the edges of Hørsolm. This decision caused protests in Hørsolm, which is supported by major Slotved: “That upsets us quite a lot. The immigration service said that they were interested in placing 650 to 700 asylum seekers in the centre and we said no. We had a vote on it in the city council, so we are not going to allow that. The minister of justice called me and he said that they have now a decision that they will open the center in Sjaeldmark and they have some laws and they are not going to change that. So he said we have to accept it. So we are really upset and fighting it right now. In Sandholm we already have 600 to 700 people. Sjaeldmark will house around 650 to 700. It is a small area out there. And if we have 1500 people concentrated out there, it would be one third of all the asylum seekers in Denmark” (I Major of Hørsolm 2014: 1).

### *Berlin*

#### **Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO)**

In Berlin, the AWO is the biggest non-commercial operators of asylum centres, currently conducting ten centres. For more than 20 years, the association is active in the field of asylum and housing policies in Berlin. It operates Berlin’s two reception centres, two emergency shelters and six accommodation centres (I AWO 2014).

#### **Gierso Boardinghouse GmbH**

Gierso is one of the major commercial centre operators in Berlin. Only since 2012, it has been active in the field of housing for asylum seekers, when the first Gierso centre opened in Berlin-Mitte. Within one year, Gierso has opened four asylum centres currently housing more than 700 asylum seekers and employing 30 workers. In 2013, it received negative publicity due to the accusation that Gierso would fail to fulfil conditions of the contract with the Lageso (I Gierso 2014).

### **Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales (Lageso) (State Agency for Health and Social Affairs)**

The Lageso is a sub-body of the Senate for Health and Social Affairs and it is administratively in charge for housing asylum seekers in Berlin. It is responsible for the distribution of asylum seekers to the centres, the provision and assuring of housing due to contracts with operators, site analysis and the development and examination of minimum standards on housing in the centres (I Lageso 2014).

### **Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen (Senate Department for Labour, Integration and Women)**

The Senate for Integration is not directly in charge of asylum and housing policies in Berlin. However, it sets the general frame for integration and it acts as a cross-section department guiding and facilitating the policies or even developing new approaches. However, in regards the protests by asylum seekers in Berlin, the Senate for Integration is directly in charge for the mediation between asylum seekers and their demands and other political and administrative bodies (I Senate Integration 2014).

### **Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit und Soziales, Abteilung Soziales (Senate Department for Health and Social Affairs, Division Social Affairs)**

The Senate Department for Health and Social Affairs is politically and administratively in charge for the accommodation of asylum seekers in Berlin. It conducts and implements the political decisions into practice and it is highly interlinked with the Lageso when it comes to the concrete shaping of directives and policies (I Senate Social Affairs 2014).

### **Wohnen für Flüchtlinge – Evangelisches Jugend- und Fürsorge Hilfswerk (EJF) (Housing for Refugees – Evangelic Youth and Aid Organisation)**

The project “Wohnen für Flüchtlinge” was established in February 2014 by the Lageso to advise asylum seekers in finding apartments in Berlin. It gives council to refugees on questions like how to find an apartment, which apartments are affordable and what documents do asylum seekers have to provide to sign contracts with possible landlords. Further, the project facilities 275 apartments of Berlin’s public housing associations to asylum seekers.

## ***Spain***

### **ACCEM**

ACCEM is an NGO founded in 1991. It aims to promote care and protection for refugees and immigrants and to encourage their social and economic integration into the Spanish society. Further, it is a housing provider for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Spain offering housing in apartments and in centres. However, currently it has no asylum centre in Madrid, but in Madrid’s suburbs. Even though ACCEM is a non-governmental organisation, its aims and approaches are clearly interlinked with the ones of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, which is politically and administratively in charge for housing. On the basis of contracts and funding, it conducts the administrative objectives of housing (ACCEM 2014).

### **Centros de Acogida a Refugiados (CAR) Alcobendas (Refugee Centre)**

CARs are part of Spain’s network of Immigration Centres. They are public social service establishments specialised in the process of temporary reception and first-step assistance involving international protection applicants and recipients, stateless persons, and those within the temporary protection scheme in Spain. The overall objective of a CAR is to foster the residents’ ability to integrate into Spanish society, and the Centre thus acts as a mediator in this integration process. The Ministry directly conducts CARs for Employment and Social Justice. CAR Alcobendas is one of the two centres in Madrid, located in the North in the suburb Alcobendas.

### **La Merced Migraciones**

La Merced Migraciones is an NGO, which provides housing for migrants, vulnerable persons and asylum seekers in Madrid. The organisation owns or rents predominantly apartments using them as ‘small centres’

for up to 20 people. It is not exclusively in charge for the care and housing of asylum seekers, but in cooperation with the OAR, it provides accommodation for a small number of asylum seekers. In Madrid, La Merced Migraciones operates two apartments each houses around 20 migrants looked after by social workers, who have offices in the apartments. It is specifically orientated towards young migrants between the ages of 16 and 23 (I La Merced Migraciones 2014; I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs 2014).

### **S.G. Integración de los Inmigrantes, Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social (Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, sub-section Integration)**

The Spanish Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs with its sub-department Integration is responsible for the asylum legislation and for the implementation of regulations on housing. It developed the integration programme for asylum seekers, which includes the accommodation in a CAR or CEMI (asylum centres). Legally, the ministry directly runs the CARs in Spain and thus it has direct impacts on the housing situation of asylum seekers (I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs 2014). Within this thesis, two interviews have been conducted with persons from the ministry, one with the head of the integration department, and the other one with the head of the housing and integration programme within the integration department.

### **Oficina Asylio y Refugio (OAR) (Office for Asylum and Refugees)**

The OAR is the body in charge for the application process of asylum seekers. Both the application and the decision on the case take place at the OAR. Furthermore, the OAR distributes the asylum seekers to the centres. However, the OAR is only in charge for the allocation and for everything that is related to the asylum procedure, not particularly for housing.

## **Level Two: Refugee Organisations, Initiatives and Activists**

### ***Greater Copenhagen***

#### **Asylret**

“I think the initiative Asylret started six years ago. Our aim is to change the Danish foreign policy so that it is in accordance with the UN resolutions. And so that this is more human. The UN resolution should be seen as the absolute minimum that we could offer people of society with our standards of living. And we do that in various ways: We give advice to people. We do their cases. We are very successful because we are working very well legally. We got a lot of cases. We have 45 cases at the moment. If you look on the granted cases on humanitarian grounds, a lot of them are our cases. We directly say that we are left wing and humanist activists. Humanism is part of our perspective. What separates us from other groups is that we do not compromise with anyone, because our interests are not changeable due to politics. We are not going to sell our independency” (I Asylret 2014: 1).

#### **Danish Refugee Council**

“The Danish Refugee Council exists since 1956. It was related to the revolution in Hungary and the rise of asylum seekers that were coming from there. The Council was developed as some sort of an overall organization of different organizations to administrate different activities and practical aids. In the 1980s, the number of asylum seekers rose, so we made a big program on integrating refugees in the Danish society and also our programs abroad were developed. The asylum department's primary task is legal assistance for asylum seekers. It has been running since 1983. We do legal workshops and also legal counselling for asylum seekers” (I Danish Refugee Council 2014: 1).

#### **Grandparents for Asylum**

“We are active since 2007, based on a journalist who started to critique the system. We demonstrate. We take care of single asylum seekers and we protest for their rights both in the public space but also in the parliament. We sang in the parliament in 2010. We were 25 grandparents and we sang our song that we sing every time on protests. It was illegal. We got arrested and put into jail. It was in the press and media. We are 600 in the movement. Most of them are very active. It consists of artist, teachers, professors,

mostly educative people from the north, which is also a wealthy part of the country” (I Grandparents for Asylum 2014: 1).

### **Former Language Teacher of the Danish Red Cross**

The teacher has worked for more than 10 years as a Danish educator for asylum seekers at the Danish Red Cross. Due to her intense work with asylum seekers, the teacher has a very deep insight in their living situations and concerns. Moreover, she became an expert in the different regulations on asylum seekers critiquing laws and also the role of the Danish Red Cross as the major housing provider and her former employer. Over the years, the teacher developed friendships to several migrants asking for asylum supporting their rights and needs.

### **New Times**

“New Times started 18 years ago, because an asylum seeker in Sandholm got the idea to make a newspaper. And the Red Cross thought it was a good idea. The first version was about the Sandholm centre life. And then it developed from there. It developed into a bigger magazine. The target group changed from only asylum seekers towards the Danes. It kept on as a regular newspaper. The Danish Red Cross was always the founder. It is published 4 times a year. The number has been going up and down depending on funding and resources. Currently, 2.500 prints we have for one issue. We have a subscribers list. 700 papers go out via mail. They are going to other organizations in Denmark like Amnesty, Red Cross, politicians, and members of parliament, private people, journalists, all asylum centres, and the big municipalities. A big part in doing this is opening the eyes of the public. All the people are volunteers. I am the only paid stuff. The rest is asylum seekers. But they get the transportation to Copenhagen. That is rather unique. We have volunteers of the University. They have a volunteer program with us” (I New Times 2014: 1)

### **Refugees Welcome**

“Refugees Welcome was founded in 1986 as an organization that was helping people that lived underground. Now, we are not working so much on that. It is illegal to support them, so we can only give them advise and the options are so few that the advise is really worthless you could say. One of the things we can do, is to provide them with medical assistance. We still fight for their rights, and try to point out their problems in the press, but the contact we have with people underground is much less than it used to be. (...) Today, we have two fields. One is the political work to raise awareness of the problems of the system and the procedure and inform the public on the situation. The second field is to give counselling to refugees. We work as their lawyer and help them with their case” (I Refugees Welcome 2014: 1).

### **Trampoline Huset**

“I felt that the only way to really change this politics is to start on the ground level. We had to make the conditions for politicians and people to talk about asylum seekers this way. So how do you do that? So our strategy is to deisolate them, to include asylum seekers into the society. So, in the beginning we were conducting workshops with asylum seekers and I learned a lot about their problems and needs. What people told us at these workshops – and there were both asylum seekers and Danes – was that to continue the dialog. That meant for the asylum seekers: please don't leave us, cause we are stuck here. And we decided on a platform to have that dialog. And we agreed on having a house in Copenhagen to establish the dialog for both Danes and asylum seekers. We wanted to create a natural place for both to get together. (...). And here they produce this kind of a community feeling and the feeling of being part of a family. So, that had succeeded” (I Trampoline House 2014: 1).

### **Berlin**

#### **Berliner Flüchtlingsrat (Refugee Council Berlin)**

The Refugee Council is one of the major refugee organisations in Berlin. It was founded in 1981 as a coalition of several organisations, refugee support groups, initiatives and activists. The Refugee Council repre-

sents the refugee work in Berlin arguing with the Senate, administrative bodies, parties and politicians on the rights of asylum seekers (I Refugee Council 2014).

### **Bündnis gegen Lager (Alliance against Camps)**

The Bündnis gegen Lager was founded in 2006 by initiatives of the organisations Fels and the Berlin Refugee Council. The first action was addressed towards the Refugium Motardstraße. The alliance's focus is the critique on the establishment of asylum centres as the dominant form of housing asylum seekers in Berlin and Brandenburg. The initiative argues that housing is one of the major restrictions towards asylum seekers. The alliance consists of 20 activists and it aims to raise awareness on the situation of asylum seekers in the centres and to fight for the rights of this group (I Alliance against Camps 2014).

### **Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle Flüchtlinge und Migrant\_innen e.V. (KUB) (Advice Centre for Refugees)**

The KUB is an association, which was founded in 1983. It aims to support refugees with advices for example in the fields of laws on asylum and social legislations. The KUB fights for the rights of asylum seekers seeking to ensure secure residence permission and the political, social and economic equality of refugees and migrants (I KUB 2014).

### **Die Piraten (Pirate Party Berlin)**

The Pirate Party is in the opposition in Berlin's House of Representatives and particularly active in the fields of asylum and housing policy. Since their entry into the Parliament in 2011, this party has pushed many ideas on better living conditions in the centre, but it is also generally promoting the housing in apartments and the decline of centres. Due to various parliamentary activities and initiatives (parliamentary questions, expert meetings etc.) the Pirates consequently push the issue of asylum policy on the political agenda (I Pirate Party 2014).

### **Social Workers of AWO**

The social workers of AWO, one of the major centre operators, are in charge of the care and consulting of asylum seekers in the centres. The social worker predominantly are working on issue like traumatisisation, domestic abuse and disabilities, but also supporting asylum seekers when it comes to school enrolment of children or the apartment search (I Social Workers 2014).

## ***Madrid***

### **Comisión Español de Ayuda del Refugiado (CEAR)**

CEAR is like ACCEM one of the three major NGOs working "with refugees people mainly but also with stateless people and with migrants in vulnerable conditions. It was founded in 1979 (...). It is a organization of organizations, different organization were developing to one. We focus our work in assisting people. Legal assistance, social assistance, psychological assistance, access to labour market. And also educating the society on refugees" (I CEAR I 2014). However, currently CEAR does not have an asylum centre in the region of Madrid and both of the interviewed employees of CEAR were generally critical with the asylum policy in Spain. Thus, within this thesis, CEAR is perceived as a NGO, which is not directly in charge of decision-making processes and which is currently not an active operator of centres in the Madrid Region (though, CEAR operates centres in other parts of Spain). Within this thesis, two interviews have been conducted with employees of CEAR, one with a lawyer, who gives legal advice to asylum seekers and with one, who is directly in charge for the housing programme of CEAR having an overview on the housing situation in Madrid.

## Level Three: Asylum Seekers in Copenhagen, Berlin and Madrid

### Mohammed in Copenhagen – A Life between not there and not here

Mohammed is from Iraq. He is 65 years old and he has been living for more than twelve years in Denmark. He is a craftsman. In Iraq, he had his own company with more than 100 employees, but he refused to go to the military, when there was war in Iraq. His company was disassembled and he was persecuted by the military. In Denmark, his asylum application was rejected – several times. Mohammed is forced to stay in Denmark. Even if he would like to go back to Iraq, he is not allowed to. Denmark has no contract with Iraq on the return of asylum seekers. Thus, Iraq is not accepting returnees from Denmark and Denmark refuses to give asylum to Mohammed. He is caught in an asylum limbo. In the passing years, Mohammed lived in several asylum centres in Denmark. Mohammed was sick of the centre life. After many years living in centres without any hope neither on asylum nor on return, he decided to live underground hosted by friends that he got to know in Denmark. But he was afraid by the police pursuing him and controlling him. Finally, Mohammed returned from the underground, but he changed his life. Mohammed became politically active. He is supporting the organisation *Grandparents for Asylum* and the organisation supports him. He works voluntarily for the newspaper *New Times*, where he writes articles on the living situation of asylum seekers trying to enlighten the Danish society on the conditions in Denmark. Today, Mohammed lives again in Sandholm, Denmark's biggest centre. He has to stay in building for rejected asylum seekers. Even though it is clear that there is no chance to deport Mohammed, he is treated like somebody who is forced to leave the country soon. Mohammed is afraid of the development of the new departure centre Sjaldmark close to Sandholm. Though, it is an open centre, it is operated by prison guards (not by the Red Cross) and he assumes that there will be even more restrictions on his life in Denmark.

### Reyaz in Copenhagen – Between Repression and Emancipation

Reyaz lives for two years in Denmark. He is a quite and sophisticated person. He lives in Centre Kongelund south of Copenhagen for two years, but he stayed in Centre Sandholm in the beginning. He says that the centre life makes him sick and he feels criminalised. He says that he only sleeps two hours a night, because it is always noisy and it is impossible for him to calm down. Living in a centre for him is the same like living in a prison. Reyaz cannot decide on his life; he has not access to the labour or housing market. For two years, Reyaz is waiting on a decision on his case. He still hopes for the good, but he has not plan for the future: "I do not know, what will happen tomorrow, or next year or in then years. I am just waiting. That is all I can do." Reyaz is active in Copenhagen's *Trampoline House*. He enjoys the activities and the contacts to other people, especially to Danes there. He says that the non-profit, self-organized, user-driven culture house helps him to forget his problems sometimes. And it helps to give Reyaz a voice! On the Copenhagen Festival for Asylum, he took the stage presenting facts of the work of the Trampoline House and on the situation of asylum seekers in Denmark. He wants that the people in Denmark know, how asylum seekers are treated. He wants the people to be aware of the lack of human rights. Despite the lack of accesses to the society, he critique the asylum centre, their location and that people get mentally sick during the asylum procedure due to the way they are and treated: "They treat us like animals and like crazy people. But we are not crazy. We have problems, but they do not help us. Instead, we are pushed outside of the cities into the country side."

### Bilan in Germany – Small Steps to little Improvements

Bilan is 27 years old, gay, and a fashion designer. He is from Pakistan, where, as he argues, there is no official gay life, but a hidden one. He had a relationship with a married man. The relationship lasted almost one year until the wife of his boyfriend found out about their relationship. She informed the whole family of both Bilan and her husband. While Bilan's family was partly accepting his sexuality, his boyfriend's family followed him several times aiming to kill Bilan with a gun. Bilan was able to escape all the time, but he felt more and more unsafe in Pakistan. No matter where he was going or to what place in Pakistan he was fleeing to, the boyfriend's family was chasing him. Bilan could not this situation and the fear on his life any longer. He fled to Germany. In the beginning, he was housed in Berlin's biggest centre Motardstraße until he was distributed to an accommodation centre. In this centre, he put him together in a room with three other men from Pakistan. They insulted him for being gay, for not wearing traditional

clothes and for his sensitive reactions towards these offenses. Not only in the centre, also when Bilan went to German classes, guys offended him. Bilan felt always insecure; he could not sleep; he was not hungry; he was afraid. Luckily, Bilan met a supportive social worker, which he trusted. Bilan opened up talking about his issues and problems in the centre. The social worker managed to find a single-room for Bilan in Centre Rhinstraße in Berlin-Lichtenberg. Nevertheless, Bilan feels alone in the centre. He argues that he has nothing to do all day except for watching films and being on Facebook. He has no friends in Berlin yet and feels excluded. Sometimes he dates guys, but he cannot take them home with him, because the centre does not allow visitors after ten pm. In June 2014, Bilan found an apartment with the help of the social worker. He moved into the apartment in July and is now a bit happier of being able to be himself and to start organising his life, meeting people, but also being able to invite people and have a private life.

### **Rusha and her family – From Germany to Spain**

Rusha is 33. She flew with her family, her husband (45) and her two daughters (eleven and seven years old), from Egypt to Germany. In Egypt, the family had a house; the husband was a successful manager in Cairo, but the family has been persecuted and discriminated for being catholic. Rusha's brother-in-law, also a catholic, married a Muslim woman and they migrated to Europe. Since then, Rusha's family received death threats by the family of the Muslim woman. They want revenge. Rusha wants protection for her family. They flew to Germany, because Rusha's brother-in-law lives there with his wife. With a visa for Spain, she and her family were entering the European Union. The family lived for almost a year in an asylum centre in Düsseldorf. The children went to school. Nevertheless, especially Rusha and her daughters were suffering from the fleeing and the situation and experiences in Egypt. Rusha has six letters of notifications of six different German doctors. All of them argue that she is in a bad mental situation troubled with depression, sleeplessness and feeding difficulties.

However, in June, the family got deported to Spain due to the Dublin convention. Ten policemen and women forced the family out of their room in the asylum centre at five am. Rusha did not know that this would happen. She was not prepared; she never received any notification. She refused to leave. Policemen were hitting her and used physical force to pull her out of the room. Rusha is pregnant. Her husband and her kids were held down forcing to watch the fight between Rusha and the police. "They called me 'Schwein' and 'Müll'. They said to me: 'Du bist ein Schwein, du musst hier weg.'" Schwein means pig and Müll means rubbish. The police handcuffed Rusha and her husband on the way from the centre to the airport. The doctor, who accompanied Rusha because of her pregnancy, and the same police men who violently forced the family out of their home sat next to Rusha. She said that the doctor told her that she does not belong to Germany anyways, but in Spain people would have the same skin colour and thus she might be successful working as a prostitute.

In Spain, Rusha and her family were housed for the first two weeks in a 15m<sup>2</sup> room at the Hostal Welcome. Finally, after 17 days, they moved to CAR Alcobendas. Rusha does not feel good living in a centre. She has a family and young children. All the four of them sharing one room. She wants to raise and educate her daughters, but in the centre she barely has the freedom to make her own decisions or the decisions for her family. Their lives are regulated by the centre stuff. There is no kitchen to cook, no playground to play. All the common rooms are under video surveillance. One day, Reyaz wanted to make pictures of the centre. The security guard, equipped with handcuffs and a baton, asked her to stop it threatening her that her misbehaviour could influence her case. The decision on her life and on the life of her family lies in the hands of others.

### **Sirah in Madrid – Pressure and Stress**

Sirah is a girl from Afghanistan. She is around 30 years old and she has been living for four months in the CAR Alcobendas. She arrived at the airport in Madrid and was firstly accommodated at the airport by the Red Cross, then she lived in the Hostal Welcome and finally she was distributed to one of Madrid's public asylum centres. For her, living in Spain is very new and different compared to her life in Afghanistan. She says that sometimes she feels challenged and insecure, when she is alone in the city or even outside the centre. She did not know a lot about Spain before she arrived, but she had a visa for Spain and thus she decided to flee from her problems in Afghanistan. In the centre, she feels safe but she also says that it is very exhausting and stressful to live in the centre because of the fluctuation of people and mainly because of the fact that she has no privacy. Sirah shares one room with three other girls. She detects that it is okay

for her to live with these girls, because she always shared rooms with other people, but she is very confused by the procedures and the permanent control of her actions in the centre: "There is a dining room and we get food, but you cannot eat when the kitchen is closed, so you always have to eat and the time they want you to. I cannot cook for myself, but I want to. But there is no kitchen and I also only get little money, so I cannot even buy the things, I would like to eat." Sirah has to make appointments when she wants to do laundry. She states, "everything I do in the centre is under surveillance by cameras, the guards and the centre stuff." She says that the staff and the social worker of the centre are treating her very kindly and she, on the one hand, enjoys the activities that are provided for the centre residents. On the other hand, she notes that there is the feeling of having to do the activities because otherwise it could affect your case: "You have to go to the language classes and to the workshops, even though sometimes you don't want to, but you feel pressured to do. Sometimes I just want to rest."



## **D Transcriptions of the Interviews**

*I Copenhagen*

## I Asylret

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: Johanny, **Asylret**

Interviewee 2: ammonised, **Asylret**

Date: 27.04.2014, 04.00pm

Place: Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:04:00-3# Interviewer: When did Asylret started and what are your aim?

#00:06:14-1# Interviewee 1: I think it started six years ago. Our aim is to change the Danish foreign policy so that it is in accord with the UN resolutions. And so that this is more human. The UN resolution should be seen as the absolute minimum that we can offer people of society with our standards of living. And we do that in various ways: We give advice to people. We do their cases. We are very successful because we are working very well legally. We got a lot of cases. We have 45 cases at the moment. If you look on the granted cases on humanitarian grounds, a lot of them are our cases. The present government is actually worse now then the one before. The former government was the right one.

#00:08:29-0# Interviewee 2: We directly say that we are left wing and humanist activists. Humanism is part of our perspective. What separates us from other groups is that we do not compromise with anyone, because our interests are not changeable due to politics. We are not going to sell our independency.

#00:10:02-3# Interviewee 1: It is hard to get to the Danish people because they think that system is working in a fair way. They do not know how the system works. We want to break that barrier getting through this barrier.

#00:11:08-6# Interviewer: So it is basically a lack of knowledge of the people?

#00:11:10-0# Interviewee 1: You can hope so. But it is also something with the general atmosphere that has changed.

#00:11:20-8# Interviewer: Why do you think that changed?

#00:11:27-2# Interviewee 1: I don't know. It is hard for me to understand why the ministry of justice is not working in accordance to UN resolutions. They are dishonest in their answer and in the way that they do the policies. They are proud of a strict foreign policy. The fact that they are actually doing something that they shouldn't. People think it is fair to deport rejected asylum seekers but they never question the decision on rejection and that it might be unfair. For me this is a big thing: How can you make people aware that this is not a fair system? Why did it develop to a good thing that says that our policy is strict instead of saying that we are open? We are so tiny and so small. We aren't we taking this people?

#00:12:23-9# Interviewer: I have the feeling that this attitude is some sort of trend in Europe, because it is the same in Germany and Spain.

#00:14:12-8# Interviewee 2: Wherever you go this the right wing turn in the European society. If you are not radical, you be a part of them. We have to think about refugees as humans! But all the parties in Denmark are the same in terms of migration policy. There are no major differences. Left, and right it doesn't matter: They go for the weakest.

#00:17:35-2# Interviewer: And I also have the feeling that it is very direct to people that are economically valued. In Germany, there is a discussion on "Armutsmigration", poor people trying to rape the welfare

system. I think it has a lot to do with fear that the system is used and thus the system is not working anymore.

#00:19:16-7# Interviewee 1: Yeah, and it is also the fact that people have the feeling to protect their own nation and traditions and cultural identity. If you do not eat pork, you cannot be part of Danish society.

#00:19:40-7# Interviewee 2: Where does it come from? It is capitalism, nationalism.

#00:20:18-6# Interviewer: Talking about Danish policy. How in your view doesn't Denmark stick to the UN conventions?

#00:22:49-7# Interviewee 1: We could for example incorporate the children's protection in international Danish law. Children should have their own case and officials should look on the individual ways.

#00:26:46-3# Interviewee 2: They do not interpret the convention in the right way. There are a lot of manipulations of the way for example in terms of the evaluation of religion. In practice, they do not what they say.

#00:28:14-3# Interviewee 1: Also they say that you have to be individually prosecuted, which is a specific Danish thing. According to the convention, you do not have to be individually persecuted. So, in Denmark you have to prove that you are personally in a specific danger. And they want documents to prove it. And have to show that you are going to be killed.

#00:29:01-1# Interviewee 2: And of course, you cannot prove that. Not your ethnic group, but you personally.

#00:30:16-5# Interviewer: But how are the interviews conducted?

#00:33:35-7# Interviewee 1: The first one is by the police. You have to give fingerprints. You have to show how you come to Denmark, because of Dublin and also to figure out how to close this way. Then, the second is with the immigration service. The third one, if you get rejected, is with the refugee board. This is a change due to the new government that are more people in this board.

#00:35:22-5# Interviewee 2: The funny is compared to Germany; you have no right here on a lawyer. Only when you get the first negative, you have the right to have a lawyer.

#00:37:02-9# Interviewer: How do you perceive the changes introduced in 2013?

#00:37:14-7# Interviewee 1: It changed but it didn't change really, because you have to sign a piece of paper that you will cooperate with the Danish Immigration Service that you will leave the country once you get rejected during seven days.

#00:37:53-7# Interviewee 2: This is not an improvement. This is a disaster.

#00:38:29-8# Interviewer: So, if you are not signing this paper you are not allowed to live outside of the camp?

#00:38:28-3# Interviewee 1: Children families are, but 99 per cent do not want to sign it under these conditions.

#00:38:56-9# Interviewer: But after the status is decided, they can move out?

#00:38:54-0# Interviewee 1: Yes.

#00:39:00-4# Interviewer: Is that working?

#00:38:57-8# Interviewee 1: Yes, it is. The Danish authorities will put up housing for refugees. You have to accept where the officials put you. This is also not in accordance to the conventions. Because there, everybody is allowed to decide where he or she wants to live. But that is a relatively small thing compared to all the other restrictions and breaks with the convention. But of course, you are officially not a free person, even if it is officially proved that you have the right to be there. You are still in a subcategory compared to a normal Danish citizen.

#00:40:44-3# Interviewer: Who and with what argument to they decide that?

#00:40:48-3# Interviewee 1: By the immigration service. The argument is that there is a limit on how many asylum seekers a city like Copenhagen can absorb. So this is the free and open argument, because there are too many already here.

#00:41:37-7# Interviewer: Why is actually the ministry of law is in charge to asylum policy?

#00:42:00-3# Interviewee 1: We have a ministry of integration. And the minister did so many awful things that the ministry was closed down. We have a minister for integration, but we do not have a ministry on that. It is interesting that the ministry of integration was closed down because it was proven that they things unlawful things. Everybody hoped that this is a signal towards a new mentality. But it seems that the spirit of this ministry has moved into the justice ministry. They still have the same people working there.

#00:45:33-1# Interviewee 2: But it is also making not sense for some reasons. If asylum seekers get sick that have to go to the justice ministry and not the health ministry. It has nothing to do with each other.

#00:45:54-7# Interviewee 1: It started the urbanization policy that you isolate asylum seekers physically, you also isolate them from the rest of the population, but you also isolate them when it comes to isolation. It was also due to political pressure that children of asylum seekers are not allowed to go to normal schools to Copenhagen, when they are able to follow education. Before that, they had to go to special schools and the exams were not meant to give them any competence. It weren't the same finals and thus not the qualification. You deny people their future. And then we often sent whole families that have been here for some years back to their home country. And the children often know the mother tongue because of their parents, but still they do not know how to write in they mother tongue because they learned Danish. So you create a subprivileged group of society not only in Denmark but also in their so-called home country. There is also that policy that they do not want people to know what is going on in the camp and their situation. The public shall not get aware of it. There are a lot of studies by Danish psychologists and scientists arguing that living in the camp makes you sick. It is not only the concentration in the camps. It is the generally exclusion of the society, of labour, of health. If they would have access to that, people would get in contact with them. And actually others would understand the situation of asylum seekers. This should be in the normal society so that people would see that things are not going well. And what they do is they make sure that people do no interacted because we are not exposed to each other. It is not only housing, but it also health care and education.

#00:49:58-5# Interviewer: But now it is in the local schools, not in the camps?

#00:49:59-5# Interviewee 1: After some time, yes. In the beginning we had special schools. It was only after political pressure that it was opened up. The school was the way into the Danish society. Cause they are exposed to days. If not, you walk around with all the other kids from the camp, and their common language was English. This is what school does: It makes you part of the society. It is thus more than just the housing.

#00:51:26-9# Interviewer: How would you generally evaluate the housing situation in Denmark?

#00:51:36-6# Interviewee 1: It is a catastrophe. The camps, the way they are built and the way they look. Just to illustrate that all: In Sandholm, in the kindergarten you can look to the prison for the people that have to leave who are there 40 days before you have to leave the country. There is no private life, which is also a crime to deny people the right to private life.

#00:54:14-5# Interviewee 2: It is like in a concentration camp. The only difference is that they don't burn people. They let them gradually die. The other problem is, once you get criminal, you get in prison but you never get out of it. It is a lifetime punisher.

#00:56:20-7# Interviewee 1: It is an infinite imprisonment which is also called torture. You are imprisoned for the rest of the time that you stay in the country until you get deported. But you have political asylum and you never can be sent back, but you are in an infinite prison.

#00:59:49-0# Interviewer: For me the location of asylum centres are so far outside.

#01:00:28-7# Interviewee 1: And the means of public transportation are basically not there.

#01:00:44-6# Interviewee 2: For me the problem in Sandholm is that it is military that is there. Every morning they start to shoot at six in the morning right next to people who escaped from war. This is disgusting. A lot of camps are former military bases, also like Konglun. You get crazy.

#01:01:35-1# Interviewer: I guess we agree that the asylum centre as such is not a good way to house asylum seekers.

#01:01:48-9# Interviewee 2: For any people.

#01:01:54-1# Interviewer: What do you think is more worst? Is it the location or the conditions of the centres?

#01:02:06-9# Interviewee 1: It is both and you cannot separate them. And in my eyes it is also a problem that it is so expensive to get into town. And a lot of people want to go to the town because they want to see what is going on. But it costs so much to go there. But you don't have the money. People don't come when they run out of money. One aspect of isolation is to make sure that people are isolated and that goes unemployed and asylum seekers and to make sure that they have so few means that they cannot in reality integrate and exchange views with the people. There is no accidental situation if you make sure that they do not have money to interact in a way that people interact in cities.

#01:03:39-4# Interviewee 2: This policy isolates asylum seekers. They isolate them consciously. And the problem is, the official strategy is working.

#01:04:45-9# Interviewer: And in 2008, there was this big demonstration called "Close the camps".

#01:08:38-1# Interviewee 2: Yes. 400 policemen were there. And they were criminalizing the demonstration and demonstrate.

#01:10:30-7# Interviewer: But it is already six years ago. Is there a plan to do something like this again?

#01:10:30-7# Interviewee 1: We have done other actions. For instance, there was an Iranian hunger strike in 2010 from Syrians in front of the parliament because they were about to send them back to Greece. And they build something like a camp to raise attention. And we had an action in the church "Church for Asylum" for Iraqis. It was a very successful action because people showed sympathy. It caused a lot of attention and so the topic was put on the media and political agenda. But there was a lot of solidarity and we suddenly were able to explain their situation to others. In 2012, we had an Iranian hunger strike also in a

church and the rest of the strike was in front of the parliament. Everybody got asylum. And the conditions in Iran and in Denmark became public. And there are several protests on stopping deportations.

#01:21:58-6# Interviewer: Do you see the DRC as the operator of most of the centres in Denmark?

#01:22:08-0# Interviewee 1: They are compromising a humanitarian organization, because what they do is not humanitarian. They give some sort of permission to run thing the way they are run. They are very afraid to say that they are ruining people here. We have to change it. And they have been inside the system for so long that now they cannot open their mouths. Now, I suppose that is part of the problem, they cannot speak up, cause people would say: why didn't you do something on this years ago. They are really in trouble. Additionally, they have this neutrality they say we do not get involved with people's cases and we cannot do anything. But if you read what people say about the DRC, they say that DRC is part of the system. They come with the police and they knock on our doors. And they help the police. And people expressed a lot of frustration and surprise that an organization like Red Cross would do such a thing. They are also part of the system as we talked about. They keep the people out of the society and the official health system because they have their own doctors; they have their own nurses. If you are an asylum seeker you go to the health office of the DRC. You have to talk to a nurse. And she decides that you are ill enough to actually need a doctor. And we have a case where a woman had bad heart conditions. And her son fought for the right to go to the doctor. The only way he was successful was going directly to the DRC in Copenhagen and he refused to move until his mother sees a doctor. And the nurse said it is all psychosomatic. The lady later died of heart condition. This is an example that you cannot keep up a principle of neutrality if you do not fight openly for asylum seekers rights and for the right to be seen as a human being, for health care, for a sexual life. By tolerating the conditions, the DRC is approving then. Officially, they say, if we don't do it somebody else would do it and they would do it much harder and it will be much worse. But there is no guaranty that inhuman treatment becomes human because there is a humanitarian organization in front of it. I think a lot of people work there with the best of intentions. They probably want to do something good but they end up being a part of the system that nobody can really defend. Nobody in their right mind can defend a system like that. But they end up being part of it.

#01:26:51-0# Interviewee 2: But I would also say: Where would you like to work if you are a Nazi? You would want to be there, because you want to stop your country being violated by foreigners.

#01:28:54-4# Interviewer: How do asylum seekers participate in the urban life?

#01:29:27-7# Interviewee 2: Normally, some of them start to built a network. Some of them are having a black job. I know all of them. 1991 I came here as a refugee. But if people don't become a black job, they are not able to pay for transport and for access to the city. That is why they do little businesses. But the majority and can not come. The transport costs and the location of the centers leads to exclusion and it is a major problem.

#01:37:05-2# How many people do you have in Asylret?

#01:37:18-6# Let me say it with these words: We have enough.

## I Danish Red Cross

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Mette Schmidt, **Danish Red Cross**

Date: 21.01.2014, 03.00pm

Place: Office of the Danish Red Cross, Rosenørns Alle 36, 1970 Frederiksberg C, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:00-0# Interviewer: Since when is the DRC in charge of housing asylum seekers?

#00:00:19-2# Interviewee: For almost 30 years. It started in 1984. At that time, huge rise of asylum seekers in Denmark. Ministry called the DRC asking to accommodate the asylum seekers. Before, they have just been housed in hotels in Copenhagen. But then there were too many and too less hotels, and it was not a sustainable solution. The first one was open in 1984 and since then, the system has been further developed and the asylum center department within the DRC was established.

#00:01:08-3# Interviewer: Which one was the first one?

#00:01:08-3# Interviewee: It was called "nisse", an old castle close to Copenhagen. We have a contract with the ministry. The contract is yearly renewed, and we get money from the ministry to operate the centers, since 1994. It is negotiated every year on new terms and conditions.

#00:02:16-7# Interviewer: Why every year?

#00:02:22-8# Interviewee: You never know the numbers. The budget depends on the number of new asylum seekers.

#00:02:45-8# Interviewer: What is the DRC providing (funds, aids) for asylum seekers?

#00:02:59-4# Interviewee: Basically everything that has to do with the everyday life. The basis of everything is the accommodation, and then its everything from blankets to clothes, food, kindergarden, health, social support, language courses, education in the different DRC schools. The new asylum law of 2013 allows asylum seekers to work after six months of housing for the first time in history. Denmark had to implement the law, since the European reception directive says that after 12 months, they have to have access to the labour market. But there are several conditions: they have to be here for at least six months, and they have to cooperate within the asylum procedure and - if they get a negative - also within the departure procedure. The asylum department is an own department and only funded by the state, not by aids. When people donate to the red cross, they do not donate for asylum seekers.

#00:07:16-9# Interviewer: More specifically to the housing: Are there other organizations of housing in Denmark?

#00:07:39-1# Interviewee: At the moment, it is red cross and some communes. Five different communes run some centers. The red cross is running half of the centers in Denmark. The reason why DRC is operating most of the centers is because of the motivation of the ministry.

#00:09:04-9# Interviewer: Who owns the centers?

#00:09:08-3# Interviewee: It is different. We have to find suitable places. Most of the time the state owns it. Sometimes, it is privately owned. The DRC never owns the centers. It is always rented by the immigration services and contracted with the DRC.

#00:09:47-9# Interviewer: How many asylum seekers are living in different housing forms?

#00:10:24-5# Interviewee: The main part lives in the centers. Only a small minority lives outside of it. Living outside is a very new legal option.

#00:10:37-4# Interviewer: How many asylum seekers are housed by the DRC?

#00:11:11-5# Interviewee: I think this year it is something between 4.000 and 5.000 in total. The immigration service has spend up the period of the processes. So, most of the asylum seekers get either asylum or are rejected and thus, they do not stay in the system as long as they used to.

#00:12:29-6# Interviewer: Are there any standards on housing?

#00:13:31-6# Interviewee: Yes, the state regulations are given from the state and we try to implement the minimum standards on quaremeters and things like this.

#00:14:44-2# Interviewer: How many asylum centers are run by the DRC?

#00:14:48-9# Interviewee: 10. It changes depending on the number of asylum seekers.

#00:15:32-4# Interviewer: Who decides on the location of asylum centers?

#00:15:47-0# Interviewee: Well, first, there is something called "Zero Communes", where no asylum seekers can live. It is a list of communes that says how many refugees do live there right now. Depending on this quota, it is not allowed to place centers in this communes. Copenhagen is one of these communes. It is not allowed to open a centre in Copenhagen. Because there are already so many foreigners. It is a zero commune. It is referred to refugees and it is implemented because the integration program that refugees are into after status is decided positive is run by the commune. In order to not financially pressure communes, this quota has been implemented. It is implemented to spread out the budget. But this is not related to relatives. And then we look into the "life logistics". It should be accessible to the local schools. We have "buffer centers", centers that are closed but that can be easily open again if there is another influx of asylum seekers. Basically, the immigration services decides but we have a say, too.

#00:20:07-5# Interviewer: All the asylum centers are located far away from urban settlements. Why is it like that?

#00:20:34-3# Interviewee: One reason is that it depends on what we find. What is free for housing. You have limitations to facilities that are actually in town. Even if Copenhagen would be commune, you would not find place to house 600 asylum seeker. So that is why they are in old military basis. Because they are there and they are suitable for accommodating people on temporary terms, where you need to have bathrooms. Sometimes there are other buildings that are available but they do not have facilities. But they are very remote sometimes.

#00:22:08-8# Interviewer: What are the biggest centers?

#00:22:17-6# Interviewee: Sandholm is the biggest with 600 and also Avnstrup between 600 and 700 inhabitants. Sandholm is the closest one to Copenhagen. Amager is special center for people with specific needs. Sandholm is always the first reception centre. Always Sandholm. Everybody that gets to Denmark has to live in Sandholm. Based on the first talks, the further accommodation is decided. We have centers for families, for women, for minors. We have some specialized centers. Centre is a reception centre but also a return centre. But with the new law, they will separate this: They will be a new centre just for departure. People are only housed there for some weeks and then they are send to other places for a long time.

#00:23:12-1# Interviewer: How would you say affect the asylum center the daily life of an asylum seeker?

#00:25:40-0# Interviewee: It has a huge influence of course, but it also differs a lot. Especially, young people want to live close to Copenhagen. They have a network in Copenhagen and activities. Sometimes, people will also prefer a little away from the city. But of course it is a special situation, because the whole procedure means that someone else has control over your life and your future. It differs on the need of the asylum seekers. But some kind of town is a good thing. Sometimes people also feel isolated outside the centers and then they come back because they do not have support or networks. But generally, it is better when the people move out of the centers to have some sort of normal life. An asylum centre is still kind of an institution. It is not for people to live there for a long time. We always say that: A year is the maximum. After that it affects your recourses. At least, after they arrive they need some safe place and some quietness.

#00:30:25-6# Interviewer: To what extent does especially the location affect the daily life?

#00:30:32-3# Interviewee: Things have changed. Usually, people got transport tickets, but that has been cut a while ago. We are now trying to find school and work places in the proximity of the centers, so that they save transport costs.

#00:32:36-9# Interviewer: How long are people able to live in the asylum center?

#00:32:39-7# Interviewee: They are able to live here as long as they are in the process. People stay in centers sometimes up to 10 years, because they got rejected and they are from a country, where they cannot be deported to. They can either choose to go voluntarily or the police will deport them. But sometimes they are from country where they cannot get deported to, so they stay in the system. We cannot deport them. In other countries like Belgium or Spain, they are kicked out of the centers if rejected but not able to deport. They can live here forever.

#00:34:12-2# Interviewer: What are the activities in the centers and the atmosphere?

#00:35:12-2# Interviewee: They have 10 hours of patient training and 10 hours of practical training per week. 20 hours per week. We are trying to set up course to match that need. They can do, but they don't have to. But if they do it, they get more money. Most of the people are doing that, except the ones that are rejected. But if they are not doing it, they are getting very limited money. Most of the people do it not because of the money, but because to have some sort of activity, to keep sane. They take often all the course.

#00:36:21-1# Interviewer: Are the centers open?

#00:36:23-1# Interviewee: All of the centers are open centers. If it is a closed centre it is a prison. It is a detention centre, but a prison for asylum seekers that have been criminal or for asylum seekers that do not cooperate on their return. The government then can take different measures to "motivate" them to return or to pressure them to return. First, they take away the money and other things. And the last measure is to detain them in this prison, especially if police thinks they go underground. Then they have the possibility to put them in the prison with the asylum seeker have conducted any crime. But we are not involved in that. But asylum seekers are free to go out.

#00:37:48-4# Interviewer: But are they open to the public? Could I go in there?

#00:37:48-4# Interviewee: No, because we see this as people's home and the fence for example in Sandholm is there to protect people living there. You are welcome to go inside, but you have to have some sort of agreement. If you are someone's guest, you can come in.

#00:38:30-3# Interviewer: Are there any conflicts against the development of new centers?

#00:38:54-1# Interviewee: Yes. And it gets more and more. But it differs. There is a lot of resistance within the local residents in proximity to a centre. Because they have this idea that there is more crime and that people are dangerous. Not always, but it is a problem.

#00:39:39-4# Interviewer: Is there a specific case, where there are very intense problems?

#00:39:39-4# Interviewee: It is always before they open. Once, they have opened, the atmosphere is ok. It is also motivated by local politicians that are against it. But we have no hostility against the centre.

#00:40:47-0# Interviewer: Why do you think it is getting more and more?

#00:40:47-0# Interviewee: It could have something to do with the crisis. People are concerned. The whole discourse on migrants generally has been very negative in the passing years. Asylum is actually a small area in Denmark. We are not getting that much. But it has been taking a lot of media and a lot of myths have been developed. People often do not know who an asylum seeker is and what it means. There was a survey conducted and people said that they think between 15.000 and 20.000 asylum seekers are coming each year. That is the idea that you get from the media. So, it is a political climate. There is this attitude that people think that most asylum seekers looking for asylum because of the economic situation.

#00:43:19-8# Interviewee: What we do when we open a centre, is we invite the community and commune to ask questions. We have every year an open house day. They are well visited. Once the centre is opened, it is ok.

#00:46:19-0# Interviewer: How do asylum seekers participate in the public life?

#00:46:26-0# Interviewee: There is the trampoline house. But of course it is a problem of transportation. When we had the school here, they had tickets and they could use it. Since we do not have the school, we cannot give the tickets. We are trying to built up a strategy on opening more of these trampoline houses. In Copenhagen there are no other service. The trampoline house is the only one which is specifically direct to refugees and asylum seekers.

#00:51:02-6# Interviewer: Are there any protests in regards to the asylum system?

#00:51:02-6# Interviewee: We don't have major protests as like in germany as such. We had a big protest against Sandholm called "Close down the camps". It was violent. The asylum seekers there were afraid.

#00:52:06-2# Interviewer: How would your utopian vision of housing look like?

#00:52:47-5# Interviewee: A bigger budget would be nice. I have seen most of the asylum systems in Europe. If I were an asylum seeker, I would prefer going to Denmark. Because I think the centers are ok. It should be no longer then one year though. Children go to local schools. We are good. The cases processing is faster night. After some months, they should live by themselves.

## I Danish Refugee Council

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Stinne Østergaard Poulsen, **Danish Refugee Council**

Date: 28.01.2014, 01.00pm

Place: Office of the Danish Refugee Council, Borgergade 10, 1300 Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:01-0# Interviewer: Since when is the Danish Refugee Council existing and what are the fields it is active in?

#00:00:15-7# Interviewee: Since 1956. It was related to the revolution in Hungary and the rise of asylum seekers that were coming from there. The Council was developed as some sort of an overall organization of different organization to administrate different activities and practical aids. In the 1980s, the number of asylum seekers rose, so we made a big program on integrating refugees in the Danish society and also our program abroad were developed. The asylum department's primary task is legal assistance for asylum seekers. It has been running since 1983. We do legal workshops and also legal counselling for asylum seekers.

#00:02:19-6# Interviewer: How do you see the current asylum legislation in Denmark?

#00:02:19-6# Interviewee: The new regulations on housing and living are certainly an improvement. The right wing party influenced the last 10 years asylum legislation and thus it was very bad and restrictive. The changes introduced last year are good as such, because more possibilities for asylum seekers were introduced. And it also in terms of that they contribute to the society. We would like to have it better, though. Our main critique that you are forced to cooperate and that the possibilities are mostly giving to families - which is good - but single men living most of the time in the worse conditions and they are not tackled by these new regulations.

#00:04:46-8# Interviewer: Are the improvements practically working?

#00:04:54-0# Interviewee: That is the next problem. Almost nobody actually profits from it. It is not used due to some limitations. For example, you have to sign the cooperation contract. Only 12 working permits were handed out to asylum seekers. For people moving out it worked for families.

#00:06:51-7# Interviewer: How would you general evaluate the accommodation of asylum seekers in Denmark?

#00:06:51-7# Interviewee: I think compared to any other European country, it is good. Compared to Greece and Italy, where people because of Dublin are transported to, it is good and better then living on the streets. There is housing for everybody, and food, and some activities. In that way it is good. There are a lot of volunteer organizations. The Red Cross is doing a fine job. I also think it has some problems in a way that, first of all, that they live there for a very long time because of long processes. If it really would be temporary - like for a very short time - that it would be ok. But since people living there for years, it is a problem. One of our main critique is the denied access to education and work. Another critique is the placing of the centres in very remote areas. For some asylum seekers it might be fine to live away from the city. But in general, most of the asylum seekers complain that they feel really isolated, especially because they have so few financial means, it is impossible for them to simply go somewhere else to cities and get in contact with other people. Being remotely placed also affects the local social integration and it causes resistance by the local population. The centres as such are fine and the housing quality is ok, but our main worries are the restrictions on access to education and work and social network and the means to travel. A compromise would be camps with smaller units and not the big centres. Especially, in Sandholm it is ex-

tremely institutionalized and I think a lot of people feel that their independence and the feel of acting - also as a family - is sort of taking away, because you cannot do anything without asking somebody else for the key or for a ticket to go somewhere. There is another centre build next to Sandholm and it is going to be run by the same staff that runs prisons here in Denmark and it is only for rejected people. In Sandholm at least there is the Red Cross. The new centre will look like a prison planned for 800 people. And the politicians who decided on that what it to be really bad, they want bad conditions because they hope that it is so bad for asylum seekers that they leave voluntarily. They will open it step by step. At first for people that are refugees and got criminal and cannot be returned and later there will be families from Ex- Jugoslawian countries and generally rejected people.

#00:12:23-5# Interviewer: Who is in charged for that decision?

#00:16:49-0# Interviewee: It is a political decision by the ministry of Justice. It is politically controversial because Horsolm is one of the richest municipalities in Denmark and they are really afraid of 900 rejected asylum seekers. The interesting thing is that almost all parties of the parliament agreed on this, it was a compromise between the parties on the work and housing permission and also implementing this new centre.

#00:18:28-6# Interviewer: There is a lot of protest in that municipality going on. How do you see that?

#00:18:28-6# Interviewee: The local protest in Horsolm is mainly on fear of crime and the reduction of land values.

#00:21:22-4# Interviewer: talks about his perception of the camps.

#00:22:15-2# Interviewee: You definitely get the idea of a concentration camp. I would say it is either old military camps or old hospitals which very dangerous diseases. Five to ten years ago, all the centres were run by the DRC. It changed since the immigration service wants more competition on prices, so they ask the municipalities to bit in. Municipalities run now half of the centres. Some of it is positive. Cause then the asylum seekers are referred to the local kindergarten and local school and it is better for the integration of asylum seekers. But for a lot of municipalities it is a controversial thing to have housing for 200 asylum seekers. So it is mostly poor communes that have high unemployment and the motivation is the money and jobs and not humanitarian aspects. So there are negative public attitudes. Sometimes people there have no experience with working with asylum seekers at all. A lot of them feel thus even more isolated and there is bad local environment and it takes like six hours to come to the next big city. It is another remote strategy of the immigration service.

#00:25:20-0# Interviewer: Why are the centres of the Red Cross so far outside?

#00:25:28-8# Interviewee: There are two main reasons: First, they cannot get the accommodation here. And second, there is the tradition to house them in military barracks and it is reproduced over and over. And there is the kommune quota. The three big cities of Denmark are communes where asylum seekers can't live. It also plays a role in the placing of asylum seekers. But it only refers to people that come here because of family unification or because they are asylum seekers. It refers only to poor migrants.

#00:28:35-6# Interviewer: What affects does the housing situation have on the integration process?

#00:29:53-7# Interviewee: I think it has a huge and a negative impact. There are of course positive stories. I know an afghan boy, he got a shop in a very remote city and he has a girlfriend now. That was better possible for him there in remote area then it big cities. But every was feeling responsible in that small city for him. In the negative way, the majority of the asylum seekers mainly just feel isolated. There is very rare contact to the local population and mostly contact with the kids, most activities for the kids, but adults normally not have any contact with the local society. The logic of the Danish migrant system is that as long as you are an asylum seeker we will try to keep you out as hard as we can, you will be placed as far

away as we can and you will not learn Danish, you will not be able to get a job. But the minute you get your residence permit, you are forced to integrate as fast as you can. You will be tested on your Danish skills and you have to find a job as soon as you can. There is this logic that people are told that they are unwanted, they are physically placed in places where it is obvious that they are unwanted. But if they get the refugee status, they must hurry up and have become a part of the society, which they have been kept away from it for often some years. But for the majority of asylum seekers, it would be easier to build a social network if they were closer to the city.

#00:33:52-1# Interviewer: Is there another place like the Trampolin House which brings both groups together?

#00:33:52-1# Interviewee: No, I think the Trampolin House is unique and the best example for activities. The good thing is that its outside and you can go were.

#00:35:19-9# Interviewer: How would your utopian vision of housing asylum seekers would look like?

#00:35:48-6# Interviewee: I think it would be small, and less sort of professionalized. I think a centre for people that just arrived is all right. But it should be like now where the police make the first interview. It should be much faster, I mean the process. Asylum seekers should be distributed to apartments and houses. Nobody can really integrate somewhere if the further is uncertain. Less control! We spend so much money on police controlling. We should spend more money on integration and activities, it would have a better effect then now. The politicians have not conducted a lot of legislations because they think it works. It has been implemented because they have to be tough on crime, tough on migration. They have to do it, because they think that otherwise people will migrate here from everywhere. So it acts as a deterrent. They do not want to make them feel to comfortable, because that are afraid that more refugees would come. This is very persistent in the society of Denmark. It is a very nationalistic discussion on how to protect the Danish society. The main assumption here in Denmark on Asylum seekers is that they come here to get money and to get protection.

## I EU Discussion

Discussion of Danish member's of the European Parliament on Asylum policy

Time taker: René Kreichauf

Date: 26<sup>th</sup> of April 2014

Place: MellemRummet, Ravnsborggade 11, 2200 Copenhagen, Denmark

#00:00:08-6# Older woman: talks about the responsibilities of EU countries and that there need to be a new organization of border control.

#00:00:54-2# Guy in the audience: We have to change the Danish law. This is the problem of the people here. The Danish government created this disaster. The problem they have is the governmental decisions here in Denmark. What the hell are you doing? Vestre? Stop to talk, do something!

#00:03:48-9# Young Girl: I want to change things in the European Parliament. I was a refugee and I know how the situation is.

#00:04:57-2# Guy: talks about the problem of EU law. Problems in the EU that have to be solved on the EU level.

#00:07:02-1# Older woman: I am a candidate because I want to change things, especially the EU law on asylum.

#00:07:58-1# Young Girl: I want to change the things in the EU. That is why I want to be in the EU parliament.

#00:08:25-1# Guy: We want to change the Dublin convention. In 2011, a lot of refugee came to Europe on the sea route. It shows the problems of EU border policy.

#00:09:51-3# Older woman: We need more solidarity. And we have the changed the policy where we could also share the asylum seekers. The fact is that 28 governments in the EU. The asylum policy needs to have solidarity.

#00:10:55-8# Moderator: What do we do with 800.000 people sitting in Greece.

#00:11:26-3# Older woman: The case of Greece is extremely difficult also because of the economic situation in the country. The country doesn't have enough possibilities to help asylum seekers. We need to create jobs in Europe to be able to support the refugee population. Investment create jobs.

#00:16:13-2# Girl: There is a huge unemployment in the EU. The EU needs investment in jobs. Its not about growth. It is about green growth.

#00:21:18-3# Kreichauf: What can be done on the European level in regards to the housing situation of asylum seekers?

#00:21:25-6# Old woman: I visited several centers in Europe and centers in Sandholm. My answer is to open the centers, so people that are received as asylum seekers to be allowed to have access to society as soon as possible.

#00:23:54-7# Kreichauf: How could you introduce housing forms despite the centers? I have the feeling no matter whom I ask - despite the right parties - keep telling that for ages. But how can you do that on the European level?

#00:24:21-5# Old woman: We need to create housing for this group. But there are no majorities for that in the European parliament. They are afraid of the influx of migrants in the housing market.

#00:24:47-9# Girl: I want the centers to be open. People should be able to look for a job and have a life. The European union should be the level to change that.

#00:26:05-9# Guy: I am not going to say that this is going to be changed on the EU level. We need to have forces from the bottom like the resistance of people. They change the voice of the people.

#00:26:43-6# Girl in the audience: When a single mother comes here with a kid? Why do we have to go to the prison?

#00:27:51-6# Woman: The detainment of asylum seekers is a huge problem in European countries. When we see southern Europe, the situation is even worse on access to school and to the labour market.

#00:30:44-9# Girl audience: The problem is also that people illegally migrate to the EU to ask for asylum. What do you think of places outside of Europe where people apply for asylum.

#00:31:13-5# Guy audience: Why are we drawing this distinction between migrants that are welcome and those that are not.

#00:31:57-9# Girl: I don't have the perfect solution on how the system should be in the future. I know that people flee and that is not ok. So there has to be a solution. So maybe, it is a good opportunity that people apply outside of Europe. Children are some of the most innocent people in the world. They should not pay for it. The EU must be the solution.

#00:34:49-0# Guy: There needs to be more cooperation between the EU and the countries where people come from. We need to change the way how the EU is connected to these countries.

#00:36:15-8# Girl audience: I have been deported twice. I am from Kongo. They put me in camp. My boy was four years. I was put into prison with my son. They reopened my case. I'm going to court on Tuesday. I don't know what is going to be next with my son. What are Danish people doing? No one comes out to speak with us what happened. How many people have been deported?

#00:38:41-3# Woman: We need a common European asylum policy.

#00:39:50-7# Girl: There is a lot to change and to fight for. This is a case close to my heart.

#00:40:37-8# Kreichauf: It appeared that centers are the dominant housing form in all of the countries. Is it possible to change that on the European level and how?

#00:44:47-4# Woman: If you look up the change on reception conditions. There is something that is changed in regards to asylum. That is the place where we can take things further. But it is always an economic question. Member states would argue that it is too expensive, what about the housing problem of the own citizens. So it would be tough to implement something else than the centers where the member states agree.

#00:45:56-0# Kreichauf: But there are several studies that the asylum centers are way more expensive than housing in apartments would be.

#00:45:57-9# Woman: It is. The centers are expensive. It is ridiculous. You can contact me on Facebook. Our line is quite clear. But it is very hard to drive something new.

## I Festival For Fair Asyl

Protocoll of “**Festival for fair Asyl**”, Public Presentations and Discussions

Minute taker: René Kreichauf

Date: 26.04.2014, 02.00pm – 07.00pm

Place: MellemRummet, Ravnsborggade 11, 2200 Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Protocol (focussing on core elements of discussion)

Raz (asylum seeker)

- Most of people suffering from stress and later on depression
- Kongulun: Nice place, because extra care for people with mental diseases
- But still: we are criminalised there and live like in a prison, but we were not in a prison in our country
- People feel like they are nobody because they have limited access to rights
- It is like terror
- A lot of people have sleeping problems
- I only sleep two to three hours a nights
- Trampolin house helps to forget about our problems
- We have a lot of restrictions
- I once attended at the school, but they pushed the school out of the city and now it is in the countryside
- Everybody must travel more then one hour to the school, while in Copenhagen it was more central
- Also we are not allowed to do volunteer jobs
- I want to work, but they do not give me any chance
- I started an education in my country but I am not allowed to do it here
- But we need to have things like that to get in contact with the society
- Long waiting times do extremely stress the people
- It is years of hoping and waiting but basically you lost your hope
- New law in 2013, problem: you can move out, but they want us to sign a contract on deportation that if we get negative we have to leave voluntarily the country
- Another problem is that we have to gain more then 30.000 per month, which is impossible
- You can apply for a work permit and living outside the camp after six months in phase two meaning that you are still in the process. But you have to collaborate in the processing of your case. It is very tricky. They don't trust the authorities. People are afraid to sign everything. If you sign the contract with the police that they agree on voluntarily deportation once their deportation papers are ready
- We came here normal but now we are crazy
- We are treated like animals and like carzy people
- We are pushed outside of the cities into the country side

Morten (Leader of the Trampolin Huset)

- After the cut downs we had low numbers of asylum seekers but its better now
- In the TH we have to work with the asylum seekers and we work on the right sight of law
- All the camps should be closed
- Everybody should receive apartment housing
- The processes should be faster
- Lack of transportation
- You do not get transportation card – you have to pay it by yourself

- With the shut down of the school, asylum centres are only allowed to spend 5% of their budget on transportation – that is not enough and even this 5 % is spend on busses to bring the asylum seekers to the new school in the country side – people feel like a little school child being picked up and brought back home
- It underlines the lack of contact to the society
- With an own ticket you can decide for yourself what you want to do or not
- Politicians basically give the impression that asylum seekers are dangerous
- There are not a lot of foreigners in Denmark, people barely have contact. And if they are reports on migrants and refugees it is always negative
- On the Trampoline House:
- Founded five years ago
- We decided to the camps and talk to people who live there to create solutions
- Politicians don't care about asylum seekers and about people that care about asylum seekers, so we decided to do something by ourselves to support them without the need of the government
- Aims to create a normal atmosphere for asylum seekers
- Different activities and programs: women's club, kitchen, sport classes (soccer, yoga), language classes, education classes, drawing classes, free lawyers

Refugee (Mother of one kid, husband died in war)

- We are crying in these camps. Nobody helps us, people are under stress and in depression.
- "Please, Danish people come outside to the camps and fight for us. Come visit us and see how we cry! Please, come and visit us, hear our tears. We are coming to Denmark because we have problems in our country. We beg you, come and visit our pains!"
- "Some women came with kids and we do not have husbands because they got killed in war. And people here say we come for prostitution. But we are not prostitutes. We have our pains. We came from our country because we have pains. We came here because we need help. We need someone that saves us."
- "We are prisoners in the camps."

Note:

Event and discussion was dominated by personal cases, people being frustrated and feel left alone and started to negotiate their interests in public. There was an atmosphere of protest against the current asylum system and especially on being housed in asylum centres. Further, hopeless by the refugees on their individual influenced the event. However, there was a strong sense of activism and working together. Nevertheless, it seemed that the event aimed more to rise attention on the situation of asylum seekers in Denmark then it was directly related to asylum seekers as an event for them. This notion was critiqued by the refugees and also by activists.

## I Grandparents for Asylum

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Jørgen, **Grandparents for Asylum**

Date: 29.01.2014

Place: Jørgen's private apartment

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:16-1# Interviewer: I would like to talk with you about the work of grandparents for asylum and the reasons to protest against the current system in Denmark.

#00:04:22-9# Interviewee: We are active since 2007, based on a journalist who started to critic the system. We demonstrate. We take care of single asylum seekers and we protest for their rights both in the public space but also in the parliament. We sang in the parliament in 2010. We were 25 grandparents and we sang our song that we sing every time on protests. It was illegal. We got arrested and put into jail. It was in the press and media.

#00:07:15-6# Interviewer: What was going on in the parliament?

#00:07:22-0# Interviewee: They were about to discuss a new law on asylum, which was even more worse than the existing legislation. This law was so ugly and then we decided to stand up and sing our song. We do it several hundred times in front of Sandholm. The woman who founded the movement decided on the song: "The world is big. It is called mother earth. No one would harm you..." It is a movement, you cannot be a member of it. We are 600 in the movement. Most of them are very active. It consists of artist, teachers, professors, mostly educative people from the north, which is also a wealthy part of the country.

#00:11:25-1# Interviewer: Did you by that time had the feeling that there is not enough protest or attention towards the situation of asylum seekers?

#00:11:39-4# Interviewee: We wanted to be more active and it was a spontaneous movement, but we are interlinked with other organizations like Refugees Welcome. Michala is the one person in Denmark, who knows everything. Contact her, she knows me. They are also very supportive and active. But the problem is in Denmark that people are in the asylum system often for a very long time, sometimes up to 15 years. So we fight for the rights of this group and trying to educate the society on the bad situation of refugees. We lost our trust in the government and thus we organize ourselves and go directly to normal people and they are not so harsh against foreigners as much as the politicians are.

#00:15:57-6# Interviewer: I think it is interesting that an older group of people is so active. Especially, I think protest is not so big in Denmark. Why are you exactly critical with the situation here in Denmark? What strikes you the most?

#00:18:12-7# Interviewee: We want that asylum seekers are treated decently. A lot of them are in deep trouble and they should have asylum according to UN conventions.

#00:18:53-6# Interviewer: I found a paper that you wrote online criticising on the Danish asylum system. You are arguing that Denmark has not implemented several directives, which were demanded by the UN.

#00:21:04-9# Interviewee: I want to change the politics. So we wrote that critique. And we supported the critique of the UN, but they never really answered critique from UN and EU. The paper made the critique public and helped to argue against the Danish approaches in Asylum.

#00:23:18-7# Interviewer: There is a new policy in Denmark on asylum since 2013. Do you see any improvement in regards to this new legislation?

#00:23:52-5# Interviewee: Small improvements like housing and access on the labour market. They have special schools for children. But in regards to housing, families can move out and you can move out after six months.

#00:25:17-1# Interviewer: Why do you think is it bad for people to live in asylum centres?

#00:25:19-9# Interviewee: I think it just makes people crazy. Normally, people cannot stand living there. People often give themselves up. Mental illness arise. The DRC is the operator. They are doing what is possible and they provide and everything. It is okay. It is not super bad to live there. Mahmud was underground, he is in Denmark for 12 years, got rejected. He is from Iraq. And he was protesting in a church in Norrebro for three months in 2010.

#00:31:31-6# Interviewer: Are you and Grandparents for asylum generally against the asylum centre as a form of housing?

#00:31:46-8# Interviewee: The first couple of days, I think it is necessary. But anything longer then that is not good. Not year after year. The centres here are former military barracks or hospitals. This is a problem. Especially because next to Sandholm, the biggest centre, there still is a military base and they still have exercise with weapons and they see the soldiers. It is weird because refugees see what they were fleeing from. Konguluen is also a military base. Avnstrup is in the middle of the forest. It is a former hospital for tuberculosis in the 1930s and 1940s. Now there are a lot of asylum seekers.

#00:36:09-1# Interviewer: How do you evaluate the location of the asylum centres?

#00:36:18-0# Interviewee: It is a problem for the asylum seekers, because they get so little pocket money. So they can hardly use busses or trains to get to Copenhagen. In Copenhagen, there is the Trampolin Husset leaded by Morten. It is also a problem for the huset, but the transport money was cut down. So, they cannot get the transport cards and asylum seekers have problems to go the centre and to organizations and facilities supporting asylum seekers but also the opportunities that a big city can offer. They are isolated. Indeed they are. But would it be better to put them to other barracks in Copenhagen? The most important thing is to give them hope. To get them out of these centres in general. 3-5 days in the centre and then get them into the society, in apartments. And they should be allowed to work and to be educated. They can just sit and wait. And it is quite normal that they get mental diseases. They have nothing to hope for. Hope is so important, but they don't have it because they have no perspectives on work or housing.

#00:41:23-9# Interviewer: Would you critique the DRC and their duty in operating the centres?

#00:41:30-1# Interviewee: There is a little critique to the DRC because they should not use their good name to this torture of people. People in Denmark think it is the DRC that takes care of it, so thinks must be good. But it is not. We have told them several times, that it would be fine to protest against their role and quite the contract with the ministry. But there is money involved and they have a lot of stuff.

#00:44:08-1# Interviewer: The asylum centres are open centres.

#00:44:19-1# Interviewee: There are guards and they have to show their card/permission and then they can get in and out. But you can not visit directly. You have to leave your passport and I have to be picked up by the one I want to visit.

#00:45:20-1# Interviewer: What do you think about that?

#00:45:20-1# Interviewee: I ask the guards once, why they do that. And they said they are doing that to protect the asylum seekers. Especially, women are afraid. Sometimes there is a drug problem. So, they have this control. I think it is okay for that reason.

#00:46:25-6# Interviewer: Is there any protest against asylum seekers or centres?

#00:46:45-3# Interviewee: Very seldom. But it happens. Groups are not very strong. People demonstrate against the development of new centres. For example, in Hørsolm, the commune is protesting against this new centre called Sjaldmark. It is also a military barrack. People are afraid of too many asylum seekers in the commune.

## I Danish Immigration Service

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Kristine Borg, **Danish Immigration Service** (Udlændingestyrelsen)

Date: 29.04.2014, 10.00am

Place: Blegdamsvej 62, 2100 Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:04:53-4# Interviewer: What are your specific tasks here in the immigration service?

#00:05:29-2# Interviewee: I'm in the office on acknowledgments and statistics. Which is a big office with several departments on statistics. I am in several units. One is about the housing operators and the housing of asylum seekers. We negotiate the contracts with the operators every year and what tasks should be offered by the operators to asylum seekers. And three years ago, there was this new bill on the improvement of the situation of asylum seekers focussing on the cut down of periods of the case handling. And the procedure period really has been shortened. And then we had a new law on the integration program. So once you get granted asylum, you are distributed to a municipality and the municipality is in charge for conducting the integration program. The municipality has to put you into the integration program.

#00:10:37-9# Interviewer: Why are the contracts with operators negotiated every year?

#00:10:43-3# Interviewee: It has been done like that for a long time. Also it makes sense because, the numbers of asylum seekers change every year and we are not allowed to have a lot of vacant places. So we have to adjust our portfolio very detailed.

#00:11:33-9# Interviewer: And how is it right now? Is it a growing number of asylum seekers?

#00:11:33-9# Interviewee: Yes, the numbers are growing. But since the process period is so short, actually we have cut down on cases of the asylum seekers.

#00:11:40-8# Interviewer: So, once you arrive in Denmark, you live in Sandholm. And how are the asylum seekers further distributed?

#00:12:03-9# Interviewee: They start there and we decide where they are going to stay next often depending on where you come. Asylum seekers from the EU get usually not far away distributed from Sandholm. And then it depends if you have specific needs or if you have already relatives or family in one of the centers.

#00:14:03-3# Interviewer: How are the regulations on housing worked out? Are they coming from the ministry of law?

#00:14:32-1# Interviewee: It is a political decision by the ministry. We have some room to interpret regulations, but we always go back to what the justice ministry says. We have to do what they say.

#00:14:57-1# Interviewer: So it is the ministry of law and justice that makes the political the decision and the immigration service is the one who puts it in practice?

#00:15:11-8# Interviewee: Yes, we have the authority responsibility of making it.

#00:15:16-8# Interviewer: How many asylum seekers are currently in Denmark.

#00:15:34-8# Interviewee: It is 4911 living in our system.

#00:15:43-5# Interviewer: And they are housed in the asylum centres?

#00:15:43-5# Interviewee: Yes, there are different ways that they can be housed in the system. We have the centers, and we have also this new way of housing outside the centres in departments or other houses. With these act, there is also the new regulation that after six months they are allowed to stay in special housing outside of the centres. If they cooperate. So they have to cooperate on their case and they have to cooperate if they get a rejection and with exiting the country. These criteria are very important.

#00:18:03-9# Interviewer: Do you know any numbers or percentages of the ones that use the opportunity to?

#00:18:11-3# Interviewee: It is not very many. They are maybe around 300 people living outside the centres.

#00:18:36-2# Interviewer: The cooperation regulation came often up in the interviews that I conducted. Asylum seekers argue that they are afraid to sign that and sometimes we do not really know what we are signing. What is the reason behind the document?

#00:19:37-7# Interviewee: I cannot go to the political discussion because it is politically made. But one of our main arguments is that if they are scared about signing it, it is the perspective that they don't know what is in it. They might need more information. And of course some of them won't sign this, because they don't want to be forced to cooperate once they get rejected.

#00:22:58-9# Interviewer: Why are the centres so far away located by the Danish Immigration Service?

#00:24:13-2# Interviewee: Part of the integration act is, that every year there is calculation on migrants and on refugees that got granted asylum. Copenhagen is a zero municipality. And that is a big reason why we do not have an asylum centre here in Copenhagen. Asylum seekers would never have a future in Copenhagen and that is why there are also no centres here. So basically, there is no centre because Copenhagen is a zero commune for refugees. So even if there would be a centre in Copenhagen it is clear that refugees can live after their status is decided not live in Copenhagen and that is why we are not opening a centre in Copenhagen.

#00:26:22-6# Interviewer: But how exactly is it calculated?

#00:27:29-5# Interviewee: It is very complicate and calculated on different measures like the amount of foreigners.

#00:28:14-6# Interviewee: The asylum seeker system in Denmark is completely detached from the usual welfare system. Other migrants, like from the EU, would be part of the welfare system. But the asylum seeker system like money, housing, education, health - all aspects of asylum seekers everyday is a completely closed system next to the welfare system.

#00:28:34-8# Interviewer: Why is it like that?

#00:28:41-5# Interviewee: I don't know why. Of course it is politically decided and it depends on where the money comes from.

#00:28:57-2# Interviewer: How and by whom is it decided to open or close a centre?

#00:29:14-2# Interviewee: That is us. We decide on the operators, the conditions and locations. We have the responsibility of housing and we own most of the centres.

#00:30:04-9# Interviewer: But how does the process on opening new centres work, for example if there is a sudden increase of asylum seekers?

#00:30:06-3# Interviewee: We are in charge of anything. Of course, we ask our operators for help. They try to expand as most as they could, but the local municipalities have to agree on that. But of course it depends on the situation of building and the land use of it and if you can actually use it and if it is possible to use it, you need to ask the municipality to change the official use of this building so that its possible to use it as a centre. So we usually send out a message to all municipalities in Denmark: 'Can you please help us? Do you have a building that can house at least 250 people?'

#00:31:53-8# Interviewer: But why are these centres in the end so far outside?

#00:32:02-5# Interviewee: It is a combination of many factors. The first is to find a building that actually has the capacity or that it is reasonable to change and adapt so these people can be housed there. Secondly, are we allowed to be there and how could we be allowed to be there. And the third thing is who would operate this. And it is very hard to find a new place, very hard. And it is often military barracks because the rooms are easy to convert.

#00:33:19-0# Interviewer: But is it too politically but wouldn't it be also possible to look for several small places in the communes that house 50 too 100 people. Is that possible?

#00:33:53-4# Interviewee: It is possible. We have done that several times. But the thing is it applies a total new setup of people and staff and also other housing costs. We have found that smaller units are not very well and expensive to have. In the light, of all the cut downs, specifically the asylum centre area, it is impossible to implement something like this. We have to cut down. So we cannot have the small units.

#00:36:06-0# Interviewer: What are the reasons for the cut down?

#00:36:09-9# Interviewee: That's political. It depends on the negotiation between two parties. Money has to be taken to other systems.

#00:36:44-6# Interviewer: What are the consequences?

#00:36:54-2# Interviewee: We talk to the operators and discuss on how can we be more effective. How can we do that without having consequences for asylum seekers?

#00:37:41-3# Interviewer: So, if you find a spot for housing, the immigration service buys the spot?

#00:37:56-3# Interviewee: Yes that happens or we rented. Most of the times we own the buildings.

#00:38:25-3# Interviewer: Are there any conflicts when opening a new centre?

#00:40:15-6# Interviewee: Yes, when we are trying to open new places, there are some people that are concerned. But it is in a local political agenda. And before we open we have information meetings with the citizens. The asylum seekers get pocket money to buy things. So in that way, the municipalities are profiting and of course there would be new jobs. So, often when we are first there, the local neighbourhood is not up for it. But the operators are very good to talk with residents about their concerns. They are some issue but mostly in the beginning.

#00:44:28-8# Interviewer: And how do you evaluate the specific situation in Horsolm?

#00:44:43-6# Interviewee: It is a centre for rejected asylum seekers that have to leave the country. It is a political decision by the ministry of law.

#00:45:45-5# Interviewer: Who came up with the idea to develop the centre there?

#00:46:16-0# Interviewee: I am not sure. Definitely not the major of Horsolm.

#00:47:24-2# Interviewer: There is always the critique by political parties and organizations that housing asylum seekers in the big centres is not a good way of housing people. And I have the feeling that no matter who I talk with people, parties, organizations agree that its not the best way of housing.

#00:49:12-9# Interviewee: The act of foreigners is very old and it has been changed a lot of times. They politician have been very keen on improving the situation for asylum seekers. And it has been improved a lot by having kitchens and bathrooms. You could ask the operators about the situation of asylum seekers.

#00:51:13-5# Interviewer: How do you see the development of Denmark's asylum policy and how do you see it in the future?

#00:51:20-0# Interviewee: Well, it is a big question for the authority that basically is just doing what the politicians decide. With the last act that was implemented, the focus on having a shorter stay and the possibilities for asylum seekers to education and housing, are good improvements as well as the counselling service for rejected asylum seekers.

#00:53:04-8# Interviewer: What do you think about the future? What would you wish for the next legislation?

#00:53:21-6# Interviewee: Well, we do not know who is coming and who is not coming and how many are coming. I cannot really answer the question, but I think that we are going in the right direction.

## I Language Teacher

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: Merete Zerlang, former **language teacher at the Danish Red Cross**

Interviewee 2: remains anonymous, a **refugee**, who got granted asylum

Date: 14.01.2014, 04.00pm

Place: Café close to Norreport, Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:01:41-0# Interviewee 1: You can apply for any job, you want after six months. But you have to cooperate. But the thing is there is no money to get out of it. Cause you will have to pay for living in the asylum centre and it is 6.000 kroner. And the conditions are not the very best

Interviewee 2: I would say that the conditions in Denmark are better then in other countries in Europe. There is almost everything in the centres.

#00:02:30-0# Interviewer: It could be much worse, but for living in a room with four other people, it is a lot.

#00:02:47-9# Interviewee 2: There is no really one, who can afford that. The new government wanted to make it to look like they get something.

#00:03:24-7# Interviewer: But you get benefits if you are not working?

#00:03:40-7# Interviewee 2: You get pocket money every two weeks. It is about 300 Euros per month.

#00:04:27-2# Interviewee 1: If you cooperate in your case. If not, they can cut your pocket money. You have to cooperate on the returning of your country. You cannot take Danish lessons. Life works in mysterious ways: people often stay, even though they should get returned. We had a big group of Somalis, which were all rejected. But then, there was a conflict, and all of Somalis suddenly got asylum in Europe.

#00:07:36-7# Interviewer: How long are you here now?

#00:07:51-0# Interviewee 2: Four Years. My status just got decided some weeks ago. The problem is that the centres are so far away. It makes living in Denmark really hard. I first arrived in Sandholm.

#00:09:33-9# Interviewer: Sandholm is the reception centre, where people stay for a short while. Your first interview will take place there.

#00:09:55-0# Interviewee 2: Everybody has to pass Sandholm. I lived in the centre Avnstrup. I lived in many centers in the passing years. Sandholm and Avnstrub are the biggest centres in Denmark. 600 people do live there.

#00:11:45-4# Interviewee 1: I have been working there some days. Until August, the DRC had a big school in the city of Copenhagen. But the school was closed, because then we didn't need to give transport cards to asylum seekers. The transportation is your freedom and your possibility to leave the camp.

#00:12:51-3# Interviewee 2: You are able to go all around Denmark. You are not entitled to stay in the centre.

#00:13:31-4# Interviewee 1: But due to the cut in transportation, you can not go anymore and leave the centre easily. People are either encouraged to go on the train without paying. Or you are trying to get a card somehow else. But in any case you are stuck in the middle of nowhere, cause the centres are so far away from any settlement.

#00:14:51-7# Interviewer: What are you doing all day in the centre? How do you life there?

#00:14:51-7# Interviewee 1: DRC runs some activities in the camps. And then there is a thing called "Cleaning". Used to control the behaviour, I would say. Because you have to do it, and if you are not doing it, your money will be cut. But I think there are too many people to clean the centre. It is very difficult to do that. People have different means of cleaning and of course it depends how attached you feel to the place that you are living in. But I do not mind if people have to clean, and then they could also have some "activation" in the centres. We have activation outside the centre, which is something we can offer if we have the money and time for it. And then you have activation within the centre, which as far as I know could be opening and closing the room with the washing machines - completely silly, you don't learn anything. And the whole idea is that people have a dignified waiting time, where they get "qualifications" that enables them either to have a good time here or to return. This is the formular in the red cross . People are prepared to leave Denmark. We were trying to teach asylum seekers outside. Make activities for them outside. On a very small level, because we have very small money to do the things that are necessary.

#00:17:57-7# Interviewer: But you are allowed to leave the centre?

#00:18:06-5# Interviewee 1: Yes. But this may change. You have to be there every fourth day to receive your mails.

#00:09:55-9# Interviewee 2: I am also still living in a centre. But in a good one. I was privileged to be moved in a better centre, where I have my own room and a toilet and Internet. And then I have a kitchen that I share with 60 other people. It is like in a hotel. You really do not have the feeling of being home, because you have no privacy in what you are doing

#00:19:08-9# Interviewer: That is an improvement. Where is the centre?

#00:19:08-0# Interviewee 2: It is called Ryansted.

#00:19:17-3# Interviewee 1: It is a centre only for men. It is part of Avnstrub.

#00:19:47-9# Interviewee 2: Other places are mixed.

#00:19:58-3# Interviewer: Does that cause trouble?

#00:20:10-3# Interviewee 2: There are troubles all the time. But mostly it is between two men.

#00:20:26-4# Interviewee 1: I think some women feel that it is difficult to live in the centre, because often they perceive it as dangerous. I do not think it is more trouble then everywhere, where people closely live together.

#00:22:01-8# Interviewer: What kind of conflicts are we talking about?

#00:22:09-4# Interviewee 2: It is normal disagreements. People having different opinions. Mostly, it is small fights. Some people get very desperate and frustrated.

#00:23:23-6# Interviewee 1: Traumatization does a lot the people. Traumatized you get also on they way to Denmark and also in the centre.

#00:25:08-3# Interviewer: Are there a lot of children in the centres?

#00:25:13-6# Interviewee 1: There used to. We used to gave them asylum, but it changed: Denmark usually returns them after they become 18. This legislation limited the flow of migration, because they are afraid to get send back home again.

#00:26:57-9# Interviewer: Is there some sort of welcoming culture here?

#00:29:09-4# Interviewee 1: There are some organizations that support refugees like refugees welcome or the Trampolin Huset, which plays an important role. It is in Copenhagen. It used to be very close to the school. We helped each other. There is a lot of voluntary work. But yes, people have to come to Copenhagen. Copenhagen and the city is in the end the place where things take place outside of the camps. It is important to get people out if the centres.

#00:30:51-2# Interviewee 2: Friday evening they have huge dinners with different food. It is very nice. In the centre: there is a feeling that you are not entitled to meet other people. And in the huset, you suddenly have the feeling that you are welcome to meet other people. And people are encouraged to do something. For example refugee students teach French or Arabic.

#00:33:18-9# Interviewee 2: We have no influence on the housing. They can send you all over the country, if they want to. I lived in many centres here in Denmark. And everything, when you have to leave one, you think that they will deport you. You cannot understand the decision of them sending you to a new place. But the place where I am now, is really nice

#00:35:58-7# Interviewee 1: You have to contribute to your case and you don't have to make trouble: then you get better living conditions. Many many people complain to be housed in the middle of nowhere and sharing rooms with people that they do not like and know. With people who smoke and drink and so on. It can be very hard. You do not have a private place. You are always surrounded by people.

#00:38:40-3# Interviewee 2: People have different routines of the day, That can results in conflicts.

#00:39:07-2# Interviewer: How you you describe your experiences in living in the centre?

#00:39:19-3# Interviewee 2: First, here the camps are like in paradise. The conditions are better then they are in Africa. Second, if I go to the perspective of the case. There are some cases that take a long time: it is really hard. It is difficult spending years without knowing what will happen to you tomorrow. In general, I would say it is a mixed feeling. The personal situation that people here put you in, is bad. The living conditions are relatively better.

#00:41:11-1# Interviewee 1: At some point, you get ambitious about yourself. You want got things for you. In the beginning the centers, might be good at the beginning but then you want to have a good life. They are not happy all the time, because at some point they want to live a better and normal live.

#00:42:57-8# Interviewee 2: When I went to the interview, I have been preferred to do it in my mother tongue. But I heard that I have translators of my country but not of my ethnic, and the problem that I had in my country is an ethnic problem. So you simply can make it fail. I had this assuming. Often people blame the interpreters. Using interpreters some times is very difficult because we do not trust them.

#00:45:06-9# Interviewee 1: But it would be nice to have interpreters of Danish origin. It would minimize some stress.

#00:45:06-9# You are also not talk important things. There is a lot of paranoia. And that's a problem in general. There are a lot if lousy interpreters.

#00:47:56-5# Interviewer: What changes do you have after your status is decided positive to get a job?

#00:48:03-4# Interviewee 1: It depends on your qualifications and your drives. But usually you get chances from the society.

#00:48:59-6# Interviewer: What happens with housing after your status is decided?

#00:50:10-9# Interviewee 2: It is a process. Once you get accepted, there is another process which consists of transfer from the centre to the commune you are distributed to. You have a top 3 favourite list on the commune. but in the end they distribute you wherever they want you to. They contact the communes that you prefer. But if they don't want you, you are distributed somewhere else.

#00:53:03-1# Interviewee 1: They also often put you to places where the same nationals live. You can also be put to places where you do not find a job, which is far away and where people are not really happy about aliens. There are many restrictions even after your status is decided. In 1999, there was a new alien act. People want to live in the city, because it is more anonymous. But the act says that you can not live in the big cities due to the quota of the commune.

#00:57:11-5# Interviewer: Is there any resistance by refugees or activities?

#00:57:11-5# Interviewee 1: Yes, there are some left wing parties demonstrating against it. Also some refugee organizations. But if you are in the asylum centres far away, you cannot really do anything. Developments come more from the cities.

#00:58:10-9# Interviewer: What happens after the commune (when your status is decided) accepted you?

#01:01:37-0# Interviewee 2: The commune will find you a house or an apartment. Depending on where it is. You do not decide where the house is. They do it.

#01:03:07-5# Interviewee 1: That is not so strange. I assure you, when I tell Danish people that refugees actually get a house with guarantee, they are pissed. In the public opinion, people think why do they not find a house themselves. Because in Denmark people are on a waiting list and then refugees get a house with guarantee.

#01:03:38-5# Interviewee 2: Someone else decides your whole biography, after you arrived in Denmark. But of course, I need the help: How can I find a house myself? I see it more as a support. Because they make sure that they stay in place where I can easily get to things. I think it is a support. But of course, I like living not far from the city and I hope that they do not place me somewhere else.

#01:08:22-4# Interviewee 1: You need that things are organized. You need to get a flat. You have to wait a little bit for an apartment.

#01:16:35-8# Interviewee 2: I think it the beginning it is also good to stay in a centre in the beginning, because for me and I also think for others it is hard to directly staying in the city.

## I Major of Hørsolm

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Morten Slotved, **Major of Hørsolm**

Date: 30.04.2014, 08.30am

Place: City Hall Hørsolm, Ådalsparkvej 2, 2970 Hørsholm, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:02:41-8# Interviewee: I can first tell you some facts about Hørsolm. We have 25.000 inhabitants. It is one of the wealthiest communes here in Denmark. People here have a lot of money compared to rest of Denmark. We are the second richest community, so we are really well off here. If you look on the center Sandholm - that is running right now - and then you have Sjaedmark. Between these two there just two kilometers. Right now they have between 700 and 800 refugees down there. So, this is the geography of the municipality.

#00:04:07-2# Interviewer: So, I heard that last year you received an informal document on the plan to develop the center...

#00:04:25-9# Interviewee: First of all, we used to have between 50 and 70 young people, unaccompanied minors, under 18 in Sjaedmark. After a while, it was closed and now we needed a plan for this place. The commune wanted to be an industry area for light industry. And we had a very good negotiation with the military, who owns it with the sales department who are specialized in selling buildings. And then suddenly we heard from someone from the military - while we are negotiating the contract - that there was a different road going on and that there is the plan for an asyl center. That upsets us quite a lot. The immigration service said that they were interested in placing 650 to 700 asylum seekers in the centre and we said no. We had a vote on it in the city council, which was last year. We are 19 in the city council and we had 14 out of 19 saying no. So, we are not going to allow that. The minister of justice called me and he said that they have now a decision that they will open the center in Sjaeldmark and they have some laws and they are not going to change that. So he said we have to accept it. But the news actually knew it before I did. So we are really upset and fighting it right now. In Sandholm we already have 600 to 700 people. Sjaeldsmark will house around 650 to 700. It is a small area out there. And if we have 1500 people concentrated out there, it would be one third of all the asylum seekers in Denmark. And this is quite a lot for one very small area and now we have to take care of these asylum seekers. Yes, we are one of the richest parts in Denmark and we don't have unemployment and if we are open the centre there, we have no idea on how to get people to work there because we don't have unemployment. So people have to drive from far way to work there like social workers, prison guards. They will be a kinder garden. Another thing which we think is quite strange is that we have no debate on this. Nobody has been talking about how we are going to do that with the asylum seekers. There are 18 communes saying we would like to have this centre. We need the employment. But the secretary of justice just said now and that they will put it in our commune. So, even the government is afraid of discussing it.

#00:10:09-3# Interviewer: But did they explain we they want to place it there?

#00:10:09-3# Interviewee: They just point out one explanation and that is that the other centre there. So it is making sense for them to concentrate everything in one area, making it more easy. I think that is a funny argument, because we also don't have all prisons placed in one place in Denmark. We have prisons in all areas but now asylum seekers has to be placed in on area. I think its a strange argument. So why aren't we also putting all prisoners in one area? And all military in another commune. But now they want to compel all asylum seekers in one area, but we do not have a dialog. My commune is now seeking insight into the documents on that in the ministry. Because nobody communicates with us. We haven't had a hearing period.

#00:12:20-5# Interviewer: So you have no idea when it will be opened when it will be opened.

#00:12:20-5# Interviewee: First of January. We have no idea. Now its may and nobody lives there. Nothing is happening out there. But they have to do the hearing period and that also didn't happen yet. Everything is so strange.

#00:13:02-7# Interviewer: But in the end, if they say it is going to be built there, the municipality or the commune doesn't really have a vote against it?

#00:13:20-3# Interviewee: We have to accept it, yes. They have laws that this is in the interest of Denmark, so you have to do it.

#00:13:38-4# Interviewer: But isn't there some sort of land use plan in that area?

#00:13:43-5# Interviewee: But they can do a country landscape plan and it overrules the plan of the commune.

#00:14:08-1# Interviewer: What are the arguments against the center? You already mentioned that you don't have employees to work there. Are there any other arguments?

#00:14:16-5# Interviewee: Yes, it is a very big concentration of asylum seekers. Of course, there is a higher criminality. So, there are a lot of problems with these kind of centers. We already have problems with Sandholm. When the trouble doubles, it is a challenge. There are always problems with the centre, so I don't think it is fair to have two of these centers right next to each other.

#00:15:06-5# Interviewer: When you say, you have trouble already with Sandholm. What kind of trouble is that?

#00:15:15-7# Interviewee: There is more criminality. The police has a lot more to do out there.

#00:15:23-2# Interviewer: Out there or also here in the city?

#00:15:23-2# Interviewee: Also in the city. Right now the S-Train is closer to Allerød. So they have more trouble then we do. There is the crime effect.

#00:15:59-6# Interviewer: Do you know what kind of crime it is?

#00:16:03-4# Interviewee: It is making people feel uncomfortable. People are afraid taking the bus when people in the bus are yelling at them. The challenge in getting an exit center, like Sjaedmark is planned to be, so people who are told that they have to leave the country. So they don't have any obligation to follow the Danish rules. They won't have much money. That will also influence the way of living. It will be easier to do crime because they are forced to do it.

#00:16:59-3# Interviewer: You mentioned that 14 of 19 people voted against it. Was it for the same reasons?

#00:17:25-3# Interviewee: Yes. It Horsolm, we are very right winged. The conservative coalition is quite strong. Since the election in November 2013, we have 15 out of 19 right wing people. But it is not my side. It is the governments side. They are social democrats and they are also looking on politics. They say we do not have a lot of voters in Horsolm, so we are not going to lose any voters there if we do that. Usually, they get around 30 per cent of the votes in Denmark, in Horsolm they get 7 per cent. Socialdemocrats and Socialists have a tough time in Horsolm. So, of course there is also a political perspective on it. So, they place it there because they won't lose any voters there.

#00:19:17-3# Interviewer: Which is kind of said.

#00:19:14-4# Interviewee: It is called politics.

#00:19:22-0# Interviewer: Did you experienced reactions of the citizens in regards to this plans? Are they any protests?

#00:19:32-2# Interviewee: There is a lot of protest in the newspapers. And people are very clear that they don't want that. There are surveys and for sure, we don't want it. That is what the local people says.

#00:20:58-2# Interviewer: What do you hear from the people that they don't want it?

#00:21:06-2# Interviewee: It makes people feel insecure of course of something new. But also knowing that it will be people who are going out of Denmark. People are afraid of it and uncomfortable with that kind of citizens going around.

#00:21:30-9# Interviewer: Do you think it would be the same reaction if it would be a normal asylum centre?

#00:21:36-6# Interviewee: Yes. I am quite sure that any kind of asylum centre would be a challenge. We still feel that we have Sandholm close by and doubling that trouble is not fair. We are taking our part already responsibility. We are comparing it to the prisons and argue why are also all prison in one place. We are not interested in another place. We have accepted that we have one. But we don't want another one.

#00:22:53-7# Interviewer: Do you know anything on how long this centre will be there?

#00:23:03-5# Interviewee: It will be permanent. That is also why we are not happy with it. My strategy right now all the poles are showing that we will have a right wing parliament next year. My hope is that we will have another government that it is not going to happen. So, right now I do anything against people moving in there, because once they moved in it is harder to stop it. So right now, my first and finest job is that nothing happens the next year.

#00:24:52-7# Interviewer: You were talking a lot about the downsides on the centers. Do you see any advantages?

#00:25:33-6# Interviewee: No, because we are so well off. We have no unemployment. We don't need those jobs. There are no advantage of getting a centre.

#00:26:21-8# Interviewer: Do you experience that asylum seekers participate in the life in Horsolm? Are they present here in the city?

#00:27:22-0# Interviewee: They go to Copenhagen. They could go shopping here, but not a lot. You will not see an asylum seeker here. Very few. But probably nobody. They take the train to Copenhagen.

#00:27:59-5# Interviewer: How do you see asylum centers in general?

#00:28:18-3# Interviewee: We do need asylum centers, because we need to take our part of the responsibility. So, yes, this is a fair way of doing it. And Denmark is taking that part so we need to do it.

#00:28:45-6# Interviewer: How do you see the future for Horsolm regarding asylum seekers? What are the future hopes?

#00:28:44-6# Interviewee: I hope that the centre will not be built in Horsolm. We don't need a higher concentration.

## I New Times

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Robin Ali Ahrenkiel El-Tanany, head editor, **New Times** (Newspaper)

Date: 26.04.2014, 05.00pm

Place: MellemRummet, Ravnsborggade 11, 2200 Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:17-2# Interviewer: When did New Times started and what has been the aim?

#00:00:24-0# Interviewee: It started 18 years ago. Because an asylum seeker in Sandholm got the idea to make a newspaper. And the red cross thought it was a good idea. The first version was on the Sandholm centre life. And then it developed from there. It developed into a bigger magazine. The target group changed from only asylum seekers towards the Danes. It kept on as a regular newspaper. DRC was always the founder. It is published 4 times a year. The number has been going up and down depending on funding and resources. 2.500 prints we have for one issue.

#00:04:26-7#i Interviewer: How do you New Times to the people?

#00:04:26-7# Interviewee: We have a subscribers list. 700 papers go out via mail. They are going to other organizations in Denmark like Amnesty, Red Cross, politicians, members of parliament, private people, journalists, all asylum centres, and the big municipalities. A big part ion doing this is opening the eyes of the public.

#00:07:17-0# Interviewer: What people do work at New Times?

#00:07:24-8# Interviewee: All the people are volunteers. I am the only paid stuff. The rest is asylum seekers. But they get the transportation to Copenhagen. That is rather unique. We have volunteers of the University. They have a volunteer program with us.

#00:09:14-1# Interviewer: Since when are you working there?

#00:09:18-1# Interviewee: I started in July, two years ago. I was born in Denmark. My father is from Egypt. He managed to get a permanent stay with marrying my mother.

#00:10:38-3# Interviewer: What is your relation to asylum seekers and the issue of asylum?

#00:10:40-8# Interviewee: There are many reasons. Refugees are the most vulnerable group of society. I worked on that issue for a long time in Africa, in camps in Africa. After coming back to Denmark, I decided to help this group. The job was the perfect combination of the issue and journalism.

#00:18:06-1# Interviewer: How many volunteers are working there?

#00:18:26-3# Interviewee: 10-12 asylum seekers working there.

#00:20:11-9# Interviewer: How do you become a journalist at New Times?

#00:20:44-8# Interviewee: When I have vacant seats, the DRC look for people in the centres. The only criterion is that the English level is high enough, because if your English is poor it is almost impossible to do fruitful work. I have two types of asylum seekers in my team: long stayer and short stayers. The long stayers are those that have been rejected and do not have any hope in the future to have anything going.

The second half is for the people that newly arrived in Denmark and to give them some sort of perspective.

#00:25:31-2# Interviewer: What is the motivation of asylum seekers to come to New Times?

#00:25:33-3# Interviewee: There are many things. I demand something from them. I have ambitions for the magazine. I want to change something.

#00:25:53-0# Interviewer: What do you want to change?

#00:25:53-0# Interviewee: The Danish perception on asylum seekers not being illegal migrants but refugees.

#00:26:53-4# Interviewer: Why is it like that? Why are the society and the politicians discriminating these people? Why is there a negative perception of this group?

#00:28:04-0# Interviewee: It is fear coming from the fact that people do not know the group. Then it is because they think people use the asylum system and that they do something criminal. Journalism here only looks on the back facts. Of course, there is crime sometimes.

#00:30:34-8# Interviewer: But what is crime? Is it riding a bus without a ticket? Aren't people because of restrictive laws sometimes forced to do something "criminal"?

#00:31:09-2# Interviewee: Politicians are focussing on the problems supporting this bad image of asylum seekers. And the political approach is translated in the urban space: the camps are far away. The camp itself is an institution that reflects the negative and strict policies of control, pushed exclusion. Also people in Sandholm are also placed in the middle of a military training camp. But they use old barracks because these are the only places that are able to house so many people at the same times.

#00:40:30-0# Interviewer: You said earlier that you want to change something with New Times. Do you see that there is any change in Denmark in regards to asylum?

#00:40:32-6# Interviewee: We very rarely get feedback from our readers. I don't know how our paper is being perceived. When we go out and visit schools, the feedback is ordinary. I remember one school guy saying that he is still shaking because of a story from an asylum seeker. With the news paper we are informing the asylum seekers on new rights, an possible activities and support. The Danes is the other target group and we want to show them how asylum seekers are: where they come from, how they experience the life in an asylum centre etc.

#00:48:16-0# Interviewer: What other forms of motivation drive the asylum seekers?

#00:51:36-3# Interviewee: Other points are that they don't have much to do. If they have the feeling that they are a necessary part of something, then they feel better and feel that they can contribute to something. People are happy that they are there. They can leave the centres. There is the transport to Copenhagen. They get a month card and then they can travel wherever they want.

#00:55:02-0# Interviewer: The question is totally out of context, but do asylum seekers get food in the centre?

#00:55:05-5# Interviewee: Some centres have cantinas and then you have to go there and eat. They don't have the option to do anything else also because sometimes there is no kitchen. When the centres have no cantina, they get money for food and can take care about this by themselves. Most people are very happy once they are able to make their own food.

#00:56:05-3# Interviewer: Do you see at the moment any possible change in the asylum policy in Denmark? What is your vision for asylum seekers in 10 years?

#00:56:12-4# Interviewee: I think if there is any change going on, policies will be tougher. I don't think you will find a political situation that is more beneficial for asylum seekers than the one that we have right now. As it looks now, the present government will not survive the next election. It will not get any better I'm sure. There will be changes in the negative direction. My personal dream scenario would be to offer housing in the big cities. The big cities are the place of integration and of course work for the asylum seekers and to get rid of the contract that you have to sign to get submission to work and housing.

## I Refugees Welcome

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Michala Bendixen, **Refugees Welcome**

Date: 28.01.2014, 10.00am

Place: Telephone interview

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:05:24-1# Interviewee: There is a lot of documentary in Denmark that asylum seekers have a high risk of becoming mentally ill during the asylum process, especially children.

#00:06:04-5# Interviewer: Could you please point out the major reason why you were founded in 1986. What was the event or the aim behind it?

#00:06:15-3# Interviewee: It is a little different compared to what we do today. It was founded as an organization that was helping people that lived underground. Now, we are not working so much on that. For many reasons, but this is a longer discussion. Now, our biggest clientele is people living in the camp.

#00:06:55-0# Interviewer: Did your work perspectives have changed because there are living less people in the underground?

#00:06:55-0# Interviewee: No, in fact, the opposite is the case, but the law has made it very difficult to do anything about their cases. The way the law works makes it almost impossible to reopen a case, once people are underground. So, there is not much we can do to help these people. It is illegal to support them, so we can only give them advise and the options are so few that the advise is really worthless you could say. One of the things we can do, is to provide them with medical assistance. Also, this is not really necessary anymore, because there is big clinic that opened one and half years ago, run by the red cross and the medical association and the Danish refugee council. It is much more organized and systematic and efficient in the clinic. The doctors that helped us are part of the clinic now. We can refer people to the clinic, but we can do much for them anymore. We still fight for their rights, and try to point out their problems in the press, but the contact we have with people underground is much less than it used to be.

#00:08:31-3# Interviewer: What are you doing at the moment for refugees and asylum seekers? What fields of activities belong to Refugees Welcome?

#00:08:41-3# Interviewee: We have two fields. One is the political work to raise awareness of the problems of the system and the procedure and inform the public on the situation. The second field is to give counselling to give to refugees. We work as their layer and help them with their case.

#00:09:48-9# Interviewer: The legislation in Denmark changed in 2013. How do you evaluate these changes and what effects do they have on the integration and housing?

#00:09:50-5# Interviewee: The legislation has been changing a lot of times. Regarding accommodation it changed last year.

#00:10:09-2# Interviewer: What changed in that terms?

#00:10:09-2# Interviewee: It keeps changing over and over, especially under the right wing party that we had. There were always changes for the worse. When new government came in charge, they were trying to roll back some of the worse thing. Now, there is this new agreement on housing and work options. In principle, it is possible to work now after six months. That is the problem with the agreement. I think the intention of the legislation was positive. Everybody was hoping for an improvement on the situation towards more respect to asylum seekers trying to give them more rights and secure their lives. But the way it

works now - because of all the agreements and regulations and details of the law - it doesn't really have an effect though. Cause it is so difficult to get the permit to work. It is only for a limited part of the asylum seekers and only for a limited period and all the jobs have to be approved by the immigration service and you have to have a contract. And if you have a job you have to pay for your accommodation. In practice, it doesn't change anything. It is a hollow bubble with a lot of bureaucracy. I know that ten people out of 6.000 are actually working. In regards to accommodation, the options of staying outside of the centres have been improved for staying with family members or for finding some kind of other kind of housing outside the centre, where you don't have to live inside the camps. But that also proved to be a little more difficult then we imagined.

#00:13:24-7# Interviewer: Do you need the money to pay for an apartment?

#00:13:24-7# Interviewee: Not really. If you get the permit to stay with family members, then the immigration service pays the rent. The other option is to ask the authorities to find a place for you outside of the camps that they would pay for. They pay for your apartment and they give you a small amount of money to pay for your expenses. But this is less then the need is. A lot of people would like to move out, but there are not enough houses or if they ask to move out - because the houses outside have to be closely connected to the camps, so they still have to go to the doctor and pick up their mail at the camps - so living outside in a very remote camp, doesn't really make a lot difference. In fact, it raises new problems: What about transport? Who should pay back and forth from the centre? Most people say no, even though they would like to live outside of the camps. The actual situation leads them to say no. Because it creates new problems and it will be not realized anyways. In many ways, this agreement didn't change anything on the situation for both housing and working.

#00:15:43-3# Interviewer: Talking about housing. On your website, you critique the period of time asylum seekers live in the asylum centres . Why are they spending so much time in the centres? Is it because the process takes so long?

#00:16:13-3# Interviewee: No not really. Most of the people spend so much time in the centres after their rejection, because it is not possible to deport them to quite some countries. But of course, the first problem is that the procedure is too slow. It causes many asylum seekers to live in the camps for a long time, but it's improving. They are trying to make at least the first part of the process - the first interview with is lead by the refugee council and not the police - more efficient and that also works. But then later one in the system, if you get the first rejection by the immigration services, then your case gets to the refugee board, which is like a court but it is not a real court. They have to many cases, so the process is slow. So, it can take various years of waiting time. Nothing happens. The total period of waiting time for most of the cases is 1,5 years and that is too long. But now it is below one year. Most of the people get a decision within one year. But then a few cases take longer. The big problem is that some people get rejected and they do not want to go home and the Danish government is not able to deport them. There are different reasons: first, the police is too slow. There are sometimes no contracts between countries and Denmark on refugees. So these countries do not take them back, and Denmark can not send them to their countries. For instance, Iraq is not taking any refugees. That is the reason why people are staying in the centres for so many years. It is not the majority, because most people can be deported. But there is always this group you can not do anything about and they stay for many years. We have a law that says if it is impossible to deport them, they get a temporary residence permit. But the problem is that they have to sign a contract cooperating on their departure to go back voluntarily once it gets possible. So the problem is that 99 per cent is not signing it and thus they do not get a permit.

#00:22:23-9# Interviewer: Is there any number on how many asylum seekers are rejected or got accepted?

#00:22:42-7# Interviewee: The immigration service has an acceptance rate of 40 per cent right now. The second instance, the refugee board, has an acceptance rate of 30 per cent. So the chances are actually quite good in Denmark compared to other countries. I think the problem in Denmark is that we make difference depending on the countries where refugees are coming from. For example, people coming from Iraq

the percentage of rejection is very high and also for Somalians. It is really difficult to explain why these differences are there.

#00:24:14-5# Interviewer: How do you see asylum centres in general and why do you think they are not a good way of housing asylum seekers?

#00:24:20-3# Interviewee: I think it is not a good way in any kind of aspect, no matter how you look at it. First, asylum seekers come from very different countries with different cultures and languages and problems and situation. They are very different. There is no reason to collect them all in one place. It creates new problems. Second, I think they need information and support. The needs and they ways to support them have to be investigated, because the needs are so different so you cannot just through them into one box. Bringing them together just concentrates problems. The reason why they come here is that they have huge problems in their home countries. But the problems are different. When we put people with serious problems together in a small area and a very remote area where there have no contact to people with not so much problems, then they nothing else except of problems and worries and trauma. There is nothing else. It makes them even more sick and it creates conflicts that are not necessary.

#00:26:52-3# Interviewer: What sort of conflicts?

#00:26:52-3# Interviewee: You can just make an example of one rooms of single men. Single men will always be put together in one room. So take 4 to 8 people and you imagine that these men are of different age, language, culture and religion and they all of their personal worries. One is gay, one left his whole family, one has escaped the military, got tortured and is traumatized. These people in one room just make each other crazy. It is obvious to anybody. I think it is really amazing that the state doesn't realize that this is creating new problems. It is like stepping on people who are already lying down. Making everything much worse.

#00:28:20-6# Interviewer: You were also talking about the location of asylum centers in remote areas. Why do you think asylum centers are located so far away from any settlement? What are the aims behind it?

#00:29:05-7# Interviewee: I think there are three reasons and they are all really bad. One is we tend to use facilities that are cheap and already empty for other reasons, like closed down military camps, where you have a lot of empty space. The second reason is, that for many years there has been this attempt to keep asylum seekers away from the public, because then it is much easier to deport them. It is much easier to make them live on a very low level, because there is nobody there to watch. Many of the scandals that come up only by Danes that get in contact with this problem. But they tend to locate them so far away to illuminate these contacts. You avoid public protests and resistance towards it. The government is trying to avoid situations like that, because the fewer Danes that actually know what is going on, the easier it is to have this very strict and inhuman policy. The location of the asylum centre helps to establish an image on asylum seekers as being criminal and that they are scary. This image is overtaken by some parts of the Danish society. Danes thus get the picture that there are too many asylum seekers and that they are causing problems and that we should have more strict rules. So, people do not know them, they do not like them and they are afraid of them basically because they do not know any of them and they are not getting in contact with asylum seekers to figure out what really is going on. The third reason is economic reasons: It is easy, effective, and cheap to organize flows of asylum seekers. The way people are housed affects the image of the public on asylum seekers. People perceive them as prisoners. Especially because often asylum centres are old military barracks, you easily get the impression of centres being concentration camps for people that do not belong and are unwanted in the society. Sandholm for example, is a closed military camp. But the surrounding area is still a place for military training. They are shooting right outside the windows of refugees. Why do you put these two things together? The Danish citizens and the Danish politics do not have a clue on what it means to be a refugee and why they are coming. They are just trying to keep them away.

#00:36:51-6# Interviewer: Do you have also asylum seekers that complain about the housing situation in your organization?

#00:36:57-6# Interviewee: Yes. Everybody of our clients does that more or less. It depends very much on who they are, which camp they are in and how long they have been there. Newcomers are in the beginning really impressed: Wow this is nice, we have a real bed and they give us anything we need, we get money and food. They didn't expect anything. So they are grateful in the beginning. But after a couple of months, they find out that the atmosphere is really bad and that they cannot really do anything. Someone else organizes their life: they cannot move, they can't do anything serious during the day. They can only wait. They find out that is very hard to be mobile in Denmark and that the camps are so far away from anything. Slowly, they start realizing that they are trapped in the middle of nowhere. Nothing happens. They cannot really maintain their human resources. They get stressed and are very nervous.

#00:39:00-3# Interviewer: So the people coming to Refugees Welcome also have to travel a long way.

#00:39:00-3# Interviewee: Yeah. It is a big problem because we know that a lot of people need advice and help, but they are not able to come to us. We are not able to come to them, because for us it is also a long journey and when we arrive, nobody wants to speak to us, cause they are afraid. We cannot cover the needs of a whole camp. And they often can't come because they cannot pay for the tickets.

#00:39:53-0# Interviewer: That is also interesting, because a lot of infrastructure for asylum seekers is in Copenhagen, for example the Trampolin Huset, the School was in Copenhagen.

#00:40:20-5# Interviewee: The School was great because it allowed them to get away for at least some hours from the camp. But they closed it down because of the expenses of travel. Which is sad, because it was a good thing that going to the school also meant that people got a transport card where they could be mobile. Now, they are opening a new school in the middle of Zealand, but instead of giving them transport cards, they arrange private bus transportation to pick the asylum seekers up and bring them back to the camps. And now, nobody wants to go there. It is humiliating for them and degrading for people to be treated like that. They want tickets so that they can go by themselves.

#00:41:56-3# Interviewer: Why is there no centre in Copenhagen?

#00:41:58-0# Interviewee: In Copenhagen, a lot of politicians are actually doing something for asylum seekers like cultural events and they would like to have a cultural meeting point. Because of housing, it is also a practical problem. But of course it is a political will: If you want them to be housed in Copenhagen, it would be possible. But nobody really wants to do anything about it. It's not up to the municipality to decide. It depends on the state and the government and especially the immigration service and they do not want it. But the big cities, it is not necessary for people to stay in. I have a lot of good experiences with asylum seekers feeling very good in the countryside. When you are an asylum seeker, you need to be able to find those information to also know what you want and it has to be near to a bigger city.

#00:46:05-9# Interviewer: Are there any platforms in Copenhagen where locals come together with asylum seekers?

#00:46:32-0# Interviewee: There is actually only the Trampolin House, which is based on that idea - bringing both groups together. Otherwise, the system is very based on the asylum camps. The Red Cross tried to get locals into the camps having open house days trying.

#00:49:31-4# Interviewer: I heard about the opening of a new centre in Hørsolm.

#00:50:01-3# Interviewee: Hørsolm is one of the richest communities in Denmark. It is a really rich place. You will not find any poor people in that area. So people are really worried about the price of their house. That is the main factor. And the next problem is that it is not just any kind of asylum camp. It is a deten-

tion camp because they split up the asylum camps into different types. Sandholm will be only for arrival. The others will be for accommodation and Hørsolm will be for rejected asylum seekers together with refugees that conducted crime but who cannot be deported. They leave them in a very strange limbo between everything: no right to work, they have to stay in the camp, they cannot study, and they have to recall to the police everyday, but it is not closed. But they have to report every day. It leads to even more crime.

#00:53:23-9# Interviewer: How do asylum seekers enunciate their political and social interests?

#00:53:26-6# Interviewee: This is quite limited for a number of reasons. One reason is the language. It takes some time before you know what is going on in Denmark because everything is in Danish. It has also been difficult to get access to the Danish language. It takes time before understand what is going on and where they find places to address their interests. The next problem is that people are in very different and problematic situations. There is not that asylum seeker. They have different problems, sometimes individually, sometimes in the group. Everybody is really concerned about his or her own problems. They do not have the energy to make more general political work. But some do and they try to make some kind of union of asylum seekers, but the group is changing all the time. People come, people live, people are sent to other centers, people get permit, and people get deported. People are changing all the time. Trampolin house has several actions and it is a political statement showing what asylum seekers want. They have a lot of powers and resources. They have a small democracy there. And then there is a Newspaper called New Times and it is used for critical articles made by asylum seekers.

#00:57:59-8# Interviewer: Are there also other political groups protesting against the situation?

#00:58:06-1# Interviewee: Grandparents is a very stable group. There are also smaller ones tending to come and go. Asylrat are more radical activists. Other groups are also connected to them, for example Stop the Deportation and Close the Camp and they made a big action in Sandholm in 2010. Of course, Trampolin House made several events.

#01:02:18-0# Interviewer: How does your utopian and perfect vision of housing asylum seekers in Denmark look like?

#01:02:29-3# Interviewee: I think the Sweden case is perfect; it was built on the realization that camps are a problem. They do not have camps, but only apartments combined with some day centre and a contact person that shows up sometimes. It would be better to have them out into the normal everyday live. Especially, having them out of the camps.

## I Trampoline House

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Morten, **Trampoline House**

Date: 28.04.2014, 02.00pm

Place: Skyttegade 3 2200, Copenhagen, Denmark

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:03:03-0# Interviewer: I would like to talk with you about the Trampoline House and asylum policy in general. I would like to know your intentions on opening the Trampoline House.

#00:03:51-4# Interviewee: I am an artist and I have been working for 10 years with social strategies. The asylum politics have been an increasing problem. And I felt that asylum seekers were used in a political battle, which they don't have anything to do with it. We have some 7.000 asylum seekers. They are not a problem. If you look at Sweden, they take 40.000 every year. It is a symbolic problem. We are fed up with politicians. Because they use people's lives. And the reasons they can do is that asylum seekers can not vote. So, they have nothing to lose. The strategy of isolating refugees in camps establish a situation where it is possible to treat asylum seekers like they do. Because if you keep people in camps and alienate them and make them somebody else and nobody really knows them, then it is easy to tell the story about these masses that attack your country and use all your welfare. I felt that the only way to really change this politics is to start on the ground level. We had to make the conditions for politicians and people to talk about asylum seekers this way. So how do you do that? So our strategy is to deisolate them, to include asylum seekers into the society. So, in the beginning we were conducting workshops with asylum seekers and I learned a lot about their problems and needs. We went to the camps and we had no idea what they wanted. So, we didn't know that. I am an artist, maybe they wanted wall paintings. We didn't know. But when we were suggesting that they were laughing 'It doesn't matter if the cage is golden; it is still a cage'. So, we soon realized that this wouldn't help. And we saw that a lot of people have tried to make the camps better. What people told us at these workshops - and there were both asylum seekers and Danes - was that to continue the dialog. That meant for the asylum seekers: please don't leave us, cause we are stuck here. And we decided on a platform to have that dialog. And we agreed on having a house in Copenhagen to establish the dialog for both Danes and asylum seekers. We wanted to create a natural place for both to get together. And it is important to us that all the meetings are without hierarchy, because the natural hierarchy in the camps is like they don't have any rights. The more quite you are, the less trouble you make. And we want to change that. It the beginning it was hard to let asylum seekers speak up, because they also have to learn democracy. And here they produce this kind of a community feeling and the feeling of being part of a family. So, that had succeeded.

#00:10:37-8# Interviewer: How many people are working here and how many asylum seekers are coming here?

#00:10:41-2# Interviewee: It changed all the years. In the beginning, we got an average of 60 groups. In two years this means 1.500 people went trough the house. Of course, they were not here at the same time. In 2012 and 2013, we had around 400 visits per week. Then the Red Cross were forced to cut the budget on transport and then we went from 400 to 80. And we had to close two more days in order to spend the tickets to transports. It was a very depressing moment because we didn't have enough money to get new people in. After January, we got a bigger budget. And now we spend 45.000 kroner on the tickets every month. It allows us to have 85 people from the camps. But there are always more coming. There are some people who have a ticket or who finds his/her way without paying. And we have also Danish volunteers. I think we are around 40 people who work more or less here. We decided to issue contracts on volunteers in order to have a fix thing and know that people take care of these tasks.

#00:17:14-2# Interviewer: I think it is nice that you are talking about the family here. I think you really imagined that as a close community. What would you think are the major projects here in the Trampoline House?

#00:17:37-6# Interviewee: I think the house meeting, which is on to hear people's voices. The language classes are also very important. We are distributing a lot of tasks here in the centre to make people responsible.

#00:21:31-5# Interviewer: It was really interesting at the debate of the politicians at the asylfestival trying to get votes. But shouldn't they have addressed their speech on a festival for asylum seekers to asylum seekers instead of campaigning for voters. And at the beginning they were talking in Danish and suddenly an asylum seeker complained about that they are not talking in English.

#00:22:39-3# Interviewee: This is so awesome. It was fantastic. This is the sign that the trampoline house works. People would never have stood up before for their own opinion. This is what we want. And this is what is happening now because they learn it here and they have the platform here to do that.

#00:23:38-3# Interviewer: If you think of the asylum seekers here in Denmark, what is your future vision? Do you have any specific plans?

#00:23:49-2# Interviewee: We provide activities for asylum seekers that are not produced by the Red Cross and the normal contractors that run the camps. We are lobbying for the refugees. And some politicians are actually really interested in what's going on and they come to visit us to learn what is going on. We are working on a daily base and still some politicians are calling me trying to figure out how it is going. We have a lot of experience and we have that the politicians might learn from it changing laws and regulations.

#00:27:13-3# Interviewer: So, do you think that the current asylum policy with all its restrictions is more a lack of knowledge than a political strategy?

#00:27:36-8# Interviewee: I think so. You have a system that is creating clients; it is a factory of clients. I know why, they don't need these people at all. So there is a lot of populist politics going on. I want to argue that this house is not producing clients but citizens who are easy to integrate. They are also extremely afraid on how to integrate these people. But I want to tell them that if you built trampoline house all over the country, it will work. They will integrate and get to know Danes.

#00:33:46-3# Interviewer: When you were opening the Trampoline House, how was the reaction in the neighbourhood and how is it today?

#00:34:19-9# Interviewee: The house is open to everybody. I think we are accepted in this neighbourhood. It is not like the immediate neighbours visit us a lot. I think it is because our volunteers want to do something. They want to become active in terms of changing the conditions. And they come from all over Copenhagen. I think we could do more to integrate the house into the community and neighbourhood. This is also one vision for the future. One dream that I have is that we get companies with a CPR profile that hire asylum seekers. Then we could do something like a job centre. We get funding from the Integration Service - 80 per cent of funding is from them.

#00:40:57-5# Interviewer: The last year's legislation introduced the possibility of working and housing after six months and I heard a lot that this is not working. I was asking myself that I have the feeling that everybody agrees that asylum centres are not the best way of housing any kind of people but it is still a strategy of the country. I have the feeling that it is common sense among organizations, researchers and the majority of the parties, but it is still a strategy. Why?

#00:42:58-6# Interviewee: I think the left party that voted for the new law really thought it would change something. However, they are not working. When you find a job, but you are still living in the centre, you have to pay 5700 kroner per month for the rent in an asylum centre. If you accept that, they can take all the money. But you can go to Copenhagen and find a room for three thousand, but you are not allowed to live in Copenhagen. You can only live in designated area. It is just really hard. There are so many obstacles. There is a nationalist xenophobic agenda, which tells them that these people who do not speak Danish are a problem. And the people are very lonely. The ones that are placed in the rural place. They can't meet their own culture. And they feel very isolated. So, it is very depending where you end up. So the problem is that people do not have a choice. They have to go where the authorities want them to go.

#00:53:23-4# Interviewer: What does integration mean to you?

#00:53:33-3# Interviewee: I think the Danish culture is very hard to penetrate. Social media and television replace the public space. There is more communication on the Internet. There currently is not contact between Danish people and asylum seekers so Danish people do not have a feel for the person. They only see clients or number or something. Integration happens when you really meet.

#01:00:32-7# Interviewer: How would you see the situation for asylum seekers in ten years?

#01:00:56-5# Interviewee: In an optimistic way, it would be very nice that it turns out that is trough that the immigration service cut downs the process period. The waiting time and insecurity is the worse for them. And then: 10 Trampoline Houses in the bigger cities. And to drop the idea of camps, so that everybody has access to housing. I think that could the situation. The depression in the camps is crazy. And the people that are coming here do manage that at some point. But there are plenty more in the camps. We need more resources in general. Today we also register people here that are coming cause we need to start showing what exactly what we are doing.

#01:05:45-1# Interviewer: Thank you! When I first did research on asylum seekers in Denmark, I noticed that there is no centre in the city and that all of the centres are in remote areas. So, I thought there need to be a place in Copenhagen where people come together and talk, where integration takes place. Because in the end the city is for me the place of integration. And I do really see that in the trampoline house.

## *II Berlin*

## I Asylum Seeker B

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Bilal, **Asylum Seeker**

Date: 21.05.2014, 03.00pm

Place: Rathausforum, Alexanderplatz, Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:37-4# Interviewer: So what kind of problems did you have in the centre?

#00:00:37-4# Interviewee: I lived with many different people in the centre. Pakistani, Serbia, Bosnia, Tchechenia. And I am wearing this shorts for Sprachschule and Tchetchnia gay said: You Muslim? Me: Yes. And he said: Why are you wearing this? Who are you? Are you gay? Bullshit things.

#00:01:17-3# Interviewer: But why are these shorts not okay for Muslims? Does it have to be longer?

#00:01:17-3# Interviewee: It has to be longer. Over the knees. Boys and girls have to cover. Shorts is short. But Islam you love people, if you kill one person you kill all people. It is not in the Islam.

#00:03:05-5# Interviewer: Listen, Bruder. When I was in Pakistan, I had there many problems, but I had a good life. I am a fashion designer. I have a lot of good friends. Two boyfriends. One is my like husband. He is doing job in bank, but he is married and has children. That problem. He is top. In Pakistan, when someone is top, he is not gay. Who is bottom, is guy. If someone is fucking men, he is straight. Too strange. Many people want to love me. And many people want to fuck me. But they are married and they have children and they have everything. But they fuck me and they are not gay. So, I have my boyfriend since 2008. I know him a little bit. He is quite. He does not talk a lot. But I like him. I ask him if I can open my account on his bank. And he ask me about my hobbies. I love traveling, shopping, partying. And we have commitment. I love him. And we met and I go with him and his daughter and we go with his 5 year old daughter. And we had a good time. And I went with my gay friends, they are all bottoms to a hotel. I ask him, do you go with me. And he came saturday and I was really happy. But I want to hide my boyfriend, he is very special. Its my love. And we went to another hotel with him. So, I go there. In November, he transfer to another city. So, he moved with his family. He ask me to be his chef. I said I go with you. I told my family that I have job their. And that was my golden time of my life. I cooked for him, I did his cloths, I shaved his beard. It was a really nice time. And his wife found out. And she come to me with her brother and also his brother. And his brother said to me that he shots me. So, also so many other people called me and said that they kill me.

#00:21:38-2# Interviewer: Was that Pakistanian language on the phone?

#00:21:38-2# Interviewee: Yes.

#00:21:38-2# Interviewer: So do you also have friends from Pakistan here in Berlin?

#00:21:38-2# Interviewee: Yes. She lives also in a Heim and she sometimes calls me. But they are fake. They show me love and behind my back they are talking badly.

#00:21:53-3# Interviewer: So with your boyfriend in Pakistan....

#00:22:11-0# Interviewee: One day, his brother wanted to shot me, but I could escape.

#00:22:22-7# Interviewer: But I have no idea about Pakistan. How is gay life there?

#00:22:24-1# Interviewee: It is bad. If you want to do something, you hide it. But many people are interested in boys.

#00:23:46-1# Interviewer: But how was it with your family. Do they know?

#00:23:46-3# Interviewee: Before not. My mum knows. She is really old. We are 7 kids. But my Pakistan neighbors were creating problems. They observe you because the family is so big. I was always judged for the things that I am doing: How do you sit? How do you talk?

#00:24:42-1# Interviewer: And what was finally the reason for you to leave Pakistan?

#00:24:43-1# Interviewee: I am not save there. My life. I had a small business and I had costumers. I was not save there.

#00:27:42-0# Interviewer: So, you applied for asylum. Are you still in the process?

#00:27:42-0# Interviewee: Yes. I have done my interview. They accepted my case. But I don't know if I get accepted or not. And this July, I will probably know.

#00:28:10-5# Interviewer: When you decided to come here, was it a decision to go directly to Germany?

#00:28:49-0# Interviewee: I want to go to Canada, but I don't have the money. I came by plane to Germany.

#00:29:32-2# Interviewer: I think you are really brave to make that decision. I can't imagine what is going on inside you. But it is really nice that you have an apartment now.

#00:29:54-5# Interviewee: One time, I was in the cab. I wanted to meet someone and bring him to my home. But it was not possible to bring him to the Heim, because after 10pm, you can not bring strangers to the Heim. The security didn't allow it. So, I never can bring home a guy.

#00:30:43-1# Interviewer: Why is that not allowed?

#00:30:43-1# Interviewee: I don't know.

#00:30:48-6# Interviewer: But if you bring somebody before 10, he can stay over night?

#00:30:53-3# Interviewee: No, he has to go at 10.

#00:32:01-0# Interviewer: And you lived so long, I mean sixteen months, in the centers. How was that for you?

#00:32:10-9# Interviewee: I can not explain my feelings. It is boring. It is not good. Rhinestraße, the conditions are good. But Motardstraße was really bad. At first, I was alone in my room. Then one Pakistani come and then another one. But they were drinking all time and smoking all time. But I was afraid of them. But they found another room for me, because I was scared with them. And Jonas was my social worker. He is my friend. I told him about my new apartment and he is very happy for me. And also the girl is really glad for me.

#00:35:12-2# Interviewer: But how did it work with getting the apartment?

#00:35:28-8# Interviewee: First, I got a document and I could have find a place for 450 Euros. But nobody took me. I was looking a lot. But then they give me a number and then they called me after 8 months, they called me and I visit the place. But it was really complicated. Jonas helped me a lot.

#00:40:41-4# Interviewer: And where is your new apartment?

#00:40:43-3# Interviewee: At Jannowitzbrücke.

#00:40:48-8# Interviewer: Nice, so its really central.

#00:41:01-0# Interviewee: I have a good feeling. And the kitchen is very good!

#00:41:15-9# Interviewer: And how are the conditions in the Heim for you right now?

#00:42:20-8# Interviewee: There is no shower in my room and no kitchen and I hate it.

#00:42:34-8# Interviewer: Rhinestraße and Motardstraße are really far outside. Was that a problem for you?

#00:42:37-5# Interviewee: It is really far away. But in Pakistan they ways are longer. It is really bad. When I go shopping I have to work long and I buy a lot and it is really heavy. My neighbor he is from Afghanistan and he helps me sometimes shopping.

#00:43:45-6# Interviewer: Are there any other gay guys in the centers?

#00:43:45-9# Interviewee: No. But I knew two gays. But they are from Syria. I love Turkish. I need relationship. I need love. But in 16 months, I don't met a nice guy. I never kiss them. I need straight only top. Germans are really rude. I hate them. I don't meet many people, because I live in Heim. So I go to them. My weakness: beautify. I love sexy guys. I need friends. I feel so alone here. I want to meet someone beautiful who is always with me.

#00:56:46-2# Interviewer: But when you got there how did you know about the gay life and gay romeo?

#00:56:56-6# Interviewee: I got to know it when getting to know people. And you need to meet people to get to know about these things. But you have to find a boyfriend for me place.

#00:59:55-9# Interviewer: Ok, Im trying to. So, you have an apartment now. Next you need a boyfriend.

#01:09:42-7# Interviewer: Do you like the food here?

#01:09:56-7# Interviewee: No, I cook for myself.

#01:10:06-2# Interviewer: But did you manage to find friends here?

#01:10:32-2# Interviewee: No, not really good friends. But I move the the apartment in July.

#01:11:34-3# Interviewer: And do you practice German?

#01:11:36-8# Interviewee: Yes, I go to German class, but its really hard. I go to a school to study Deutsch.

#01:13:42-9# Interviewer: How do you spend your normal day in the Heim?

#01:13:46-6# Interviewee: Nothing. It is boring. I am on Facebook. Skype. Watching movies. Waiting. I sit outside sometimes. It is summer now that is better. But I don't have many things to do. I have a ticket, so I can see the city.

#01:14:45-0# Interviewer: How much is the ticket.

#01:14:45-0# Interviewee: 36 Euro.

#01:14:47-2# Interviewer: And are you getting money to pay it?

#01:15:03-2# Interviewee: No.

#01:15:03-2# Interviewer: But why do you say, you have less money next month.

#01:15:17-8# Interviewee: Because I got money for 52 days. I only have 100 Euro left. So, I don't take internet the next month. I have 360 Euro for the whole month, for everything, but they pay the rent. And I also have a lawyer, where I pay for it for the process.

#01:19:06-2# Interviewer: When you are in the Heim, do you have a chance to pray?

#01:19:06-2# Interviewee 1: I pray five times a day. But now I don't do. I go every friday to the moschee. So, that is nice that I can do that here. And the city is very liberal. But I don't have any contacts here. I only have sex dates, but I want to have friends.

#01:23:40-7# Interviewer: So being in Berlin as an asylum seeker, what are the main problems you have to deal with? What is really hard for you here?

#01:23:40-7# Interviewee: Everything. If you want to wash your close, you need an appointment. If you want to change your bed, you must ask them. So, I take appointment and you get it on friday. They chose the appointment. And I am alone.

#01:26:10-7# Interviewer: But when you live in the city, it is also for you easy to meet people. Rhinestraße is really far away.

#01:26:17-8# Interviewee: Yes, it is really far. But Im happy for my apartment.

## I Alliance against Camps

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: anonymous, **Bündnis gegen Lager (Alliance against Camps)**

Interviewee 2: anonymous, Bündnis gegen Lager

Date: 23.03.2014, 06.00pm

Place: Cafe Morgenrot, Kastanienallee 85, 10435 Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:15:18-7# Interviewer: Seit wann gibt es euch und was zeichnet eure Arbeit aus?

#00:15:14-2# Interviewee 1: Wir haben uns 2006 gegründet. Und die erste Aktion richtete sich gegen das Lager Motartstraße, weil wir das am heftigsten empfanden. Haben das auch gut in die Kritik gebracht.

#00:16:25-2# Interviewee 2: Das ging von Fels und dem Flüchtlingsrat zu dieser Zeit aus.

#00:16:54-8# Interviewee 1: Es hatte auch mit dem Chip-Karten System zu tun.

#00:17:12-2# Interviewee 2: Damals gabs ja auch wenig Lager in Berlin, vielleicht 6 Unterkünfte. Deshalb war auch Motardstraße so offenkundig.

#00:17:30-9# Interviewee 1: Ein paar Leute haben sich zusammengetan, um lokal was zu machen. In Berlin waren die Situationen schon eher etwas fortschrittlich. Seit 2003 gibt es die Möglichkeit sich Wohnungen zu suchen. Aber das hat halt nicht für alle geklappt. Die Wohnsituation ist halt eine der gravierendsten Einschränkungen der Flüchtlinge, wenn man von dem prekären Aufenthalt absieht.

#00:18:44-3# Interviewee 2: Wir waren auch viel in Brandenburg aktiv, einfach weil da die Situation noch schlimmer ist. Die Heime, die sog. Dschungelcamps, sind sehr weit draußen. Wir wollten aufklären. Aber es hat sich dort wenig verändert von der Situation.

#00:20:29-8# Interviewee 1: Aber wir sind schon auch ziemlich Berlinlastig.

#00:20:41-7# Interviewer: Wie viele seit ihr denn in dem Bündnis?

#00:21:03-5# Interviewee 2: Zwischenzeitlich waren wir echt viele Leute.

#00:21:03-5# Interviewee 1: Ja. So 15 bis 20. Es kommt immer auch drauf an, was man macht. Ob es jetzt Demos sind oder so. Die Problematik ist auch, dass die Flüchtlinge, die zulange in den Heimen sind für politische Aktionen weniger zu gebrauchen sind, weil sie einfach psychisch fertig sind. Und andere gehen halt auch schnell wieder.

#00:22:17-6# Interviewer: Hat sich durch den Anstieg der Notunterkünfte und der Asylbewerber für euch was verändert?

#00:22:28-2# Interviewee 1: Wir würden uns gern intensiver aufstellen. Beim letzten Treffen waren wir nur zu Dritt. Es ist auch so, dass fast jede Woche irgendwo ein Lager öffnet, kommen wir auch relativ schlecht hinterher. Es gibt viel Informationen. Ehrenamtlich können wir da auch begrenzt was leisten. Wir schaffen es gar nicht mehr, uns die Heime überhaupt anzuschauen.

#00:24:07-2# Interviewee 2: Noch nicht mal das Lageso schafft es sich die Heime anzuschauen und die Verträge mit den Wohnungsbaugesellschaften zu kontrollieren.

#00:24:18-6# Interviewee 1: Der Weg in die Wohnung wird versperrt. Wie sagen halt nicht, es gibt zu viele Flüchtlinge, sondern es gibt zu wenig Wohnungen. Der Durchfluss durch die Erstaufnahme stockt. Ansonsten kann man an der Ausstattung kritisieren. Die haben da relativ viel zu den Zuständen gemacht, die Initiative in Moabit. Aber uns geht es eben auch darum zu sagen, dass es grundsätzlich als allgemeine Unterbringungsform eben schon ein Problem ist und da kommt man mit den detaillierten Auflisten von den kleinen Problemen auch nicht weiter. Die Flüchtlingsheime sind letztlich auch Investitionsobjekte. Vielleicht kann man das so abgrenzen und sagen Lagerpolitik, also Verbesserung der Lager. Wir bemühen uns keine Lagerpolitik zu machen. Wir wollen die auch nicht verbessern, wir wollen die Abschaffung.

#00:30:35-5# Interviewer: Ich habe ne Frage zu dem Begriff Lager. Warum bezeichnet ihr den Lager-Begriff?

#00:31:54-8# Interviewee 1: Das ist schon ein Kampfbegriff, um das ganze auch zu schlecht zu qualifizieren. Und der Begriff ist Ordnung. Es gibt ja auch andere Lager. Ferienlagern, Zeltlager. Wir reden ja hier nicht von einem Konzentrationslager. Wir reden auch nicht von Lagern im Libanon. Trotzdem ist es gut, den Senat mit der Situation zu konfrontieren.

#00:33:11-5# Interviewee 2: Es geht natürlich um die Sprache. Es wird argumentiert, dass es offen ist und dann man raus kann und damit sei es eine Unterkunft. Aber es ist eben eine faktische Internierung.

#00:34:42-8# Interviewee 1: Es ist wie im offenen Vollzug.

#00:34:42-8# Interviewee 2: Man ist in einem Status gefangen. Es gibt immer Leute, die dich kontrollieren. Das sind Leute die eingelagert werden. Es sind keine Leute, die sich frei aussuchen dürfen, wo sie wohnen. Sie werden temporär eingelagert, bis klar ist was man mit ihnen macht, also ob sie abgeschoben werden oder nicht. So ist es bei Kriegsgefangenen auch.

#00:35:55-6# Interviewer: Es gibt ja aber in Berlin verschiedene Unterkünfte. Also einerseits die Mordstraße, räumlich in sich abgeschlossene Siedlung, Securty, Barackenanlage. Dann gibt es aber auch wie das Hotel am Kaiserdam, wo es von der Form, von der Lage ganz anders aussieht. Die Funktionen unterscheiden sich auch. Differenziert ihr da oder ist das für euch das gleiche?

#00:37:17-6# Interviewee 1: Alles, weil psychisch haben Sie die gleiche Wirkung. Es geht nicht um die Ausstattung sondern es geht darum, was mit den Leuten da drin ist. Du bist dort gezwungen. Es ist alles getaktet. Es ist ein gezwungenes Leben. Es hat nichts von eigener Entfaltung, eigener Entscheidung.

#00:39:27-6# Interviewer: Wenn ich an ein Lager denke, denke ich sehr städtebaulich. Aber was ich spannend finde, sind die institutionellen Strukturen, die du angesprochen hast. Also das es im Endeffekt gar nicht darum geht, wie das Lager aussieht, sondern welche Form das Lager hat und welche Funktion es darstellt.

#00:40:02-9# Interviewee 1: Und welche Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten man auch selbst hat. Inwieweit kann man mitentscheiden und Privatheit entfalten. Das was eben zu den bürgerlichen Freiheitsrechten auch dazu gehört.

#00:40:47-6# Interviewee 2: Der Begriff des Lagers wurde ja ursprünglich auch politisch etabliert. Also in den 1980er Jahren hat man noch offiziell von Lagern gesprochen. Zum Beispiel Lothar Spät in Baden-Württemberg. Das ist halt auch so angelegt. Es gibt schon nette Lager und es gibt auch nette Mitarbeiter in den Lagern. In Berlin gibt es eine breite Spannbreite. Aber dennoch ist es überall eine absolute Fremdbestimmung.

#00:49:59-3# Interviewer: Eine Kritik, die der Senat ja auch von sich weist, ist das menschenunwürdige. Vielleicht könnt ihr noch ein mal zusammenfassen, warum diese Unterbringung für euch eine menschenunwürdige Unterbringung ist.

#00:50:09-9# Interviewee 2: Hauptsächliche Kritikpunkte sind immer: fehlende Privatheit, keine Entwicklungschancen, keine Integrationschancen, Sozialstress.

#00:50:46-3# Interviewee 1: Kontrolle und Entmündigung ist für mich wichtig. Die Entmündigung das Leute unfähig gehalten werden oder gemacht werden.

#00:51:00-1# Interviewee 2: Genau, also das so Sachen, die man konnte, auch einem wieder weggenommen werden.

#00:51:18-9# Interviewer: Aber mit welchem Ziel wird das gemacht? Warum denkt ihr sind auch diese Lager so angelegt?

#00:51:28-3# Interviewee 1: Ursprünglich war das eben die Abschreckung. Die Zuzugsfaktoren verringern. Jetzt sind da die Stimmen eher leiser geworden, weil man vielleicht auch gemerkt hat, dass es nicht funktioniert. Jetzt ist es eher die Unfähigkeit der Verwaltung.

#00:51:51-9# Interviewee 2: Und eben auch totale Empathielosigkeit. Die verstehen einfach nicht das Problem. Die haben keine strukturelle Sicht auf die Sache. Und es gibt eben diese Dach-übern-Kopf-Mentalität. Man kann sich da einfach nicht reindenken. Niemand kann sich das vorstellen, zwei drei Jahre so zu leben.

#00:54:09-1# Interviewee 1: Wir haben uns da auch ein wenig verzettelt. Wir hätten und müssen da noch mehr pushen. Es ist aber auch die politische Stimmung etwas besser. Die Residenzpflicht ist am kippen. Es gibt in der CDU nicht mehr so die harten Rechten, die alle Ausländer raus haben wollen. Die Wohnungsunterbringung ist oftmals auch ne Option. Jetzt sind es eben die Mieten und die ansteigenden Zahlen, die die Unterbringung herausfordern.

#00:58:56-7# Interviewer: Was ist eure Vision für Wohnen für Asylsuchende?

#00:59:04-1# Interviewee 2: Realistisch ist es halt so ein Modell: Erstaufnahme ist klar. Mehr als ein Monat muss das nicht dauern. Und dann eben die Unterbringung in den Wohnungen. Und die Bezirke suchen nach Wohnungen und die Wohnungsbaugesellschaften machen das wofür sie da sind und stellen Wohnungen zur Verfügung. Das wäre eigentlich ein normales sozialstaatliches Prinzip und keine Vision. Dann ist auch noch mal egal, wie das Asylverfahren angeht. Wir finden Wohnungsunterbringung muss hergestellt werden, egal welcher Status. Viele sind mehrere Jahre hier und man muss dafür sorgen, dass diese Jahre eben nicht vertan sind.

#01:01:20-4# Interviewer: Der Kern ist: Raus aus den Heimen, rein in Wohnungen und da auch die Ansage an Senat: Es muss ein Segment geben, also die Förderung des sozialen Wohnungsbaus.

#01:02:45-0# Interviewee 2: Die Grenze der Leistung ist halt auch so niedrig. Ich glaube es ist gar nicht so schwierig für Asylsuchende Wohnraum zu finden, man muss eben nur wollen.

#01:05:18-4# Interviewer: Denkt ihr denn die Situation sehe mit einer anderen Regierung anders aus?

#01:05:27-7# Interviewee 1: Nee, das hatten wir ja. Wir hatten ja rot-rot. Es dauert bis sich Verwaltungshandeln und Politik sich ändern. Die Verwaltung ist nicht schnell und flexibel genug, um da langfristig was zu ändern.

#01:11:18-4# Interviewer: Welche Rolle spielt in eurer Hinsicht speziell die Lage bzw. der Standort des Heims?

#01:11:26-7# Interviewee 1: Es gab und gibt abgelegene Heime wie Motardstraße und Hohen-Gatow. In Berlin ist es relativ in Ordnung. In jedem Bezirk gibts die BVG. Die können Rad fahren. Der Zugang wird weniger städtebaulich verhindert sondern sozial verhindert.

#01:13:11-4# Interviewer: In welchen Kooperation und mit welchen Methoden macht ihr Druck auf Realpolitik und herrschende Verhältnisse?

#01:20:06-9# Interviewee 2: Die besten Kooperationen wenn es um Realpolitik geht, sind die Jugendverbände der Parteien, Jusos z.b. Alle Oppositionsparteien, weil die auch immer auf der Suche sind, um irgendwas zu beschmutzen, aber da gibt es oftmals auch nicht um die Sache. Gerade mit den Willkommensinitiativen gibt es auch Synergien. Wir sind bei Kooperationen nicht wählerisch.

## I EFJ

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Sophia **Brink (Wohnen für Flüchtlinge, EFJ – Evangelisches Jugend- und Fürsorgehilfswerk)**

Date: 19.03.2014, 03.00pm

Place: Office of EJF, Turmstraße 21, 10559 Berlin

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:11-2# Interviewer: Was sind die Aufgabenfelder des EJF?

#00:00:20-6# Interviewee: Wir beraten Personen, die eine Aufenthaltsgestattung haben, also nur für Personen, die sich im Asylverfahren befinden. Das heißt die Flüchtlinge kommen zu uns in die Beratungsstelle und wir führen unterschiedliche Beratungen zur Wohnungsfindung durch: Wo kann ich wohnen? Welche Bewerbungsunterlagen brauche ich etc. Und wir prüfen ob die Angebote kostenadäquat sind. Ist der Preis in Ordnung? Ist die Größe in Ordnung? Die Berechnung ist ähnlich des ALG2-Satzes. Und da sind verschiedene Dinge notwendig. Das sind die Sachen, die wir dann von dem Vermieter benötigen. Viele Dinge, die der Vermieter nicht unbedingt und die so auch nicht im Mietvertrag stehen. Deswegen ist das eine Geschichte, die wir den Wohnungssuchenden aushändigen, damit die dadurch auf Wohnungssuche gehen können. Dann kommen die irgendwann mit nem Mietangebot zu uns und wir prüfen das. Und dann geht das ans Sozialamt und wenn es bestätigt wird, bekommen sie eine Kostenübernahme und sie können den Mietvertrag unterschreiben. Und dann kommen sie nochmal zu uns und wir beraten sie hinsichtlich Gas, Strom, polizeiliche Ummeldung und so. Das andere ist der Kooperationsvertrag, die das Lageso mit sechs Wohnungsbaugesellschaften abgeschlossen hat. Diese 275 Wohnungen vermitteln wir auch. Die werden jedes Jahr zur Verfügung gestellt. Vorgesehen sind diese Wohnungen für Flüchtlinge, bei den man ausgeht, dass sie die Wohnungssuche nicht alleine schaffen. Wir haben eine Liste an Personen, die in Frage kommen, z.b. Familien, Alleinerziehende Mütter, Behinderte, Traumatisierte. Diese Liste ist dann halt sehr lang. Und die Erwartungen der Flüchtlinge sind sehr groß. Aber wir haben eben begrenzte Wohnungen und die Anzahl der Flüchtlinge ist größer. Dadurch können auch nicht Leute in Wohnungen vermittelt werden, die es besonders nötig hätten.

#00:06:54-8# Interviewer: Wieviele Leute stehen auf der Liste?

#00:06:54-8# Interviewer: Zwischen 500 und 600. Und diese 275 Wohnungen sind auch noch nicht erreicht worden. Es sind 240 Wohnungen bisher angeboten worden. Es passiert aber auch nichts, wenn die nicht mehr anbieten. Die Wohnungssituation in Berlin katastrophal und daher haben die Flüchtlinge auch enorme Probleme überhaupt an Wohnungen zu kommen.

#00:08:03-0# Interviewer: Aber da kommen jedes Jahr 275 Wohnungen dazu?

#00:08:03-7# Interviewee: Ja, der Wohnraum der zur Verfügung gestellt wird, steigt jedes Jahr. Wir haben eben zwei Gruppen. Ein mal die, die mit eigenen Angeboten zu uns kommt und die, Gruppe die wir über die uns zur Verfügung gestellten Wohnungen vermitteln. Und die dritte Gruppe sind von privaten Anbietern. Also die, die privat von Leuten angeboten werden. Und künftig wollen wir auch diesen Punkt weiter stärken. Die Gelder für die Vermittlung kommen von der Lageso.

#00:11:23-7# Interviewer: Gibt es eine Wohnungspolitik für Asylsuchende und wenn ja wie sieht die aus?

#00:11:29-9# Interviewee: Was ich schon mitbekomme ist, dass es größtenteils gewollt ist, dass Flüchtlinge in Wohnungen ziehen und das ist ja auch eine Einzigartigkeit in Berlin. Und das ist ein Fortschritt. Aber in der Praxis gibt es viele Hürden. Zum Beispiel, die kurze Aufenthaltsdauer, fehlende Wohnungen. Es gibt noch viel, was dagegen arbeitet. Sie bekommen nach drei Monaten ein Schreiben vom Sozialamt,

dass sie sich eine Wohnung suchen können und dass sie die Wohnung unternehmen. Und die Flüchtlinge freuen sich dann sehr. Viele kommen jede Woche und jeden zweiten Tag zu uns mit einem Mietangebot. Es passiert aber sehr oft, dass die Flüchtlinge abgelehnt werden. Die Leute sind eben auch absolut unten in der Hierarchie, wenn es um Wohnraum geht.

#00:16:18-6# Interviewer: Würden sie behaupten, dass es auch gewisse Diskriminierungspraktiken auf dem Wohnungsmarkt gibt?

#00:16:18-6# Interviewee: Also, die gibt es bestimmt. Aber ich denke es scheitert meistens daran, dass die Vermieter wenig Sicherheiten. Auf der anderen Seite sind eben Flüchtlinge auch ein sicheres Einkommen. Der Vermieter stellt sich eben auch die Frage, wenn der Flüchtling verschwindet oder abgeschoben wird, wo sie dann sagen nee das mach ich nicht.

#00:19:18-8# Interviewer: Zwischen wem findet der Vertragsabschluss statt?

#00:19:18-8# Interviewee: Zwischen Vermieter und Flüchtling. Das Problem aber ist, dass die ganze Prüfung relativ lange dauert. Also das dauert schon ein Paar Tage und oftmals ist das zu lang und die Wohnung ist schon vergeben. Und es gibt eben grundsätzlich wenig Wohnraum in Berlin für den Preis, der vom Sozialamt bewilligt wird. Aber es gibt ihn. Für manche Gruppen ist es aber wirklich auch aussichtslos. Wir haben zum Beispiel eine Familien aus 10 Mitgliedern. Das sind die schweren Fälle. Selbst finden die nichts und wir bekommen selten über den Kooperationsvertrag keine Wohnung für so große Familien.

#00:23:59-6# Interviewer: Wie lange dauert es denn bis eine Wohnung gefunden wird?

#00:24:29-0# Interviewee: Es ist schwer zu beantworten. Wir kriegen fast täglich eine Wohnung. Vier Wochen Zeit haben wir die zu vermitteln. Oftmals wollen dann die Flüchtlinge auch die Wohnung nicht, bspw. weil sie zu weit draußen ist. Bei den anderen Wohnungen ist abhängig davon wie gut sie Deutsch sprechen. Da geht das manchmal wirklich schnell. Bei anderen fehlen viele Informationen. Das kann sich dann ewig hinziehen. Aber abschließend kann ich da keinen Durchschnittszeitraum nennen. Deutsch ist aber schon eine wichtige Voraussetzung.

#00:30:20-9# Interviewer: Wie viele Leute kommen pro Tag her?

#00:30:20-9# Interviewee: Also, angefangen hat es am ersten Tag mit 150 Leute. Heute sind es pro Tag 20. Vom Sozialamt bekommen wir die Liste zugeschickt und wir schauen dann, wer dafür in Frage kommt. Es ist schwierig, aber wir versuchen dann das gemeinsam im Team zu unterscheiden. Wir haben in diesem Jahr die 46 Wohnung vermittelt. Die Flüchtling bekommen leider den WBS-Schein nicht, was auch noch mal den Zugriff einschränkt.

#00:34:33-2# Interviewer: Wissen Sie, wann der Kooperationsvertrag zustande gekommen ist?

#00:35:58-3# Interviewee: Da müssen Sie beim Sozialamt fragen.

#00:37:16-4# Interviewer: Wo sind die Wohnungen?

#00:37:30-5# Interviewer: Die sind in ganz Berlin verteilt.

#00:37:30-5# Interviewer: Aber ist das jetzt auch im innerstädtischen Bereich?

#00:37:33-8# Interviewee: Also meistens, ja. Es gibt schon auch Wohnungen außerhalb. Aber es schon eher verteilt. Es gibt keinen Ort, wo es sich konkret konzentriert.

#00:41:48-0# Interviewer: Wollen die Asylsuchenden raus aus den Heimen?

#00:41:49-1# Interviewee: Ja, also ich hatte noch niemanden in der Beratung, der mit den Heimen glücklich war. Die wollen meistens alle da raus.

#00:42:53-3# Interviewer: Zeichnet sich die Vermittlung auch durch die verschiedenen Hintergründe und Nationalitäten aus?

#00:42:57-7# Interviewee: Also, es ist schon wichtig, dass die Leute Deutsch sprechen. Ich hab jetzt noch nicht festgestellt, dass eine Nationalität der anderen Nationalität vorgezogen wird. Die Gruppe selbst haben ja auch verschiedene Bedürfnisse und wir versuchen das auch zu berücksichtigen, gerade was Netzwerk anbelangt. Es gibt eben auch Präferenzen für die unterschiedlichen Bezirke.

#00:52:07-9# Interviewer: Es gibt vom dem EJF auch eine Unterkunft in Köpenick. Es gilt als gutes Beispiel, gerade was die Nachbarschaftsarbeit angeht. Wissen sie wie es zustande gekommen ist, dass die EJF zum Betreiber wird.

#00:53:03-7# Interviewee: Da sollten Sie direkt den Leiter fragen.

#00:54:17-3# Interviewer: Wie sieht ihre Vision für die optimale Unterbringung von Asylsuchenden in Berlin aus?

#00:54:21-0# Interviewee: Ich fände es schön, wenn die Flüchtlinge besser integriert in der Gesellschaft wären. So dass eben auch ein Austausch zwischen Flüchtlingen und den Leuten hier stattfinden kann. Ich habe auch das Gefühl, dass die Gesellschaft noch nicht ganz bereit ist für die Flüchtlinge. Vorbehalte sind weit verbreitet. Und ich fände es gut, wenn man an etwas zusammen arbeiten könnte und auch die Gesellschaft aufklären würde. Das Grand Hotel Beispiel finde ich auch erstrebenswert.

## I Refugee Council Berlin

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Georg Classen, **Flüchtlingsrat Berlin (Refugee Council Berlin)**

Date: 19.05.2014, 05.30pm

Place: Moccabar, Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:22-5# Interviewer: Wie ist der Konflikt mit der Gierso entstanden?

#00:02:16-5# Interviewee: Der entstand so, dass wir im Abgeordnetenhaus nachgefragt hatten, dass uns aufgefallen ist, dass in Unterkünften das gleiche Personal in verschiedenen Unterkünften als Sozialarbeiter tätig war. Frau Dolovac war in allen vier Gierso Heimen als Heimleiterin tätig und die stellen dann auch eben vier mal die Heimleitung in Rechnung. Und wir haben nachgefragt und der Senat hat gemeint, dass Personenidentität bestünde. Die Frage ist halt welche finanziellen Konsequenzen das dann hat. Und wir haben eben gesagt, dass die Gierso mit geklonten Personal arbeitet. Und die Gierso rechnet eben Leute ab, die da gar nicht arbeiten.

#00:04:47-2# Interviewer: Ist das grundsätzlich ein Problem der privaten Betreiber und den gemeinschaftsorientierten Betreibern wie die AWO zum Beispiell?

#00:05:03-4# Interviewee: Das weiß ich nicht. Uns is das einfach aufgefallen als wir uns mit den Unterkünften beschäftigt haben, dass da überall die gleichen Personen herumlaufen. Und die haben das Ziel mit möglichst wenig Aufwand möglichst viel Geld zu verdienen. Das ist das Ziel der Firma bei der Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen und aber auch das Ziel in der Öffentlichkeit einen guten Eindruck zu hinterlassen. Deswegen ist Frau Dolovac auch Öffentlichkeitsbeauftragte. Und die Gierso und die PeWoBe haben personelle Überschneidungen.

#00:08:58-1# Interviewer: Gibt es denn unabhängig der Konflikte auch Kooperationen zwischen den Betreibern und dem Flüchtlingsrat?

#00:08:58-1# Interviewee: Kommt auf den Betreiber an. Bei der AWO haben wir keine Probleme. Aber klar es gibt auch immer mal Konflikte, der sich auch an die Personalausstattung der Betreiber richtet. Es gibt auch 400 Euro Kräfte, die aus Vollzeit ausgegeben werden. Und das Lageso macht weiter die Verträge mit denen. Und ich glaub nicht, dass die besonders günstig sind. ich weiß nicht, warum die das machen. Auf jeden Fall schreibt das Lageso nicht aus und sie haben teilweise die Verträge am Anfang auch nur mündlich gemacht.

#00:38:45-5# Interviewee: Es hieß auch damals noch Sammellager. Heutzutage werden wir beschimpft, es seien doch keine KZs. Es aber es stand eben bis 1980 noch im Ausländergesetz drin und dann haben sie es halt eingeführt für alle und es wurde beschönigend Gemeinschaftsunterkunft genannt?

#00:38:45-0# Interviewer: Hat sich denn in der Funktion was geändert?

#00:38:45-9# Interviewee: Es hat sich geändert, dass tatsächlich seit Anfang der 1980er Jahre Asylbewerber generell in Sammellager eingewiesen werden. Sie sind zu diesem Zeitpunkt überhaupt erst flächendeckend eingeführt wurden. Es war damals noch viel krasser weil Sammellager auch mit einer totalen Überwachung, Entrechtung und Eingriffe in die Privatsphäre auch einhergingen. Es dient neben der Abschreckung ist immer auch ein definiertes Ziel die Kontrolle. Das heißt, den Zugriff auf den Ausländer zum Zweck der Abschiebung. Das ist auch merkwürdig weil in Berlin auch ganz andere Betreiber auftauchen als bundesweit. Es ist schon auffällig, dass in Berlin immer die gleichen den Zuschlag kriegen.

#00:12:40-7# Interviewer: Mich würde interessieren, warum die Vergabe an Betreiber so unterschiedlich ausgestaltet ist und warum es auch so viele Betreiber gibt.

#00:13:10-6# Interviewee: Grundsätzlich ist die Konkurrenz durch mehrere Betreiber schon gut. Ich finde es schon besser, dass die Betreiber konkurrieren und ich finde es auch nicht unmittelbar schlecht, dass es keine staatlichen Lager sind wie in Bayern. Das heißt, der Staat hat unmittelbar Zugriff und Kontrolle auf die privaten Wohnverhältnisse des Flüchtlings. Und das ist auch gewollt. Da finde ich das Berliner Modell einer Mischung aus privaten und gemeinnützigen Unternehmen schon besser. Der Samariterbund ist auch gemeinnützig und deren Arbeit ist auch mehr als dürftig. Den fällt es gar nicht auf, wenn Flüchtlinge nach einem halben Jahr immer noch auf Feldbetten schlafen ohne Matratze und es bei 150 Flüchtlingen es keine Waschmaschine gibt. Die Gemeinnützigen sind nicht immer automatisch besser. Mängel gibt es überall, auch bei der AWO.

#00:15:59-4# Interviewer: Ich würde gerne noch mal zurückspringen und allgemein fragen, wie du die Asylpolitik in Berlin bewerten würdest?

#00:16:03-0# Interviewee: Berlin hat schon bezüglich der Unterbringung Fortschritte gemacht im Vergleich zu den anderen Bundesländern. Weil Berlin hat seit 2003 den Flüchtlingen erlaubt ne eigene Wohnung zu beziehen. Und da ist Berlin einmalig und letztes Jahr ist Bremen nachgezogen. Das verstößt eigentlich gegen Bundesrecht, weil dort das Regel-Ausnahmeverhältnis umgekehrt ist. Aber man hat da ein faktisches Problem hier, dass eben die Flüchtlinge keine Wohnungen mehr finden. Das Lageso hat darauf reagiert indem sie die Wohnungsvergabe an einen Wohlfahrtsverband delegiert haben, EJF. Das muss man beobachten, weil die da ganz neu drin sind. Muss man schauen, ob sich das bewährt. Aber vom Ansatz her finde ich das erst mal nicht schlecht. Also die haben versucht darauf zu reagieren, weil das Prozedere der Lageso einfach auch zu langsam war. Die Unterbringung in der Sammelunterkunft kostet um die 500 Euro pro Person pro Monat, was bei einer Person schon mehr ist als die Unterbringung in einer Wohnung. Bei vier Personen sind das 2000 Euro im Monat und das geht gar nicht. Und da wird sehr viel Geld ausgegeben. Und klar ist natürlich für Integration wäre das wichtig. Und das Arbeitserlaubnisrecht sieht halt eine Vorrangprüfung vor. In den ersten neun Monaten gar keine Arbeit und dann bei der Vorrangprüfung in Berlin gibt es immer einen Arbeitslosen, der den Job machen kann. Das heißt, wir haben hier eine Sozialhilfeabhängigkeit von 99 Prozent. Schon seit Jahrzehnten. Aber die Zahl der Arbeitserlaubnisse sagt nicht aus wie viele Personen auch gearbeitet haben, weil Arbeitserlaubnisse temporär und immer wieder auch an eine Person mehrmals verteilt werden können.

#00:19:26-9# Interviewer: Ändert sich mit der Diskussion um das neue Gesetz das mit der Arbeitserlaubnis?

#00:19:37-5# Interviewee: Die wollen das ja verschärfen. Die wollen das Ausweisungsrecht verschärfen und ein Arbeitsverbot, wenn der Asylantrag abgelehnt wurde. Die wollen massenweise die erfundenen Missbrauchsbestände durchsetzen. Die aktuelle Diskussion ist das schärfste und geht sogar über den Kompromiss 1993 hinaus.

#00:22:42-2# Interviewer: Auf Berliner Ebene kann, wie gerade gesagt, Wohnraum nach drei Monaten angemietet werden. Müssen Asylsuchende irgendwas unterschreiben, dass sie kooperieren beim Antragsverfahren?

#00:25:18-6# Interviewee: Nein.

#00:28:44-2# Interviewer: Wie bewertest du allgemein den Integrationsprozess und die Integrationschancen in Berlin?

#00:28:51-8# Interviewee: Berlin bietet als Stadt aufgrund der Struktur eine Metropole Asylbewerbern ganz andere Chancen als irgendwo auf nem Dorf in der Provinz. Weil es hier Möglichkeiten gibt, sich selber auf den Weg zu machen, schulische Angebote wahrzunehmen, mit Bekannten Kontakt aufzuneh-

men, Deutsch zu lernen. Die Stadt hat Vorteile. Hier kann man anders leben und überleben. Aber die rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen sind ganz schlecht. Sie dürfen zwar wohnen, finden aber ganz schlecht eine Wohnung. Sie haben kein Recht auf Deutschkurse, erst wenn sie anerkannt werden. Seit Jahren fordern wir, dass das Land Berlin finanzielle Mittel für Deutschkurse zur Verfügung stellt, aber das tun die nicht. Dann ist der faktische (nicht rechtliche) Zugang zu Schulbildung und Kindergarten ein Problem. Fünf Prozent aller Asylkinder im kindergartenfähigen Alter besuchen den Kindergarten, obwohl im letzten vorschulischen Jahr in Berlin der Kindergarten Pflicht ist wegen der Sprachförderung. Die Grundschule ist in Berlin als Ganztagsangebot durch den Hort dargelegt. Aber wenige Asylbewerberkinder gehen in den Hort, wo soziales Lern, Hausaufgabenhilfe organisiert wird. Das klappt nicht. Die Horte sind an die Schule angegliedert. Und da sind die häufig nicht drin, obwohl die am schärfsten förderungsbedürftig sind. Es gibt Wartezeiten auf einen Grundschulplatz von bis zu sechs Monaten. Das wird dann mit fehlender Kapazität begründet. Da gibts vieles was in der Praxis schief läuft.

#00:33:41-0# Interviewer: Das sie das Angebot nicht bekommen, an wen liegt das letztlich?

#00:33:42-4# Interviewee: Das liegt an dem mangelnden Engagement der Sozialarbeiter. Es liegt aber auch an der Abwehrhaltung vieler Schulen, die auf diese Arbeit keine Lust haben. Liegt aber auch an der Haltung des Senats, der sich nicht dahinter klemmt. Sie bräuchten ja auch alle Anpassungsqualifizierungen für Flüchtlinge an die Bedingungen hier in Deutschland. Wer es dann schafft zu arbeiten, arbeitet dann oft prekär und unterqualifiziert und durch die Lange Ausgrenzung durch Wohnen und durch Arbeitsmarkt auch chronisch krank werden, auch körperliche und psychische Krankheiten. Also Arbeitsverbot, Residenzpflicht, Zwangsverteilung, Ausbildungsverbot hat seine Wirkung. Das funktioniert. Es führt nicht dazu, dass die Leute zurückgehen, aber dazu dass sie krank werden, immobil werden, auch nicht mehr freiwillig zurückgehen können, weil sie wirklich fertig gemacht werden. Und dann hast du hier gescheiterte Existenzen, die aber wirklich zum Scheitern gebracht und psychisch und physisch zugrunde gerichtet werden. Und das kostet der Deutschen Gesellschaft einen Haufen Geld und es ist genau das Gegenteil von Integration.

#00:37:25-3# Interviewer: Das ist genau die Sache die mich beschäftigt. Ich habe diese Kritik von vielen Seiten gehört, auch in Bezug auf die Wohnunterbringung. Und du hast gerade im Passiv gesprochen, also sie 'werden fertig gemacht'. Mit welchem Ziel wird das gemacht?

#00:37:58-9# Interviewee: Abschreckung. Das ist das Ziel. Das steht ja im Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz auch so drin - sowohl für die Begründung der Sammelunterkunft als auch das Arbeitsverbot. Wenn du dir mal Bundesratsprotokolle aus 1980 anschaut, Lothar Spät hat die Sammellager in Baden-Württemberg eingeführt. Es stand bis 1980 noch im Ausländergesetz drinnen. Dann haben sie es zwingend eingeführt für alle und haben es Gemeinschaftsunterkunft genannt.

#00:38:43-4# Interviewer: Aber hat sich denn daran was geändert?

#00:38:46-3# Interviewee: Es hat sich insofern geändert als dass Asylbewerber seit den 1980er Jahren generell in Lager eingewiesen werden und die sind als solche dort eingeführt wurden. Es war damals viel krasser, weil natürlich Sammellager mit einer totalen Entrechtung der Person, Eingriffe in der Privatsphäre. Neben der Überwachung ist eben auch definiertes Ziel die Kontrolle. Also den Zugriff auf den Asylsuchenden zum Zweck der Abschiebung.

#00:38:38-4# Interviewer: Die Begrifflichkeit finde ich eben auch gespannt. Wiedergabe Zitat Senat.

#00:40:30-7# Interviewee: Das stimmt insofern als dass sie in Berlin nach drei Monaten ausziehen dürfen. Aber für die ersten drei Monate gibt es sehr wohl das Zwangsregime. Weil im Bundesgesetz heißt es für die ersten drei Monate zwingend und dann steht "sollen in der Regel" und Berlin macht daraus "sollen in der Regel nicht". Gegen die ersten drei Monate kommt Berlin auch nicht an.

#00:41:33-7# Interviewer: Wie würdest du aktuell die Lage in Berlin einschätzen? Ist es eher die Abschreckung oder siehst du da schon eine Öffnung für die Unterbringung außerhalb der Lager.

#00:41:57-7# Interviewee: Das ist etwas schwer einzuschätzen. Die machen schon was für Wohnen, andererseits könnten sie viel mehr tun. Aber sie machen es nicht. Wir haben viele Forderungen aufgestellt. Die wenigsten davon wurden umgesetzt.

#00:45:42-1# Interviewer: Wie muss ich mir die politische Arbeit vom Flüchtlingsrat vorstellen?

#00:45:54-1# Interviewee: Wir versuchen die Akteure zu vernetzen. Wir vermitteln an Beratungen. Und politisch: von Briefe schreiben bis Demo. Wir haben relativ gute Kontakte ins Abgeordnetenhaus zu den Oppositionsparteien, die Anfragen für uns schreiben. Am maßgeblichsten sind die Piraten. Öffentliche Veranstaltungen, Teilnahme an Tagungen. Was in Berlin auch auffällt, ist das es viele neue Willkommen-initiativen und Nachbarschaftsinitiativen für Flüchtlinge gibt. Die Presse berichtet auch ziemlich positiv. Also medial und zivilgesellschaftlich hat sich da schon einiges getan im Vergleich zu vor 20 Jahren.

#00:51:33-9# Interviewer: Wie würdest du das erklären? Warum ist das heute anders als vor 20 Jahren?

#00:51:39-8# Interviewee: Weil zum die Presse positiv berichtet. Keine Ahnung woran das liegt.

#00:52:35-9# Interviewer: Wie erklärst du dir den institutionellen Aufbau und Zuständigkeit in Berlin?

#00:53:05-7# Interviewee: Das ist in den Ländern unterschiedlich. In Berlin ist es Sozialverwaltung. Auf Bundesebene macht das Sozialministerium das Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz. Das Asylrecht liegt beim Innenministerium. In manchen Ländern ist auch das Innenministerium zuständig und da gibt es meistens auch restriktivere Bedingungen. Eigentlich ist unsere Forderung eh, dass Ausländerpolitik nichts mit Innenpolitik und Ordnungspolitik zu tun hat. Es müsste insgesamt zu Arbeit und Soziales. Es widerspricht auch der gesellschaftlichen Stimmung.

#00:55:54-6# Interviewer: Ich habe noch ein paar Fragen zu den unterschiedlichen Formen der Lager.

#00:59:15-1# Interviewee: Also in Berlin gibt es vier Aufnahmeheime. Waldschluchtpfad, Motardstraße, Rhinestraße, Kaiserdamm gelten als Erstaufnahme. Die Listen zu den Heimen, also die Adressen sind anonym. Wir wollen nicht das Nazis so ne Liste in die Hände bekommen und wissen, wo die ganzen Heime sind. Wir haben inzwischen ersucht das zu unterbinden. Die Notunterkunft hingegen ist ein Label dafür, dass die Standards nicht eingehalten werden oder wenn sie noch in der Renovierungsphase sind. Manche Unterkünfte laufen schon seit zwei Jahren als Notunterkunft und das ist nicht korrekt. Das ist eine Berliner Spezialität. Das ist schon eine Berliner Spezialität. Sonst gibt es immer nur eine Erstaufnahme und eben die Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte.

#01:04:58-2# Interviewer: Wie rechtfertigt sich denn die ganze Notunterkunftssache?

#01:05:04-1# Interviewee: Aus unserer Sicht hätte man da schon eher aktiv werden können. Man sieht den Heimen eben auch das notdürftige und das provisorische an und du siehst eben auch schon von der Farbe und von der Optik, dass da keine normalen Menschen wohnen.

#01:07:19-4# Interviewer: Was sind denn die Hauptkritikpunkte an der Heimunterbringung?

#01:07:30-7# Interviewee: Es stigmatisiert die Flüchtlinge nach außen, weil es sichtbar ist, dass dort andere Menschen leben. Es gibt aber auch Heime, die in einem Mietshaus sind. Sie sind im Stadtbild auffällig. Weiterhin ist die Privatsphäre eingeschränkt. Wenn du aus deinem Zimmer an dem Büro des Sozialarbeiters vorbei auf's Klo gehst. Das sind private Sachen, da möchte ich nicht gleich an meinen Betreuer vorbeigehen. Die PeWoBe hat Videokameras auf den Gängen. Die Kontrolle wenn man in die Unterkunft geht oder die Unterkunft - wenn auch nur für eine Zigarette verlässt. Das enge Zusammenwohnen der

Menschen macht sie krank. Die Kinder können nicht in Ruhe für die Schule was machen oder Freunde einladen. Es ist Zusammenwohnen auf engstem Raum. In der Motardstraße wird im Winter nicht geheizt, die Wasserrohre platzen, es gibt Ungeziefer. Die Stadträumliche Lage ist schlimm. Die Bewohner werden verteilt und können nicht frei entscheiden, wo sie sind. Der Umgang mit Krankheit oder Behinderungen oder Familie wird oftmals bei der Verteilung auf die Heime nicht berücksichtigt und dann sitzt ein Gehbehinderter in einem nicht barrierefreien Heim.

#01:12:36-4# Interviewer: Wie bewertest du die stadträumliche Lage?

#01:12:45-3# Interviewee: Die ist in Berlin sehr unterschiedlich. Es gibt Unterkünfte, die baulich schlecht sind, aber sich in guter stadträumlicher Lage befinden. Es gibt Unterkünfte in Kreuzberg, die in beiden gut sind. Manche sind soweit draußen und haben eine schlechte Ausstattung. Es ist aber eine gute Infrastruktur und Anbindung notwendig. Aber in Berlin ist die Lage natürlich immer besser als irgendwo auf einem Dorf.

#01:17:43-9# Interviewer: Wie sieht deine Vision für die optimale Unterbringung von Asylsuchenden in Berlin aus?

#01:17:54-7# Interviewee: Ganz spießig: Drei Zimmer, Küche, Bad.

#01:18:05-6# Interviewer: Wie kann das politisch, gesellschaftlich und finanziell realisiert werden?

#01:18:05-6# Interviewee: Finanziell ist es kein Problem, weil es billiger ist als das laufende Programm. Allerdings ist es ein Problem, dass nicht nur Asylsuchende sondern viele andere Zuwanderer in der Stadt sind und es ein enormes Wohnungsproblem gibt. Asylsuchende sind die schwächsten auf dem Markt. Noch schwächer als die beiden anderen prekären Gruppen: Studierende und Hartz4 Empfänger, die auch um Wohnungen konkurrieren und nicht versorgt sind. Berlin hat vor 12 Jahren den sozialen Wohnungsbau abgeschafft. Es gibt momentan keinen öffentlich finanzierten Wohnneubau. Es gibt viel Umwandlung von Eigentum; es wird massiv umgewandelt und Wohnraum geht verloren. Wir brauchen also eine Wohnungspolitik in Berlin. Das heißt sozialen Wohnungsbau. Das heißt Mieterschutzrechte. Das heißt Mietgrenzen. Unterbindung der Ferienwohnung.

#01:21:04-1# Interviewer: Aber siehst du die Stellschrauben auf einer allgemeinen Ebene?

#01:21:04-1# Interviewee: In Berlin, ja. In Berlin sehe ich die Stellschrauben vor allem auf der Ebene der Wohnungspolitik. Und auch auf der Ebene der gezielten Stärkung Asylsuchender auf dem Markt. Das Kontingent für Asylsuchende für die Landeseigene Wohnung sollte erhöht werden.

#01:23:44-4# Interviewer: Es ist also sozusagen ein Segment, das fehlt. Das nicht mehr da ist und immer weiter weg schrumpft.

#01:23:48-2# Interviewee: Ja. Und es fehlt eben allgemein eine Wohnungspolitik für Berlin. Die Schwächsten leiden darunter, dass es die nicht gibt.

## I Social Workers

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Focus Group Discussion: Social Worker of AWO on Problems and Challenges of Working in Asylum Centres

Interviewee 2: Snežana Prvulović-Hummel, Chief Executive, **AWO (Arbeiterwohlfahrt), Operator of Asylum Centres**

Interviewee 1,3,4,5: Social Worker of AWO

Date: 20.03.2014, 02.00pm

Place: Rhinstraße 127, 10315 Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:00-0# Interviewer: Die weitere Unterbringung ist dann AWO-unabhängig.

#00:01:00-1# Interviewee 1: Das wird vom Sozialamt gesteuert.

#00:01:24-3# Interviewer: Das heißt, Sie haben da auch gar kein Einfluss drauf?

#00:01:24-8# Interviewee 2: Im Prinzip nicht, aber es gab aber schon Fälle in denen wir auch Einflussmöglichkeiten haben.

#00:01:37-0# Interviewee 3: Zum Beispiel bei Schutzbedürftigen. Da sagen wir auch, die müssen in bestimmte Heime.

#00:02:05-2# Interviewer: Wieviele Sozialarbeiterinnen sind aktuell hier?

#00:02:05-2# Interviewee 3: 4.

#00:02:05-9# Interviewer: Das heißt, wenn eine Betreuung einer Familie bzw. eines Bewohners stattfindet, findet auch keine weitere Betreuung nach Auszug statt?

#00:02:37-2# Interviewee 1: Offiziell nicht. Aber inoffiziell ist es so, dass wenn wir Leute hier lange Zeit haben, dass wenn sie fragen haben, auch jederzeit zurückkommen können. Das passiert.

#00:02:54-2# Interviewee 2: Das kommt oft vor. Ich kenne es auch aus anderen Häusern. Gerade aus der Kinderbetreuung. Das es da einen Austausch gibt.

#00:03:14-6# Interviewee 5: Ein praktischer Aspekt, dass wir Dolmetscher und Sprachmittler bereitstellen, die es in anderen Wohnheimen nicht gibt.

#00:03:25-5# Interviewee 4: Und wir auch einen niedrigeren Personalschlüssel haben.

#00:03:31-8# Interviewee 2: Das ist die große Errungenschaft diese Standortes, dass wir hier erstmals überhaupt vom Land Mittel zugestanden bekommen haben für Sprachmittlung. Das ist ein Riesenschritt und eine große Bereicherung.

#00:04:02-0# Interviewer: Welche Sprachen sind das?

#00:04:02-0# Interviewee 3: Arabisch, Kurdisch, Serbisch, Russisch, Englisch.

#00:04:20-7# Interviewee 2: Das wechselt auch, je nachdem wie die Leute ankommen.

#00:05:31-0# Interviewer: Welche Aufgaben sind das die sie als Sozialarbeiterinnen hier haben?

#00:05:31-0# Interviewee 3: Alles.

#00:05:43-5# Interviewee 1: Fast alles.

#00:05:49-6# Interviewee 3: Also dadurch, dass es hier so viele Menschen gibt, umfasst die Soziale Arbeit viele Bereiche: Häusliche Gewalt, Traumatisierung, Behinderung. Wir arbeiten in vielen Bereichen.

#00:06:15-2# Interviewee 2: Was die Arbeit auch besonders schwer macht. An der Oberfläche ist das möglich ja. Aber man muss sich auf die Leute einlassen und diese auch auf die Sozialarbeiter. Und das Problem ist, dass sie mittendrin oftmals durch Umverlegung, durch Umzug unterbrochen. Und das ist schwer zu ertragen und macht die Arbeit auch schwer.

#00:07:21-5# Interviewee 4: Oftmals ziehen sie dann in einen ganz anderen Bezirk und das ist frustrierend, weil die Kinder bereits hier schon zur Schule gehen oder die Familie Kontakte geknüpft hat.

#00:08:44-2# Interviewee 2: Und hier hatte sie eben einen Schulplatz.

#00:08:57-3# Interviewee 4: Und sie ist richtig gut in der Schule. Ich bin mir sicher, dass dauert nun erst mal wieder Wochen bis sie in die Schule gehen kann. Und das ist dann schon frustrierend.

#00:09:35-4# Interviewer: Die Entscheidungen sind dann im Prinzip relativ unwillkürlich, oder?

#00:09:35-4# Interviewee 1: In der Regel sagen die ein paar Tage vorher bescheid. Und dann kommen die eben in die Folgeeinrichtung.

#00:10:20-8# Interviewee 4: Wobei diese Probleme auch erst entstanden sind, seitdem es die geringen Kapazitäten gibt. Und dadurch funktioniert das eben nicht mehr. Die Kapazitäten fehlen. Die Leute bleiben länger, werden dann aber aus der Betreuung gerissen, wenn sie die Unterkunft wechseln müssen. Und dann kommt es eben oft zu Hauruckaktionen, dass dann manchmal gleich 50 Leute hier ausziehen.

#00:11:26-1# Interviewee 5: Wie haben auch Auseinandersetzung, wenn wir manchmal spezielle Fälle haben. Ein Problem ist eben auch, dass die Pflege vom Pflegedienst manchmal nicht bezahlt.

#00:12:50-7# Interviewee 2: Bei den Asylbewerbern gilt nicht das Sozialgesetzbuch sondern das Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz. In seiner Auslegung soll dies erst mal restriktiv angewendet werden. In der Praxis bedeutet das, dass §6, der durchaus Hilfestellungen enthält, dass die Feststellung der Bedürftigkeit amtlich festgestellt werden muss, bevor eine Leistung erfolgen darf. Eine Amtsärztin muss den Fall also erst bewerten und sagen muss: hier muss ein Pflegedienst eingeschaltet werden. Aber das dauert. Die Amtsärzte nehmen manchmal ewig keine Feststellungen vor, die gebraucht wird um die Kostenübernahme letztlich auch zu sichern. Wir haben durch den Gesetzeslage eine Situation, in der wir Menschen zweiter Klasse haben, in der gesundheitlichen Versorgung. Und das ist das Kriminelle.

#00:15:28-3# Interviewee 5: Es gibt eine zentrale Gutachterstelle innerhalb der Lageso und die entscheiden ausschließlich nach Aktenlage und das dauert mehrere Monate.

#00:16:12-9# Interviewer: Und wenn wir jetzt an weiteren politische Forderungen denken?

#00:17:24-8# Interviewee 2: Ja, Abschaffung des Asylbewerberleistungsgesetzes. Es gibt keine andere Forderung als diese. Es ist gerade in Überarbeitung in Hinblick auf §6 und die neue EU Aufnahme Richtlinie von 2013, die weitergehende Forderungen an die Nationalstaaten stellt. Ich bin der Meinung, wir

können uns die Überarbeitungen sparen, wir können uns das Geld sparen und sie sollen endlich den Unfug abschaffen, den es einmalig in Deutschland gibt. Es liegt außerhalb der sozialen Gesetzgebung.

#00:18:57-7# Interviewee 5: Die Höhe des Leistungsbetrags wurde ja durch das Bundesverfassungsgericht schon angepasst.

#00:19:26-1# Interviewee 4: Wichtig wäre auch die Abschaffung dieser ärztlichen Scheine und die Integration in das Versicherungssystem.

## I Gierso

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: Suada Dolovac, Public Relations Work, Coordination, **Gierso Boardinghouse GmbH** (Operator)

Interviewee 2: Name unknown, Social Worker, Gierso Boardinghouse GmbH (Operator)

Interviewee 3: Name unknown, Social Worker and housemaster, Gierso Boardinghouse GmbH (Operator)

Date: 24.03.2014, 12.30pm

Place: Asylum Centre Klingsorstrasse 119, 12203 Berlin

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:01:24-7# Interviewer: Seit wann und in welchen Bereichen beschäftigt sich die Gierso mit Flüchtlingen.

#00:01:24-7# Interviewee 1: Die Gierso ist eine ganz junge Firma in der Richtung. Seit Ende 2012. Wir hatten das erste Objekt in der Turmstraße 21 und da sind die ersten Flüchtlinge reingekommen. Wir mussten das Objekt aber schließen und im Februar 2013 sind wir dann umgezogen in die Levetzowstraße. Danach öffnete hier die Klingsorstraße Ende März. Und Anfang Mai in Charlottenburg. Also wir sind innerhalb von einem Jahr auf vier Wohnheime vergrößert. Wir betreuen momentan 700 Flüchtlinge. Und so wie wir gewachsen sind, sind auch die Mitarbeiter gewachsen, sodass wir momentan ca. 30 Mitarbeiter in den Wohnheimen haben, die für die Bedürfnisse und Belange der Bewohner zuständig sind. Zu den Teams gehören auch die Hausmeister und Reinigungskräfte aber auch die Wachschutzfirma. Wir sind jetzt auf dem besten Wege noch weitere Heime zu eröffnen. Demnächst im Juni soll in Steglitz eins eröffnen. Soorstraße und Levetzowstraße haben rund 260 Bewohner. Die anderen beiden um die 100. Gerade die Levetzowstraße verschafft uns Probleme, weil es ist eine Notunterkunft und mit Mindeststandards und es steht eben in der Öffentlichkeit. Wir hoffen, dass bald das Objekt schließen wird und wir eine neue Unterkunft eröffnen auch in Mitte.

#00:05:04-0# Interviewer: Und was sind die anderen Unterkünfte für Einrichtungen?

#00:05:06-2# Interviewee 1: Erstaufnahme bzw. Gemeinschaftsunterkunft. Wir streben eine Gemeinschaftsunterkunft an.

#00:05:48-2# Interviewer: Warum auch Erstaufnahme? Es gibt ja eigentlich zwei große Erstaufnahmeunterkünfte?

#00:05:48-2# Interviewee 2: Das hat das Lageso so entschieden. Es gibt weniger Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen und die Plätze müssen aber auch da sein. Momentan ist einfach sehr starker Bedarf. Es sind mehr Flüchtlinge als Plätze.

#00:06:46-2# Interviewer: Was zeichnet die einzelnen Unterkünfte aus?

#00:07:03-2# Interviewer: Wie richten uns nach den Mindeststandards, danach arbeiten wir halt, also dass der Bedarf bereitsteht, die Sozialarbeit, die Kinderbetreuung. Und wir teilen dem Lageso mit, wenn wir Plätze frei haben und dann bekommen wir über das Lageso neue Flüchtlinge.

#00:08:26-2# Interviewee 1: Wir geben jeden Morgen die Belegungsmeldung durch. Und dann sehen die, dass z.b. die Klingsorstraße vier Plätze freihat und dann kommen die da hin. Für die Leute ist das doof, weil sie nicht wissen, was sie dort erwartet. Sie kennen die Objekte nicht.

#00:09:44-6# Interviewer: Und die Standorte, die sie haben, wie wurden die ausgesucht und wer ist da der Eigentümer, wie muss ich mir das vorstellen?

#00:09:53-5# Interviewee 1: Die Geschäftsführung kümmert sich darum. Die Zusammenarbeit mit den Bezirken ist gut. Meistens ist es so, dass das Objekt leer ist und dann fragen wir an und dann wird verhandelt.

#00:10:54-6# Interviewer: Aber die Initiative kommt dann schon von der Gierso, gerade wenn es jetzt um einen neuen Standort geht?

#00:10:51-3# Interviewee 2: Ich weiß gar nicht so genau wie das abläuft.

#00:12:31-4# Interviewer: Man merkt ja schon, dass die Standorte auch unterschiedlich verteilt sind und es wäre schon interessant zu wissen wie und durch wen da solche Standortaquisen zustande kommen.

#00:13:10-9# Interviewer: Auf der Seite der Gierso steht "Aufgeschlossen und mit innovativen Visionen bieten wir einen großen Beitrag zur Integration von Menschen." Wie sieht die Arbeit hier im Alltag aus und was sind so die Visionen, die die Gierso hat.

#00:13:38-7# Interviewee 2: Da ist zum Beispiel ein Punkt, dass wir anfangen vom ersten Tag an integrativ zu arbeiten.

#00:13:45-8# Interviewer: Was heißt das genau?

#00:13:55-9# Interviewee 2: Die Kinder werden sofort in der Schule angemeldet. Es wird drum gekümmert, dass gebastelt wird, dass auch die umliegenden Anwohner beteiligt werden. Wo wir von Anfang an versuchen, sie willkommen zu halten.

#00:14:31-9# Interviewee 1: Und halt auch die Teilnahme an Deutschkursen, wo sich halt einzelne Initiativen und Träger ehrenamtlich dazu bereit stellen. Mit der Sprache beginnt schon die Integration. Montag und Donnerstag haben wir Kurse in der Klingsorstraße.

#00:15:29-0# Interviewer: Werden die Deutschkurse gefördert, in den ersten Wochen nach der Ankunft?

#00:15:29-8# Interviewee 2: Die Deutschkurse, die wir anbieten sind ehrenamtliche Kurse. Es wird aktuell von politischer Seite nicht gefördert.

#00:16:06-5# (Angestellte kommt rein.)

#00:16:06-5# Interviewee 1: Sie sehen ja wie motiviert die Mitarbeiter sind.

#00:16:12-1# Interviewee 3: Außerdem wohn ich um die Ecke.

#00:16:23-2# Interviewer: Wie läuft das hier in der Nachbarschaft?

#00:16:19-6# Interviewee 2: Wie haben so viele Anfragen, viele Ehrenamtliche, die in Stadtschuhen stehen und helfen wollen. Solange sie keinen Aufenthaltstitel haben, haben sie keinen Anspruch.

#00:17:35-3# Interviewee 3: Die sind vom Bundesamt finanziert und da gibt es momentan kein Anspruch.

#00:17:42-7# Interviewee 2: Also die müssen mindestens zwölf Monate hier leben und sind dann auch verpflichtet.

#00:18:05-6# Interviewer: Kann die Sprachförderung überhaupt durch das Ehrenamt übernommen werden?

#00:18:06-1# Interviewee 2: Natürlich wäre es besser, wenn wir offizielle Deutschkurse hätten. Aber durch den Besuch ehrenamtlicher Kurse bekommen sie natürlich auch eine gewisse Form der Qualifizierung für den Beruf später.

#00:19:01-1# Interviewer: Zu der Wahl der Standorte. Ich würde gern aus ihrer persönlichen Erfahrung fragen, was ein guter Standort für sie darstellt.

#00:19:40-6# Interviewee 2: Ich find die Soorstraße am besten. Der ist in der Stadt. Kannste überall hin.

#00:19:46-2# Interviewee 3: Obwohl es fast schon günstiger wäre, wenn Wohnhäuser nicht direkt dran anschließen. Es soll nicht direkt mit Anwohnern umsäumt sein, aber auch nicht zu dezentral. Das wäre perfekt.

#00:20:06-1# Interviewer: Weil?

#00:20:06-1# Interviewee 3: Weil es doch dann immer Probleme gibt, wenn die Anwohner dann... 'Ja, da steht wieder ein Fenster auf. Da sehe ich halb nackte Leute auf'm Klo', wo ich mich immer wunder: Sitzen die mit dem Fernglas zuhause. Oder es wird sich beschwert, dass es wieder so laut ist.

#00:20:31-1# Interviewer: Also Nachbarschaftskonflikte.

#00:20:31-1# Interviewee 1: Aber das haben wir ja zuhause auch. Wenn ich Geburtstagsfeier meckern die auch.

#00:20:39-9# Interviewee 3: Aber es ist halt schon so, dass die Anwohner von einem Heim schon etwas übersensibilisiert sind.

#00:20:53-1# Interviewer: Ist es dann aber nicht eher ein Problem der Nachbarschaft als ein Problem des Standorts?

#00:20:54-2# Interviewee 1: Ja, das sind ja die Einstellungsmerkmale und deren Meinung.

#00:21:11-6# Interviewer: Wie war das denn im Westend?

#00:21:22-3# Interviewee 3: Am Anfang waren da schon große Proteste, ja. Das sind die Westender. Besser betuchte. Die hatten Angst, dass es ihnen die Grundstückspreise verdirbt, wenn jetzt hier ein Asylbewerberheim ist.

#00:21:49-2# Interviewee 1: Es waren hauptsächlich ältere Leute, die da so Anti-Propaganda gemacht haben. Und haben auch im Hintergrund gearbeitet und Unterschriften gesammelt haben. Durch Freunde des Hause haben wir Unterstützung erfahren und auch durch die Politik. Es hat sich sehr beruhigt.

#00:23:00-4# Interviewee 3: Aber ab und zu steht da auch ein Anwohner: 'Also jetzt muss ich ihnen wieder mal was erzählen'.

#00:23:04-5# Interviewer: Und was kommt da so?

#00:23:04-5# Interviewee 3: Der Müllwagen lackt und die ganze Straße stinkt. Oder ein Wagen hat die halbe Nacht vor der Einrichtung gestanden. Aber wenn man sich mit denen ganz nett unterhält, geht es auch.

#00:24:08-6# Interviewee 1: Also am besten ist es, wenn man denen die Einrichtung zeigt. Wir sind ja wirklich auch offen und transparent. Also wir weisen niemanden ab. Es ist tatsächlich so, dass alle Mitarbeiter für diese Probleme offen sind. Und der Einblick in so ein Alltagsleben der Bewohner verändert dann auch die Sicht. Und das ist was ganz gutes.

#00:24:42-4# Interviewer: Wie würden Sie prinzipiell die Unterbringungssituation in Berlin bewerten?

#00:24:58-1# Interviewee 3: Nicht ausreichend. Es müssen mehr Plätze geschaffen werden.

#00:25:43-5# Interviewer: Wie ist die Auslastung in den Unterkünften der Gierso?

#00:25:47-2# Interviewee 1: Voll belegt.

#00:25:50-5# Interviewee 3: Das ist halt das Problem. Dadurch, dass es nicht ausreichend Plätze gibt, werden immer die Zustände wieder kritisiert, aber dann eben auch nicht geschlossen werden, weil keiner weiß, wohin mit den Leuten. Und das kanns ja nicht sein.

#00:27:33-7# Interviewer: Was würden Sie sagen, zeichnet Berlin aus hinsichtlich Asyl und Unterbringung?

#00:29:00-5# Interviewee 1: Also wir können dazu gar nichts sagen. Wir wissen nur, dass manche Bewohner dann weiterverteilt werden durch den Königsteiner Schlüssel.

#00:29:59-2# Interviewee 2: Es könnte wohl eine bessere Zusammenarbeit hinsichtlich Verteilung geben.

#00:32:14-7# Interviewer: Wie ist für Sie die Kooperation hier in Berlin? Gerade mit dem Lageso?

#00:32:20-9# Interviewee 2: Das ist schon gut. Da haben wir täglich Kontakt. Müssen wir ja auch.

#00:36:44-6# Interviewer: Welche Hintergründe haben die Bewohner, die hier leben?

#00:36:44-6# Interviewee 1: Meistens aus den ehemaligen Balkan-Staaten. Syrer viele.

#00:39:01-9# Interviewee 2: Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Ägypten.

#00:39:11-5# Interviewer: Gibt es Konflikte im Haus zwischen den einzelnen Gruppen?

#00:39:11-5# Interviewee 2: Also es gibt nicht direkt Konflikte, aber man merkt schon, dass sich einige aus dem Weg gehen. Interessanterweise entstehen die Konflikte meistens unter den Nationen.

#00:39:35-6# Interviewer: Was sind so die Problemlagen mit denen sich die Sozialarbeit hier beschäftigt?

#00:39:40-2# Interviewee 2: Wir schauen, wo die Leute herkommen und was sie halt so für Soforthilfe brauchen, um auch herauszufinden, was genau wir machen können. Die müssen auch merken, dass wir denen helfen wollen. Vertrauen aufbauen und über Gespräche herausfinden, was für Hilfe sie brauchen. Ein gutes Netzwerk aufbauen und schauen, wohin man weitervermitteln kann.

#00:42:52-2# Interviewer: Wie muss ich mir so den Tag von Flüchtlingen vorstellen?

#00:43:20-7# Interviewee 2: Es ist unterschiedlich. Die Kinder gehen zur Schule. Wir schauen schon, dass wir Freizeitbeschäftigung anbieten, aber ansonsten sitzen die meisten ihre Zeit eben ab. Was sollen sie auch machen?

#00:44:10-3# Interviewer: Aber die Angebote müssen nicht wahrgenommen werden?

#00:44:16-1# Interviewee 2: Nein, das ist alls freiwillig.

#00:44:35-8# Interviewer: Gibt es auch Personen, die gar nicht so oft hier sind, weil sie Kontakte in Berlin haben?

#00:44:44-6# Interviewee 2: Es gibt schon einige, die Kontakte hier haben. Wir haben in der Regel die Telefonnummern und rufen dann an, wenn wir jemanden ein paar Tage nicht sehen. In der Regel sind wir verpflichtet sie abzumelden, aber wir können das ja nicht kontrollieren. Also das ist auch schon passiert, dass wir sie abgemeldet haben und dann standen die auf ein mal wieder hier.

#00:46:21-6# Interviewer: Und dann?

#00:46:21-6# Interviewee 2: Man kann das irgendwas schieben oder man hat eben Platz. Das geht schon. Im besten Fall können wir den unterbringen. Sie haben ja die Residenzpflicht, können aber dennoch Urlaub beantragen und dann sind sie auch ne Zeit nicht da.

#00:47:22-2# Interviewer: Und wie ist das mit dem Wachschutz?

#00:48:44-0# Interviewee 1: Die Flüchtlinge nicht. Die können kommen und gehen, wann sie wollen. Aber wenn sie jetzt jemanden besuchen, müssen sie sagen, wohin und zu wem sie wollen. Bis 22.00Uhr haben sie die Möglichkeit hier zu bleiben. Die Ausweise dürfen wir gar nicht kontrollieren.

#00:48:53-9# Interviewer: Aber wie fällt das auf, wenn jemand ein paar Nächte nicht da ist?

#00:49:05-8# Interviewee 1: Da wir uns sehr stark mit den Bewohnern beschäftigen und wirklich mehrmals täglich durch das Haus laufen oder dass Waschmaschinentermine nicht eingehalten werden und man fragt halt andere. Das fällt dann schon auf.

#00:50:15-6# Interviewer: In der Gesetzgebung wird die Motivation deutlich, dass die Unterbringung in größeren Unterkünften politisch gewollt ist. Warum denken Sie ist das so? Und wie ist ihre Sicht auf Großunterkünfte?

#00:51:20-1# Interviewee 1: Generell finde ich große Unterkünfte nicht so schön, weil man kann eben nicht so viele Leute betreuen und begleiten und dann fällt vieles weg. Besonders wenn es um Integration geht. Es gibt hier schon Leute, die von Anfang an da.

#00:53:02-9# Interviewee 2: Es ist sehr selten. Aber manche bekommen recht schnell einen Bescheid. Aber so 9 bis 12 Monate dauert es schon. Schnell geht es bei Bewohnern aus dem ehem. Jugoslawien, weil klar ist, ob sie wieder zurückmüssen. Die bekommen die Absage recht schnell und müssen dann auch weg.

#00:54:18-5# Interviewee 1: Bei denen kommen die auch und holen sie dann ab. Die Polizei kommt dann in den frühen Morgenstunden, so um 4 oder 5, gibt denen eine halbe Stunde, um sich anzuziehen und dann müssen sie raus. Der Wachschutz erlebt das denn mit, weil wir um die Zeit auch nicht hier sind.

#00:54:47-8# Interviewer: Muss die Polizei rein gelassen werden?

#00:54:47-8# Interviewee 1: Ja.

#00:55:04-3# Interviewee 2: Das ist dann eben auch eine richtige Abschiebung, keine freiwillige Ausreise.

#00:56:14-7# Interviewer: Also in dieser Unterkunft bekommen Leute Essen oder?

#00:56:14-7# Interviewee 1: Ja, daher sind auch die Sätze unterschiedlich und da wir ja auch Erstaufnahme sind, bekommen die dann Essen und wir bekommen andere Sätze.

#00:56:36-2# Interviewer: Ich hab noch eine Frage zu den Wohnen. Nach drei Monaten ist es ja so, dass Flüchtlinge sich privaten Wohnraum anmieten können. Wie würden Sie allgemein die Möglichkeit Wohnraum anzumieten, bewerten?

#00:58:07-9# Interviewee 1: Es ist fast so gut wie unmöglich. Es gibt halt viele Restriktionen (Mietgrenze, keine langen Aufenthaltstitel, etc). Und wenn die dann eine Wohnung gefunden haben, stehen wir mit ihnen in einer Schlange von 50 Leuten. Wir verbringen viel Zeit für die Wohnungssuche. Und wir möchten das auch. Wir möchten die rauslassen und die sollen ihre eigenen vier Wände haben.

#01:00:25-5# Interviewee 2: Da würde ich gerne wissen, wie das Lageso berät. Ich bin mir gar nicht so sicher, ob die wissen, dass sie nach drei Monaten eine Wohnung mieten können. Das ist eigentlich die Aufgabe des Lagesos. Ich weiß auf jeden Fall, dass viele Bewohner das nicht wissen, wenn man sie drauf anspricht.

#01:01:38-2# Interviewer: Da wird ja dann auch die Aufgabe an Sie übertragen, das auch mitzuteilen.

#01:01:38-2# Interviewee 2: Natürlich machen wir das. Aber eigentlich ist es nicht unsere Aufgabe. Und wir haben auch eine E-Mail von dem Lageso bekommen, dass es jetzt eine neue Wohnberatung gibt und wir wurden gebeten, es nicht alle Leuten zu sagen, weil es nicht genügend Sprechstundenplätze gibt. (INFORMATIONSKONTROLLE). Und wer bin ich denn zu entscheiden, wem ich das jetzt mitteile?

#01:02:32-4# Interviewee 1: Verschiedene Vermieter, die Wohnungen haben, wie die Degewo müssen Wohnungen zur Verfügung stellen und wenn eine Wohnung frei ist, geht es sofort ist. Aber es sind eben kaum Wohnungen da.

#01:04:11-0# Interviewer: Der Wachschatz muss installiert sein?

#00:57:29-8# Interviewee 1: Ich denke, wir müssen nicht, es sei denn es sind Brandwachen. Die Tendenz geht er in die Richtung den Wachschatz komplett abzuschaffen.

#01:04:13-5# Interviewee 2: Ich glaub auch, dass das freiwillig ist.

#01:04:27-2# Interviewer: Wie finden Sie das? Was bedeutet der Wachschatz für ihre Arbeit?

#01:04:27-2# Interviewee 1: Große Unterstützung. Die nehmen einem viel von der Arbeit ab, z.b. die Essensausgabe. In einigen Unterkünften übernimmt der Wachschatz die Überwachung der Waschmaschinen und der Trockner, sonst müssten wir das begleiten. Und nach unserer Arbeit sind sie die ersten Ansprechpartner für unsere Bewohner. Sie sind dadurch rund um die Uhr betreut. So sehe ich den Wachschatz. Es bilden sich auch Freundschaften. Soziale Arbeit machen sie auch, eben wenn keiner da ist und wenn das ausbleibt oder wegfällt, dann sind die Bewohner sich selbst überlassen.

#01:05:50-9# Interviewee 2: Es ist wichtig, dass ein Ansprechpartner da ist und aus Brandschutzgründen sowieso. Und ich persönlich habe auch gerne tagsüber den Wachschatz vor Ort.

#01:06:02-3# Interviewer: Warum?

#01:06:02-3# Interviewee 2: Weil es einfach Zwischenfälle gibt, wo ein Wachmann sehr hilfreich ist.

#01:06:06-9# Interviewer: Was sind das so für Zwischenfälle?

#01:06:06-9# Interviewee 2: Ob das jetzt Streit unter den Bewohnern. Es gibt auch Situationen mit den Bewohnern, die wir alleine bzw. wo man in bedrohliche Situationen auch kommt. Das ist auch eine Tatsache. Wir müssen Hausverbote aussprechen, das gibt es. In solchen Situation ist es gut jemanden da zu haben. Ich habe schon ordentlich Bedrohungen um die Ohren bekommen.

#01:07:00-7# Interviewee 1: Ich glaube bei einigen Volksgruppen ist es so, dass das Wort der Frau nicht so richtig aufgenommen wird und anerkannt wird. Und wenn ich denen jetzt eine Richtung gebe, das und das erwarten wir und bieten wir. Manchmal spielt auch die Kultur ne große Rolle.

#01:07:15-8# Interviewer: Wie ist allgemein die Arbeit mit den Bewohnern und die Atmosphäre?

#01:07:35-5# Interviewee 2: Das ist schön. Also da entstehen auch Vertrauensverhältnisse.

#01:08:35-3# Interviewer: Wie wirkt die Kritik sich auf ihre Arbeit aus?

#01:09:42-2# Interviewee 1: Mich betrifft das schon. Ich habe ja das Haus aufgebaut. Das Haus wird immer wieder verlängert. Die Kollegen, die dort tätig sind, leisten großartige Arbeit, in den Zuständen, die dort vorhanden sind und das das nicht von der Initiative gewürdigt wird, macht mich eben auch wütend und traurig. Die Kommunikation war leider nicht so gut. Wären wir ins Gespräch gekommen, hätte man die Eskalation auch vermeiden können. Das macht mich krank. Wir sind alle froh, wenn das Haus zu macht. Jeder weiß bescheid, dass die Zustände dort nicht für ein dauerhaftes Wohnen gut sind. Mit Moabit Hilft kooperieren wir zusammen. Wir merken, dass immer wieder neue Sachen kommen. Vor zwei Wochen sind sie mit einem Heimbewohner in die Räumlichkeiten und haben denen das auch alles dort gezeigt. Sie lassen sich nicht locker.

#01:15:54-0# Interviewee 2: Es ist ja eigentlich schön, dass sich Leute von Außen einsetzen. Aber die Menschen geben alles und dann kommt jemand von außen und macht es so schlecht. Und wir haben wirklich gute Heime. Levetzowstraße is ne Ausnahme. Das ist eine Notunterkunft. Das das immer verlängert wurde, ist ne politische Entscheidung.

#01:20:18-4# Interviewer: Gibt es auch Austausch mit anderen Betreibern?

#01:20:32-3# Interviewee 1: In verschiedenen Gremien und runden Tischen oder den Ehrenamtstreffen. Ich bin offen für jeden. Wir sind oft bei der AWO. Ich denke wir können nur voneinander gewinnen.

#01:21:00-9# Interviewee 2: Wir Mitarbeiter sehen uns ja untereinander nicht als Konkurrenten. Wie kann ich die AWO als Konkurrenz sehen? Es bring mir nichts. Ich würde gerne mehr Kooperation haben. Ich würde mir wünschen, dass es da einen Austausch gibt.

## I Senate Integration

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Dr. Robin Schneider, **Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen (Senate Department for Labour, Integration and Women)**

Date: 22.05.2014, 11.00am

Place: Potsdamer Straße 65, 10785 Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:02-2# Interviewee: In Berlin gibt es im moment eine besondere Situation durch die Flüchtlinge am O-Platz, vom Brandenburger Tor, Flüchtlinge von der Gedächtniskirche, Flüchtlinge von der Schule in Kreuzberg, wo sich meine Senatorin, Frau Kolat, die Gespräche mit den Flüchtlingen übernommen hat. Und damit auch die Unterbringung der Flüchtlinge schwierig ist, weil die Flüchtlinge ja nicht in Berlin registriert sind.

#00:03:34-9# Interviewer: Gab es diese Proteste in den letzten Jahren auch. Was ich interessant finde, ist dass sich Flüchtlinge eigenständig organisieren und den städtischen Raum nutzen...

#00:03:50-5# Interviewee: Das sehe ich auch so. Das gab es vereinzelt. Aber tatsächlich ist es eine neue Qualität. Mit dem Sternmarsch nach Berlin in 2012. Es führte dann auch zu einem Gespräch, wo Flüchtlinge politische Statements abgeben konnten. Ich sehe es kritisch, dass die Flüchtlingsräte in den Ländern und ProAsyl, dass sie paternalistisch sind und von Sozialarbeitern dominiert sich für Flüchtlinge einsetzen. Ich bin Mitglied von ProAsyl und finde es gut, dass Flüchtlinge daher sukzessive anfangen, sich selbst zu organisieren. Aber es geht so im Moment auch nicht, weil die Interessen eben vorherrschen.

#00:05:50-5# Interviewer: Gibt es denn aktuell so was wie eine Flüchtlingsselbstorganisation in Berlin?

#00:05:50-5# Interviewee: Informell, ja. Die O-Platz sind nicht institutionalisiert. Aber es gibt es für einzelne Flüchtlingsgruppen. Es gibt bspw. den Verein Iranische Flüchtlinge. Die machen eine sehr gute Arbeit. Promo-Hilfswerk machen auch eine gute Arbeit. Dann gibt es vor allem Roma-Flüchtlinge, die sich auch organisiert haben. Und so gibt es auch für andere Flüchtlingsgruppen organisierte Organisationen.

#00:07:16-4# Interviewer: Wie würden Sie erklären, dass das Land Berlin mit der Unterbringung einen anderen Weg gibt.

#00:07:44-5# Interviewee: Das hat was damit zu tun, dass damals die PDS sich auf die Fahnen geschrieben hat, frischen Wind reinzubringen. In der Umsetzung war ich dafür auch zuständig.

#00:08:21-6# Interviewer: Wie würden Sie erklären, dass in den letzten Jahren vermehrt die Proteste gegen bestehende Bedingungen stattfinden?

#00:08:31-2# Interviewee: Das hat wenig mit Berlin zu tun sondern eher mit Bayern. Die meisten Flüchtlinge kommen aus Berlin auf dem O-Platz. Das hat mit der problematischen Unterbringungssituation in vielen Bundesländern zu tun. Hessen und Bayern zum Beispiel, wo tatsächlich Situationen bestehen, die wir in Berlin nicht dulden würden. Und insofern muss sich Deutschland insgesamt mit den Protesten auseinandersetzen, weil sie haben eine Berechtigung. Aber es ist eben Ländersache und wir haben auf Länderebene da auch keine Konsens. Die Besonderheit ist eben auch das die Asylzahlen gestiegen sind und damit eben auch der Druck.

#00:12:26-6# Interviewer: Wie ist es mit der administrativen Struktur in Berlin?

#00:13:43-4# Interviewee: In Berlin sind für die flüchtlingsrechtlichen Angelegenheiten ist die Bundesregierung zuständig, das Bamf. In Berlin macht es die Ausländerbehörde. Das Sozialrechtliche und was die Aufnahme betrifft macht die Gesundheits- und Sozialverwaltung mit dem Lageso. Und wir sind die Querschnittsverwaltung, die schaut, dass das gut funktioniert und Vorschläge machen.

#00:15:15-7# Interviewer: Wie würden Sie allgemein die Herausforderungen hinsichtlich der Unterbringung von Asylsuchenden in Berlin beschreiben?

#00:15:24-7# Interviewee: Das Hauptproblem ist, dass der Wohnungsmarkt sich vollkommen geändert hat. Das heißt, wir haben mittlerweile nicht mehr die Möglichkeit, relativ leicht auf privaten Wohnraum zugreifen zu können. Im Gegenteil es ist so schlecht geworden, dass tatsächlich wesentlich mehr Flüchtlinge in den Heimen sind, als wir möchten. Das führt eben dazu, dass das Lageso eben hauptsächlich mit der Akquise neuer Standorte beschäftigt ist. Das ist ein ganz großes Problem, weil der Zugriff nicht da ist. Man hat auch schlechte Erfahrungen mit privaten Vermietern gemacht. Aber es muss auch im Stadtraum begleitet werden. Da ist meine Beobachtung, dass sich in den letzten zwei Jahren da wirklich was geändert hat, von der Stimmung. Es gibt in Berlin mittlerweile um die 15 bis 20 Willkommensinitiativen für Flüchtlinge der Zivilgesellschaft. Hintergrund war auch, dass mit den Konflikten in Hellersdorf, durch den Bürgermeister klar gemacht wurde, dass das gemeinsame Senatspolitik ist und das Berlin eine weltoffene Stadt ist. Aber es muss eben begleitet werden.

#00:18:09-0# Interviewer: Was gibt es für politische Reaktionen auf die Anspannung des Wohnungsmarktes und der Zugang für Flüchtlinge?

#00:18:41-7# Interviewee: Es gibt aktuelle Diskussionen, aber die drehen sich eher um die Roma-Flüchtlinge, die kein Wohnraum haben. Ich glaube, dass die große Aufnahme von Syrern von der Zivilgesellschaft sehr positiv aufgenommen wurden ist. Es lohnt sich in die Aufnahme der Flüchtlinge zu investieren. Es gibt weiterhin den Europäischen Flüchtlingsfond, der auch Asyl, Integration und Migration Fond heißt, womit die EU die Aufnahme verbessern will. In Berlin wird sie für flüchtlingspolitische Initiativen genutzt.

## I Lageso

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Stephan Djacenko, **Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales (Lageso) (State Agency for Health and Social Affairs)**

Date: 19.03.2014, 06.30pm

Place: Turmstraße 21a, Berlin, Germany, R0201

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:14-5# Interviewer: Können Sie mir bitte das Verfahren von Aufnahme bis zum Leben in einem Heim beschreiben?

#00:00:41-3# Interviewee: Sie kommen an und melden sich bei der Polizei oder sie kommen direkt ins Landesamt und beantragen Asyl. Dann wird die Person verfasst und es kommt die bundesweite Verteilung, erst dann wird der Asylantrag gestellt. Es gibt Leute, die reisen direkt weiter, je nach Verteilung nach Königssteiner Schlüssel. Wenn sie in Berlin bleiben, werden sie der Erstaufnahme zugewiesen in Lichtenberg und Spandau und müssen dann beim Bamf Asyl stellen.

#00:03:03-6# Interviewer: Sie sind für die Unterbringung verantwortlich. Wie läuft die Unterbringung dann ab?

#00:03:20-1# Interviewer: Zwischendurch werden Asylsuchende auch in Notunterkünfte. Aber nach Gesetz ist es die Erstaufnahme. Wenn unsere Erstaufnahme zu voll sind, dann können sie auch zu Notaufnahmen verwiesen werden. Alle Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen werden von der AWO betrieben. Hintergrund ist der, dass man einen zentralen Träger in dem sensiblen Bereich hat. Die AWO ist entsprechend gut und bringt KnowHow mit. Sie bleiben maximal 12 Wochen in der Erstaufnahme. Theoretisch bleiben Sie aber solange drinne bis geregelt ist, ob ihr Asylantrag begründet oder nicht begründet ist. Dann werden sie in der Stadt nach Maßgabe freier Plätze auf die Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte verteilt. Wir haben im Moment keine freien Plätze. Die Einrichtungen nennen uns jeden morgen ihre freien Plätze und dann werden sie brutal nach Computer verteilt. Es gibt in der Hinsicht keine Wunschliste. Nicht weil wir die nicht haben wollen, sondern weil wir die Plätze nicht haben.

#00:06:28-5# Interviewer: Was ist der Unterschied zwischen vertragsfreie und vertragsgebundene Unterkunft?

#00:06:28-5# Interviewee: Vertragsfrei ist im Prinzip ein beispielsweise ein Pensionsbetrieb, der im Notfall Asylsuchende aufnimmt. Sie haben also immer eine Kostenübernahme auf die Person bezogen, aber Sie haben keinen Vertrag zwischen der Land und Unterkunft. Bei den vertragsgebundenen gibt es einen richtigen Vertrag. Das heißt, die stellen alle ihre freien Plätze in einer Einrichtung zur Verfügung zu diesem und jenen Tagessatz und wir zahlen auch die freien Plätze. Familien bleiben zusammen, grundsätzlich suchen wir auch nach Möglichkeiten, dass Familien zusammenbleiben. Sie Zimmer werden dann mit einem Programm und dessen Suchmaske den Asylsuchenden zugeordnet. Sie müssen sich das wie bei einer Hotelbuchung mit verschiedenen Kategorien vorstellen.

#00:08:45-9# Interviewer: Wer ist der größte Anbieter?

#00:09:17-1# Interviewee: Die AWO, die PeWoBe, die Gierso und Priwe.

#00:09:46-9# Interviewer: Warum macht das das Land nicht selbst?

#00:10:13-2# Interviewee: Fragen sie den Bürgermeister. Das ist in den 90er Jahren entschieden wurden. Das ist eine rein politische Entscheidung. Es gibt dafür keine sachlichen Gründe und es ist gesetzlich auch

offen, wie das gestaltet ist. Die Verträge mit den Betreibern können Sie online einsehen. Ausschreibungen gibt es nicht. Das ist ein ganz sensibles Thema. Eigentlich soll es ja Ausschreibungen geben, aber der Druck ist zu groß. Es gibt zwei Möglichkeiten. Das Produkt ist aber schwierig zu beschreiben. Es handelt sich um nicht ausschreibungsfähiges Gut. Ich habe zwei versucht und es hat nicht geklappt. Sie geben Angebote ab. Es kommt ein Betreiber mit einer Immobilie. Dann gibt es eine Vorprüfung und es wird geschaut, ob der Bezirk mitspielt. Also der Betreiber liegt vorher fest und dann gibt es ein Aushandlungsverfahren. Die Notunterkünfte hingegen waren in Landeseigenen Immobilien. Die haben wir aber am Freitag besichtigt und am Samstag eröffnet. Und da wird dann entschieden welche der Betreiber schnell diese Unterkünfte betreiben können. Leider können es die gemeinnützigen Betreiber nicht, weil die nicht die Flexibilität haben. Das ist der Grund, warum die Notunterkünfte hauptsächlich von Privaten betrieben werden. Mit einer Ausnahme, das ist das EJF.

#00:17:18-1# Interviewer: Und wenn es um die Suche neuer Standorte geht, wer ist da verantwortlich?

#00:17:23-6# Interviewee: Das Lageso macht eine Standortaquisierung und schaut, wo neue Standorte sein könnten. Gleichzeitig können aber auch Betreiber sich mit neuen Standorten bewerben.

#00:17:45-8# Interviewer: Was war der Regelfall?

#00:17:55-4# Interviewee: Es ist kein Markt dafür da. Die Unterkünfte gelten als soziale Betriebe, nicht als Pension. Wenn es eine Pension wäre, könnten wir ne Marktuntersuchung machen. Für einen sozialen Betrieb bräuchte man eine Bebauungsplanung bzw. eine Nutzungsänderung nach den neuesten Standards des Baurechts. Und da schrecken die vor zurück. Bei den Notunterkünften ist es so, dass wir von der Bim (Berliner Immobilienverwaltung) Objekte kriegen. Dann gibt es eine Machbarkeitsstudie. Aber das sind heruntergekommene Immobilien. Asylbewerberheime sind keine schönen Immobilien. Alte Schulen, alte Altenheime, alte Verwaltungsgebäude - also es umfasst, alles was nicht adhoc anderweitig verwertet werden konnte. Auch da hatten wir eben keine Ausschreibung sondern ein Verhandlungsverfahren. Sie brauchen aber eben eine Umnutzungsgenehmigung. Wenn Sie aber ne Notunterkunft machen, kann man das umgehen. Wir haben Notunterkünfte mit Bezirken entwickelt aber haben uns auch teilweise über die Bezirke hinweggesetzt.

#00:23:05-1# Interviewer: Wenn man sich die Verteilung der Heime anschaut, fällt auf, dass es im Osten relativ viele Heime gibt und zum Beispiel im Norden fast gar keine.

#00:23:49-8# Interviewee: Also es gibt Bezirke mit denen man gut zusammenarbeiten kann. Lichtenberg und Marzahn sind gut. Und es gibt Bezirke wie Reinickendorf und Zehlendorf wo die Zusammenarbeit sehr schwierig ist.

#00:24:08-7# Interviewer: Warum?

#00:24:08-7# Interviewee: Ich würde einfach mal sagen, dass das konservative Bezirke sind. Aber mittlerweile bewegt sich da was. Anfang 2013 hat es einen Beschluss des Rates der Bürgermeister gegeben, wonach die Unterkünfte nach einem Schlüssel verteilt werden sollen.

#00:26:21-6# Interviewer: Und die Standorte selbst, wie werden diese gefunden?

#00:26:46-6# Interviewee: Wir schauen schon auch nach den sozialräumlichen Voraussetzungen. Es gibt Gegenden in Lichtenberg, wo wir gesagt habe, nein dort nicht. Beim Hellersdorf haben wir gesagt: Ja, das machen wir. Die Bezirke haben es auch in der Hand. Hellersdorf hat gesagt, ja das machen wir. Die Vorbereitungen sind ziemlich schief gelaufen. Man hat alle eingeladen und eben nicht nur die Anwohner. Der Bezirk lädt ein und da wird dann über die Unterkunft diskutiert.

#00:31:10-3# Interviewer: Gibt es neben Hellersdorf auch anderswo Konflikte?

#00:31:10-3# Interviewee: Gering. Wir hatten in Westend ein paar Diskussionen. Auch in Reinickendorf. Aber in der Anfangsphase gibt es manchmal Probleme, aber das normalisiert sich dann.

#00:32:34-5# Interviewer: Wird hinsichtlich der Standortsuche schon geschaut, wo sie liegen. Also, wenn man jetzt die Notunterkünfte raus nimmt ...

#00:33:09-2# Interviewee: Nehmen Sie die Notunterkünfte mit rein, weil die bleiben. Fakt ist, wir bauen die um und wir haben die Verlängerung für all. Das sind eigentlich alle schon Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte weitergeführt. Die haben auch den selben Vertrag und erreichen dann den selben Standort wie die Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte.

#00:36:11-1# Interviewer: Okay. Und Eigentümer sind dann entweder Bezirk, Land oder die privaten Anbieter, die die Unterkunft auch anbieten?

#00:36:47-4# Interviewee: Ja. Und wir regeln über Mindeststandards die Mindestanforderungen. Wir haben Unterkünfte, die weit über diesen Mindestanforderungen liegen. Motardstraße sind Mindeststandards. Wir versuchen das zu erreichen. Wir versuchen das beste draus zu machen, auch wenn die Bundespolitik vorgibt es nicht zu tun, wissen wir es macht keinen Sinn, weil es gibt nur Konflikte in und wegen den Unterkünften.

#00:38:22-4# Interviewer: Es gibt augenscheinlich eine Debatte um diese Mindeststandards und das gewisse private Betreiber diese nicht einhalten und dass das Personal fehlt, um die Mindeststandards zu kontrollieren.

#00:40:05-6# Interviewee: Das hat sich hochgezogen in der Levetzowstraße in Moabit. Das ist auch die einzige Unterkunft, die definitiv den Namen Notunterkunft verdient, die eigentlich geschlossen gehört. Wir wollen die gerne schließen, sobald wir ein Alternativobjekt haben. Insofern ist die Kritik, dass die Mindeststandards nicht eingehalten werden, berechtigt. Liegt aber nicht am Betreiber. Es ist eine Unterkunft, die wir der Gierso angeboten haben. Der Konflikt ist dann eskaliert zwischen Gierso und neuer Nachbarschaftsinitiative. Und die Vorwürfe der Initiative laufen ins Leere. Aber da gab es zu wenig Waschmaschinen. Es gibt einen grundsätzlichen Konflikt. Unsere Unterkünfte sind Wohnunterkünfte. Die Nachbarschaftsinitiative möchte in der Unterkunft tätig werden. Wir haben mittlerweile in den Standards aufgenommen, dass Betreiber die Unterkünfte Dritten gegenüber, die in den Unterkünften integrativ tätig werden wollen, ihre Türen öffnen müssen. Die müssen sich aber auch eine Hausordnung unterwerfen. Die Initiative hat aber auch mehr gemacht und die haben die vor die Tür gesetzt. Der Betreiber hat sich nicht professionell verhalten. Das ist jetzt in allen neuen Verträgen drin. Das ist die gesellschaftliche Dimension. Und wir wollen am besten, dass die Initiativen draußen mit den Flüchtlingen was machen. Das drinnen ist ein Privatbereich, aber keine Spielwiese für Initiativen. Das sind keine offenen Spielwiesen. Wir haben so 34 Unterkünfte in Berlin und im Durchschnitt 8.000 Bewohner. Aber von den 8.000 sind nicht mehr alles aktive Asylbewerber. Wir bringen laut Gesetz nur die unter, die ein laufendes Verfahren haben. Danach müssen sie über die Bezirke. Dann wird nach Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz wird die Leistung über die Bezirke sichergestellt. Die Bezirke haben aber keine Unterkünfte für die Leute, also bleiben die bei uns drinne. Eigentlich könnte fast ein Drittel der Leute aus den Heimen raus.

#00:46:34-3# Interviewer: Weil der Status entschieden ist, ...

#00:46:41-3# Interviewee: Und weil leistungsrechtlich der Bezirk zuständig ist. Damit ist der Bezirk auch für die Unterbringung zuständig, aber das kriegen sie eben nicht organisiert. Die Bezirke hat das KnowHow des Landesamtes nicht.

#00:47:21-3# Interviewer: Sind die vertragsfreien nicht auch ganz schön teuer?

#00:47:30-0# Interviewee: Nee, kann man so nicht sagen. Die Betriebskosten liegen zwischen 8 und 12 Euro. Wir machen Refinanzierung. Die Tagessätze sind daher geringfügig aussagekräftig.

#00:48:49-4# Interviewer: Das bedeutet aber dadurch das die Heime so unterschiedlich sind, auch die Realität der Asylsuchenden sich unterscheidet.

#00:48:49-0# Interviewee: Sie haben keinen Einfluss drauf. Aber sie haben nach 3 Monaten die Möglichkeit sich eine eigene Wohnung zu suchen. Aber ja, der Standard der Unterkünfte ist unterschiedlich. Aber es ist völlig fremdbestimmt. Sie haben keinen Einfluss drauf. Das geht aber schon bei der Bundesverteilung los.

#00:52:04-3# Interviewer: Es gibt verschiedene Initiativen und Parteien, die gegen die Asylunterkunft argumentieren. Ist in Berlin ein Wandel erkennbar?

#00:53:06-9# Interviewee: Ich würde sagen nein. Es müsste eine politische Änderung geben, weil sie müssten dann mehr Geld zur Verfügung haben und vor allem müssten sie aktiv bauen. Dann müsste man auch die Unterbringungsleitstelle anders gestalten.

#00:54:38-4# Interviewer: Ich meinte aber auch grundsätzlich weg von den großen Heimen und die Asylsuchende in Wohnungen unterzubringen.

#00:54:48-3# Interviewee: Das plant niemand. Ich sag ihnen eindeutig: In diesem Bereich plant niemand. Die ganze Wohnungsunterbringung, auch was das EJJF tut, ist ein Tropfen auf dem heißen Stein, aber keine dominante politische Strategie. Es ist aus meiner Sicht ein Feigenblatt.

#00:56:05-9# Interviewer: Also ist es auch so, dass politisch an größeren Unterkünften festgehalten wird?

#00:56:06-5# Interviewee: Ich will es anders sagen. Es gibt einen puren Pragmatismus. Die Politik beschäftigt sich damit gar nicht. Seit Jahren. Es ist gar keine Entscheidung. Wir nehmen was kommt. Es gibt da keine politische Strategie.

#00:57:24-2# Interviewer: Wie würden Sie im Allgemeinen die Unterbringungssituation von Asylsuchenden in Berlin bewerten?

#01:01:52-2# Interviewee: Die Unterbringungssituation ist unheimlich heterogen und unwillkürlich. Sie ist mit Sicherheit die mieseste Wohnform, die vorstellbar ist. Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass da Leute Jahre lang wohnen: Sie können einen Menschen mit einer Wohnung erschlagen wie mit einer Axt. Ziller hat das Mal gesagt. Das gilt auch für die Unterbringung, muss man ganz klar sagen. In Bezug auf die Berliner Unterkünfte kann man das vielleicht Dritteln. Ein Drittel der Unterkünfte ist ziemlich gut. Der Rest hängt dazwischen. Und manche gehen gar nicht. Und in Hellersdorf möchte ich gerade auch nicht wohnen. Es gibt in Berlin aber kaum noch Unterkünfte, die fern ab von Schuss liegen. In Berlin müssen die Unterkünfte in Mischgebieten und Wohngebieten liegen.

#01:04:50-4# Interviewer: Wo ist das festgeschrieben?

#01:04:50-4# Interviewee: Das ergibt sich aus dem Stadtplanungsrecht. Weil eben die Unterkunft ein Gebäude für soziale Nutzung ist, können nicht in reinen Gewerbegebieten liegen, nur mit Ausnahmeregelungen. Was da in der Motardstraße 1989 genehmigt worden ist, würde heute kaum genehmigt werden.

#01:06:22-8# Interviewer: Die Heime, die ich in Berlin kenne, haben einen Zaun, haben eine Security.

#01:06:30-3# Interviewee: Zäune habe nicht alle. Die Mehrheit hat security, ja. Ich würde auch gern völlig weg von dem Begriff Wachschatz sondern einen Pförtnerdienst. Weil eigentlich brauchen sie keinen Wachschatz, sondern nur einen Pförtner, der den ein und den Ausgang regelt. Es gibt weder intern große Konflikte.

#01:07:14-8# Interviewer: Wofür ist er dann da?

#01:07:14-8# Interviewee: Der ist da zu regeln, wer rein und wer rausgeht. Reinkommen darf jeder, aber man muss sich halt ausweisen. Es ist eben eine Wohnform, aber es sind keine privaten Wohnungen, auch wenn wir da nah dran sind, was den Umgang mit den Zimmer selbst anbelangt. Die Frage nach Zaun oder Mauer kommt auf die bauliche Anlage drauf an. Wir würden nicht drauf bestehen, dass ein Zaun angelegt wird. Linie des Landesamtes ist es, so wenig Lager wie möglich. Also so wenig Lagercharacter. Der Unterschied zum Lager ist das die Heime offen sind.

#01:09:10-1# Interviewer: Wie bewerten Sie den Vorwurf die Betreiber würden Profit mit Flüchtlingen machen?

#01:10:49-1# Interviewee: Im Grunde leben wir in einer kapitalistischen und Profitorientierten Gesellschaft. Ich kann den Betreibern nur bedingt was vorwerfen. Es gibt aufgrund des Verhandlungssystems, was wir haben, eine Profitmache. Man bräuchte eine politische Entscheidung, dass es nur die gemeinnützigen machen und das man denen mittels Controlling auf die Finger schaut. Die Kritik ist richtig, aber es ist systemimmanent.

#01:12:43-7# Interviewer: Unterscheidet sich das gemeinschaftsorientierte vs. profitorientierte in den Unterkünften?

#01:12:52-0# Interviewee: Qualitativ nicht. Wir sind durch fast alle durch und man kann nicht sagen, dass es da gewaltige Unterschiede gibt. Dass die privaten teils schlechtere Standards haben, liegt daran dass sie oft Notunterkünfte übernehmen mussten, aber nicht an ihrer Tätigkeit.

#01:13:37-2# Interviewer: Aber gibt es Vertragspartner mit denen Sie sehr gern kooperieren und andere wo sie froh sind, wenn der Vertrag ausläuft?

#01:13:37-0# Interviewee: Klar, natürlich. Das hat weniger mit der Qualität der Unterbringung zu tun als mit der Kommunikation. Kommunikation ist alles und je besser wir mit denen Kommunizieren können, desto besser kann man mit den arbeiten.

#01:15:17-7# Interviewer: Auf welche Initiative hin ist der Kooperationsvertrag mit den Wohnungsunternehmen entstanden?

#01:18:39-9# Interviewee: Vor drei Jahren. Es war ne politische Initiative und größtenteils durch den Präsidenten des Lageso.

#01:19:47-0# Interviewer: Wie sieht ihre Vision für die optimale Unterbringung Asylsuchender in Berlin aus?

#01:19:49-3# Interviewee: Man bräuchte im Prinzip einen zweiten Wohnungsmarkt mit Apartments, der für die Flüchtlinge zugänglich ist.

## I Pirate Party Berlin

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Fabio Reinhardt, Partei **Die Piraten (Pirate Party Berlin)**, Member of the Berlin Parliament, Spokesperson for refugee and asylum policy

Date: 02.06.2014, 19.30

Place: Skype-Interview

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:00-7# Interviewer: Wie bewertest du die aktuelle Asylpolitik des Berliner Senats?

#00:00:20-0# Interviewee: Tatsächlich muss man sagen, dass es sich durch gegenseitige Blockaden und Stillstand auszeichnet. Es ist Stillstand, was sich positive und negativ auswirkt. Ich würde Flüchtlingspolitik in drei Bereiche untergliedern. Das eine ist wie sich der Senat in Bezug auf Deutsche und Europäische Flüchtlingspolitik verhält; Unterbringung, was hier relevant ist; das Verhalten gegenüber Aktivistengruppen. Da kann man sagen, dass im ersten Bereich ist es so dass der Senat alle verändern blockiert. Sie halten sich an den Koa-Vertrag, da steht eben nichts drin. Der Senator stimmt immer zu, wenn alle anderen Senatoren sich einig sind. Ansonsten enthält sich Berlin, gerade bei kritischen Themen. Hinsichtlich der Unterbringung ist es so, dass der Senat wesentlich größere Herausforderungen hat als in den letzten 10 Jahren. Die Zahlen sind massiv gestiegen. Es ist überhaupt nicht zu sehen, dass der Senat sich da extrem bemüht, aber es gibt ein paar Punkte, wo die CDU als Sozialsenat etwas mehr bewegen kann. Es gibt eben Bezirke, die die Unterbringung extrem blockiert haben. Z.B. Reinickendorf und Neukölln. Es passiert eben nichts ohne Druck. Die nächste Frage ist eben wie man mit den Flüchtlingen umgeht. Die werden als Objekte behandelt, aber sie wollen eben ganz klar als Subjekte wahrgenommen werden, sie wollen selber handeln. Aus meiner Sicht ist der Senat eben auch Worst Case weil er eben einfach nichts macht und nicht vermittelt. Das muss man eindeutig negativ bewerten. Es tut sich in Berlin nicht wirklich nicht viel. Wir sind eben auch Bundeshauptstadt, das muss man berücksichtigen. Das heißt, die Leute kommen hier her um zu protestieren. Die waren vorm Brandenburger Tor, vorm Bundestag und die Räume haben eben auch symbolische Kraft. Aber wir haben eben auch krasse Veränderungen, auch seit den Flüchtlingsmarsch. Seitdem ich im AGH bin, hat sich auch die Presse verändert. Die ersten Seiten sind oftmals nun Flüchtlingspolitik. Also es gibt auch da einen Paradigmenwechsel bei den Medien.

#00:12:20-7# Interviewer: Die Unterbringung in Wohnungen hat sich ja auch geändert. Ich hab den Eindruck, dass die Reaktionen auf den steigenden Anstieg seitens Senat und Lageso halt hauptsächlich neue Unterkünfte sind. Und das es kaum eine politische Strategie gibt sich an dem 2003er Gesetz zu orientieren. Wie würdest du den politischen Willen beschreiben?

#00:13:11-6# Interviewee: Bis 2010 waren noch ca. 85 Prozent der Flüchtlinge in Wohnungen. 2013 waren es dann nur um die 50 Prozent, aber eben bei steigenden Gesamtzahlen. Das heißt, die Anzahl der Flüchtlinge in Wohnungen ist leicht gesunken, aber die Flüchtlingsanzahl insgesamt ist gestiegen. Der Senat tut aus meiner Sicht gar nichts. Alles Projekte die es gibt, das geschützte Marktsegment, das EJF, alles das stammt aus dem Jahr 2011. Aber momentan passiert nichts. Alle Anträge, die wir gemacht werden, werden abgelehnt. Die Ausschlussdiskussion war so absurd.

#00:15:19-3# Interviewer: Wollen die nicht? Was könnte Berlin machen?

#00:15:33-1# Interviewee: Es gibt zwei verschiedene Möglichkeiten. Das eine ist das bestimmte Geschützte Segment für diese Gruppen. Aber da passiert wenig. Der Kooperationsvertrag wird nicht ausgebaut und es wird auch nicht sanktioniert, wenn die Wohnungsunternehmen es nicht anbieten. Und das andere Projekt ist eben zu sagen. Die Flüchtlinge sind eben auch stark benachteiligt: Finanzielle, vom Status her, der Hautfarbe, Sprache usw. Die haben eine unglaubliche Benachteiligung und da müsste der Senat eben auch einiges tun. Und er macht: nichts. Die Flüchtlinge auf dem Wohnungsmarkt zu stärken.

Aber das ist eben auch die allgemeine Wohnungs- und Mietenpolitik, wo der Senat auch eben eine Katastrophe ist.

#00:18:27-9# Interviewer: Wie siehst du die Beratungsstelle für die Vermittlung von Wohnungen? Die machen jetzt die Wohnvermittlung, wenn Flüchtlinge auch selber suchen.

#00:20:00-8# Interviewee: Wir haben eben auch drauf gedrängt, dass da Personal aufgestockt wird und dass es da mehr Geld gibt.

#00:20:55-0# Interviewer: Ich glaube das große Problem ist eben, dass es der Wohnraum nicht da ist und eben ich nicht alle Personen abdecken können.

#00:22:10-2# Interviewee: Die Erfahrung, die ich gemacht habe, ist das Personal fehlt, um die Leute zu betreuen. Da muss man eben auch schauen, was genau die Leute dort auch machen und leisten können.

#00:23:56-0# Interviewer: Ich würde gerne auf das Heim als Unterbringung zurückkommen. Ihr sagt ja, dass das Heim als Unterbringung menschenunwürdig ist. Was ist deine generelle Kritik an dieser Unterkunft?

#00:25:23-5# Interviewee: Generell ist es vielleicht auch eine ideologische Frage. Aber die Sammelunterbringung isoliert. Die Flüchtlinge wohnen nicht in einem Miethaus mit Leuten, die eben keine Flüchtlinge sind. Sie sind ausgegrenzt aus der Gesellschaft. Sie sind weniger in der Lage ihre Wohn- und Lebenssituation selber in die Hand zu nehmen, weil sie in einer passiven Rolle gefangen sind. Und dann ist natürlich die Frage, wie es aufgebaut ist: Gibt es Betreuungsmöglichkeiten, einen guten Personalschlüssel, wie ist es mit dem Essen usw.

#00:27:36-5# Interviewer: Ich finde es spannend, dass die Kritik an den Lagern von allen Seiten die gleiche ist. Ich stell mir die Frage, wenn es denn alle blöd finden, warum wird an der Politik festhalten? Warum gibt es da keinen Paradigmenwechsel?

#00:28:51-2# Interviewee: Zum einen ist es so, dass eine andere Regierung nicht viel Änderungen bewirkt hätte. Zum einen durch die Situation auf dem Mietwohnungsmarkt. Es gibt aber in den Strukturen auch einfach mächtige Leute, mit denen man sich in der Politik auch nicht unbedingt anlegen will. Gerade in Hinsicht auf das geschützte Marktsegment.

#00:32:58-0# Interviewer: In Berlin habe ich den Eindruck, dass sich die Stimmung in der Stadtgesellschaft sich extrem zum positiven geändert hat, was z.B. an den Willkommensinitiativen gibt und auch eine große Solidarität. Aber ich könnte mir auch vorstellen, dass man auf politischer Ebene auch denkt, wir können es auch nicht zu gut machen, weil was denken dann die Einheimischen. Es braucht vermutlich einfach auch viel Aufklärung der Leute. Und auf der untersten Hierarchieebene wird dann eben auch die Leute gegeneinander ausgespielt. Es fehlt augenscheinlich an einem politischen Willen.

#00:36:17-3# Interviewee: Wenn man die Unschuldsvermutung hätte, dann würde eine ganz andere Politik gemacht.

#00:37:06-5# Interviewer: Wie siehst du die Situation in Berlin in Zukunft hinsichtlich der Unterbringung? Würdest du Änderungen sehen? Was ist deine Vision für die optimale Unterbringung von Asylsuchenden in Berlin und wie könnte sie politisch erreicht werden.

#00:37:53-8# Interviewee: Wenn die Politik so bleiben würde, wie sie jetzt ist wäre schon was gewonnen, weil ich eher die Befürchtung habe, dass wenn sich etwas ändert, es sich zum negativen ändert. Zu der Vision fordern wir eine ständige Flüchtlingsvertretung auf Landesebene, um Druck auszuüben und ihre Interessen zu vertreten. Was die Unterbringung angeht: Überhaupt keine Lagern, sondern nur Unterbringung in Wohnungen. Aber das ist weit weg von dem, was wir jetzt haben. Da wäre es schon gut, wenn

wir vernünftige Lager hätten, die Standards erfüllen und gut ausgestattet sind, Kontrollen durch den Senat und eben auch in vernünftigen Standorten. Keine Residenzpflicht, Arbeitsmöglichkeiten.

## I Senate for Health and Social Affairs

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: Tanja Meinert, **Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit und Soziales, Abteilung Soziales (Senate Department for Health and Social Affairs, Division Social Affairs)**

Interviewee 2: Norbert Glaeser, Senatsverwaltung für Gesundheit und Soziales, Abteilung Soziales (Senate Department for Health and Social Affairs, Division Social Affairs)

Date: 20.05.2014, 10.00am

Place: Oranienstraße 106, 10969 Berlin, Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:03:22-4# Interviewer: Was mich interessieren würde ist, was so die Besonderheiten Berlins hinsichtlich der Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen ist.

#00:03:33-1# Interviewee 1: Berlin ist die erste Stadt, die gesagt hat, wir bringen auch in Wohnungen unter, schon vor mehr als 10 Jahren politisch entschieden. Dass die Leute in Wohnungen untergebracht werden können. Unter zwei Voraussetzungen, nämlich, dass es kostengünstiger ist als das Heim und auch auch die soziale Angemessenheit. Also keine Besserstellung gegenüber deutschen Sozialhilfeempfängern.

#00:04:30-5# Interviewee 2: Die Asylsuchende sind natürlich dahinsichtlich schlechter gestellt, als Deutsche oder andere Personen, die eine Wohnung suchen. Es gibt eben generell Bestimmungen. Es ist eben in Berlin eine politische Besonderheit.

#00:05:08-0# Interviewee 1: Aber da hat sich Berlin schon sehr hervorgehoben. Und das war damals ganz klar eben auch eine politische Entscheidung und die hält nach wie vor.

#00:05:30-1# Interviewee 2: Viele Asylbewerber stellen hier auch erstmals den Asylantrag, aber dann kommt eben die Verteilung nach dem königssteiner Schlüssel. Aber es steht eben frei den Eintrag erst mal in dem Bundesland zu stellen, wo man eben auch ankommt. Wir haben 20 Prozent, die hier ihren Erstantrag stellen und 5 Prozent bleiben letztlich hier nach Schlüssel. Das führt natürlich zu gewissen Problemen, als dass wir natürlich diese auch erstmal unterbringen müssen bis zur Verteilung.

#00:06:49-2# Interviewee 1: Normalerweise sind das aber nur 1-2 Tage.

#00:06:45-7# Interviewee 2: Aber auch das muss natürlich erst mal gewährleistet werden. Es gibt eben das automatisierte Verfahren, worüber die Verteilung organisiert wird, aber das muss dennoch auch geplant werden. Das sind Besonderheiten, die Berlin mehr hat als andere Bundesländer.

#00:07:28-8# Interviewee 1: Weil es eben als Großstadt auch beliebt ist, durch die Community und Beratungsstellen.

#00:07:43-3# Interviewee 2: Und sie haben in Berlin vielleicht auch eher die Möglichkeit voran zu kommen durch die Größe und die Infrastrukturen und Möglichkeiten. Manche wissen aber auch nicht, dass sie weitergeteilt werden. Die Leute reisen illegal ein, um den Asylantrag überhaupt erst mal zu stellen, um auch Leistungen zu bekommen. Und das führt auch zu Enttäuschungen, weil viele natürlich kaum informiert sind, über das, was sie erwartet. Das führt dann eben auch zu diesen Problemen, dass die Leute jetzt hierher kommen und enttäuscht sind, weil sie eben ganz andere Vorstellung von Deutschland hatten, weil sie nicht wissen, dass sie hier nicht arbeiten dürfen, weil sie in Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte untergebracht werden. Und das führt zur Frustrationshaltung, aber das liegt eben auch an dem Prozess, dass die Leute eben nicht legal oder geordnet ausreisen, sondern eben erst mal unerlaubt einreisen. Auch wenn sie, im Sinne des Gesetzes, zum großen Teil gar nicht politisch verfolgt sind. Wir haben nur eine Anerkennungsquote von 25 bis 30 Prozent, einschließlich deren die subsidären Schutz bekommen. Aber das ist

natürlich auch sehr stark abhängig, wo die Leute herkommen. Leute aus Syrien und Afghanistan werden anerkannt. Das andere extrem sind die Leute aus den Westbalkan Staaten, die wir sehr viel haben. Das sind ausschließlich Leute, die nicht politisch verfolgt sind im Sinne des Artikel 16, die aber aufgrund ihrer Situation aufgrund ethnischer Minderheit, Stichwort Roma, unter sehr schlechten Bedingungen leben und quasi das zum Anlass nehmen hier her zu kommen. Aber das sind eben keine Asylgründe im engeren Sinne. Aber die beantragen halt Asyl, weil sie darüber Leistung erhalten. Und die Leistungen sind ja auch angehoben auf die SGB2-Leistungen. Das Asyl ist da dann auch ein Vehikel. Es werden auch Geldleistungen und keine Sachleistungen gewährt. Sachleistungen nur dort, wo sie bundesrechtlich vorgeschrieben sind, also in der Erstaufnahme. Aber es gibt auch Cluster innerhalb der Bamf. Das heißt bestimmte Gruppen werden auf bestimmte Länder nach ihrem Hintergrund verteilt, weil es in bestimmten Ländern die gewissen Kenntnisse über die Herkunftsländer gibt, um die Situation dort auch einzuschätzen. In Berlin haben wir den Schwerpunkt auf Tschetschenien.

#00:13:49-9# Interviewer: Und innerhalb Berlins?

#00:13:59-3# Interviewee 2: Man achtet schon darauf, ob jemand einen Rollstuhl fährt. Aber man kann keine Wünsche angeben, dass man in einen gewissen Bezirk möchte. Aber die Unterbringung gestaltet sich auch gerade aufgrund des Anstiegs schwierig. Wir haben vier Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen laut AsylVerfG. Bis vor wenigen Jahren gab es keine. Die unterscheiden sich im Vergleich zu den Gemeinschaftsunterkünften, dass da Vollverpflegung gewährleistet ist. Es ist obligatorisch. Danach gibt es die Möglichkeit, dass die Leute im Prinzip eine Wohnung beziehen können. Wobei das Lageso schon schaut, dass z.B. Leute aus dem Westbalkan, wo man weiß, die werden abgelehnt, die wird man nach Möglichkeit nicht an eine Wohnung vermitteln, weil man weiß, dass sie keinen dauerhaften Status haben. Und die Verhältnisse auf dem Berliner Wohnungsmarkt sind eben auch gerade extrem angespannt, weil wir einen Bevölkerungszuwachs haben. Die Preise sind enorm angestiegen. Wenn das eben nicht geht, weil es momentan keine Wohnungen gibt, dann werden die Flüchtlinge an die Gemeinschaftsunterkunft verwiesen. Davon haben wir im Moment über 30.

#00:19:01-8# Interviewer: Wie ist die Sonderrolle Berlins hinsichtlich der Wohnunterbringung zustande gekommen?

#00:19:25-7# Interviewee 1: Das war damals im rot-roten Senat. Und es kam die politische Idee auf die Wohnunterbringung zu erlauben und zwar immer dann, wenn es kostengünstiger ist als die Wohnunterbringung, was einfach zu erreichen ist.

#00:20:44-6# Interviewer: Warum sind die Sätze für die Heimunterbringung gestiegen?

#00:20:44-6# Interviewee 1: Das ist Angebot und Nachfrage. Die liegen jetzt so bei 15 Euro. Damals hatten wir soviel Wohnungsunterbringung. Heute ist es ein anderes Verhältnisse.

#00:21:04-9# Interviewee 2: Es sind auch die Energiepreise und in den Tagessatz fließt ja alles ein. Die laufenden Kosten, die ständigen Investitionskosten, die stehen ja nicht schon fertig da. Wir haben in Berlin ja auch die Situation, dass wir selber kein Heim betreiben.

#00:21:57-8# Interviewer: Warum nicht?

#00:22:01-9# Interviewee 2: Das ist historisch so gewachsen. Und wir haben eben Betreiber, die das für Berlin eben übernehmen, also private und gemeinschaftsorientierte. Aber alles ist auch teurer geworden und das wirkt sich dann eben auch auf die Tagessätze aus.

#00:23:55-0# Interviewee 1: Man ist auch flexibler durch unterschiedliche Anbieter und es entsteht eine Konkurrenz.

#00:23:53-8# Interviewer: Wie wird das Land Berlin künftig auf die steigenden Asylbewerberzahlen reagieren?

#00:24:17-6# Interviewee 1: Tagtäglich werden neue Unterkünfte gesucht und in den verschiedenen Gremien auf Bezirks- und Stadtebene diskutiert, wie man die Unterbringung gewährleisten kann. Das ist das tägliche Geschäft und das Ziel ist möglichst viele Heimplätze zu akquirieren um in Zukunft gewappnet zu sein. Vorausschauend wird durch das Lageso immer geschaut, welche Objekte für den Anstieg in Frage kommen und dann wird mit den Bezirken verhandelt.

#00:25:33-2# Interviewer: Mit 80 Prozent war die Wohnunterbringung ja in den letzten Jahren recht hoch.

#00:25:44-3# Interviewee 2: Aber wir haben auch in den letzten Jahren unheimlich viele Zugänge. Im Moment leben ungefähr 50 Prozent in Wohnungen. Das ist im Vergleich zu anderen Kommunen immer noch ein hoher Teil. Es ist eben auch eine ganz andere Größenordnung. Das Verhältnis hat sich eben auch verschoben durch die steigende Zahl.

#00:27:16-1# Interviewee 1: Jeder hat die rechtliche Möglichkeit, wenn die Voraussetzungen erfüllt sind.

#00:27:31-9# Interviewee 2: Vom Lageso her ist die Anzahl der vermittelten Wohnungen in den letzten Jahren gestiegen. Also das ist das Entscheidende.

#00:28:07-8# Interviewee 1: Man darf halt aber auch nicht vergessen, dass so ein Heim in der Anfangszeit natürlich auch nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist. Da gibt es Beratung, da gibt es Leute in einer ähnlichen Situation. Wir haben schon Heime besucht, wo man sagen muss es gibt ne tolle Heimleitung. Die haben sich engagiert und gut eingesetzt. Wir haben teilweise auch Leute in den Heimen, die schon längst hätten umziehen können, wo es aber eben nicht gewollt wurde.

#00:28:54-9# Interviewee 2: Ja, die haben da eben auch Betreuung vor Ort. Sie haben ehrenamtlich Engagierte. Der Nachteil der Großstadt ist eben auch die Anonymität. Da kümmert sich in den Wohnungen eben keiner drum. Nur Wohnungsunterbringung allein ist nicht das selig machende. Wir bieten die Leute die Möglichkeit an. Aber man muss auch immer abwägen, bei wem es passt. Außerdem hat der Senat sich ja auch vorgenommen, das Wohnungsangebot auszubauen. Das ist natürlich auch eine Möglichkeit Wohnraum zu schaffen.

#00:30:25-6# Interviewer: Das Problem ist das die Möglichkeit per Verwaltungsvorschrift besteht, aber der Wohnungsmarkt und die gestiegenen Zahlen dem entgegensteht.

#00:31:18-7# Interviewee 2: Ja genau.

#00:31:22-1# Interviewer: Wie würde sie die aktuelle Strategie des Senats hinsichtlich der Wohnunterbringung beschreiben?

#00:31:44-0# Interviewee 2: Das EFJ ist beauftragt worden, sich um die Wohnungsunterbringung zu kümmern. Es ist dem Senat auf jeden Fall auch wichtig, die Wohnungsunterbringung weiterzuführen. Auch unter Großkoa ist das ein wichtiger Punkt.

#00:33:22-4# Interviewee 1: Und wir haben ja auch den Kooperationsvertrag mit den Wohnungsunternehmen mit 270 Wohnungen und das geschützte Marktsegment mit über 1000 Wohnungen.

#00:33:57-2# Interviewee 2: Man kann aber schon sagen, dass am Anfang die Wohnungsbaugesellschaften schon auch skeptisch waren. Aber heute ist das weniger Thema. Heute ist eben mehr der fehlende Leerstand von Wohnungen.

#00:34:31-7# Interviewee 1: Es muss zusätzlicher Wohnraum geschaffen werden, vor allem in diesem Segment. Und man muss eben schauen, was man machen kann, um den Wohnungsmarkt zu entspannen. Im Paragraph 3 sind eben auch die Grundleistungen geregelt. Und das Lageso setzt es vor Ort um.

#00:48:56-3# Interviewer: Es stellt dich ja immer heraus, dass eigentlich die Heimunterbringung kritisiert wird. Ich finde den Kontrast spannend, dass man eigentlich meint, Heimunterbringung sei nicht das beste aber gleichzeitig findet sie eben auch statt.

#00:50:33-1# Interviewee 1: Die politische Entscheidung der Wohnunterbringung besteht weiter. Es sind aber die praktischen Gegebenheiten, die das eben auch einschränken. Und es gibt eben auch gute Beratungen, aber liegt eben auch an dem Mangel an Wohnungen muss man eben auch sagen.

#00:51:23-5# Interviewee 2: Was man auch sagen muss. Da herrscht in der Öffentlichkeit auch eine falsche Wahrnehmung. Also nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg mussten auch erst mal alle in Heime untergebracht werden. So sind überhaupt die Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte historisch entstanden. Und in den 1950er Jahren da gabs zwei Feldbetten, einen Tisch und das wars und damals waren die Leute zufrieden, dass sie ein Dach über den Kopf hatten und Sicherheit hatten. Die Probleme haben sich ja nicht groß gewandelt. Also die Asylbewerber werden da auch überhaupt nicht schlechter gestellt, als damals DDR Flüchtlinge oder Spätaussiedler, obwohl die anderen einen besseren Aufenthaltsstatus haben. Das ist einfach ein Gebot der schieren Not.

#00:53:22-4# Interviewee 1: Auch vielen Studenten kommen her und die haben auch Probleme eine Wohnung zu finden. Es ist eben auch ein wahnsinniger Konkurrenzkampf eben auch.

#00:54:44-0# Interviewee 2: Und man muss kurzfristig auch auf nicht vorhersehbare Situationen reagieren. Das ist das Problem. Aber man hat eben auch gar nicht die Instrumente, um schnell zu reagieren. Das Lageso kann nicht langfristig planen. Aber andererseits müssen sie kurzfristig reagieren. Und das ist auch gar nicht auf dem Wohnungsmarkt zu leisten. Da sind Übergangswohnheime eben auch ein notwendiges Übel. Abgesehen davon, dass man auch die Frage stellen, ob das auch wirklich das schlechteste ist, wenn ich ein Heim habe, was angemessene Bedingungen bietet, wo die Leute Privatsphäre haben, was vielleicht auch einen Charakter von Wohnungen hat, dann ist es vielleicht auch gar nicht so schlecht, weil sie eben Betreuung und Unterstützung vor Ort haben.

#00:56:29-2# Interviewee 1: Es ist halt auch so eine politische Sache. Dann werben die einen dafür, dass Wohnungen gut sind, aber die Realität ist auch anders.

#00:56:43-5# Interviewer: Aber die Standards, die sie jetzt beschrieben haben, die sind ja real selten vorhanden.

#00:56:45-1# Interviewee 2: Ja, aber da muss man auch sagen. Wir gehören auch zu den wenigen Bundesländern, die landesweit auch Qualitätsanforderungen haben und die sind verbindlich, aber man kann streichen, dass das ausreichend ist. Aber irgendwo steht die Politik natürlich auch immer die Kunst des Möglichen. Natürlich kann man immer sagen, man macht die größer, aber wo bring ich dann die anderen unter? Das ist auch immer ein Problem des Lageso das beste draus zu machen.

#00:59:06-2# Interviewer: Es ist ja aus meiner Perspektive auch gar nicht die Kritik der Unterkunft gegenüber, sondern eher die fehlenden Möglichkeiten, eigene Bedürfnisse auch umzusetzen und sich auszusuchen, wo man wohnen möchte und eben auch das Setting und Atmosphäre. Also es gibt Wachsenschutz, Kontrolle, Fremdbestimmung und die fehlende Möglichkeit herauszugehen.

#01:02:01-7# Interviewee 1: Klar, die müssen ihre Ausweise zeigen um hereinzukommen. Müssen wir hier auch unten.

#01:02:10-2# Interviewer: Aber das ist ja hier Arbeitsplatz.

#01:02:11-6# Interviewee 1: Ja, klar. Aber ich nehme ja trotzdem was in Anspruch. Ich denke, es ist jetzt nicht zu viel verlangt, den Ausweis zu zeigen. Es geht ja da eben auch um die Sicherheit nach außen, damit nicht die falschen Leute reinkommen. Und die Pförtner nehmen ihre Aufgabe auch ernst.

#01:03:39-5# Interviewee 2: Man muss den Leuten auch vermitteln, dass alles besser ist, als auf der Straße zu liegen. Was eben allen Leuten gewährleistet werden kann, ist Schutz. Das sie eben sicher sind. Das sie versorgt werden. Das sind ja auch alles Leistungen, die ja auch bezahlt werden müssen. Und wir haben ja auch Deutsche, denen es nicht gut geht. Und das alles wird an Personen geleistet, die erst mal noch selber keinen Beitrag geleistet haben. Das heißt, dass muss ich ja den Leuten auch erst mal vermitteln.

#01:06:33-1# Interviewee 1: Es wird aber eben auch schon viel gemacht in Berlin für die Leute.

#01:07:44-1# Interviewer: Von wem kommt denn die Entscheidung für eine Schließung?

#01:07:44-1# Interviewee 1: Das ist die Politik, die das letztlich sagt. Das Lageso empfiehlt natürlich aber auch. Die Motardstraße hätte auch schon längst geschlossen werden sollen. Das ist eine politische Frage.

#01:08:42-4# Interviewee 2: Aber das liegt natürlich auch an der räumlichen Beschaffenheit, warum das da so schlecht ist.

#01:09:17-2# Interviewee 1: Das Lageso sucht täglich und die sind auch froh um jedes Heim. Und es ist eben auch so das die Gesetze, wie das Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz, eben auch nicht auf Integration ausgerichtet sind sondern es geht eben von dem vorübergehendem Aufenthalt aus. Aber das Gesetz ist auch nicht verfassungskonform und es wird da auch eine Änderung geben.

## I KUB

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Jonas Feldmann, **Social Worker Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle Flüchtlinge und Migrant\_innen e.V. (KUB)**

Date: 14.03.2014, 01.00pm

Place: Kafetisch, Weserstraße, Berlin Germany

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:02:23-1# Interviewee: Ich bin seit zwei Jahren jetzt auch schon in der AWO. Ich habe am Anfang Asylverfahrensberatung gemacht und bin jetzt in der allgemeinen Sozialen Arbeit: Gesundheitsversorgung und so weiter. Berlin ist, was das ganze Thema angeht, auch relativ weit. Die Zustände anderswo sind teils schlimmer. Es ist stark vom Bundesland abhängig. Berlin hat natürlich grundsätzlich auch andere Möglichkeiten um sich zu bewegen und hier was zu machen. Es gibt im Grunde hier fast jede Community, die du brauchst und die dir beim ankommen hilft.

#00:07:01-9# Interviewer: Wie genau ist das System der Aufnahme ausgestaltet?

#00:07:30-7# Interviewee: In Berlin kommst du in der Erstaufnahme an. Also Motardstraße Spandau oder Rhinestraße in Lichtenberg oder halt in einer Notunterkunft. Dort werden auch Leute hin verteilt, die eigentlich in einer Erstaufnahme laut Bundesgesetz müssten. Es ist aber grad aufgrund des Anstiegs nicht möglich. In Berlin kannst du Asyl bei der Polizei, bei der Ausländerbehörde und beim BAMF sowie bei der ZAA des Lageso. Die stellen die ersten Fragen. In der Erstaufnahme müssen Flüchtlinge in Berlin 6 Wochen bis drei Monate leben.

#00:13:57-7# Interviewer: Was passiert in den drei Monaten? Wird da schon was entschieden?

#00:14:00-6# Interviewee: Das kommt auf die Herkunft an. Ende 2012 war es bei den Balkan-Staaten war es so, dass man ein Tag ankommt, man bekommt am nächsten Tag des Interview und am übernächsten Tag kommt die Ablehnung schon, teilweise auch mit sehr fehlerhaften Bescheiden. Das ist ein extrem schnelles Verfahren für Balkan-Staaten. In Deutschland ist Asyl im Grundgesetz 16a geregelt, ein schwacher Überbleibsel des einstigen Asylrechts und auf Basis dessen eben verschiedene Regelungen und Gesetzesgrundlagen.

#00:21:11-9# Interviewer: Und in den 6 bis 12 Wochen wohnen sie in der Erstaufnahme und danach werden sie in die Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte weiter vermittelt.

#00:21:11-9# Interviewee: Genau. Das sind denn Folgewohnheime bzw. Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte.

#00:21:31-7# Interviewer: Und wie wird genau entschieden, in welche Unterkunft man kommt?

#00:21:27-9# Interviewee: Also die kriegen nach drei Monaten einen Brief von der ZAA und werden dann in Folgewohnheim verteilt. Manchmal ist es aber so das dort Plätze fehlen und sie bleiben dann erst mal in der Erstaufnahme und das länger als drei Monate. Und ehrlich gesagt, es macht auch keinen großen Unterschied, ob du nun in der Erstaufnahme oder in der Folgeeinrichtung bist. Der Charakter ist meistens relativ ähnlich.

#00:22:54-0# Interviewer: Aber ist denn die Fluktuation und damit auch die Stimmung nicht eine ganz andere in der Erstaufnahme?

#00:22:54-0# Interviewee: Eigentlich schon, ja, wenn sie denn tatsächlich nach 3 Monaten ausziehen würden. Wir haben sehr sehr viele Leute, die mehr als sechs Monate bei uns wohnen. Mit den Notunter-

künften ist es so, dass Berlin berechtigt ist Gebäude zu besetzen und soziale Problemlagen, z.b. Wohnungslosigkeit, abzuwenden. Und das Lageso ist für die Gebäude und die Betreiber zuständig.

#00:25:32-2# Interviewer: Aber wie läuft es ab, wenn ein neues Heim genutzt wird?

#00:25:32-2# Interviewee: Im Grunde ist es so, dass die Bezirke sich oftmals quer stellen aus den gleichen Gründen wie in Dänemark: Kriminalität, Müll.

#00:27:22-3# Interviewer: Also im Endeffekt ist es auch eine politische Entscheidung der Bezirke zu sagen, wir bieten das an oder nicht.

#00:27:35-5# Interviewee: Genau. Es gibt Bezirke, die kooperativer sind, andere nicht, obwohl alle gleichermaßen verantwortlich sind.

#00:29:51-7# Interviewer: Wenn du dir jetzt die Verteilung der Heime in Berlin anschaust, fällt dir da was auf?

#00:29:59-6# Interviewee: Es ist im Grunde so, dass du in den zentralen Bereichen weniger Unterkünfte findest. Vieles wird nach außen verlagert. Aber es gibt auch Ausnahmen gerade in Bezug auf die Notunterkünfte. Aber manche sind schon fernab vom Schuss: Lichtenberg, Spandau, Hohen-Gatow. Wenn es Schulen sind oder alte Kliniken, dann liegt es schon in der städtischen Umgebung. Zentral in Berlin ist halt schwierig, was dann viel mit dem Mietpreis und der Wohnungsentwicklung in Berlin zu tun hat.

#00:33:10-3# Interviewer: Also sagst du im Prinzip, dass es einerseits Gründe auf Makroebene gibt, also die fehlende Verfügbarkeit im städtischen Raum, höhere Mieten etc. aber eben auch die politische Motivation eher an den Stadtraum.

#00:33:57-4# Interviewee: Ja, schon. Das Beispiel ist halt Motardstraße. Aber da ist eben auch grün für Kinder. Aber klar, du hast keine Probleme mit den Anwohnern. Und von der Verteilung her, glaube ich nicht, dass viele Sachen langfristig innerhalb des S-Bahn rings entstehen werden, weil insgesamt der Druck groß geworden ist. Der Wohnungsmarkt ist allgemein angespannt, was insofern auch problematisch ist, als dass Asylsuchende keine Wohnung bekommen. Also bis vor fünf Jahren hatte Berlin noch 80 Prozent der Asylsuchende in Wohnungen unterzubringen. Jetzt sind es nur noch 50 Prozent. Es hat sich stark verschoben und die finden halt keine Wohnungen mehr. Die sind ganz ganz schwach am Wohnungsmarkt, die Leute, und sie finden nichts. Sie könnten. Nach drei Monaten Erstaufnahme könnten sie in eine eigene Wohnung ziehen. Sie kriegen das gleiche Geld wie für Hartz4-Empfängerinnen. Aber es sind eben schwache Gruppen und sie bekommen keine Wohnungen mehr, ähnlich wie bei den Hartz4-Empfängerinnen. Natürlich hast du in einer Gruppe, wo gar nicht klar ist, wie lange sie bleiben, kaum Chancen diese Wohnung zu bekommen. Das ist total frustrierend, dass wir die Leute die anerkannt sind, die einen Aufenthalt haben, wir kriegen sie teilweise nicht aus den Einrichtungen raus, weil sie keine Wohnungen finden. Es fehlt natürlich auch an Segmentwohnungen. Aber das ist noch frustrierender, dass du Leute mit einem Status hast, aber du sie nicht aus den Einrichtungen rausbekommst.

#00:39:32-7# Interviewer: Was wäre da die Forderung an politisch Verantwortliche?

#00:39:37-6# Interviewee: Die Forderung kann einfach nur sein, dass der ganze Bereich von Wohnungen ausgebaut wird und städtischen Gesellschaften mehr Verantwortung für die Unterbringung dieses Segments nehmen. Es muss mehr Segment da sein. Es gibt ja auch ein Programm in Berlin "Wohnen für Flüchtlinge", wo im Grunde 255 Wohnungen von den städtischen Wohnungsunternehmen zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Das wurde von der Lageso vermittelt. Jetzt ist es das EJF und die verwalten das Segment. Aber es wird nie erfüllt. Das heißt, das Segment wird nicht bereitgestellt.

#00:41:43-4# Interviewer: Warum?

#00:41:47-5# Interviewee: Die Gesellschaften sagen, die Leute wollen die Wohnungen nicht. Ich würde behaupten, dass die Abläufe zu langsam sind, bürokratische Hürden, Überforderung der Verwaltung.

#00:42:51-8# Interviewer: Also du sagst, es ist theoretisch möglich, aber in der Praxis schwer.

#00:42:49-7# Interviewee: Also es gibt Fälle, wo die es schaffen, sich eine Wohnung nach drei Monaten zu suchen, aber es läuft viel über Kontakte. Aber im Grunde ist Berlin mit der Möglichkeit ist Berlin schon ziemlich weit. Das meiste scheitert an der Realität.

#00:46:27-6# Interviewer: Ich würde gerne noch mal zu den Heimen zurückspringen. Wie findet die Vergabe an die Betreiber statt?

#00:47:30-5# Interviewee: Das Lageso sucht sich in der Regel einen Betreiber. Der Betreiber bewirbt sich darum oder es finden direkte Absprachen zwischen Lageso und Betreiber statt.

#00:48:51-4# Interviewer: Es bestehen ja die Gerüchte, dass die Betreiber starken Profit machen mit der Unterbringung und dass die private Unterbringung viel günstiger wäre.

#00:49:00-8# Interviewee: Privatunterbringung in Wohnungen ist in jedem Fall immer günstiger. Selbst wenn du den niedrigsten Tagessatz nimmst, 15 Euro, bist du bei 30 Tagen bei 450 Euro und liegst trotzdem noch 30 über dem, was du an Unterstützung kriegen würdest und das ist schon die engste Rechnung. Ein Wohlfahrtsverband kann jetzt unendlich viel Profit einstreichen. Aber die Privaten können da ordentlich Geld machen und dann kannst du halt gucken, wo du einsparst. Das ist auch der Grund, warum so Firmen wie Gierso da rein gehen. Die Betreuungssituation ist bei uns in Lichtenberg mit am besten, aber du hast halt auch zu wenige Sozialarbeiter für die Flüchtlinge. Und manche Sachen schafft man da einfach auch nicht.

#00:55:13-4# Interviewer: Aber gibt es irgendwie einen einheitlichen Satz für die Betreiber?

#00:55:13-4# Interviewee: Es gibt Mindeststandards, die erfüllt werden müssen. Der Rest ist vertraglich mit der Lageso individuell abgeschlossen. Und grundsätzlich müssen halt die Unterkunftskapazitäten verdoppelt werden, weil es einen Anstieg der Flüchtlinge gibt. Die Notunterkünfte ist eine Antwort der Lageso, die sich über 40 Objekte angeschaut haben und die Bezirke haben immer nein gesagt. Und irgendwann wurde dann zu diesem Mittel gegriffen.

#00:59:54-3# Interviewer: Wer ist Eigentümer dieser Unterkünfte?

#00:59:55-2# Interviewee: Das ist unterschiedlich. Teilweise ist es der Bezirk, teilweise das Land.

#01:00:56-0# Interviewer: Welcher Rolle spielt der Standort des Heims für die Situation und die Integration der Asylsuchenden?

#01:01:11-1# Interviewee: Erstens glaube ich, dass Berlin eine Großstadt ist und es gibt schon die Möglichkeit schnell in Berlin von einem Ort zum anderen zu kommen. Am Anfang bekommen sie Tickets. Sie bekommen Geld für die Tickets und davon kaufen sie sich dann ein Sozialticket. Die Mehrzahl der Leute kauft sich ein Ticket. Familien sind da weniger mobil als Einzelpersonen. Dadurch fahren dann eben viele dort hin, wo sie auch die Communities finden, weil das Verbindungen und Kontakte sind. Das ist dann auch so ein Türöffner. Aber die Lage spielt natürlich schon eine Rolle, vor allem auf gefühlter Ebene, dass die Leute sich in Lichtenberg und Neukölln relativ weit draußen fühlen, obwohl es nicht immer so ist. Aber dennoch sind sie mobil.

#01:05:20-5# Interviewer: Ich finde aber schon spannend, dass du hervorhebt, dass Berlin verschiedene Communities hat und es ermöglicht wird, in einer Stadt auch anzukommen. Das ist ja auch noch mal was anderes, als wenn du in der Kleinstadt untergebracht hast.

#01:06:07-5# Interviewee: Ja, das ist sehr besonders in Berlin. Im Vergleich zu Brandenburg, wo teilweise die Leute wirklich auch räumlich isoliert sind.

#01:10:46-4# Interviewer: Wie werden überhaupt die Leistungen ausgezahlt?

#01:11:10-4# Interviewee: In Bar. Wenige eröffnen ein Konto, aber es findet teilweise statt.

#01:13:26-3# Interviewer: Es gibt ja grundsätzlich eine Kritik an den größeren Unterkünften von verschiedenen Seiten, die sagen, dass die Unterbringung in Wohnungen besser wäre. Sind die Trends auf dem Wohnungsmarkt der einzige Grund, warum an den großen Unterkünften festgehalten wird?

#01:14:01-6# Interviewee: Für Berlin ist es unterschiedlich. Es hat sich nach sehr langen Kämpfen durchgesetzt, dass die Wohnungsunterbringung ermöglicht wird. Die Politik in Berlin sagt nicht, dass die Leute in den Heimen bleiben sollen. Auf politischer Ebene gibt es weniger den Ansatz.

#01:16:37-7# Interviewer: Natürlich ist die Kostenrechnung einerseits die Frage, dann aber auch Fragen der sozialen Verträglichkeit und der Integration.

#01:17:03-3# Interviewee: Ja, das Heim als Ort für fremde Menschen ist sichtbar. Es steht als Symbol da und ist auch bekannt. Aber, wenn du die Politik fahren würdest, dass alle Leute ne Wohnung bekommen würden, dann wäre der Protest auf der anderen Seite auch da, weil ja Leute im ALG2-Bezug ja auch Wohnraum brauchen. Du kannst das nur als Gesamtes nehmen, sonst machst du ne Konkurrenz auf, die auch zu Konflikten führt. Die Unterbringung in den Lagern ist halt auch ein repressives Element aus dem Asylkompromiss von 1992, wo eben auch ganz klar gesagt wurde, macht möchte es unattraktiv machen für Asylsuchende hier zu wohnen. Und das repressive Element ist auch weiterhin vorhanden, auch bei Politikern und in der Gesellschaft. Den meisten Menschen ist nicht bewusst, dass diese Heimunterbringung richtig teuer ist. Die Leute denken, es ist billig. Aber wenn du das public machen würdest und das wird vermutlich nicht gemacht, weil im Grunde der repressive Gedanke ja in den Gesetzen auch noch drin steht.

#01:23:40-9# Interviewer: Hier steht ja auch im Asylverfahrensgesetz, dass anschließend die Unterbringung in den Heimen erfolgen soll.

#01:23:43-1# Interviewee: Ja, genau. Soll ist halt auch ein dehnbarer Begriff, wenn du den politischen Willen hast, kannst du es halt auch anders ausgestalten. Wenn nicht, hältst du dich eben strikt daran. Und im Grunde ist es halt so gemacht, dass Leute abgeschreckt werden sollten. Das ist die Residenzpflicht. Das ist der geringe Geldbetrag. Das ist die Lagerunterbringung. Ich glaube aber schon, dass es einen Effekt hatte, dass die Sätze angehoben wurden. Es kommen auch mehr.

#01:27:21-9# Interviewer: Inwiefern gibt es denn Betreuungsangebote für besondere Gruppen wie Minderjährige, Homosexuelle, etc.?

#01:27:29-9# Interviewee: Es gibt Einrichtungen für unbegleitete Minderjährige. Manchmal werden die aber auch volljährig gemacht und verlegt. In Reinickendorf gibt es eine Einrichtung für besonders Schutzbedürftige, das Marie-Schlei-Haus. Es gibt teilweise Einzelzimmer für bspw. Homosexuelle, weil auch Leute wegen ihrer Homosexualität in Konflikt kommen. Aber das ist dann auch oft Glück. Man muss das Problem auch erst mal kommunizieren. Aber wenn die Unterstützung nicht da ist, das macht die Leute so fertig, dass es zum Suizid führt. So ne Unterbringung in einer Einrichtung ist extrem belastend für die Leute, vor allem wenn sie schon traumatische Erfahrungen mitbringen. Die Leute kommen eben nicht zur Ruhe. Das ist das Problem, weil sie eben durch den Zustand im Heimatland und durch die Flucht schon traumatisiert sind. Du hast als Flüchtling auch nicht die Möglichkeit, dir deine Mitbewohner aussuchen und du hast in den Heimen eben auch keine Privatsphäre. Und du darfst als Sozialarbeiter, wenn der Flüchtling sich nicht abmeldet, in das Zimmer rein und du kannst das Zimmer auch räumen. Und dann

kommt der Flüchtling zurück und hat kein Zimmer mehr. Wenn die Leute da sind, dann nur mit Anmeldung. Im Notfall dürfen wir es immer betreten. Oder halt nach 1 bis 3 Tagen, das du es betreten musst. Also kein dürfen, sondern wir müssen. Aber in Deutschland kriegen alle Leute, die einen Wohnplatz haben wollen, auch einen. Deutschland hat sich da gesetzlich verpflichtet.

#01:42:29-4# Interviewer: Inwiefern partizipieren Asylsuchende in Berlin?

#01:43:06-3# Interviewee: Es gibt Leute, die am O-Platz teilnehmen. Grundsätzlich ist es aber schwierig, weil die Gruppe der Flüchtlinge halt sehr ausdifferenziert ist. Also es auch die Idee eines Heimbeirats zu machen, wo Leute mitbestimmen können. Es gibt keine Identifikation als Gruppe innerhalb der Einrichtung. Ich weiß auch nicht wie man das machen kann. Im Grunde sind es eher stellvertretende Organisationen.

#01:45:22-7# Interviewer: Meine These ist halt auch, dass das Heim ja auch eher einen privaten Ort darstellt und dass es aber auch mit dem O-Platz einen Moment gibt, wo ein Teil der Flüchtlinge im öffentlichen Raum für ihre Interessen eintreten.

#01:46:41-4# Interviewer: Ich würde behaupten 95 Prozent der Leute in den Heimen hat auch noch nie was vom O-Platz gehört, weil es sie so nicht betrifft. Die Leute, die am O-Platz sind, haben halt auch ne krasse Perspektivlosigkeit, die viele Flüchtlinge - vor allem in der Erstaufnahme - noch gar nicht haben. Man muss halt schauen, welche Leute da sind. Das braucht Zeit. Der O-Platz hat sich halt auch stark verändert. Sie fordern teilweise individuelle Lösungen. Da geht es ums blanke Überleben. Viele Flüchtlinge allgemeine sind halt auch nicht so politisch. Syrer wissen dass sie einen Aufenthalt bekommen; sie wollen sich dann meistens was aufbauen. Die Afghanen wollen auch eher Ruhe haben. Jede Gruppe hat seine andere Ausrichtung. Und Einzelne gehen dann schon mal dort hin, aber es ist keine allgemeine Bewegung, die da einsetzt.

#01:52:17-8# Interviewer: Wie sieht deine Vision für die optimale Unterbringung Asylsuchender in Berlin aus?

#01:52:17-8# Interviewee: Wohnungen. Ich glaube aber auch nicht, dass es kurzfristig ohne Heime gehen wird, um die Leute kurz aufzunehmen. Ich glaube auch nicht, dass es ohne eine Erstaufnahme gehen würde, in der die Leute kurz aufgenommen werden. Aber drei Monate sind definitiv zu lang. Wichtig ist, dass die Leute eine Perspektive bekommen. Wenn Sie wissen, dass sie nach drei Monaten auch eine Wohnung bekommen, dann sitzen sie auch die drei Monate aus. Schön wäre auch, wenn die Leute in Wohnungen dezentral untergebracht werden. Du kannst die Leute auch direkt in die Wohnungen unterbringen. Du bräuchtest dann natürlich ne Armada von Sozialbetreuern, die dafür sorgen, dass die Leute halt irgendwie ankommen. Berlin ist da nicht ganz auf dem falschen Weg, wenn der Wohnungsmarkt nicht so angespannt wäre.

## I AWO

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Snežana Prvulović-Hummel, Executive Director **Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO)**, operator of centres in Berlin

Interviewee 2: Jan Nadolny, Housemaster of the asylum centre „Kaiserdamm“

Interviewee 3: Jyoti Chakma, Housemaster of the asylum centre „Motardstraße“

Date: 20.03.2014, 02.00pm

Type: Tour to four different asylum centres in Berlin, which are operated by the AWO. Tour was led by the executive director of the AWO. Introduction to the different centres, and interviews with the housemasters of the centres as well as asylum seekers.

Type of the document: Incomplete transcript. It was not able to record all the conducted interviews and talks. The transcription is based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.

#00:01:08-1# Interviewer: Wie bewerten Sie den Zustand der Motardstraße?

#00:01:08-1# Interviewee: Wir haben den Standort 1996 übernommen. Ich weiß nicht, wann es gebaut wurde. Es gab damals Probleme mit dem privaten Betreiber und da haben wir den übernommen. Er war ursprünglich nur als temporäre Anlage gedacht. Dann für ein paar Jahre und er besteht bis heute. Er verfällt immer mehr. Es ist von der Bausubstanz eben auch nichts, was langlebig ist. 2010 gab es eine Entscheidung des Landes, es ist immer eine politische Entscheidung. Es ist ein Trugschluss anzunehmen, dass es der Träger entscheidet. Manche Träger kann er beeinflussen. In regulären Zeiten aber nicht. Und bei der Motardstraße gab es auch nie wirklich die Absicht das zu schließen. Immer mal Diskussionen, aber es bestand der Konsens, dass es schon eigentlich wegen der Lage ganz gut ist, weil da gibt es eben kein Ärger mit den Nachbarn. 2010, bei der rot-roten Regierung, die war für den Arbeit erst ein mal ein Segen, weil die sich die Situation intensiv angeschaut haben und die haben gesagt, dass geht so nicht. Das geht von der Bausubstanz nicht, von der Lage her nicht und die Einrichtung soll schließen und sie haben einen Teilnehmerwettbewerb gemacht für eine Erstaufnahme. Mit der Rhinestraße haben wir uns am Anfang sehr schwer getan. Ein Nachteil ist, dass es ein sehr hohes Haus ist mit 10 Geschossen. Dann auch ganz ehrlich Stadtteil Lichtenberg - zu der Zeit war hier auch noch eine recht lebendige rechte Szene. Das war Kriterien, wo wir dachten, dass es nicht gut ist. Aber wir waren unter Zeitdruck ein Angebot abzugeben. Und wir haben gesagt, wir versuchen das.

#00:05:25-1# Interviewer: Das war dann leer gezogen schon?

#00:05:25-1# Interviewee: Nein, das war es nicht. Es waren sehr viele Wohnungen leer. 40 Prozent waren bewohnt. Wir haben mit dem Hauseigentümer verhandeln können. Weil dadurch, dass wir eben alles angemietet haben, winkte denen die Aussicht, dass sie ständig Mieten bekommen und Vollausslastung haben. Und den damaligen Mietern wurden andere Wohnungen angeboten. Und wir haben Umzugshilfe geleistet. Und das hat gut gemacht. Es hat auch nur 5.000 Euro gekostet. Die waren auch happy, dass sie neue Wohnungen bekommen konnten. Es waren keine großen Kosten, weil viele eben auch in der Nachbarschaft blieben.

#00:08:17-9# Interviewer: Das war dann aber erst nachdem auch die Zusage vom Lageso kam, oder?

#00:08:19-7# Interviewee: Genau. Wir haben Transparenz von Anfang an durchgeführt. Wir haben einen Rahmen erstellt und alle Rechnungen vorgelegt. Und das war eben auch die Chance zu sagen zu machen wir es eben. Das DRK ist ja durch Korruption aus dem Handlungsfeld eben auch verschwunden. Die haben auch keine Unterkünfte mehr. Und dann haben wir den Zuschlag auch bekommen. Für uns war es eben auch ein Experiment, diese Hochhaus. Eben auch mit Nachbar links und recht. Wir wussten nicht wie gestaltet sich dann nun wirklich. Dann natürlich auch die rechte Szene in Lichtenberg. Es gab letztlich aber keine Konflikte. Es war nichts, was bei uns angekommen ist. Wir haben auch versucht gute Öffnen-

tlichkeitsarbeit zu machen. Es gab eine Nachbarin, die am Anfang sehr dagegen war und behauptet, dass wir alles schmutzig machen. Und es stellt sich heraus, dass sie eine Arbeit sucht und wir konnten ihr einen Job anbieten und jetzt ist sie überglücklich. Sie ist definitiv eine der besten im Haus. Wohnt direkt nebenan und vermittelt zu den Nachbarn und kennt sich aus. Das war ein Glücksfall. Die Bezirksregierung hier ist aber auch ganz toll. Also wir haben bis heute enorme Unterstützung der linken Stadträtin, die gleich am Anfang zu einem Gespräch eingeladen hat und ihre Mitarbeiter, um zu besprechen, was gebraucht wird und wie kommuniziert werden kann.

#00:15:21-8# Interviewer: Also es ist dann schon auch wichtig, wer diese politischen Entscheidungsträger eben auch sind?

#00:15:20-0# Interviewee: Ja, sehr. Das ist es. Und es auch abhängig von der Landespolitik an sich. Also wo wollen wir hin. Das mit der Beschulung zum Beispiel, da sind wir seit Jahren dran. Und wir nehmen da auch oft die Mittlerrolle ein. Und wir besprechen eben das Problem an. Zum Beispiel mit der Beschulung. Und am Anfang wurde auch in Frage gestellt, ob es tatsächlich eine Schulpflicht geben soll. Also ich muss auch ehrlich sagen, wo ich denke, dass die Anfangszeit, sagen wir 2-3 Wochen, ist es nicht schlecht zu überbrücken mit Sprachkenntnisse und Deutschunterricht. Es wäre nicht schlecht um reinzukommen. Aber es muss ein sehr überschaubarer Zeitraum sein und er darf nicht dafür genutzt werden, dafür dass die Kinder aus der Regelversorgung ausgeschlossen werden. Und das machen die aber und dann dauert Beschulung noch länger auf Kosten der Kinder. Es ist aber immer ein Abwegungsprozess. Wichtig wäre, dass politisch Verantwortliche ein Einsehen ihrer eigenen Verantwortung auch zeigen. Es ist eine gemeinschaftliche Aufgabe.

#00:20:27-8# Interviewer: Wie bewerten Sie denn da die aktuelle politische Situation?

#00:20:29-7# Interviewee: Auf politischer Ebene wird eben auch diese Ankommen entschleunigt, ja. Dadurch dass die Verantwortlichen sich nicht positionieren wollen oder können. Zum Beispiel beantragt Brandenburg EU Gelder für den Sprachunterricht der Flüchtlinge. Also hab ich in Berlin angerufen und dort meinte man wir sind noch nicht soweit. Wieso? Was ist das denn blödes? Das mein ich. Wenn die Zielsetzung klar ist. Politische Verantwortung muss von der Landespolitik ausgehen und von der Bezirkspolitik angenommen werden.

#00:24:12-2# Interviewer: Hat die AWO Notunterkünfte?

#00:24:12-2# Interviewee: Ja, und zwar eine in Hohen-Gatow. Es ist ein ehemaliges Krankenhaushausgelände. Es ist sehr abseits gelegen. Aber es liegt im Grünen. Es ist ein umstrittener Standort, weil zu weit draußen. Und es ist mit 450 auch ein sehr großer Standort. Aber ich finde den Klasse. Er liegt im Grünen, an der Havel mit Wasserzugang und die Leuten dort haben einen Bildungshintergrund der einen guten Umgang gewährleisten. Für Familien mit vielen Kindern wird der auch gut angenommen. Die Häuser sind einstöckig, haben große Terrassen. Es ist kein Standort für junge, aber eben für Ältere. Man ist schnell im Zentrum von Spandau.

#00:30:36-8# Interviewer: Soll die langfristig auch als Gemeinschaftsunterkunft angelegt werden?

#00:30:37-9# Interviewee: Das wissen wir nicht. Meines Erachtens würde er sich als Zielgruppe gut eignen. Aber es gibt eine starke CDU und die CDU denkt, es sei kein Stadtteil um dort Flüchtlinge unterzubringen. Der Flüchtlingsrat ist wegen der Lage auch dagegen, nur die Motive sind anders. Und gerade ist es ein hin und her. Ich hoffe, dass der Standort sich verstetigt. Die andere Notunterkunft ist am Kaiserdamm. Das war ein Hotel. Es ist eine kleine Einrichtung mit 120 Plätzen. Die Unterkunft hat auch den Status einer Notunterkunft, damit wir Leute dort unterbringen können bis der Nutzungsänderungsantrag durch ist. Der Bezirk hat eben hier darauf bestanden, dass wir einen Nutzungsänderungsantrag stellen. Es müsste eben als soziale Einrichtung angegeben werden. Wir wollten es als Hotel und haben auch argumentiert, dass es ja die gleiche Form ist.

#00:34:47-6# Interviewer: Wie sieht es generell mit der Standort suche aus.

#00:34:48-3# Interviewee: Also, wir schauen vor allem, dass es bewohnte Gebiete sind. Wenn wir was aus der Motardstraße gelernt haben, dann ist es, dass man Menschen nicht so unsichtbar machen darf. Es ist für die Menschen schlimm und auch für die Gesellschaft, indem man eben die Menschen dort wirklich ausschließt. Sie auch innerhalb der Strukturen und Regelversorgung überhaupt nicht mehr wahrnimmt. Wir können aber keine Menschen in unserem Land aufnehmen und dann dafür sorgen, dass sie unsichtbar bleiben. Das geht nicht. Ihretwegen aber auch wegen der Gesellschaft, damit die Gesellschaft auch reinwachsen und den Umgang lernen kann. Sie sind völlig ausgegrenzt. Das macht Ausgrenzung. Aber in dem Moment, wo ich sage, ich nehme Menschen auf, dann muss ich sie auch ordentlich unterbringen. Aber die Leute sind chancenlos und sie werden so gemacht.

#00:39:37-0# Interviewer: Was sind weitere Kriterien?

#00:39:37-5# Interviewee: Nicht so groß. Das ist das schwierigste, weil man muss das natürlich schon so rechnen, dass wir auch eine Refinanzierung dafür bekommen, weil es anders nicht geht. Das was unsere politische Forderung ist, ist 40 bis 60 Leute an einem Standort. Das ist uns bis jetzt nicht gelungen. Wird uns aber jetzt gelingen. An einem Standort, wo wir ein Apartmenthaus anmieten wollen für eine kleine Gruppe. Grundschule mit Hort neben an. Einkaufen und S-Bahn sind in der Nähe. Gute Verkehrsanbindung ist wichtig. Es ist wichtig, dass Menschen in der Nähe Wohnen und mitleben. Aber so ein Heim ist nie für alle passend. Weiteres: Gesehen zu werden, angenommen zu werden. Nicht abschüssig.

#00:42:26-1# Interviewer: Wieviele Unterkünfte werden gerade von der AWO betrieben?

#00:42:26-1# Interviewee: 10.

#00:42:36-9# Interviewer: Gibt es Bezirke, die sich komplett dagegen stellen?

#00:42:42-0# Interviewer: Ja. Reinickendorf war ganz extrem. Da haben wir jeden Stein in den Weg gelegt bekommen. Angefangen bei den Nachbarn, die steigende Kriminalität befürchtet haben bis hin zu den Mitarbeitern im Bezirksamt. Aber der politische Druck war zu groß vom Senat, die haben eben gesagt, dass die Mehr aufnehmen. Czaja hat da ordentlich Druck ausgeübt. Wir hatten sehr größte Unterstützung durch Grüne, Linken und Piraten. Aber es gab auch eine Hetzcampagne. Das Marie-Schlei-Haus war in Besitz der AWO und es war ein Altenheim betrieben im Eigentum des Landesverbandes. Die Auslastung war aber schlecht, um die 50 Prozent. 2010 ist der Landesverband insolvent gegangen. Wir haben damals eben das Angebot gemacht, eine Flüchtlingsunterkunft zu machen. S-Bahn ist gleich da. Das ist der Kräutergarten. Es ist auf allen Etagen gehindertengerecht. Alle Bäder. Alle Zimmer. 190 Bewohner.

BREAK Visit to Centre Marie-Schlei-Haus

#01:29:58-4# Interviewee: Das ist ein schöner Standort. Es ist noch mehr als das, was wir fordern. Aber es ist von der Anzahl auch gemerkt, dass es machbar ist. Es trägt sich finanziell. Der Tagessatz ist hier 24 Euro. In Berlin reicht der Tagessatz zwischen 8 und 30 Euro. Es geht. Das macht das Land nicht arm. Die Heimleiterin ist auch unglaublich warmherzig. Es hängt immer auch mit der Heimbetreuung zusammen. Es hängt immer an Personen. Ich sehe das in unseren Einrichtungen. Wir haben die gleichen Standards für alle - von den Personen her.

#01:37:15-8# Interviewer: Ist abends Betreuung da?

#01:38:38-3# Interviewee: Wir haben Früh- und Spätdienste. Und in den meisten Einrichtungen sind die Spätdienste bis 20.30 da. Und dann sind eben die Wachdienste da.

#01:39:25-1# Interviewer: Ist das vorgegeben, dass es einen Wachschutz geben muss oder bestimmt das jeder Betreiber selbst?

#01:39:27-5# Interviewee: Es muss eigentlich einen Wachschutz geben. Aber wir sind gerade am Brechen dieser Vorgaben.

#01:39:58-4# Interviewer: Aber was halten Sie persönlich von Wachschutz?

#01:39:58-8# Interviewee: Ich glaube, es ist die Frage wer wird geschützt und in welcher Form. Ist der Schutz, ein Schutz, der sagt, hör zu, ich bin da, mach dir keine Sorgen. Für alleinflüchtende Frauen kann Wachschutz etwas sehr wichtiges sein. Wir haben in unseren Einrichtungen ein striktes Verbot des Tragens von Waffen, egal welcher Art. In der Regel haben die ja die Schlagstücke. Und das ist bei uns verboten. Der Wachschutz ist nicht dazu da körperliche Gewalt auszuüben. In den meisten ist es auch so, dass der Wachschutz die AWO Kleidung trägt. Wir müssen aber aufnehmen lassen "Im Auftrag der AWO". Es kann sinnvoll sein. In der Motardstraße hat sich aus ehemaligen Bewohnern eine Bande gegründet, die die Bewohner ausgeraubt haben. Die Bewohner waren verängstigt. Und jetzt haben wir eben ein neues Tor und Ausweiskontrolle eingeführt. Dann war die Bande so verärgert, dass die die Bewohner am U-Bahnhof abgefangen haben und eben alles abgezogen haben. Es gab eine verstärkte Polizeipräsenz und dann beruhigte sich das denn. Sie waren aber so verärgert auch über Bewohner, die sie namentlich angezeigt haben, dass sie nachts eingestiegen sind aufs Gelände und haben die Fenster eingeschlagen. Das war ganz schlimm. Dann haben wir dann den Wachschutz verdreifacht. Haben an allen Ecken Bewegungslichter, also richtige Strahler, angebracht. Und jetzt ist seit 2 Wochen Ruhe. Das ist ein Problem.

#01:46:29-5# Interviewer: Und wenn jetzt zusätzliche Maßnahmen ergriffen werden, wie läuft das mit der Finanzierung?

#01:46:30-8# Interviewee: Bei kurzfristigen Geschichten bezahlen wir das selbst aus nem Instandhaltungsetat. Und wenn nicht, dann machen wir einen Vorfallsbericht und bitten um Kostenübernahme. Ist sehr aufwendig, muss gut begründet sein. In manchen ist Wachschutz auch ganz sinnvoll. Nach ein paar Jahren nun in diesem Bereich würde ich auch von generellen Forderungen Abstand nehmen. Also in Bezug auf Standorte. Es sind auch individuelle Sachen. Wir haben Bewohner, die kommen in die Motardstraße, weinen und wollen zurück. Manchen weinen und wollen da nicht rein.

#01:51:03-9# Interviewer: Na da bin ich ja mal gespannt.

#01:51:19-2# Interviewer: Der Kaiserdamm ist so. Wir haben kein Wachschutz. Es ist mitten in der Stadt. Gleich daneben ist die Polizei. Wir testen da eben auch andere Modelle. Beim Marie-Schlei-Haus würde ich auch testen wollen, dass da kein Wachschutz hinkommt, sondern einfach eine Nachtwache. Ich denke auch, wenn das Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte sind, wo Leute länger drin wohnen, wo der Zusammenhalt auch ein anderer ist, weil sie sich kennen. Dann erübrigt sich das manchmal. Aber so eine Erstaufnahme wie die Motardstraße hat manchmal eine Fluktuation von 30, 40, 50 Leuten und da ist die Fluktuation so hoch. Die wenigsten kennen sich. Die wenigsten bedeuten einander etwas.

#01:55:53-9# Interviewer: Aber im Bezug auf die Motardstraße. Da ist der politische Wille schon so, dass diese Heim weiterhin so bleibt.

#01:56:02-4# Interviewee: Das ändert sich. Vor sechs Monaten war es noch so, dass der Senat und das Lageso den Standort ganz prima fanden, eben weil sich da keiner aufregt, die Kinder können spielen, es gibt eine U-Bahn. Aber dann gab es einen Umdenkprozess.

#### VISIT CENTRE KAISERDAMM

#01:59:05-5# Interviewer: Hier gehts los. Das ist der Chef des Hauses.

#01:59:54-8# Interviewee 2: Es war ein Hotel. Das sind Zimmer wie sie auch im Jugendhotel aussah. Für unsere Zwecke wäre es sonst größer. Wir haben 3 Betten und 4 Betten belegt die aber nicht immer voll.

Und hier in dem Zimmer war eine Familie drin. Und dann haben wir drei Männer aus Bosnien. Hier gibt es keine Reinigungsfirma. Es gibt eine Grundreinigung. Aber den Rest machen die Flüchtlinge selbst und in Eigeninitiative.

#02:04:05-9# Interviewee: Nicht nur kein Wachschatz sondern auch keine Reinigungsfirma.

#02:04:08-9# Interviewee 2: Ich erzähl ihnen gleich wie wir das erreicht haben. Es sind hier so knapp 110 Bewohner. 100 ist die Soll-Zahl. 120 ist Max.

#02:05:28-5# Interviewer: Und was gibt es an Gemeinschaftsräumen?

#02:05:47-1# Interviewee 2: Zeige ich Ihnen gleich.

#02:06:43-7# Interviewee: Letzte Woche war ich kurz hier und die Bewohner haben den Raum gestrichen. Das war sehr schön und die Bewohner haben das instand gesetzt und sie sind auch sehr engagiert.

#02:09:40-8# Interviewee 2: Wenn man das übernimmt über Nacht, hab ich schon gedacht, was machen wir hier und wir essen eben hier mittag. Und die Leute haben hier erreicht, dass die Leute aufeinander aufpassen und auch ihre Räumlichkeiten sauber machen. In Bezug auf Verpflegung ist es so, dass es hier Essen gibt. Es gibt ein Caterer, der kocht. Wir haben eine Familie, die in der Küche arbeitet. Und wir haben am 23. zusammengesessen, wo man jetzt hier Arbeitskräfte herkommen und wir haben jetzt zwei Arabisch sprechende Studenten und eine Russisch sprechende Studentin und das war ein glücklicher Griff. Die wissen, was es heißt, hier eine Bleibe zu beziehen. Die können alle die Situation verstehen und sie haben auch nicht die Beklemmungen, die ein Sozialarbeiter hat. Sie sind sehr direkt. Ich bin der Leiter der Unterkunft. Das haben wir eine Sozialbetreuerin und noch zwei mit 20 Stunden. In der Hauswirtschaft haben wir zwei Vollzeitstellen.

#02:21:26-3# Interviewer: Was sind ihrer Meinung nach die Eigenschaften der Unterkunft?

#02:21:27-2# Interviewee 2: Wir haben wenig Gemeinschaftsfläche. Wir haben den Kaiserdamm vorne, den Parkplatz hinten. Wir haben hier direkte Nachbarn. Es gibt eine sehr engagierte Nachbarschaft, die sich vor allem auch um die Kindern kümmern.

#02:26:56-3# Interviewee: Das ist, was ich meine. Wenn die Nachbarschaft stimmt. Wenn Unterstützung da ist, dann macht das viel aus. Wir profitieren von den urbanen Standort. Wir haben hier eine Bürgerinitiative, die sich für uns einsetzt. Es gibt in der Nähe Freizeiteinrichtungen, die haben Aktivitäten. Die Jugendlichen haben guten Zugang in die Schule. Die Leute kommen und spenden Spielzeug. Wir haben auch die Möglichkeit gezielte Spendenaufrufe zu machen. Oder auch Bettelbriefe an Sporthersteller, machen wir auch. Die Unterkunft im Kaiserdamm gibt es seit Dezember.

#02:42:40-8# Interviewer: Obwohl das baulich nicht so viel hergibt ist aber die Atmosphäre eine sehr angenehme.

#02:42:53-4# Interviewee: Es hängt an den Menschen, an den handelnden Personen.

#02:43:05-0# Interviewer: Gibt es da auch Mitarbeiter, die sie da so ein wenig in den Arsch treten müssen?

#02:43:01-2# Interviewee: Ja, es gibt auch Mitarbeiter, die ich kündigen musste, wo man auch gemerkt hat, da gibt es keinen guten Einstellungen, den Ausländern gegenüber. Das ist etwas, was ich auch erst lernen musste, so hart zu sein. Man bekommt dann oft eine Verweigerungshaltung, dass man das den Leuten nicht gönnt. Und das geht auch nicht. Wir haben sehr viele neue Mitarbeiterinnen, die die Menschen akzeptieren, wie sie sind und die auch eine Professionalität haben. Muttersprachler sind immer willkommen. Das ist auch das, wo wir als AWO auch abheben, dass wir sehr viel Wert legen auf die Qualifikation.

#02:49:52-8# Interviewer: Was zeichnet die AWO noch aus im Vergleich zu anderen Betreibern?

#02:49:52-8# Interviewee: Also die Qualifikation der Angestellten. Der Wunsch die Dinge weiter zu entwickeln. Wir wollen mit gestalten. Das ist eine Chance gibt, wenn es die Möglichkeit gibt, dass die Menschen, die in der Praxis arbeiten, auch eine Stimme haben. Das unterscheidet sie eben auch von den Leuten, die sagen wie können so Leute untergebracht werden.

#### VISIT CENTRE MOTARDSTRASSE

#02:52:29-8# Interviewee: Bis zur U-Bahn sind es sechs Minuten Fußweg. Das Tor ist eben neu, damit eben nicht jeder rein kann. Es gibt noch einen Spielplatz hinten, aber die Kinder spielen meistens hier vorn, vermutlich weil es hier mehr Öffentlichkeit hat. Es sind gerade 575 Leute hier. Haus 5 ist für Wohnen gesperrt. Da sind die ganzen Gemeinschaftsräume, Asylberatung, Multitude macht dort Deutsch. Haus 6 ist Verwaltung. 1-4 ist Wohnen.

#02:58:02-7# Interviewee 3: Die älteste und bekannteste Einrichtung von Berlin, von der AWO sowieso. Hier haben wir ein schönes Bild von einem Künstler gemacht. Die Räumlichkeiten sind sehr eng. Nicht so großzügig wie woanders.

#02:59:09-9# Interviewee: Hier sieht man eben auch einfach, dass bestimmte Dinge nicht mehr zu reparieren sind.

#02:59:29-3# Interviewee 3: Wir sollten ja schon seit 2007 umziehen. Und der Zustand ist teilweise schon schlimm.

#02:59:56-6# Interviewer: Für wieviele Personen wäre jetzt diese Badezimmer?

#02:59:56-0# Interviewee 3: Wir haben auf jeder Etage ein Männerbad und ein Frauenbad. Es sind drei Etagen und 130 Personen pro Haus. Also für 130 Menschen 6 Duschen und 6 WCs.

#03:01:09-9# Interviewer: Und das hier ist die Essensausgabe?

#03:04:44-9# Interviewee: Ja, es gibt kein Speisesaal. Gegessen wir auf den Zimmern. Wir haben in den einzelnen Häusern keine Gemeinschaftsräume mehr, aufgrund von Platzgründen. Nur noch in Haus 5, die Möglichkeit, weil einfach alles zu. An Platz ist alles ausgeschöpft.

#03:06:25-3# Interviewee 3: Sie bekommen essen hier von uns. Und in jeder Etage gibt es ein Büro. Es gibt aber auch Kochstationen. Wir haben die Büros der Mitarbeiterinnen.

#03:07:29-8# (Der Heimleiter hat Schlüssel für alle Zimmer und kann auch die Büros der Sozialarbeiter betreten. Zimmer von Bewohnern wird betreten.)

#03:09:50-4# Interviewee: Die Ausstattung ist eben auch noch mal anders. Die Bedingungen sind ganz anders. Was ganz anders ist, dass man Wasserleitungen in die Zimmer verlegt hat. Das heißt man muss nicht zum jeden Gang im Waschzimmer. Was unangenehm ist, dass die Sanitäreanlagen immer am Ende der Einrichtungen sind. Das man weit gehen ist. Die Zimmer sind maßgeschnitten, weil es eben auch ein Containerbau ist. 12m<sup>2</sup> sind die Zimmer groß für drei Personen. Es gibt eine Verbindungstür, die man zur Not aufmachen kann, wenn jetzt größere Familien da sind.

#03:16:28-2# Interviewer: Die Aufenthaltsdauer hier von den Bewohnern, wie ist die aktuell?

#03:16:28-4# Interviewee 3: In der Regel sind es drei Monate. Aber das ist grad das Problem in Berlin, dass sie oftmals länger bleiben. Wir haben gerade 70 Personen, die über die drei Monate sind und Barleistung haben und es gibt eben keine anderen Plätze.

#03:17:58-5# Interviewer: Gibt es auf dem Gelände denn auch sowas wie einen Spielplatz?

#03:17:58-3# Interviewee 3: Es gibt hinten sowas wie ein Kinderspielplatz. Aber wir sollten ja schon 2007 ausziehen und da wird auch nicht viel gemacht. Und aktuell läuft die Verlängerung bis September.

#03:18:18-8# Interviewee: 30.09. ist der Pachtvertrag von Siemens-Osram. Es sind beide Verträge gekündigt sowohl Pachtvertrag als auch Betreibervertrag. Aber wie das ausgeht, wissen wir nicht. Aber wir hoffen, dass es vorbei ist, weil der bauliche Zustand geht gar nicht mehr. Es dringt Feuchtigkeit ein, es fällt alles zusammen. Aber es muss natürlich auch was Neues her für 600 Leute. Die Größe sollte nicht sein. Es mag vielleicht wirtschaftlich besser sein, aber es ist für die Soziale Arbeit eine Herausforderung.

#03:22:17-8# Interviewer: Wie ist das Verhältnis hier mit den Bewohnern und Ihnen?

#03:22:18-1# Interviewee 3: Das ist ganz gut. Unter den Bewohnern gibt es immer etwas Stress. Es gibt Konflikt, aufgrund der engen Räume. Das sind andere Dynamiken. Es hat auch nichts damit zu tun, dass die Hintergründe andere sind. Wer so eng auf einem Raum lebt, kommt in Konflikte.

#03:23:40-0# (Ein Raum wird gestrichen von Asylsuchenden.)

#03:24:05-1# Interviewer: Also die Bewohner können das auch selbst gestalten?

#03:24:06-1# Interviewee 3: Ja, wenn die wollen können die die Zimmer streichen. Das ist der Vorteil der Motardstraße. Die Menschen können das hier. Die bemalen die Wände.

#03:26:49-3# Interviewer: Wie ist das mit Alkohol im Haus?

#03:26:49-3# Interviewee 3: Offiziell ist das verboten aber man kann es natürlich nicht kontrollieren.

#03:26:49-9# Interviewee: Das kann man nicht kontrollieren. Aber es ist schon richtig zu sagen, dass Drogen nicht erlaubt sind. Wir haben auch die Nicht-Raucher-Zeichen, aber klar rauchen die am Fenster. Und das ist auch in Ordnung. Aber grundsätzlich ist es verboten.

#03:28:53-5# Interviewer: Schon viele Kinder hier auch, oder?

#03:37:02-1# Interviewee: Immer um die 40 Prozent. Sehr sehr viele Kinder. Es sind hier extrem freundliche und dankbare Menschen. Aber das war auch nicht immer so. Das liegt sehr am Personal. Die Mitarbeiter sind sehr wertschätzend. Als ich den Bereich übernommen habe, waren die Mitarbeiter auch anders. Da muss man eben auch Konsequenzen ziehen. Aber von der Lage hier ist es völlig ab vom Schuss. Sie sind nicht sichtbar. Sie sind nicht da. Sie sind für die Gesellschaft nicht da. Und wenn die Schule sagt, nö keine Plätze, dann sind sie erst recht nicht sichtbar. Als ich den Bereich übernommen habe, gab es gerade mal zwei Kinder, die in die Schule gegangen sind. Der Vorteil von dem Gelände ist, dass die Kinder geschützt spielen können. Beim Kaiserdamm kann man die Kinder nicht rauslassen.

### *III Madrid*

## I ACCEM

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Sina, Head of the housing program within **ACCEM**

Date: 23.06.2014, 10.00am

Place: P.c. Santa Maria Soledad Torres Acosta, 3, 28004 Madrid, Spain, Accem's office

Type of Interview: Informative Interview

Type of Document: Protocol. Recording was not allowed.

- 132 places in centres in different provinces of Spain
- biggest centre has 60 inhabitants
- accem has 7 centres
- centres are usually apartments for a group of people (not centres in the original interpretation)
- goal: leading the residents quickly to personal autonomy, integration of the group into the Spanish society
- 12 places in two (real) apartments
- asylum seeker are distributed to the places by OAR
- in every province, where a centre is, accem provides team stuff: psychologist, social worker, lawyer, teacher
- children go to the school in the local province
- period of asylum seekers in the centre: 6-18 months
- plan of vacant places is sent everyday to the OAR
- money for transport and language classes is provided
- food in the centres/apartments is provided by the stuff – they buy the food for the asylum seekers
- they also get 51 Euro pocket money monthly
- people “are taught how to use their money and how to eat”
- in the centres: “Everything is organised by the social worker”
- in the apartments: “try to be autonomous but with restrictions”
- generally: intense work the people; “they have to participate from the first to the last day”
- centres are sometimes visited by stuff of the ministry to control the life in the centre
- flats have the functions to let people participate and to “show them how to paint and fix the center”
- objective: being prepared for life

## I CAR

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Isabel Blanco Sanz, Social Worker, **Centros de Acogida a Refugiados (CAR)** Alcobendas

Date: 17.06.2014, 01.00pm

Place: C/ Sariñena, 7, 28100-Alcobendas (Madrid), Spain

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:08-6# Interviewer: What are your specific taste here?

#00:00:08-6# Interviewee: I am in charge of the first interview when people were sent here. There is an asylum office, they decide where asylum seekers can go. And I have the first interview and I decide if this person has the requirements to come here. Most of the people have it.

#00:00:55-8# Interviewer: What are the requirements?

#00:00:55-8# Interviewee: Some people are working and they have no time to do the program in the centre. Our program consists of Spanish classes, social activities with the municipalities, doing professional training to know something of the Spanish society. Sometimes people are already here for 2 or 3 years, so in that cases it doesn't have a chance to live here, because of the people. Sometimes we make an interview and then people disappear and don't arrive for the interview. But most of the people are coming here, also because of the economic situation. Nobody has another option. They don't have money and they don't have other social resources. So when they arrive here, they get information on medical care. I explain them the economic aids. Im in charge of everything about the social resources in relation to their social interests. For example, I inform them on lawyers. If I see that they need psychological support. I participate in activities. I coordinate the activities. We also participate at public meetings to talk about the integration and situation of refugees. I work with the refugees, when they are going to leave the centre and they have to begin another phase in their lives. It is very difficult for them to find an apartment, because they don't have a job. And they don't have any guarantee for the landlord for paying. So, it is difficult to find a flat and I help them to find an apartment. I participate in the technical team. Our responsible of the residence and decisions on the lives in the centre. And there is a psychologist and a teacher in spanish and training. And someone in charge of employment. And we are the technical team.

#00:07:27-4# Interviewer: How many social workers are here?

#00:07:27-4# Interviewee: Only me.

#00:07:30-3# Interviewer: And you are hired by the ministry of employment?

#00:07:27-3# Interviewee: Yes. We depend on the ministry.

#00:07:52-1# Interviewer: We work together with the family to give them the skills to live by themselves when they leave the centre. This is the objective of our work here and of the centre. Most of the people have lawyers outside. And there are two more people that work here for free activities in the afternoon. They work with the residence. They remind the people to respect the rules of the centre, how they must maintaining the cleaning of the centre. And they work with them to give them information on cultural resources, the social resources of the municipality, they go with them to show them where the library is, the house of woman and so on. They organize sport activities.

#00:10:00-1# Interviewer: How does the daily life of someone who lives her look like? And how many do live here?

#00:10:10-0# Interviewee: This centre has a capacity of 80 people, but sometimes we have more than three people in the rooms for men or women or families. Sometimes - depending on the size of the families - more than three people live in the rooms, so we have more than 80 residents. When they arrive at the centre, they begin with all the administrative procedure, medical and stuff. And if they don't know the language we put them in Spanish classes and they start the day after. Then they meet to a psychologist in order to figure out if they need one. They meet the director the first day. And we began with the Spanish classes. If there are minors, the psychologist informs them about the school and in one week more or less, the children go to school in the municipality close to the centre. When people speak Spanish from the beginning, we start to work with them on job training. After six months, they can work here. So, in the first six months we can work with them in all these kind of things in labour, language and medical procedure to get a training with the aim to always give them more options in the Spanish labour market. So, these are the main things we work with them in the first six months. So, it is the same time that they are living here. They can apply for more time here. And the technical board decides how many more months they can stay here. It depends on the economic situation and the health situation, and if they have resources, if they did something or nothing. Sometimes 3 more months, sometimes 6, it depends on the situation. We decide more or less time here. At the moment, we begin to work with them, we think of the exit of the centre. Because people must prepare their exits. Sometimes, people have a lot of problems with the language or they are analphabets. So of course, they have more problems. So they can stay longer here.

#00:17:30-6# Interviewer: What is the maximum of time somebody can stay here?

#00:17:36-2# Interviewee: Maximum depends on the moment. Now, we have a moment that a lot of people are waiting to come here. So, our boss asks for us to reduce the time, because we need the places for other people. And they ask for us to orientate the people to the NGOs and they have support for financial support. So at the moment people stay here one year maximum. If there is a special situation, people stay longer.

#00:18:47-7# Interviewer: Does that happen often?

#00:18:48-8# Interviewee: Yes. But it is good for them to leave early because this centre creates dependence of us. So, it is good for them to begin to do the things by themselves. We give them a big support. It is not good a long time here. We work so that people know when the time here is over. In the first six months, we tell them that they have to learn the language quickly, because you don't have a lot of time. We always work with them so that they don't waste your time. Time is very important because they have to do a lot of things in very few times. So that is a function of the centre.

#00:20:20-5# Interviewer: Can you give me schedule of the week with the activities provided?

#00:20:52-8# Interviewee: No, they know what they have to do everyday.

#00:20:55-9# Interviewer: But how does it work.

#00:21:19-5# Interviewee: They know when things start. We are thinking of giving them some obligations they must know. For example, after one month, they must know three social resources of the municipality. They must participate at least at three activities of freedom time. They must participate in at least three workshops that we organize in order to give them information about the society. We established a program of working with them. With activities that they must do every month. We think this way is good for them, because they must feel the obligation of doing something. Because sometimes, they don't participate. You have to call them by microphone. And if you don't do these things. This has consequence. We can reduce your financial aids, because you are not participate in the program. We can limit the time in the centre. We are not going to certificate that you have done these activities. We believe that these things are good for them. And they must participate in activities outside, because they need to meet other people, because social networks are the best way of integration and they must learn about the society. So, it is very important that they must participate and they know these kind of things. There is an obligatory meeting by

three residence, me and the boss of the centre once a month, where we inform to the people through this three residents about the activities that we organize and we give them one document with the information of the workshops and we say to them that it is obligatory. We want that they arrange an activity. We believe is good for them. Because you have to take into account that this is not a centre for sleeping and eating, this is a centre with a program for work with asylum seeker to give them skills. And for this, they must do a lot of activities. They must know the society, they must know the municipality. They must know their rights and obligations like the citizens. They must know how to live in another neighborhood. They must learn a lot of things. They must do the activity.

#00:00:04-6# #00:27:47-1# Interviewer: Are there house rules?

#00:27:58-6# Interviewee: I can give you in English, yes.

#00:28:06-8# Interviewer: So you said that the aim of the centre is to prepare the asylum seekers for the integration in the society in Spain.

#00:28:57-0# Interviewee: Our system is very different compared to other countries in Europe. We are working with the people here in order to go outside. Here after six months, they can work. And we prepare them for that. In our case, people doesn't live in a centre because people look for a job and live for themselves. I always said that for asylum seekers the system here is better, because they get a lot of support. But I think once they have the status as a refugee, it is better in other countries, because they get a flat, a lot of financial support. The status is better. But the system here is better. Also the name is different. We say Centre of Refugees and in other countries, it is reception centre or accommodation centre, because we understand it very different.

#00:31:56-4# Interviewer: So the activities are taking place outside?

#00:32:01-9# Interviewee: Yes.

#00:32:01-9# Interviewer: How do you generally evaluate housing in an asylum centre?

#00:33:16-0# Interviewee: I think it is good, because they pass different situation and in each case they begin to see a different phase and we are preparing them and they start with contact with Spanish people with a little autonomy. And they go step by step. You give them security and the force to do everything by themselves. We can forget that people come from wars and persecution. So they must get security in themselves. I think they feel better because they are not lonely. So, I think it is good.

#00:36:54-6# Interviewer: So this centre is very central in Alcobendas. How does it working here in the neighborhood?

#00:36:54-6# Interviewee: Well, the neighborhood doesn't know anything about us. Sometimes when people come here the first time, they said they ask for the centre and nobody knew where it is. They see foreign people, but they don't know what the centre is. But we organize some events with the neighborhood to make the people aware of the situation. But it is almost the same people that are coming. We think if we work with them to become a good citizen.

#00:39:58-2# Interviewer: But I also think that the Spanish population is not so aware of what refugees are.

#00:40:03-3# Interviewee: No. They are perceived as immigrants and not as a specific group. People don't see the difference. They only see a difference between European people and immigrants.

#00:40:40-0# Interviewer: Is that negative? Are the immigrants seen as something negatives?

#00:41:12-1# Interviewee: I think they see immigrants as poor people that only come here to take our jobs. So they have a negative association with it. And the European people come here for studying and for holidays.

#00:41:40-2# Interviewer: Like me.

#00:41:44-9# Interviewee: The problem I think it is the information of the media. Because they only show one side of the people. There are lot of negative information on migrants. They don't show the problem of refugees. And the number of asylum seekers is also small. So people are not so aware. But people feel that there are a lot of immigrants. Normally, the people have no information on these things. It is very difficult to educate the people, so they see another side. You have to look for the way of going to the people and connect people. It is very difficult.

#00:47:11-0# Interviewer: Where are the people that currently live here come from?

#00:47:13-4# Interviewee: Syria, Uganda, Palestina, Central Africa, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran.

#00:47:52-5# Interviewer: And when was this building opened?

#00:47:52-5# Interviewee: In 1997.

#00:48:04-7# Interviewer: How would you describe the spatial characteristics of this building?

#00:48:26-5# Interviewee: We must control the people that come here, because we must sure the protection of the people here. We must be careful with these things. One problem of this centre is, that it is not prepared for disabled people.

#00:49:46-4# Interviewer: Do you have cameras in the building? And how do you describe the role of the security guards?

#00:49:50-8# Interviewee: Yes, in the common places, hallways, office. Outside of the rooms. The security guards are here to help if there is trouble. They have cuffs and a baton.

#00:50:20-0# Interviewer: Are their other organizations that are fighting for the rights of asylum seekers?

#00:50:50-5# Interviewee: Yes, Escate, and some small ones.

#00:51:28-8# Interviewer: How do people here participate in the urban life of Madrid? Do they get transport ticket.

#00:52:19-0# Interviewee: They are getting it the three first months. And after they are getting it if they are doing any activities outside of the centers. If they have friends to got to the city. Sometimes they feel more comfortable close to the centre.

#00:53:42-2# Interviewer: The two centers here in Madrid are located outside of Madrid's city centre. Do you know why?

#00:53:56-3# Interviewee: No.

#00:53:59-5# Interviewer: Do you think this is good or bad for the people living in the centre?

#00:54:00-5# Interviewee: People sometimes like to live in municipality like this and they decide to live here after the life in the centre, because they like it here. Sometimes people prefer to live in the city. I think if you support them to move, it is not a problem to have a centre here. In my job, it is better to have

a small community, because you can organize a lot of activities. We have an arrangement with the council . So we have a close cooperation with the municipality. And we have the support of them. With these arrangements, it is very good. It is better than in Madrid in that way. It is just easier, because we have a close cooperation.

#00:58:34-0# Interviewer: To what extent the crisis changed the situation and your work?

#00:59:16-1# Interviewee: A lot! Because a lot of people decide not to live here. When they get a residence, they go to other countries because they know that they don't get a job here. Seven years ago, people that arrived here were working without authorization.

#01:00:33-1# Interviewer: Illegal.

#01:00:33-1# Interviewee: Yes, because a lot of companies needed workers. But now all people leave the centre without a job. 99 per cent of the people don't get a job anymore. So, they don't have perspectives and don't see a future here in Spain. It is very important for us and depressing when you work for people to get a job and they don't get a job. And the aids has been reduced. I have more work now. The NGO get more money, they have to reduce their economic aids.

#01:02:40-8# Interviewer: Can I make photos?

#01:04:26-1# Interviewee: No!

## I CEAR 1

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Arsenio Cores, lawyer, Legal advisor, **Comisión Español de Ayuda del Refugiado (CEAR)**

Date: 12.06.2014, 08.30am

Place: C/ Hermanos Garcia Noblejas 41, 8, Madrid, Spain, CEAR's office

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:03-6# Interviewer: What are you basically doing here in CEAR? And to what extend are you also active in the field of housing?

#00:00:52-3# Interviewee: CEAR is an NGO, which works with refugee people mainly but also with stateless people and with migrants in vulnerable conditions. It was founded in 1979. And the first law was in 1984. It is a organization of organizations, different organization were developing to one. At that time, many people came from South American countries and then the law was developed. We focus our work in assisting people. Legal assistance, social assistance, psychological assistance, access to labour market. And also education the society on refugees. We have several delegation. The one in Madrid and in other big cities of Spain. About our funds, they are coming from the government. There is no tradition to receive funds from private people. So all the funds are from the government. I think it is a problem, because we can not do with the money what we want to do. We have to justify the money and we are in the end depending on the government. And sometimes it is impossible to control our work. Our work depends also on the aims of the organization. So, it is a fountain of problems. I am here for 14 years. I think I have an open view on what this work could be.

#00:08:39-3# Interviewer: And in regards to housing?

#00:08:39-3# Interviewee: There is a right on housing, for accommodation for the very first moment, when the refugees arrive. There is an asylum office (Oficina Asylio y refugio) here in Madrid, where all cases are decided and where the application process takes place. They also coordinate the housing and decide to which centre the people are distributed.

#00:09:48-3# Interviewer: It is the place, where asylum seeker apply?

#00:10:08-7# Interviewee: Yes, and there is also one in Barcelona and Valencia, but the decision is taking place here in Madrid. If a person applies for asylum in Valencia. The first interview is with the police, which is a problem because they have a criminal and not a humanitarian perspective. But there is no fight against it. And the police sends the information on you to Madrid. And in madrid, the decision is made - in the legal way and also in the housing way. The general model in Spain is the Centre for Refugees (CAR). But it is not the only one. But it is the general one. Apartments is the other module. But it is done by other organizations, for example ACCEM. But the majority of asylum seekers are housed in CARs or CEMI (Centre of Migration). The CAR is directed by the state and the CEMI are directed by the NGOs with funds. They are distibulished by the states but operated by the NGO. But the characteristics and mechanisms are the same.

#00:14:48-0# Interviewer: And how many are in Madrid?

#00:14:48-0# Interviewee: In Madrid, there are two CARs and one CEMI. One is in Alcobendas and one is in Vallecas. I think Alcobendas is the better. Alcobendas, they have a good reputation working with refugees. I think it would be good having an interview with the people from Asylum Office.

#00:16:20-8# Interviewer: I have an Interview there.

#00:18:19-3# Interviewee: Ok. So the centers are open centers. You can come and go, when you want but you need to let them know. But there is a security.

#00:19:19-1# Interviewer: So but how is the process of somebody arriving in Spain.

#00:19:27-8# Interviewee: There are mainly two ways to apply for asylum: at the border or inside the territory like the airport. If people come to the airport. They will be detained in some rooms there and it will be investigated if they have a right to apply for asylum. If the case is submitted, the people will go to Hostel Welcome. It is not a centre, it is a hostel. It is normally for the first two weeks. And at that time you have medical check up and the asylum office makes a decision on which centre you have to go and also it is necessary for medical treatment and examination. And then the next step is to enter the centre, either in a CAR or a CEMI. There is no difference.

#00:22:46-1# Interviewer: Also no differences in quality?

#00:22:47-1# Interviewee: I think CARs has more experience and also has a little bit more of funds. But the comparison with the CEMI, there are not much differences. There are no main differences. But theoretically there is no differences also in deciding where the people go. But the first thing is that they want to fill the CARs because they are institutional.

#00:24:58-9# Interviewer: And can the refugees decide?

#00:25:01-4# Interviewee: They can say their preferences. And they take the specific circumstances into account. Sometimes, they have relatives in some city. It depends on the situation. But there are no rules. So, in the end it is also the capacity that decides.

#00:26:18-4# Interviewer: And how many people do live approximately in one centre?

#00:26:18-4# Interviewee: It depends on the centre but it is between 100 and 150. They are not huge centers.

#00:27:16-4# Interviewer: How many are here in Madrid?

#00:27:35-7# Interviewee: Madrid is the city of Spain with the most asylum seekers, because the main border is the airport. In the media they say it is always on the fences in the south. But the majority comes through the airport. In Madrid, there are 2000 from a total of 4500. But they have the possibility to go to other cities. So often, they don't stay here. But usually it is around 50 per cent that are here. It is not a big number. It is like the beginning of the 90s.

#00:30:22-0# Interviewer: The asylum office decides on the centers but also on the private apartments? And what kind of apartment are these?

#00:30:33-4# Interviewee: It is apartments of the organizations. They own building and they have the apartments or we rent the apartments. I think ACCEM has the best insight into that topic. And the economical crisis - this is important - and it affects of course the most vulnerable population. And to refugee and asylum seekers. Until december 2013 had the possibility to stay one year at the centers. But since then, the time is limited to six months.

#00:32:39-3# Interviewer: But what happens after these six months?

#00:32:39-3# Interviewee: It depends of the circumstances. They have the possibility to extend the time to another six months. But if not, you leave the centre with not big economic help - we are talking about 500

to 600 Euros and you try to get other resources. But it is very difficult to learn the language and to get a job - which is not possible in this time.

#00:34:54-0# Interviewer: But what does that in the end mean? Can it lead to people being homeless?

#00:34:54-0# Interviewee: There is no huge majority. In case of Syrian people, they have people here often, they have a social network. It is difficult to see homeless here. But theoretically is possible.

#00:36:11-7# Interviewer: But isn't it in the end contradiction with the right to accommodation?

#00:36:11-7# Interviewee: I think so. But the organizations don't to anything again it. That is the problem when the funds of the organizations are not privat. You can not really do anything. What happens with the people? We are not talking about charity, we are talking about European directives. We are talking about law. We have to develop that law with a human rights perspective. But there is nothing about it.

#00:38:02-1# Interviewer: Did the number of applicants decline?

#00:38:02-1# Interviewee: No, 5000 is the normal number of applicants. Spain is not a country which has received a lot of official asylum seekers. The problem is the access to the application process. There is a small boat, where people are trying to get to Spain or to the Canarian islands. They have the capacity of 50 to 100 people of 36000 people, in which they come because of the Frontex actions. 2006 it was the year of the boats. But not a lot of these people apply for asylum.

#00:41:39-9# Interviewer: But why?

#00:41:45-9# Interviewee: It is impossible for some of them to access. They put the people into determent centers. They don't have the chance to. And the NGOs cannot enter the centre. So, the number of asylum seekers decrease due to activities of Frontex. The last two years, the number increased because of the Syrian conflicts.

#00:44:25-7# Interviewer: So basically what they are doing is they put these people into internment centers

#00:44:50-6# Interviewee: for migrants and then try to deport then. But it is difficult. Spain tries to get contracts with the countries of origins to return them. In Mauritania, Spain built a centre where people are prisoned for trying to flee to Spain. It is for Mauretanian people.

#00:45:36-1# Interviewer: This is crazy.

#00:45:36-1# Interviewee: It is really crazy, but these are the things that are funded by the European Union. This is a specific spanish topic.

#00:46:00-3# Interviewer: Is there one of these centers here in Madrid?

#00:46:00-3# Interviewee: Yes, Aluche. It is beautiful. It has a yellow color.

#00:46:11-9# Interviewer: But, it is basically a prisoned, right. It is closed...

#00:46:19-1# Interviewee: Yes, for 60 days people have to stay there. The people are going to be exposed. It is criminalized migrants. The other point is about the conflict of Syria. In 2011, the conflict started. In June 2012, 28 people arrived to Madrid airport from Syria. And the asylum office tried to reject and they got admitted. But the consequence was that the Spanish government decided to give a transit visa, because you need a Visa to entre Schengen. But you don't need a transit visa. The only two countries that imple-

ment the transit visa was Spain and Great Britain, so that it is possible that these people go to other countries.

#00:51:06-3# Interviewer: Why do you think there is that attitude?

#00:51:18-5# Interviewee: I think there are many answers: institutional racisms. Migrants law has a lot of racist elements.

#00:52:42-9# Interviewer: Money?

#00:52:46-9# Interviewee: No, I think money is not the main issue. It is an excuse. But it is a security discourse. It is about people protecting Spanish people. It is the fear of the difference. What does it means to be Spanish? You know, it is about own identities. And protection of this identity. Spanish fear the difference.

#00:56:34-5# Interviewer: I think fear is a concept that describes it really good. But also in Denmark and partly in Germany it is the case that people are afraid of the deconstruction of the welfare state due to immigration.

#00:58:21-9# Interviewee: Yes, I understand that. Of course, and there is a crisis here. And it is jealousy.

#00:59:06-0# Interviewer: I wonder generally in terms of crisis, if there is something like this, a competition and things like this.

#00:59:42-5# Interviewee: It is the same here. It is fear, yes. I think it is a question of integration also. And here is Spain, when people talk about integration, they mean assimilation.

#01:00:26-3# Interviewer: Yes, becoming "like us".

#01:00:23-7# Interviewee: Exactly, it is this colonial view: We will show you how things are and how your behavior has to be. The word is respect. Not tolerance, not coexistence. We have to respect it. I think it is a pretty European perspective.

#01:02:34-1# Interviewer: Yes.

#01:02:39-6# Interviewee: In case of Spain

#01:08:06-7# Interviewee: Spain is not a strong and not a weak country in the EU. And the economic situation is bad. And there is no difference between right and left in that terms. It is always on trying to defend some kind of rights and fears. And the Spain legislation is there to prevent illegal migration flows. They are invisible and they have no rights and they are not reflected in the social discussion. especially, when NGOs do not help to empower them. Any articles on the news paper is bad about refugees. They are always illegalised. And it is a lack of education. People have no feelings for refugees. They don't know what it means. And the politicians create that picture.

#01:08:15-1# Interviewer: How would you finally evaluate them? How do you see the centers as forms of housing?

#01:08:19-8# Interviewee: I think it is a potentially good mechanism. I think, the work in the centers in terms of assistance is good. I think it is necessary to give the refugees something back. I think the work must them give back their voice. That should be the aim. It is about information and emancipation. I think it could be the help at the very first moment but not to create independence of the people. I think it is important that the people begin to take control of their lives. Of course, they need to learn the social

rules, the keys to work and how it works. I think they are potential good mechanism, but it has to be improved.

#01:12:50-8# Interviewer: Am I able to move out of the centre?

#01:13:20-9# Interviewee: It is not necessary for you to live in the centre. You don't need to live in the centre. But for example, five months later if your circumstances change, you can still go to a centre. Second aspect, if you decide to move out, you can. But if you want to return, you have no right. Normally, you have to possibly to return. When you leave because you have resources, then you can.

#01:14:57-6# Interviewer: I also noticed that both of the centres are quite of the city. Why do you they are located so far out of the centre?

#01:15:06-1# Interviewee: I don't know. In Seviolla and Malage, they are in the centre. I'm not sure if there is a policy on that. Also, Vallecas is not the centre of Madrid but still it is an urban neighbourhood. There is no policy on this, I think.

## I CEAR 2

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Martha Arroyo, Director for Housing Programs, **Comisión Español de Ayuda del Refugiado (CEAR)**

Date: 16.06.2014, 10.00am

Place: Avenida General Perón, 32, 2º, 28020 Madrid, Spain, CEAR's office

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:22-2# Interviewee: If asylum seeker come to Madrid, they immediately come to the OAR to request asylum. The OAR calls the Red Cross, who is in charge of the first welcome. They take first care of them and the asylum seekers go to the welcome hostel. In this time, they get a medical certification by the Red Cross. Meanwhile, the ministry of employment has 4 reception centers. Two of them are in Madrid. NGOs have also centers funded by the ministry of employment. So, we have CARs and CEMIs. The NGOs are Red Cross, ACCEM, and CEAR. So, we also have reception centers. So, the OAR decides on the reception centre. They have a plan everyday and they know in which center there are vacancies. Unfortunately, people can not really decide, where they could go, because it depends on the vacancies. So, people usually go to the vacant places. But of course, if they have relatives somewhere, then they try to send them, where they have families. The NGOs difference is that we run big centers but we also have apartments. This is another characteristics. CEAR has 4 centers in Spain, be we also have apartments in Barcelona and Bilbao. And ACCEM for example have only one reception centre but a lot of apartments. People arrive here, they are sent to the Welcome Hostel. As soon as they have the medical certificate, they are sent to the reception centre or apartment depending if they are places. The apartments are often for single men. So, they share apartments with other men. It is like shared housing. The NGOs provide the apartments, the furniture and often food but sometimes they also get money. But in the centers, there is always a cook. Sometimes also in the apartments. But they provide different food and different diets depending on the needs of the people. In the apartments, people are given some money and there are workshops teaching the people how to do things. Most of the people are for 6 months in the centre. And it can be extended for three months or six months. The social worker has to do a report and evaluate the situation and then there is the decision of the technical stuff. After six months, every case is evaluated if they have to move out or if the can continue live in the centre. It is very important with the housing. Because here in Spain, we have no public housing or people don't full fill the requirements and you have to demonstrate that you live in these area. They don't have access to public housing. Most of the people have to go to the normal housing market.

#00:12:44-4# Interviewer: Does that work in practice?

#00:12:44-4# Interviewee: Well, yes. It is difficult and expensive. That is the problem. And of course, most of the people that leave the reception centre still don't have a status. In Spain, it takes around 1-2 years to get an answer. So, most of the people that are looking for housing are asylum seekers. This means they don't have much security. The only good thing, that we have, is that after six month, people get a work permit. This is important. I think it is an advantage. But, because of the economic situation, they often don't find a job. Most of the person live in the centers, are not succeeding in getting a job. So, how do the people manage? When the people leave the reception centre, if they are still asylum seekers, they make a taxes to some kind of economic allowances. Another important thing, when people leave the reception centers, the NGOs are the ones that work with the people. Red Cross, ACCEM, CEAR have economic allowances that we can give to the asylum seeker. Thanks to that, people have the chance to have access to housing. Most of the times, they request one month or two month for deposit, also you need the rent of the first months. And we pay it. And you need very often, you need an agency. So, in the end, we are speaking about 2000 Euros that the people need to get into a house. Most of the person, that are singles or are alone here, share housing because they cannot afford to pay the rent. Families, it is a bit more complicated. People once they leave the reception centers, they can go anywhere they want to.

#00:17:47-3# Interviewer: Ahh ok, so after six months....

#00:17:47-3# Interviewee: After they leave the reception centre, they can go whenever they want. I think that this is important. It allows people to have a job. It has always been like that. The people here are only tied in a way that they cannot directly decide on the location of the centre. But afterwards, they are free to go wherever they want. So sometimes a lot of people go to other cities. But the normal thing is that people want to stay around the reception centre. Why? Because they know the municipality, they know the people, the kids are in school. Alcobendas is a place that is expensive. So it is also difficult to find an apartment. Unfortunately, sometimes people don't find housing. The asylum seeker is the weakest group on the housing market. The problem is that we don't have much promotions.

#00:22:48-8# Interviewer: My first question to this is, how many asylum seekers are in Madrid?

#00:22:59-3# Interviewee: The majority stays in Madrid. Most of the people want to live in the big cities. Especially, in Madrid, people think that they find a job here. They think it is much easier for them because they have more possibilities. But the rents are more expensive. Another important thing is here, that children go to public school here asap. They are accepted as soon as they arrive. A problem is public health coverage. They don't have it at the moment, because they can't get to public health system. The asylum seekers are legal here in this country so they have a request. The problem is that this is denied. In the moment of crisis, they are cutting things down.

#00:26:20-1# Interviewer: In Madrid, there are 3 reception centers in Madrid and several apartments. What do you think is the relation between people living in apartments and the ones living in the centers?

#00:28:54-1# Interviewee: The majority lives in the centers, because of the capacity. We have very small numbers. The largest centre here has capacities for 120.

#00:30:41-1# Interviewer: And are there social workers in the Welcome Hostel?

#00:30:57-1# Interviewee: During the week, there are social workers. But usually people have so many things to do there. And I think the Welcome Hostel is too far out. It is very difficult to have access to the city. Before, we used to have it in Downtown, but it was closed. The first two weeks there need also more guidance and a better access to the place they have to go. You have nothing nice around there. I think it is not a good place. Beside, sometimes the Welcome is full and sometimes there are very few people. And the hostel does not belong to red cross. It is public, you can rent a room there. The Red Cross has an agreement with the hotel.

#00:35:26-7# Interviewer: But the rooms are paid by the ministry of employment?

#00:35:26-7# Interviewee: Yes, they gives the money to red cross.

#00:35:42-0# Interviewer: Okay, and in regards to the centers. Is it possible to move out there before 6 months?

#00:35:48-6# Interviewee: We have two holes. You can go voluntarily, nobody can promise to me that the room will be still there. But of course, they have to sign that they leave voluntarily that they know that if they go to another place, they won't get any other reception facility there. So, they are informed of that and they have to find it. One is the social protection, and one is the legal protection. Legal protection, as soon as you communicate to the police that you leave to another place. I can request asylum and you can go wherever you want but they have to know where you are. And the social protection is what you get when you live in the centre.

#00:38:54-5# Interviewer: How much money do I get per month, if I live in a reception centre?

#00:39:01-1# Interviewee: Im telling you, in the centre, they are given the food, they have the housing and they get money for clothing when they arrive or when the season changes. Winter and Summer. While they are in the reception centre and they need medicine, we provide it. If you need transportation ticket to go to the OAR, they get a small money for pocket money. They all get the same money. One Person 55,60 Euro per month. For clothing and shoes 181, 71 two times a year winter and summer. It is for all the reception centers and NGOs.

#00:43:21-3# Interviewer: And how much do asylum seekers that live in apartments get?

#00:43:17-8# Interviewee: The same. The rent and everything is covered by the NGOs. The only thing is that we can give money for the people that already left the centre and they need help that we can give for food for one person a month 347, 60 Euro, when you live outside the centre and they have to buy the food. Usually, the problem is that it is given in parts. Sometimes, every week, after some times every two weeks and then after two months, because they need to find out how to manage the money. Most of the people would like to live in apartments.

#00:45:40-2# Interviewer: How would you perceive the reception centers? Do you think it is a good way of housing?

#00:45:41-0# Interviewee: We think the reception centers are in so far good because people have more opportunities for activities. People lives in flats since the beginning, it is very difficult to motivate them to get out, that they go to the Spanish lessons. In one way, it is much better that especially families go to the apartments. In other way, it is complicated because you don't get that much services, activities, workshops, language lessons, advices and guidance. For this, I think people are more protected in the beginning. But everybody wants to live in own apartments and make their own food.

#00:48:03-8# Interviewer: What I noticed that is that the asylum centers are located on the edge of the city. There is not a centre in the city. How do you see that?

#00:48:28-5# Interviewee: That depends. In the city, it is really expensive. Also to find a place to live after the centre. So, it is difficult to live in the centre. But sometimes of course it is important to be close to places to metro. In general, yes. They are not really in the centre.

## **I La Merced Migraciones**

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Luis Callejas Rodríguez-Palmero, **La Merced Migraciones**

Date: 23.06.2014, 02.00pm

Place: Calle de Castelar, 21 28028 Madrid

Type: memory minutes (Recording was not allowed. Protocolling was rarely possible due to the visit of the house and spontaneous talks with the house's residents.)

### ***First apartment***

#### **Objectives of the house**

- Accommodates 21 people, but only three asylum seekers
- It is a centre for you men with migration background and problems integrating into the society (no work, no language knowledge, no other possibilities to housing) and who are often affected by poverty and homelessness – thus many of the inhabitants were homeless before they moved into the house
- Focus group: young men between 16 and 25
- Asylum seekers are treated like all of the other residents and usually other residents do not even know who an asylum seeker is and who not
- Three social worker are working in the house, mainly supporting the residents in their everyday life
- House aims to easier integrate the residents in the Spanish society
- All the activities are taking place outside of the program
- It is a private house rented by family, family still lives in the top floor

#### **Characteristics**

- Works like a smaller version of the centre with the same path of integration
- House has three floors: ground floor consist of common rooms (kitchen, tv room, internet room, bathrooms), the first floor consists of the “private” rooms of the refugees as well as bathrooms and the last floor is occupied by the landlords
- Interestingly: no barriers to the landlord-floor – residents are also welcome to use their rooms and the top-floor terrace
- Also: there are no private rooms, usually 3-5 people share one room
- Rooms are really small, there is not even one meter between the beds
- Visitors are not allowed
- Food is provided, the house has an own cook
- There are strict eating hours – the ones that do not eat at the eating hours cannot eat later
- Food is provided by a cook, sometimes together with the residents
- No surveillance, no security guard
- But: the social workers decide on one residents, who is in charge of “controlling” the life, which means that he controls that everybody enters the centre at 11pm – creates some sort of hierarchy within the residents
- Has an office for social workers
- Approx. 150m<sup>2</sup>
- Strict non-smoking and non-drinking policy
- House is clean

#### **Location**

- Central, 3 Minute walking distance to Plaza de Torres and Metro Ventas
- Super market in 1 minute walking distance

- House is in a street with several singles houses and apartment blocks
- Visually, it is not obvious that this house is a house for “special” residents

### *Second Apartment*

#### **Objectives**

- Are the same as described above

#### **Characteristics**

- Apartment within an apartment building, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor
- six rooms for 18 residents, one kitchen, three bathrooms, one living room
- apartment is smaller than the house, approx. 130m<sup>2</sup>, but the “private” rooms are bigger and there are not more than three people in one room
- But residents living closer to direct neighbours
- one resident died in the centre, because he had strong fever, he was illegal, had no access to health insurance and nobody took care of emergency
- Strict non-smoking and non-drinking policy
- Food is provided, but kitchen can be used to cook
- No surveillance, no security guard
- Apartment is very clean
- Visually, it can not be identified as a specific place for a specific group of people
- In the beginning, there were some complains by the neighbours on noise and waste, but apparently not anymore
- However: there are no close connections to the direct neighbours

#### **Location**

- Calle de Cartagena, directly next to Parque Eva Duarte
- Metro Manuel Becerra in three walking minutes
- Apartment is close to the house in Calle de Castelar

#### *General Problems in regards to both of the centres*

- No privacy due to the share of rooms
- Needs of asylum seekers are not sufficiently achieved
- But: they live together with other groups in the city being able to profit from urban features
- Breaking house rules can lead to residents forced to move out and thus they are potentially homeless
- Organised and restricted live in the small centre: on the one hand, more liberation to decide on things, on the other hand there are still forms of heteronomy (food providing, access to washing machines etc.)
- There are hierarchies within the group of the residents constructed by the social worker since they are giving power to control, punish and organise the life in the centre to specific residents of the centre (for example the control on arriving and leaving the centre)

## I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs 1

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee 1: Mari Cruz Fajardo Vizcayno, **Jefa de área de Gestión de Programas, S.G. Integración de los Inmigrantes, Ministerio de Empleo y Seguridad Social**

Interviewee 2: Employee of Mari Cruz Fajardo Vizcayno

Date: 18.06.2014, 10.00am

Place: c/ José Abascal, 39. 28071 Madrid, Spain

Type: Transcription (based on content. Emotions, filler words, long breaks, specific modes of speaking etc. are only respected, if they are necessary for understanding the content.)

#00:00:13-2# Interviewer: How would you describe the asylum policy here in Spain?

#00:00:13-2# Interviewee 1: We have a program for asylum seekers. The system or the program is divided into three phases. First phase is the housing. The second one is the integration. And the third one is for the phase of autonomy. It depends on the degree of asylum seekers. The phases are run by NGOs and by public centers. The first reception is developed by NGOs and by the state. We have in Spain four reception centers. Two of them are in Madrid. The other two are in Valencia and Seville. The whole number of places are 416.

#00:02:14-2# Interviewer: And how much are here in Madrid in the two centers?

#00:02:12-0# Interviewee 1: 80 in Alcobendas and 96 in Vallecas. So it is 176 here in Madrid. The host can be run by NGOs. Here in Madrid it is CEAR. They have two. But it is outside of Madrid. Only Alcobendas and Vallecas are in the city. In Madrid we also have two apartments that are run by another NGOs, which are specific for young people from 18 to 23. It is 13 places in the apartments.

#00:04:13-4# Interviewer: It is so interesting to me because the numbers are so small compared to Germany. But where are the apartments located?

#00:04:15-8# Interviewee 1: They are in Ventas next to the fighting place in the city centre.

#00:04:44-5# Interviewer: And who does operating it?

#00:04:44-5# Interviewee 1: La merce migrations. There are other places in Spain. This is the first face. The third one on autonomy is exclusively run by the NGOs. The programs contains first hostage in some hostel, like the Welcome Hostel. Law service, social service. Regarding to the hostage. In the first phase, they get hostage, maintenance, psychological and legal assistance.

#00:08:35-8# Interviewee 2: And also economic help for training and learning the language.

#00:09:00-2# Interviewee 1: The public centers only use the budget of the state. And the NGOs are selected by the system of grants. For asylum seekers, we have to make grants. And we have Certa and Melilla. And we have two main programs for the temporary centers. But they are immigrants and a few of them apply for asylum there. The asylum seekers there live together with the immigrants. These grants are found by the European Union (ERF Refugee European Fund) and Asylum, Integration and Migration fund.

#00:12:52-7# Interviewee 2: We have a path of three phases. And we introduced it because of the crisis. So it changed. Before that people easily find a job and left the centre and a network. But now they don't find any job. So we have to do that. So its a different approach. The decision has the approach to standardize the process for all the agents, because there were also difference between the centers and NGOs. Pre phase is the first accommodation, when asylum seeker arrives in the Welcome Hostel. In this phase,

they get accommodation, maintainence, economic aids. Then they come to temporary accommodation in the second phase of reception. They can be in any of the centers depending on the availability but also on the network of the asylum seekers. This phase last from 6 to 9 months. After this one, the public centre decides when the person leaves the centre depending on the situation of the person. It is not compulsory to live in the centre. They can decide where they want. But if they leave the centre, they leave the program. If you leave the program, it is not easy to get back into the program. You are not getting social support and training then.

#00:21:09-4# Interviewer: But is there also a change in terms of financial support?

#00:21:09-4# Interviewee 1: Yes, you can leave voluntary the centre, but you will pass another phase of the program.

#00:22:04-5# Interviewee 2: Usually, we experience the voluntary leaving, when people just leave the centre without telling somebody. It means that you are excluded of the program. So, if you leave and you let them know, you are still in the program.

#00:22:51-8# Interviewee 1: In other situations, people can switch to other centers, if they want. They can decide a movement but it must be justified with reports. It is not only the decision of the refugee.

#00:24:32-8# Interviewer: What happens in the other two phases?

#00:24:35-2# Interviewee 1: In the second phase - after they left the asylum centre - they come to the phase of integration. They get economic aids for housing, education and things like that.

#00:25:13-4# Interviewee 2: They receive some money to rent an apartment but from the public market. They have to look for their own apartments. So they have to find a place that is affordable with the help of the NGO. So, they can also keep the apartment after the phase.

#00:26:06-1# Interviewer: And is it a fixed amount that everybody gets?

#00:26:02-3# Interviewee 2: A maximum amount.

#00:26:10-4# Interviewer: What is the maximum amount?

#00:26:10-4# Interviewee 2: It depends on the number of the people in the family. There are maximum amounts but if the rent is less, they receive less. They have to justify the money.

#00:26:40-3# Interviewer: And what is the maximum?

#00:26:40-3# Interviewee 2: It is for 5 people or more is 766 and below that for 4 people is 700 and 650 for three people and 594 for two people and for single 537 Euro.

#00:27:24-6# Interviewer: And in practice, do asylum seekers find easily an apartment here in Madrid?

#00:27:38-3# Interviewee 1: Well, usually this amount is not enough to pay a rent here in Madrid. So, they must share the apartment with other people. It is not very easy, because the housing market is not very friendly towards immigrants. And they usually don't have a job. So people who rent the apartment are not comfortable with people not having a job.

#00:28:23-7# Interviewee 2: They need the help of the NGOs in finding the room. I think they need help even for the life in the future. So its better to do with the help of the NGO. When the program will be developed for more people because there is a money problem. The benefit is that they can keep the

apartment after they leave the program. But it is very difficult to find an apartment and the landlords are not taking asylum seekers very often. They have the right to access to anything, to any form of housing.

#00:30:40-6# Interviewee 1: And this phase of integration will last from 6-9 months again. And the last phase, the phase of autonomy it is run for people only who have find a job and they get legal or psychological assistance and aids for different cases for things that cost a lot. This phase lasts 4-5 months. And after that they can develop by themselves. But we have several problems in this phase. It is not a problem only for asylum seekers but also for refugees. They can stay in the program to 24 months. This is the last- ing of the program. After 24 months, they have to leave the program.

#00:32:29-6# Interviewer: But what if I don't have a job as a refugee? Do I still get support?

#00:32:48-8# Interviewee 2: Yes and No. It depends on the community. And there are so many people who are for applying for it, all spanish people. It is social support. And it takes sometimes three years until you get something.

#00:33:46-9# Interviewee 1: When the labour market was good, it was not an issue. Asylum seekers and refugees and rejected people found a job. But at the moment it is not very easy. So the program is very much implemented on finding a job to get the autonomy. But this is not working due to the crisis.

#00:34:29-0# Interviewer: How did the situation of the crisis changed the situation of the asylum seekers? Are there also political shifts?

#00:35:01-9# Interviewee 1: Well, the budget has decreased in general. The funds for the NGOs have decreased and also the money for the public centers.

#00:36:10-6# Interviewer: How is that affecting the daily work with asylum seekers?

#00:36:11-6# Interviewee 1: The grants have decreased, the NGOs have to fire many people from the stuff. They don't have enough money to cover all the needs. And the number of people who need benefits have increased. So, the number of people needing beneficients have increased.

#00:37:24-5# Interviewee 2: We have a system based on the job. They found easily a job. They left the centre very quickly because they found a job. They started they own live. And now everything has changed. They stay for a longer time in the centre. They start to be less motivated, because people know that they don't find a job. Everything has changed.

#00:38:25-7# Interviewee 1: We are creative to find solutions on this for this people. Because of the crisis, a lot of people go to other countries but then they are forced to come back because of Dublin.

#00:39:12-7# Interviewer: I think it is very interesting that you have an integration policy for asylum seek- ers to lead them to autonomy. In Germany and Denmark, I have the feeling that they don't really want the people to work and the people to be independent. Sometimes, people staying for years, there.

#00:40:39-3# Interviewee 2: But they lose every hope and autonomy and the values.

#00:40:56-6# Interviewer: I think it is interesting that even though the status is not decided, you put a lot of work in terms of integration. Why do you think it is like it?

#00:41:15-2# Interviewee 2: I think the reason is that we don't send the people back. So, the people stay here. And we know that they are going to stay here. So, we want them to stay in the better situation to survive. And also we don't have any social system to support them after that, so we have to try to help them as much as possible. We know that after that they don't have anything. They don't have the support

of the social services or the municipalities or of anybody. And also, because they are not going to be sent back to their countries, they are going to live here, so they need to know how to live and how to survive.

#00:42:09-8# Interviewer: But the percentage of the people that have to leave the country is actually quite high. Isn't it around 70 per cent?

#00:42:24-6# Interviewee 2: Yes, but they don't leave. We do not send them back by force. Only if they want, but nobody wants.

#00:42:42-6# Interviewer: So they have an illegal status, but still they have somehow the knowledge on finding a job?

#00:42:49-1# Interviewee 1: Yes.

#00:42:49-1# Interviewer: That is very interesting.

#00:42:54-4# Interviewee 1: Of course, some people are returned to their countries compulsory. But the UNHCR have a list with countries saying that is better not to return the people to these countries. And one of them is Mali and Kamerun. The ministry of interior, who is in chafe of return, usually don't sent back people. But the people are then out of the asylum system and they don't get any support.

#00:43:55-2# Interviewee 2: They give you the negative decision. But of course the police can stop you and decide to return to your country.

#00:44:15-1# Interviewee 1: It depends on the country. It depends on the situation you have. It depends on the policy I return.

#00:44:28-5# Interviewer: But if I get a negative, I will leave the office and no police man will take me to a detention center.

#00:44:39-4# Interviewee 2: No, you leave the office.

#00:45:02-8# Interviewer: That explains that you put so much effort, because you know that the people will stay anyways.

#00:47:29-0# Interviewer: How are people received at the airport?

#00:47:29-0# Interviewee 1: By the Spanish Red Cross. They have accommodation there and then its checked whether they have access to the asylum application or not.

#00:47:25-4# Interviewer: There are only 4 of the public centers in Spain. Are there any protests against the centers saying that the centers are not a good way of housing people. How do you see that?

#00:48:33-4# Interviewee 1: The concept here in Spain is different. The centre is run by NGOs. They way that happens in the centre is different. We have no protest against the centers. But of course, there are some people that complain about the assistance that they get in the centre. We have always complains by the residents. But I think the society is not really concerned by the asylum seekers. As the numbers are very low. They don't know about it and that is why they are not concerned. The society is only concerned by migration in general. But for asylum seekers not. If you ask somebody in the street, what a refugee or an asylum seeker is, they don't know it.

#00:50:39-0# Interviewee 2: It is also our fault because we are not doing something to educate people, to give information to them.

#00:52:10-6# Interviewer: Do you think this is necessary? Is there a discrimination towards this group?

#00:52:17-7# Interviewee 1: It is a question of solidarity. Refugees come to Spain, because they have huge problems. And this is very different compared to other migrants. There are some difference. We need to protect them. But we also have of course integrate migrants. But refugees are a very specific group. They need protection.

#00:54:29-9# Interviewer: You said earlier that sometimes there are complains by asylum seekers in the centers. What kind of explains are there? Are there also conflicts between groups?

#00:54:52-6# Interviewee 1: The majority of the complains are because they have problems with other people in the centre and because they have to move to another room. Other complains are because the centre has decided to say that you have to leave the centre because you did something that was against the house rules. But they do not agree with the decision of the technical stuff. They say that the person can not be here because he or she is aggressive to other people.

#00:56:04-1# Interviewer: And what would happen with the person then.

#00:56:13-1# Interviewee 1: He or she has to leave the camp outside the program.

#00:56:25-5# Interviewer: So living in the centre is voluntarily and there is no right to the centre? I can not say, I am an asylum seeker, and I have the right to be accommodated by you?

#00:56:50-7# Interviewee 2: In the case they have committed something bad, you can not be protected anymore, you are out of the program.

#00:57:19-4# Interviewer: Are there any requirements to the centers that you give like in standards or qualities?

#00:57:39-1# Interviewee 2: The NGOs decide that.

#00:58:01-4# Interviewer: Are there differences between the centers.

#00:58:15-8# Interviewee 1: No, but there are differences between the NGOs. Between the way they work. In a neutral way. Some centers have basic conditions. And other centers are a bit better. But more or less are the same. The public centers are basically the same.

## **I Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs**

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Elena Alonso, Head of **Subdirectora General Adjunta de Integración de los Inmigrantes**

Date: 20.06.2014, 10.00am

Place: C/ José Abascal, 39-1ª Planta -28003, Madrid, Spain

Type of Interview: Informative Interview

Type of Document: Protocol based on recorded interview. Interview was not transcribed, since it was focused on facts, not on discussing issues of housing.

### **Influence of the centre on the asylum seekers**

- Living in the centres has advantages and disadvantages
- Big centres and small centres, private houses and private flats in Madrid, founded by economical aids
- Big centre: first moment its better, because asylum seekers feel more safe, “everything is done for them”, “everything is managed by the centre stuff”
- “they got everything clean, they got food in time”
- centre as a safe place in the first stage making things easier for asylum seekers
- people need extra help, because they do not know the country and the language
- “to make them feel that they are in good hands”
- in the long run: it leads them to a situation where they relax too much and feeling to comfortable
- so: they have duties: they have to start working, they shall not time to relax, they have to learn the language
- when they realise that they have to leave the centre: they should be ready for life
- centre gives them a little break in the beginning, but “you have to start the integration program from the first moment” and after six months you have to manage your independent life
- Flats: more independent, food by their own, but depends on the NGOs, maybe better prepared to live in flats, shared with refugees and non-refugees
- Experience: living in reception centre is very successful because “technical team” tells them that they have to work hard on their integration – feel safe and supported

### **After centre life**

- Asylum seekers can leave whenever they want if they were successful finding an own place, not allowed to come back if they didn't let the centre stuff know
- When the economic situation in Spain was better, people left the centre earlier because they found a job
- Crisis: forced them to stay longer in the centre because trouble finding a job and an apartment
- Problem: do not have enough place because of not much fluctuation: list of waiting asylum seekers
- Solution: trying to shorten the period of time staying in the centre to six months, and give prior access to vulnerable groups
- More refugees then centre places
- People on the waiting list: waiting in the welcome hostel, centre for homeless people or other migration centres not focus on
- Once they leave the centre: next stage: get money to pay rent in a house and for basic needs
- They manage to find apartments (little places, often shared housing) after all
- Often looking for apartments in the same district and close distance to the centre
- But often not finding apartments meeting the needs of asylum seekers (big families do not find big apartments)

### **Costs**

- Doesn't know the costs
- But apparently costs do vary

### **Centre as places of Integration**

- Another approach towards the integration of asylum seekers
- They will receive integration
- Because they mostly they in the country illegal after rejected
- “no matter if they leave or not, we provide them with integration and we do not want them to stay in the centre”
- life in the centre depends on the support by the people working in the centre
- asylum seeker has not control and decision on things that are going on in the centre
- cutting of freedom
- takes responsibility from the asylum seeker
- role of municipality: is often involved in the integration process, providing and taking care of them (works better in Alcobendas than in Vallecas) – works better in little towns
- has also influence on asylum seekers staying in the commune because they feel accepted by the municipality

### **Implementation of accommodation in the Law**

- reception of asylum seekers is in the asylum law
- definition of reception, specific conditions
- is developed by another law/program that the ministry is currently working on: directive/regulation
- reception primarily due to reception centres (state and NGO)
- goes back to the legislation of 1989 (Asylum Law)

## **I OAR**

Interviewer: René Kreichauf

Interviewee: Paloma Gutiérrez Sánchez, Social Worker, Unidad de Trabajo en la **Oficina de Asilo y Regio (OAR)**

Date: 17.06.2014, 09.30am

Place: Pradillo 40, 28002 Madrid, Spain, OAR-Office

Type: Protocol. Recording was not allowed.

### **General Information**

- Social worker for social help in the OAR
- Center: not obligatory
- Different services at the centre: Spanish classes, psychological help, helps with the laws, integration classes
- Period in the centre: six months (maximum, can be extended)
- After: asylum seekers receive financial benefits; staff decides if asylum seeker can stay in the centre or not

### **Position of Asylum Seekers in the Society**

- But: problems finding apartments
  - No job
  - Expensive housing market in Madrid
- Location preferences of asylum seekers after staying in the centre: same city, where also the centre is, because children go to school and already feel integrated
- Economic crisis changed the situation of asylum seekers dramatically:
  - Cuttings in benefits (also health benefits like dentist): “Money is not enough for all the applicants!”
  - Unemployment, because no jobs available
  - People live longer in the centre because of no access to the labour market (before they left often earlier than six months, because they found a job easily)
- Dangerous problem: poverty among refugees: they have work permit and get some financial aids but it is not enough to cover their needs
- Generally hard to get asylum in Spain because of the government
- Asylum seekers often don’t get the possibility to apply for asylum at the borders – that is the biggest problem, strong border control, people don’t know the difference between refugees and migrants
- Role of media: only pictures are showing of migrants jumping over the fence, no talk protecting refugees
- Leads to low number of applicants
- Most migrants and refugees don’t want to stay in Spain, travel to other European countries

### **Center Life**

- Living in the centre is helpful
- Asylum seekers receive professional support
- The conditions are very good
- “The period of time in the centres is too short.” – to be able to leave by themselves afterwards, are not prepared enough for real life, should stay longer in the centre
- many activities
- legal, social, psychological assistance
- “The applicants are very happy. The problem is when they have to leave.”

- Location: good connection by metro
- Using activities in the city, especially Africans find work early, but it is illegal
- “The aim of the centre is integration”