UCL Migration Research Unit

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The Construction of Refugee Housing and "Home" in the Dispersed City – A Case Study of the City of Cologne

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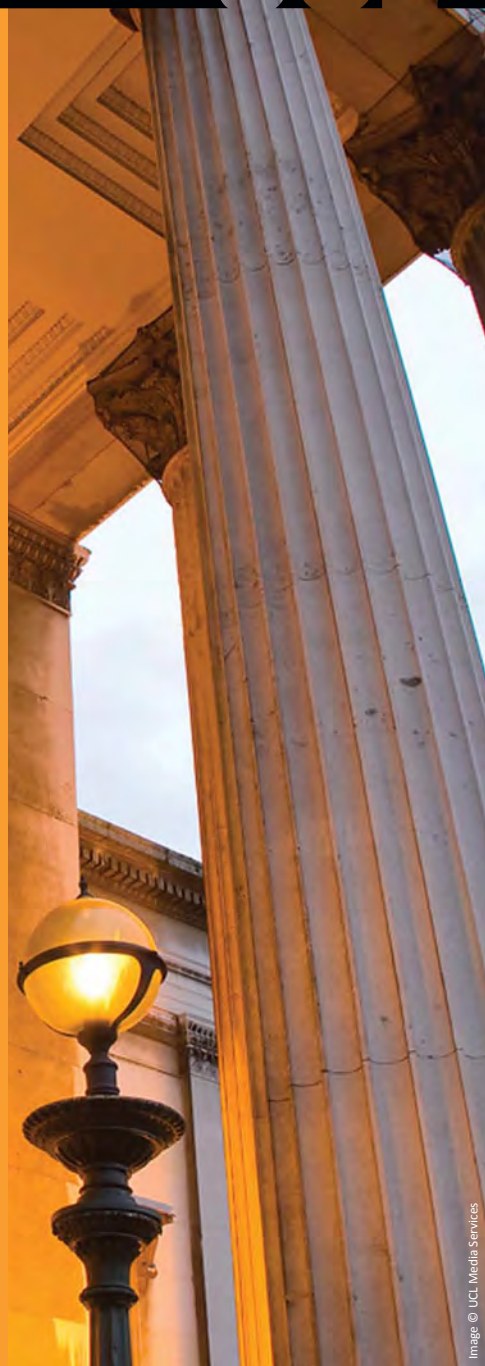

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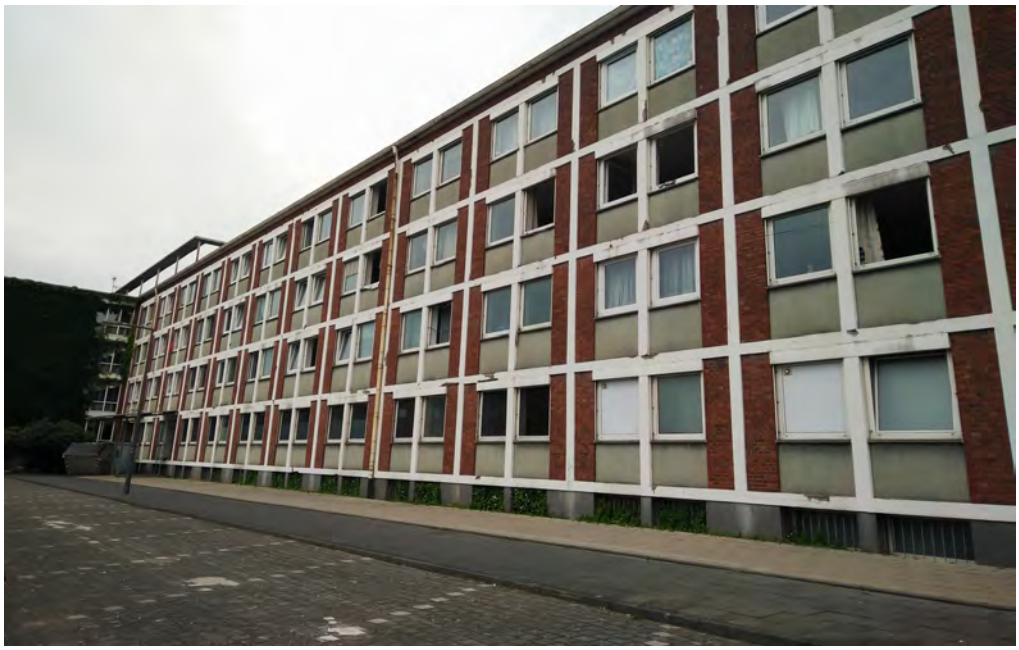

Abstract

With a growing number of forced migrants living in cities, on the one hand, and spatial dispersal policies, leading to an increasing number of cities involved in refugee protection, on the other hand, municipalities have come to play a key role in the provision of services, such as food, care and housing to forced migrants. Drawing on literature from urban studies, on urban displacement, and the meaning of housing, this study explores the Cologne refugee housing model. Thereby it engages with its underlying conceptualisations and their consequences and argues that the Cologne model serves as a tool to manage forced migrants rather than to safeguard their protection. It demonstrates how access to adequate housing and the possibility of creating a "home" are restricted to those who qualify as "deserving" and how in the context of an alleged "crisis" housing standards have been further lowered and criticisms thereof illegitimised. Based thereon, it calls for a re-politicisation of the issue of forced migrant housing within Cologne's official discourse.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank all participants for their time and trust, for inviting me to their offices and homes, and sharing their views and experiences with me.

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DEFINITIONS

Refugee Housing/Accommodation:

Due to the ambiguity of the term "housing", which can mean (1) the provision of houses, flats and other shelter to a certain group of people and (2) houses and flats considered collectively, for instance of a certain type (e.g. social housing, elderly housing) (Oxford Dictionaries, n.a.:n.p.), in the following the first meaning is referred to as *housing* whereas the second is understood as *accommodation* (even though the author is aware of the equally dual meaning of "accommodation"). In German these correspond to "Unterbringung" and "Unterkunft", respectively.

Asylum-seekers/Refugees/Forced migrants

The present research revealed that in Cologne the term "Flüchtlingsunterbringung", equivalent to *refugee housing*, was used to describe housing for both asylum-seekers and refugees. To avoid confusion, in particular considering the use of interview data, therefore in the following the term *refugee housing* is, as commonly done in the existing literature, employed to refer to housing for both asylum-seekers and refugees.

More generally the term "Flüchtling" (*refugee*) was employed to refer to both asylum-seekers and refugees. Being aware of the legal significance of the distinction but also of the fact that the labels 'are artefact of political and policy concerns' (Turton, 2006:14) and aiming to avoid both a further conceptual confusion and a reification of the catgeories in the following the term *forced migrant* (in German translated to "Geflüchteter") is used to describe both groups. The term *forced migrant* is thereby broadly defined as 'a person who has been forced to leave his or her home, or homeland, for whatever reason' (ibid:13). Where the distincton between *refugees* and *asylum-seekers* is necessary, for instance because different laws apply, it will be made.

Field Notes - Herkulesstraße, Cologne – 2pm, 20.06.2016

I arrived early and waited in front of the big concrete building, a former office building and now the largest accommodation centre in Cologne. It was sultry and warm, most of the building's windows were open. A security guard watched me suspiciously as I approached the gatehouse. After I repeated my name twice and he made a call, he signalled me through the high revolving door next to the gatehouse. There I was asked to wait until a member of staff came to lead me into the building. We walked through a long, sterile corridor, where only the scuffed walls could reveal that at times these had accommodated almost 800 people, and stopped in front of closed grey door. The woman unlocked the door, we entered. The door locked behind us. I asked how many people were currently living in the accommodation. She looked at her computer and opened a colourful excel table, which she proudly presented to me. After a minute she answered '589'.

I. Introduction

With an increasing number of forced migrants living in urban areas worldwide, the provision of basic social services to them has gradually developed into a key subject of urban politics (Sanyal, 2012:633). Accompanied by the neo-liberal restructuring of welfare states[1], municipalities have become primarily and directly responsible for the protection of forced migrants. Concurrently, the responsibilities for social services, including the provision of housing, food and care to forced migrants, have been devolved to non-governmental actors, such as private sector associations, and charitable and faith-based organisations. This has led to a situation where municipalities are primarily responsible for the protection of forced migrants but dependent on other actors therefor (Wendel, 2014:6-7). As a result, municipalities are also increasingly unable to control the quality of services provided and thus the safeguarding of forced migrants' rights. This is particularly concerning in countries, such as Germany[2], where no national minimum standards for the services entailed in forced migrants' protection exist (ibid.). In the past years the dangers involved in multi-stakeholder service provision have perhaps become most apparent with regard to refugee housing. In Germany these are, for instance, manifested in the numerous scandals linked to poor refugee housing, which have surfaced in the past years (van Laak et al., 2016:n.p.). In light thereof,

[1] This refers to the outsourcing of social services formerly provided for the by the government, which occurred primarily but no exclusively in the "Global North" since and in particular during the 1980s (Dwyer, 2005:623)

[2] In Germany, according to Art.44 (1) of the *Asylverfahrensgesetz* (Asylum Procedure Law) the federal states (so-called *Länder*) are responsible for the provision of basic services to forced migrants. Since no national minimum standards regarding the quality of services, concerning e.g. size, type, and facilities of housing, exist, the Länder retain a wide margin for manoeuvre and, as a result, the quality of services differs substantially across federal states and municipalities (Wendel, 2014:82; Cremer, 2014:6)

Wendel (2014:20) has emphasised the need for minimum standards, applicable to all housing, irrespective of type or provider.

Drawing on Darling's (2016a:10) notion of the "activist city", this study explores how in this context municipalities may contribute to an improvement of refugee housing by developing their own guidelines, thereby going beyond the nation-state level of protection. It therefore engages with one example of how 'cities may do something differently' (Darling 2016a: 10), namely Cologne's *Guidelines on Refugee Housing and Care* (hereinafter *Guidelines*) and the therein established three-phase housing model. Building on van der Horst's (2014) study, a particular focus lies on the conceptualisation of housing and "home" therein. This study thus aims to answer the following research questions and sub-questions:

1) What is the *Guidelines' potential* to improve refugee housing in Cologne?
2) How are housing and "home" conceptualised within the *Guidelines* and the thereby established three-phase housing model?
    a. What are the implications thereof?
    b. To what extent do gaps or disconnects between how housing is conceptualised within the *Guidelines* and the actual lived experience of forced migrants with regards to housing exist?
3) What can be learnt from this case study in relation to the wider academic literature on refugee housing?

Acknowledging the fundamental importance of the development of theoretical frameworks that account for the multileveled nature of policy in the field of refugee services, more generally, this dissertation aims to contribute to an improved understanding of how urban actors can cooperate to ensure and improve the protection of forced migrants.

The study is structured as follows: firstly, an overview of the three different strands of literature relevant to the research project are introduced, namely literature on urban displacement, the "dispersed state" and literature conceptualising housing. Secondly, the study's research design and its underlying considerations are presented. Thirdly, background information on the case of Cologne is provided. Fourthly, this study engages with how housing and "home" are conceptualised within the *Guidelines* and the official discourse within the *Roundtable* and what the implications thereof are for forced migrants' protection. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

II. Setting the Context

1. Urban Displacement and the City as a Space of Refugee Politics

With over 60 per cent of today's 19.5 million of forced migrants living in urban environments 'urban displacement is clearly a global phenomenon' (Guterres, 2010:8; UNHCR, 2015). Nevertheless, urban forced migrants and the role of cities in providing protection to them have long been neglected by scholars, policy-makers, the UNHCR and other relief agencies (Sommers, 2001:353, Darling, 2016a:4). A possible explanation may be their perceived "invisibility" compared to forced migrants living in camps. This can be either voluntary, due to "strategies of invisibility" (Kibreab, 1999:393) forced migrants engage in to protect themselves, or involuntary, caused by their '"invisibility" among other urban poor and the consequent lack of available data on them' (Pavanello & Murro, 2010:57). Another reason may be the fact that 'relief agencies can ignore urban refugees on the false assumption that if refugees reach a city, they are able to take care of themselves' (Bascom, 1995:208). This is problematic because even though 'the city can represent a site of independence and safety not necessarily found in camps' (Crisp et al., 2012:24), it also bears new risks and challenges, such as destitution, xenophobia among the local population, exploitation and unemployment (ibid:25; Jacobsen, 2006:273). The relative neglect of urban displacement can also be ascribed to the in many countries still dominant view of the refugee camp as 'the "proper" space for refugee populations' (Darling, 2016a:3; Kibreab, 2007:29).

Only in the last decade has the importance of studying and addressing urban displacement been widely recognized (Pavanello & Murro, 2010:57). Arguably the conclusive proof thereof is UNHCR's 2009 revised *Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas*. After having been criticised by NGOs for years for its 1997 predecessor policy, which prioritised the placing of forced migrants in camps, therein the UNHCR recognised 'urban areas to be a legitimate place for refugees to enjoy their rights' (UNHCR, 2009:5; Edwards, 2010:49). In the scholarly world the *Forced Migration Review* special edition 'Urban Displacement' in 2010 can perhaps be regarded as the culmination of the increased attention to urban contexts in the study of displacement. In the German context the 2014 special edition of the journal *sub/urban* 'City and Migration' is noteworthy as, even though not exclusively focusing on displacement, it offers interesting perspectives on the city as migratory space.

What is striking in the emerging literature on urban displacement is its geographical focus on the "Global South". Indeed, the vast majority of existing studies are on cities in the

Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, with some research focusing on Latin America and South East Asia (Albuja&Ceballos, 2010; Banki, 2006). Notable are, for instance, Landau's (2006) study on the protection and dignity of refugees in Johannesburg, Ward's (2014) study on the implementation of UNHCR's urban refugee policy in Amman, the exploration by Campbell (2006) on the lived experiences of Somali refugees in Nairobi, Palmgren (2014) on refugee networks in Bangkok, as well as Sommers' (2001) study on urban refugees in Dar es Salaam. This is not to say that the situations and experiences of refugees living in cities across Europe or North America is not covered by existing literature on forced migration, however it does, for the most part, not engage with the concept of 'urban displacement' and the literature surrounding it.

Another shortcoming of the existing literature on urban displacement is the little attention paid to the role of municipalities in providing refugee protection. While an increasing body of literature deals with how international actors can negotiate their access and improve assistance to urban refugees (see e.g. Zetter & Deikun, 2010; Sanyal, 2012; Guterres, 2010), strategies and policies employed by local governments to improve refugee protection remain understudied. Considering that 'municipal administrations have become front-line actors' in providing immediate relief to refugees this reveals a major research gap (Guterres, 2010:8). In light of the current '"crisis of asylum" . . . in which established mechanisms of providing refugee protection are under question' (Squire&Darling, 2013:59) the need to close this gap appears even greater. Few, although significant contributions in addressing this gap have been made by studies on sanctuary movements (Mancina, 2012; Goodall, 2011; Darling, 2010). The latter have emerged, *inter alia*, in the USA and Canada (*the New Sanctuary Movement*) as well as Europe (*Cities of Refuge Initative*) and aim to re-constitute cities as places of sanctuary, as refuge (Darling, 2016a:11). The city thereby is conceptualised as a space of protection, 'a conducive environment . . . for the internationally recognised rights of refugees to be respected and their needs met' (UNHCR, 2009:4). As demonstrated by Darling (2016a:15), the city therefore becomes "a space of refugee politics" where national policies are not merely implemented but contested and their margins of discretion negotiated. In recognizing this 'political potential of the city', Darling claims that 'cities may be not simply "active" agents in the management of forced migration, but also sites of "activist" potential' (ibid:10). Acknowledging the agency of the city as an actor in refugee politics is not only an essential step towards a more realistic understanding of refugee protection but also helps to challenge the still predominantly nation-state centric conceptualisations in the study of forced

migration in general (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002:301)[3]. This study thus builds on Darling's conceptualisation and seeks 'to explore how cities may do something different' (2016a:10) by examining the *Cologne Guidelines on Refugee Housing and Care* and the thereby established housing model as an example of a municipal initiative. It thereby aims to contribute to the literature on local governments' strategies and policies in the field of refugee protection. By placing this study in the context of urban displacement it seeks to address the existing research gap with regards to the study of uban displacement within Europe.

2. The Dispersed State

Since the 1980s a gradual 'reduction in the direct role of the state in meeting the basic needs of forced migrants' has occurred. Indeed, an increasing number of countries, including *inter alia* the UK, Germany, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands have engaged in what scholars have labelled as "dispersal" (Netto, 2011; Arnoldus et al., 2003; Hammar, 1993; Arnoldus et al., 2003). The latter is constituted by two concurrent government policies. On the one hand, complex allocation systems, geographically dispersing asylum seekers and refugees, have been drawn up. On the other hand, the responsibility for providing basic social services, including housing, food and care, for asylum-seekers and refugees, has been gradually devolved to non-governmental actors, such as private sector associations, and charitable and faith-based organisations. Dispersal has thus occurred both, at a spatial and organisational level, or, as Dwyer (2005) claims; 'downwards towards the support of the third sector and sideways away from the state's direct control' (623).

In contrast to the urban studies literature where, under the heading of "governance", the shifting responsibilities within public service delivery have been a topic since the 1980s, the migration scholarship has only recently started to explore the practices whereby refugee protection is dispersed (Darling, 2011:264). Discussions of dispersal thereby have largely focused on the privatisation of refugee services (see e.g. Menz, 2011; Flynn & Cannon, 2009; Gledhill, 2014). While these studies emphasise issues linked to the privatisation of refugee protection, such as securitisation, lack of transparency and lowering of protection standards, they fail to acknowledge the often mixed nature of social service provision. As pointed out by Dwyer (2005:623) and Darling (2016b:234) in their seminal studies, in most cases more

[3] That is what is commonly referred to as "methodological nationalism"; 'the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002:301).

complex models of governance, involving local governments and a variety of non-governmental actors, both for and non-profit, are at play. To elucidate the increasingly complex nature of refugee services, Dwyer and Darling adopt Clarke's (2004) notion of the "dispersed state". In the "dispersed state" governing refugee protection service provision has been fragmented, 'multiplying the number of agents and agencies involved, increasing the number of (micro) decision-making settings and generating new problems of coordination, regulation and scrutiny' (Clarke, 2004:36 in: Dwyer, 2005:626). The devolution of responsibilities for refugee protection to non-governmental actors thus cannot be simply understood as a process of privatisation, a shift from public to private provision, but rather involves the emergence of "complex networks of governance"(ibid.:623). Therein a range of actors, including private companies, voluntary and welfare associations, as well as faith-based organisation, offer different services and hold varying positions and degrees of power (ibid.:634; Darling, 2016b:235). As in the following, the focus lies on dispersal at the municipal level the term "dispersed city" is used to describe the complex multi-stakeholder nature of refugee services within urban areas.

The multiplicity of actors involved in forced migrants' protection within the *dispersed city* implies an increasing need for coordination and collaboration among the various actors (Philipps, 2006:542). Indeed, 'collaboration at some basic level [is required] to ensure that . . . [forced migrants'] demands' are met (Kübler & Pagano, 2012:123, Feiock 2009:362). Due to the vital nature of services falling under refugee protection, namely the provision of housing, food and care, failures in collaboration and coordination appear particularly grave as these would not only constitute a system fault but could create severe gaps in refugee protection (Phillips, 2006:551). As pointed out by Wendel (2014:6-7), next to an increased need for coordination, dispersal has resulted in oversight issues, in particular with regard to housing. With the devolution of responsibilities to non-governmental actors the municipality's ability to control accommodations has diminished substantially. This arguably leads to a situation where the municipality bears the primary responsibility for the protection of forced migrants however cannot ensure their rights. Therefore, forced migrants are 'basically left to providers as objects to be accommodated, without a serious control whether their rights are safeguarded' (ibid.)[4]. It is in this context that municipalities may become "activists" (Darling, 2016a:10) by developing their own standards and thereby going beyond of what national law requires. In Germany, for instance, in the past decade several cities, including Cologne, Berlin, Leverkusen, and Gelsenkirchen, have decided to adopt standards or guidelines for the

[4] Freely translated by the author from German

accommodation of forced migrants (Wendel, 2014:37; Flüchtlingsrat Berlin, 2013; Stadt Gelsenkirchen, 2015). Although through spatial dispersal an increasing number of cities are involved in refugee protection and the study of municipal initatives in the field of refugee policy arguably has become even more important, research thereon remains very limited (Wendel, 2014:8; Guterres, 2010:8). Indeed to the knowledge of the author, so far no research on municipal standards for refugee housing has been conducted. This study seeks to address this research vacuum by exploring the Cologne housig model as one example of a municipal initiative in the field of refugee housing.

3. Conceptualising Refugee Housing

Housing as Cornerstone of Refugee Protection and Reception

The key role housing plays in the protection and reception of forced migrants is well established (Zetter & Pearl, 1999:236; Murdie, 2008; Carter & Osborne, 2009). Housing is crucial to forced migrants' protection because of its material meaning. Indeed, as Murdie asserts 'at its most basic level housing is a physical structure that provides shelter' (Murdie, 2008:82). Moreover, it has been found to be fundamental for forced migrants' physical and psychological well-being (Al-Khatib et al., 2005:187, Bakker et al., 2014:432). Pearl and Zetter (1992:2) further hold that the 'security, shelter and personal space which housing provides are vital elements in the process of regaining the dignity and independence often denied to [forced migrants] through persecution, incarceration and torture in their countries of origin'. Housing is thus understood as the building block of a "fresh start"; it is 'a vital precondition in providing refugees with a place from which to begin to re-establish themselves, to resettle successfully' (Fozdar & Hartley, 2014:149).

Linked to the conceptualisation of housing as a "fresh start", scholars have highlighted its meaning for integration (Ager & Strang, 2008:171; Carter & Osbourne, 2009:309; Bakker et al., 2014:432). The main argument put forward in the literature is that housing acts as a resource; as forced migrants are provided with a dwelling, they also gain access to the community, neighbourhood, to shops, support organisations and other services (ibids.; Zetter & Pearl, 1999:236). The location of housing therefore plays a crucial role: it is "a proxy for access" (Wang & Truelove, 2003:581, Wood et al., 2012:25). Housing is also held to be crucial for integration for psychological reasons; it is perceived as a "stable basis" that conveys a feeling of safety, which is considered 'one of the basic needs for starting to build on a new life' (O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010: 286).

Housing as "Home"?

An extensive body of research has explored the emotional, symbolic, and socio-cultural meanings of housing and, in this context, the relationship between housing and "home" (Gurney, 1996; Murdie, 2008; O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010; van der Horst, 2004). Underlying these conceptualisations is the idea that a house is not a neutral physical structure but through its habitation acquires meanings (Clapham, 2005:117). Houses thereby become the settings in which everyday social and cultural practices are carried out; the space in which emotional and intimate relationships are lived (ibid., Kinefuchi, 2010:231). They are also means by which individual and collective identities are formed, cultivated and expressed (ibids.). Their furnishing and decoration, for example, act as 'a form of identity and self-expression' (Clapham, 2005:138). Houses also have symbolic meanings, they can act as status symbols, can come to symbolise experiences and memories, and 'can be seen as containers for the temporal manifestation of home' (Taylor, 2015:54).

As houses are inscribed with meanings, 'housing is experienced by users as "home"' (O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010:285). While the common interchangable use of both terms suggests that this is often true, the extent to which this can be upheld depends on the meaning of "home". As comprehensively discussed by van der Horst (2004:38) there is no scholarly agreement on what "home" means[5]. However, there appears to be a consensus on its desirability and positive nature (ibid.). Indeed, "home" is understood as a 'valued territory, a social and cultural environment that is appropriate for the user's needs and way of life' (O'Mahony&Sweeney, 2010:285). Home signifies security, familiarity and continuity; it is a "safe haven" (Sibley, 2001:241). Home is further associated with privacy, it constitutes a space to which access can be restricted, and over which a person can exert control (Parsell, 2012:161).

Home thus appears to be a positive experience of housing: it is 'an emotionally based and meaningful relationship between dwellers and their dwelling places' (Dovey, 1985:33; Jones, 2007:55). A house, however, can be a scene of negative experiences, such as domestic violence and abuse, or loneliness (Clapham, 2005:141). Feminist literature has further highlighted the house as a place of oppression and of hard, unpaid work (de Beauvoir,

[5] Due to the limited scope of this paper the meanings of "home" discussed here refer only to the meanings associated with dwellings, yet, as emphasised by Clapham (2005:138) it is important to note that "home" is 'not restricted to a particular setting but may encapsulate elements that are emotional and transportable'. "Home" thereby can be associated amongst others with persons, food, landmarks, cities but also be imagined (see e.g. Sarup, 1994:90)

1952:470; Irigaray, 1992:101; Young, 2005:131). Although the house is 'a major setting for the meaning of home' (Clapham, 2005:138) it can also be a site of alienation and negative emotions and, consequently, its habitation does not concur with feelings of "home".

Housing as Instrument of Deterrence and Migration Management

Refugee housing perhaps most clearly demonstrates the need to distinguish between "housing" and "home". Indeed, forced migrants 'may be provided with a roof over their heads but remain "homeless" in the sense that the nature of the shelter provided does not satisfy the criteria of ["good"] housing, and is not likely to be conducive of feelings of "home"' (O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010: 286).

According to the UN, criteria of "good" housing are adequate privacy, space, safety, lighting, ventilation, basic infrastructure and location (OHCHR, 2009.). Similarly, Touhey (2001:9) defines "good" housing as 'housing that satisfies a person's need for privacy, space, safety and interaction'[6]. Both conceptualisations suggest that what constitutes "good" housing is relative; it depends on what one considers to be "adequate" and satisfactory for "a person's needs", or, put differently, the question is: "good" housing for whom? This subjectivity is elucidated in van der Horst's (2004) seminal study on refugee housing in the Netherlands. Therein she found that while 'the dominant discourse on reception centres is institutional, focusing on efficiency, functionality and care given to the needy, the people who live in reception centres evaluate their surroundings in terms of what a "home" should provide' (ibid.:36, own emphasis). The different standards against which the quality of housing is measured imply diverging evaluations. Forced migrants were strongly dissatisfied with the housing and in particular complained about the lack of autonomy and freedom to live in accordance with cultural customs (ibid.:43). For them criteria of "good" housing largely coincided with meanings of home. In contrast, policy-makers considered food, hygiene and sleep the main criteria of housing and, as these were fulfilled, housing was evaluated as "adequate" (ibid.) According to van der Horst "home-associated standards" are deliberately suppressed within official discourses on refugee housing (ibid.). Similarly, O'Mahony and Sweeney (2010:311) found that in the UK housing was actively designed to meet criteria of bureaucratic functionality instead of "good" housing and "home". Accordingly thereby 'the UK pursues a clear and identifiable agenda: to reduce alleged pull-factors, to discourage the formation of "home" attachments to the UK and to incentivise return' (ibid.).

[6] For further definitions of "good" housing see e.g. Wendel, 2014:37;

These findings are in line with other studies that have highlighted how governments have employed housing to pursue a policy of deterrence and, more generally, as an instrument for migration management (e.g. Boswell, 2001:29; Phillips, 2006:3). Boswell (2001:13), for instance, found that in Germany control and deterrence of asylum-seekers were key objectives of accommodation dispersal. The inherent logic is that 'the prospect of dispersal may reduce the appeal of seeking asylum in a particular state [and] enable authorities to exercise stricter control over the stay of asylum-seekers and the return of rejected applicants' (ibid.:3). Bloch and Schuster (2005:491) therefore claim that spatial dispersal must be understood as one of the 'instruments in the ongoing attempt to control . . . [and] manage immigration'.

Boswell (2001:3) and Arnoldus et al. (2003:28) have further demonstrated how dispersal accommodation is construed as a redistributive policy whereby forced migrants are framed as a "burden", which needs to be managed and distributed. By positioning these as "burden", accommodation dispersal follows an economic logic based on cost calculations and efficiency assessments, thereby framing refugee protection as being primarily a managerial issue (ibids.). Darling (2011:286) further argues that by allocating housing through dispersal the state asserts 'spatial power' and 'accommodation itself [is] a form of governance' (ibid.).

Dispersal arguably serves to both deter and "manage" migration. Home-like attachments are discouraged through the provision of substandard and temporary housing as well as a lack of choice with regards to location whereas discourses of "home" are suppressed by framing housing as a managerial issue and emphasising criteria such as efficiency and functionality. Considering 'the likelihood that . . . [forced migrants] will already have experienced "a sense of powerlessness and dependence . . . frequently mixed with an acute anxiety about their new circumstances and strong feelings of homelessness", the impact of their precarious claims to housing and home is significant' (from Kinnvall, 2004:744 in O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010:296). In light thereof and the crucial role that housing plays in refugee protection, ensuring that forced migrants have access to adequate housing and their understandings of "good" housing are reflected therein is of utmost important. This is even more pressing in face of the failure of the international community to sufficiently protect forced migrants in the wake of contemporary humanitarian crises.

This study seeks to add to the existing literature by examining the supposed "best-practice" model of refugee housing in Cologne. By considering how housing is conceptualised therein and the extent to which gaps, as identified by van der Horst (2004), between the official discourse on refugee housing within the *Roundtable* and refugees' experiences exist, it aims

to contribute to an improved understanding of both, how housing can be improved and of existing official discourses on refugee housing.

IV. Methodology

1. Case Selection

The present dissertation is based on a case study of Cologne' refugee housing model. As explained by Tisdell and Meriam (2015:39), a case study is 'an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system'. In the present case Cologne's refugee housing policy constitutes the "bounded system". Establishing standards that go beyond what is prescribed at the national level, the *Guidelines* and the thereby established decentralised three-phase housing model act as an example of how "the dispersed city" may 'do something different' (Darling, 2016a:10). The case study consequently can be identified as instrumental; 'it delves into a case as an example of a phenomenon in order to achieve understanding of the phenomenon' (Court & Abbas, 2013:484). Being one of the first cities to introduce a decentralised housing model in Germany and having therefore been hailed as a "best practice" example, the case is instructive for understanding how municipal initiatives come about, but also to what extent these can contribute to an improvement of forced migrants' protection.

2. Data Collection Methods

In order to answer the research questions a qualitative mixed method research design is employed whereby a textual analysis of Cologne's 2004 *Guidelines on Refugee Housing and Care* [7] and in-depth semi-structured interviews constitute the "core component" and ethnographic research in the form of observations and an informal visit the "supplementary component" (Morse, 2012:195).

Semi-Structured Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews with 16 individuals were conducted, of whom 7 are current members of the *Roundtable*, 2 former members of the *Roundtable*, 2 external actors involved in refugee policy in Cologne and 5 refugees living in Cologne (see T1 and T2).

[7] For full text see http://www.stadt-koeln.de/mediaasset/content/pdf5620/1.pdf

Name[8]	Date of interview	Organisation
Karl	20.06.	Cologne Refugee Council
Maria	21.06.	Green Party Cologne
Isabel	21.06.	The Quakers Cologne
David	22.06.	Cologne Housing Department
Richard	22.06.	Cologne's Youth Welfare Office
Gerhard	23.06.	Roundtable for Integration Cologne
Rita	23.06.	Integration Council NRW
Sabine	27.06.	Caritas Association Cologne
Thomas	29.06.	Catholic Committee Cologne
Robert	29.06.	Integration Council Cologne
Ludwig	01.07.	Protestant Chruch

T1: Stakeholders interviewed

Name[9]	Date of interview	Country of origin	Cologne housing experience[10]
Jabbar	24.06.	Syria	EH (2 weeks); CH (5 months) PF (6 months – ongoing)
Walid	27.06.	Syria	EH (5); CH (2) PF (7-ongoing)
Omar	27.06.	Syria	EH (9), PF (3– ongoing)
Armin	30.06.	Syria	EH (8 months), PF (5 months - ongoing)
Mohammed	30.06.	Sudan	CH[11] (6 months); EH (2 months – ongoing)

T2: Forced migrants interviewed

All interviews were conducted in person during a two-week research stay in Cologne and lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. The interviews were audio-recorded with a mobile device after the participants were orally informed about the research project and their consent was granted through the signing of an informed consent form, which was made available in German and English. Refugees were offered the possibility to conduct the interview in German, English or Arabic (all particpants were Arabic-speaking), the latter with the help of a translator. Apart from one participant, all refugees chose to conduct the interview in German. To ensure interviews were conducted in an environment where participants felt comfortable and that involved the least inconveniences possible, the choice of the interview location was left to the participants. As a result, the majority of interviews were conducted in participants' offices, a few in cafés and other public spaces and two in refugees' private flats. Another measure employed to minimise discomfort among participants was what Dunn (2000:59) labelled as "pyramid interviewing strategy"; interviews began by asking easily answerable

[8] To protect participants' anonymity all names have been modified
[9] Names have been modified where not wished otherwise by participants
[10] Abbreviations used: EH = emergency housing; IAC = initial accommodation centre; CH = collective housing; PF = private flat. Housing is mentioned in chronological order, from forced migrants' first arrival in Cologne. The number in brackets refers to time spent in the respective accommodation
[11] Mohammed arrived in Cologne as a minor and was therefore directly accommodated in collective housing

questions about participants' responsibilities within their respective organisations and their general engagement with refugees and refugee housing. In the case of interviews with refugees these were questions about the date of their arrival and first impressions of Cologne.

To identify participants purposive sampling was employed; interviewees were approached due to their 'perceived ability to answer specific questions of substantial or theoretical importance to the research' (Johnson & Rowlands, 2012:105). While stakeholders were interviewed due to their knowledge and insights from working on the *Guidelines* and on refugee housing in Cologne, refugees were selected due to their first-hand experiences with housing in Cologne. The different types of knowledge of both groups are reflected in the use of two different question catalogues (see Appendices 1-3). Interviews with refugees also differed with regards to their tone; they were more conversational as they aimed to elicit a narrative response (Eastmond, 2007:249).

Due to their unequal accessibility also different sampling techniques were used to approach stakeholders and refugees. While initial contact with stakeholders was made directly through email, introducing the research project and what participation would involve, refugees were approached through snowballing techniques. The latter led to a sample of 5 male refugees, of which 4 were Syrian and one Sudanese, the apparent limitations of which are addressed in the *Limitations* section. With regards to current members of the *Roundtable* no initial selection was made but all 21 members were contacted. This yielded 10 responses, of which 7 led to an interview and two to informal visits. This sample comprises representatives from the Catholic and Protestant Church, the Quakers, the Green Party, the Catholic association *Caritas*, Cologne's Youth Welfare Office, and the Cologne Refugee Council. Additionally former members, one of whom was a long-time member of the *Roundtable* and involved in its very establishment, and one was temporarily a member and now works for the Cologne Integration Council were successfully approached. Furthermore "external" experts, one from the Cologne Department of Housing, and one from the Integration Council of the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, were contacted upon referral by other participants.

Observations and Informal Visits

To complement the individual accounts provided by semi-structured interviewing, ethnographic research in the form of one (non-participant) observation and two informal visits were carried out. The observation was conducted at a regular, public, three-hour meeting of the *Roundtable*. In addition, informal visits to the largest initial refugee housing in Cologne and the workplace of the Cologne Roma association *Rom e.V.* were made. The purpose of this ethnographic research was to "contextualise understanding" (Kearns, 2000:105) by gaining direct first-hand experience of different sites where refugee housing policy in Cologne is constituted, shaped, implemented and experienced. While the *Roundtable* can be identified as what Darling (2016a:15) termed a "urban space of refugee politics", the accommodation centre can be considered an embodiment of housing policy, and the Rom e.V.'s office, where Roma are *inter alia* consulted when facing housing issues, the place where everyday housing experiences are shared.

Positionality

Being both aware of one's own positionality - one's background, beliefs and interests and how these may affect the research process – and being immersed, 'acutely tuned-in to the experiences' of others, is one of the key challenges of qualitative research (Maykut&Morehouse, 1994:123; Court & Abbas, 2013:480; Banks, 1998:4). Recognising the influence of positionality and the potential biases inherent in qualitative research, throughout the research process attention was paid to how the author's position as a white, German woman academic may influence outcomes both through methodological choices and interpretations as well as participants responses. With regards to interviews the main concern related to my insider/outsider status. Being German and having known Cologne since I was a child, I can be considered a "cultural insider", perhaps particularly by forced migrants, who do not share the same cultural identity. This may have affected the ways in which they responded, in particular with regards to more critical questions about housing in Cologne, possible leading to more positive narratives. On the other hand, as a researcher coming from a UK university to study "the case of Cologne" in particular stakeholders may have perceived me as an outsider or even intruder. To create an environment of trust and reciprocity I did at no stage of the research conceal my dual positionality and, in particular with forced migrants, openly spoke about my backround and interests. To nevertheless minimise potential biases I employed a self-reflexive approach whereby I, whenever possible, transcribed the interviews

on the same day they had taken place and thereby evaluated my performance and interactions during the interview.

Although non-verbal, "non-participant" obervations also involve an interaction between the researcher and his or her surrounding environment. Indeed, through his or her presence, the researcher physically participates in the setting, interaction or process under study, and thereby may affect the latter (Kearns, 2000:105). When carrying out observations at the *Roundtable'*s meeting I kept aware that my presence and, in particular, the fact that at the time of the meeting I had already conducted interviews with 7 of its members, might affect members' interactions or render these "atypical" (Tisdell & Meriam, 2015:263). Since the *Roundtable*'s meetings are public and I was joined by around 15 other "observants", in retrospective I argue that rather the general public nature of the meeting than my presence in particular may affect participants discussions and potentially lead to divergences between the findings derived from interviews.

Ethical Considerations

This dissertation employs an ethically inflected methodology. Ethical considerations related to the protection of participants' confidentiality and autonomy and the reduction of existing power-imbalances. To protect participants' confidentiality and autonomy their written "informed consent" was required prior to their participation in interviews. To ensure that participants were provided with 'sufficient information to make a voluntary and informed decision whether to participate or not' the topic and purpose of the research as well as the ways in which their data would be used was explained in oral and written form (Heggen & Guillemin, 2012:468). Participants were further informed about their right to withdraw at any time during the interview. Furthermore, all data was anonymsed and stored on a password-secured server.

As pointed out by Tisdell & Meriam (2015:262), ethnographic research has its own "ethical pitfalls". Indeed, in particular when carried out without the knowledge of those being observed, it entails ethical issues with regards to confidentiality. As the *Roundtable*'s meetings are public, involve public figures and permission was obtained prior to observation, confidentiality was not a major issue (ibid.). To minimise confidentiality issues during the informal visits no notes on spoken words were taken without informed consent.

The particular importance of ethically sound research when studying and working with "vulnerable" groups, including refugees, has been emphasised by a wide range of scholars (e.g. ibid.; Eastmond, 2007:150). Refugees "vulnerability" lies in their political, legal, and socio-economic marginality, 'they have few rights and are vulnerable to arbitrary action on the part of state authorities' (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:187; Pittaway et al., 2010:232). While this study acknowledges these particular ethical issues and sought to reduce these risks throughout all research stages, it does not seek to reinforce the subjectifying discourse of refugees as "vulnerable research subjects". Hence, 'instead of viewing the interview as a controlled, asymmetric conversation dominated by the researcher' (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012:34), interviews are considered conversations, a reciprocal exchange, and participants as equal partners therein.

Due to its limited scope and funds, this study however cannot offset 'risks and costs associated with participation . . . [through] the delivery of direct, tangible benefits to those who participate' (Pittaway et al. 2010:234), as a strict implementation of the principle of reciprocity would require. Yet, this dissertation strongly affirms the idea of a "dual imperative" - that research about refugees should not only 'be academically rigorous' and further academic knowledge but also policy relevant, it should be 'used to protect refugees and influence institutions' (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:186)[12].

3. Data Analysis Methods

To analyse the data collected through interviewing and observations a combination of manual coding techniques were employed. In order to 'break open the data' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:59) first a microanalysis, considering each piece of data separately and in detail was conducted. In order to ensure greatest openness towards potential emerging codes *and* attention to codes suggested by existing literature both emic and etic coding was employed. Therefore, comments on one margin served to highlight potential new codes, whereas on the other margin, when identifiable, appearance of codes derived from the literature were noted. After all transcripts and notes were coded accordingly, a macroanalysis whereby texts were analysed for broader patterns and recurring codes was carried out. For this purpose recurring emic and etic codes as well as particular patterns of codes were identified and the respective text passages copied into a separate document and grouped into broader thematic categories.

[12] For this purpose the final dissertation and a more readily accessible executive summary will not only be sent to all participants, as sound research practice requires, but also distributed to all current members of the Cologne *Roundtable*.

Subsequently common characteristics of each category were identified and the relationships to other categories established (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:193; Cope, 2010:446). A similar approach was taken for the textual analysis of the *Guidelines*. Indeed, like the transcripts, these were treated as a discourse, as a particular representation of facts rather than facts. To avoid translation errors and a distortion of meanings interviews were transcribed and observations taken and analysed in German.

4. Limitations

There are a number of limitations to the data collection methods employed in this dissertation. The first concerns the sample of refugees interviewed. With only five male refugees, of whom four are Syrian and one Sudanese, participating in the study, the results with regards to refugees' experiences with housing in Cologne are by no means intended to be generalisable. They are mere representations of situated, individual experiences of male refugees living in Cologne.

The "male" character of the sample is not intentional but can be ascribed to difficulties in accessibility and the resulting use of snowball sampling, which constitutes a second limitation of this study. To gain access to Cologne's refugee population two male contacts were used. This implies that respondents were all part of the respective "core subjects'" social networks and thus likely to exhibit similarities (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003:196). It also means that 'the sample will exclude those who are not linked to the individual who is at the centre of the snowball' (ibid.), and, in the present case, women since the contacts' circles of friends were male. Although explicable, the complete exclusion of women's experiences from this study significantly limits its meaningfulness and implies a need for further research.

A third limitation is linked to the difficulty of distinguishing "institutional voices" from interviewees' "personal voice" when conducting interviews with representatives of institutions. In the present research all stakeholders interviewed are part of an organisation and the majority is interviewed specifically because of their position as representatives of a specific institution. This implies that their answers may not reflect their personal opinions but those of their organisation or vice versa, leaving the researcher unable to differentiate between the two. While to address this issue questions were always worded in a clear manner and explicitly referred to the participant's organisation when interested in the "institution's voice", this shortcoming of stakeholder interviews cannot be eliminated.

III. Setting the Scene

The city of Cologne is located in North-Rhine Westphalia and has over one million inhabitants, of which at the time of research (June-July 2016) around 13.000 were forced migrants. As the rest of Germany, Cologne has seen a substantial increase in people seeking asylum in the past two years (see T1), which, has been presented and experienced by many as a "refugee crisis". Cologne's society thereby appears increasingly divided between those who advocate what has come to be known as *Willkommenskultur* ("welcome culture") and right-wing parties, such as *ProKöln* and the *AfD* ("Alternative for Germany").

The 2004 Guidelines on Refugee Housing and Care

The *Guidelines* are a product of a humanitarian crisis that took place in the aftermath of the Yugoslav Wars when Cologne was politically divided over how to respond to the substantial increase in people seeking asylum. Governed by a centre-right dominated City Council, Cologne pursued a policy of deterrence whereby very poor accommodations, such as old ships and camps on the outskirts of the city, were deliberately chosen to deter asylum-seekers. A change of policy occurred when due to the breakdown of the former coalition, between 2003 and 2004, Cologne was governed by a coalition of the Green party and the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and the former was handed the portfolio for refugee policy. It was within this short timeframe that the Green party pushed for a "re-alignment" of Cologne's refugee policy, of which the building block constituted the creation of the *Roundtable*. The latter was installed by the City Council in 2003 and first tasked with drafting *Guidelines on Refugee Housing and Care,* which were finalised and subsequently adopted by the City Council in 2004. The particularity of the *Guidelines* is perhaps that the *Roundtable,* consisting of representatives of the municipality, the City Council, the Catholic and Protestant Church, faith-based and charitable organisations, civil society as well as the police, drafted these. Indeed, the *Roundtable* can be characterised as an embodiment of the "dispersed city" and the *Guidelines* as a product of multi-stakeholder collaboration, arguably making their study particularly interesting and relevant.

The *Guidelines* introduce a decentralised housing model[13] whereby forced migrants should be housed in smaller accommodations with cooking facilities and ultimately in private flats (Stadt Köln, 2004:8). To promote the implementation of the decentralised model in 2011 four

[13] It is important to clarify that "decentralisation" here is not related to its common use to describe a process or state of 'division of authority and resources between levels of the state' (Treisman, 2002:12)

members of the *Roundtable*, the German Red Cross (DRK), Caritas, the Cologne Refugee Council and Cologne's housing department, launched the *Auszugsmanagement* ("moving-out-management"), which assists refugees in finding a flat. This and the *Guidelines* led scholars, such as Wendel (2014:83) and Aumüller et al. (2015:43) to ascribe to Cologne a pioneering role in refugee housing.

V. The Construction of Housing and "Home" in Cologne

1. Management, not Protection

The following section challenges the representation of Cologne as a "best practice" model by claiming that these constitute an instrument of refugee "management" rather than of protection.

The *Guidelines* are the main document constituting the re-alignment of Cologne's refugee policy in 2003/2004. Their underlying rationale, however, appear not to be an improvement of refugee housing but the realisation that "refugees in the unregulated procedure"[14] cannot be deterred by low quality housing and care (6-7). The *Guidelines* thus rest on the recognition that the 'municipal influence to reduce the influx of this group of persons ["unregulated asylum-seekers"] is not possible' (Stadt Köln, 2004:6) or, put more cynically, they are the result of a failed policy of deterrence. This impression is confirmed in three interviews with stakeholders who were involved in the drafting of the *Guidelines*. One respondent's detailed account perhaps most clearly illustrates the process by and setting in which the *Guidelines* came into existence:

> 'We sat down with people from the housing department and analysed whether we could determine a correlation between the types of housing and inflow of refugees in the past years. We came to the conclusion that there was none and suddenly Cologne remembered that it is the transportation hub of the West, that it is the fourth largest city in Germany, that there are reasons why people come here. We then said: if we have no influence on the influx of refugees, we have to find out how to accommodate them as inexpensively as possible . . . so we compared the expenses for different types of housing and realised that decentralised housing - smaller accommodations where refugees can cook for themselves and, in particular, private flats - are much cheaper . . . because less or no staff is needed. As we realised that we would not be able to find flats for all refugees we decided to also have residence halls. Out of consideration for their neighbours these were limited to a capacity of 50 to 80 people, 80 being chosen as the maximum number of what is still manageable'.
>
> *Interview with Robert, 29.06.16*

[14] These are defined as persons who are not assigned via the federal dispersal system but have entered Germany 'illegally and without valid residence permission or passport' (Stadt Köln, 2004:4) and travel directly to Cologne to claim asylum there (8).

The introduction of the three-phase model and with it decentralised housing thus appears to be based on economic considerations of cost-efficiency and management; it rests on the idea that if not "deterrable" asylum-seekers must be "managed" and costs for their housing minimised. This is also illustrated by the fact that within the *Guidelines'* 16 pages there is no mentioning of aims related to the improvement of refugee housing. Instead decentralised housing is construed as a means to reduce the associated financial and social costs, the latter including 'conflicts within and outside of the shelters' (7). In this context, housing is also understood as a means to increase social cohesion. Accordingly, due to the less visible character of residence halls and private flats compared to large reception centres, these counteract a 'visually contingent stigmatisation' of refugees and increase their acceptance within the neighbourhood (11). This reveals a paradoxical logic: acceptance of refugees' presence is supposed to be enhanced through a reduction of their visual presence. While 'stigma works by making things visible, hypervisible, or invisible and then naturalizing those positions' (Schuman&Bohmer, 2012:217) and (in)visibility is used as coping strategy by forced migrants themselves (Kibreab, 1999:393), invisibility as a policy measure to promote social cohesion appears at best contradictory. Indeed, the ostensible prevention of visual stigmatisation through unobtrusive housing serves to reify other existing othering stigmas whereby asylum-seekers presences need to be "normalised".

The stigmatisation of forced migrants and the conceptualisation of housing as a managerial issue within the *Guidelines* are further apparent in the framing of refugees and their protection as a "burden". Based on the recognition that deterrence is ineffective, the *Guidelines* call for a 'system of fair burden-sharing' whereby the 'heavy material burden' emanating from refugee housing is 'distributed across municipalities' (7). Framing refugee housing as a burden implies 'an economic rationale that values asylum accommodation for the profit it may bring, rather than the questions of social justice it raises' (Darling, 2016b:238). Decentralised housing thereby becomes a means to reduce the financial "burden" as well as the social costs associated with refugee housing. Instead of being understood as a matter of social justice housing for forced migrants becomes a means of regulation. The fact that throughout the drafting process and since then forced migrants have not been consulted with regards to their experiences, expectations or suggestions for improvement substantiates the finding that the

Guidelines are not concerned with their well-being and the improvement of refugee protection but rather with the city's financial and social "well-being"[15].

2. Cologne's Three-Phase Housing Model – "Home" for the "Deserving"

For the purpose or re-aligning Cologne's refugee policy the *Guidelines* introduce a new housing model, which consists of three successive "phases": the "orientation phase" (phase 1), "integration phase I" (phase 2) and "integration phase II" (phase 3) (8-9). In phase I, "initial reception centres" are in operation (8). These accommodate "refugees in the unregulated procedure"[16], namely persons who are not assigned via the federal dispersal system but have entered Germany 'illegally and without valid residence permission or passport' (4) and travel directly to Cologne to claim asylum there (8). The centres must provide support services, and remain open to individuals for a maximum of three months. Particularly vulnerable persons, including people who suffer from trauma, disabled persons, and pregnant women, should be transferred to 'regular residence halls' as soon as possible (8-9). In *integration phase I* refugees are then 'relocated to a regular residence hall' and, 'if possible', individual needs should be taken into consideration (9). Furthermore, the standard of housing 'shall increasingly correspond to that of self-enclosed flats' and its capacity limited to a maximum of 50-80 persons (9). In integration phase II, after an 'adequate length of stay (benchmark 36 months) in a residence hall (and a corresponding favourable outlook with regard to their housing and social behaviour, no criminal offences etc.), refugees can move into a private flat' (ibid.). This is considered 'a first step towards "normality"' (9). While recognised refugees are immediately entitled to search for a private flat, 'eligible asylum-seekers and people who are granted a suspension of deportation require a special residence entitlement" (ibid.).

A textual analysis of the three-phase model reveals that it is characterised by optionality and ambiguity; individual needs are taken into account 'if possible', refugees 'can' move into a

[15] It must here be noted that the due to the limited scope of this paper the actual impact of the *Guidelines* cannot be evaluated but merely their potential to improve housing and the conceptualisation of housing therein. The findings thus do not imply that the *Guidelines* may not, despite being framed in economic terms and not having included forced migrants in their drafting, have contributed to an improvement of housing through the introduction of decentralised housing but problematises the model as such. Indeed, considering that around 6,000 people have been placed in private flats through the *Auszgsmanagement* serving to implement the *Guidelines*, these may, even though only partially and for a proporionately small number of people, have led to an improvement of forced migrant housing.

[16] Asylum-seekers who are accommodated via the "regular" national dispersal system are first assigned to federal "initial reception centres" and then allocated to municipalities and, in the case of Cologne, directly to phase II housing (residence halls).

flat, standards 'shall increasingly correspond to those of flats', the latter giving no specification as to what these include. Concrete language is used solely with regard to "adequate length of stay" where 36 months are foreseen as a benchmark. Considering that except for maximum capacity no clear standards for phase II housing are determined, this appears very lengthy. Based on the employed understanding of "good" housing, only housing in phase III can be identified as such. Indeed, only private self-enclosed flats can be considered an environment that may be conducive to what van der Horst (2004:43) has termed "home-associated standards".

Yet access to self-enclosed flats appears restrictive and selective in several ways. Firstly, the possibility to move into a private flat is contingent on having stayed in a residence hall for an "adequate length of stay". Secondly, it requires forced migrants to have exhibited positive behaviour or at least none that could be classified as negative. Thirdly, the differences with regard to the entitlement to search for a flat suggest that these are primarily intended for "recognised" refugees. When applying notions of housing as "the major setting for home" (Clapham, 2005:138), this selectivity of access to "good housing" implies that those who do not fulfil the access criteria are excluded from home meanings. Therefore, "home" and "good housing" become construed as something that has to be "deserved", reserved for what Sales (2002:476) conceptualises as the "deserving".

This notion gains traction when considering the stark contrast between how the first and the third phases are conceptualised. The latter is understood as 'a first step towards "normality"' and *integration phase II*. The first phase, on the other hand, is termed *orientation phase* and, following the logic of the description of phase two as moving into "regular" housing, involves inhabiting "irregular" housing. The notice that 'the accommodation of refugees in initial reception centres is not a disciplinary measure' (9) further implies that the conditions of the centres are such that having to live there could be understood as disciplining. This reveals an inherently inconsistent logic: while the objective of the model is supposedly to "re-align" Cologne's refugee policy and accommodate refugees in private flats, poor housing standards appear admissible or are at least accepted in the first phase, namely in accommodation centres for asylum-seekers or, to employ the *Guidelines'* rhetoric, "refugees in the unregulated procedure". This suggests that the diverging conceptualisations of housing in phase I and III may relate to the different groups of people it is intended for.

This impression is confirmed when asking stakeholders about the implementation of the third phase and the *Auszugsmanagement.* An employee of the Cologne housing department, responsible for the coordination of the *Auszugsmanagement* explains:

> 'There is a so-called "moving out list" where people are added to based on social workers' evaluations. One criterion is how long people have already been here but generally it should of course be people who have a positive outlook with regard to their right to stay. We do not want to explicitly exclude any families but we have to say that people who come from safe counties of origin, who have no or a very little chance of obtaining refugee status, well, there it makes no sense because at some point they will have to go'
>
> *Interview with David, 22.06.16*

While refugee status is not a requirement to be admitted to the list of people who can benefit from the flat-hunting support services, only those asylum-seekers whose applications are likely to be successful are included. This is problematic for several reasons. Above all it reifies a distinction between the "deserving" and the "undeserving". Thereby 'inclusion is reserved for those deemed "deserving" by virtue of their ability to meet strict criteria for refugee status while exclusion is proposed for the "undeserving"' (Sales, 2005:445, own emphasis). The fact that this discrimination rests on the notion of "safe" countries of origin, which, based on general and supposedly objective country assessments, collectivises individual cases and considers claims unfounded by default, renders it even more questionable. By excluding the allegedly "undeserving asylum-seekers" from accessing appropriate housing their already marginal position is exacerbated or, as O'Mahony & Sweeney (2010:286) hold, they are "doubly displaced": displaced from their home countries and barred from adequate housing in the receiving state, inhibiting them from 'secur[ing] the use of a dwelling which they can establish as a home'.

The statement "at some point they will have to go" further alludes to the duration of temporariness. Due to the considerable backlog that many German municipalities, including Cologne, are experiencing in the processing of asylum applications, the transient status as "asylum-seeker" is prolonged and accommodation intended as temporary becomes a permanent residence. As pointed out by a member of the *Roundtable*: 'the question then is how long is temporary? Temporary is a strange concept because it is so elusive, the [local] administration says a couple of weeks but ultimately it takes months or even years'[17]. As

[17] *Interview with Maria, 21.06.16*

existing literature demonstrates (see Loescher et al., 2008; Diken, 2004), protracted asylum procedures are not unique to Cologne, however, across the "Global North" the transient nature of asylum-seekers' accommodations arguably is. Indeed, with 24 occupied gym halls housing over 6000 forced migrants, the housing condition in Cologne - at least in Germany - is unparalleled. As most of these lack windows and any type of room partition that could provide the slightest amount of privacy, as well as their failing to provide cooking provisions, common rooms or activities, these arguably embody what is here termed *provisionality.*

Once a person or a family has been added to the *moving-out list*, the *moving-out managers* will search for a suitable flat and present the potential tenants to the landlord, who may then reject or accept them. While the latter is common practice, the interviews illustrated that because of the widespread prejudices against asylum-seekers and refugees, it may lead to a further restriction of access to private housing. Indeed, all forced migrants mentioned these as key issues in the search for a private flat. Walid, a young man who fled from Syria, for instance, found a room in a flat-share but was rejected by the landlord when she learnt that he was a forced migrant. The persuasive efforts by the flat's main tenant ultimately made the landlord agree to Walid's moving in on the condition that he would become a subtenant and, therefore, she would not have any contact with him herself.

A member of the *Roundtable* further suggests that discrimination and prejudices are not only an issue when dealing with landlords but also during the initial assessment by social workers:

> 'Prejudices towards refugees are always there, among landlords, but also among social workers. What happens is that some families are classified as deserving while others are not . . . It is great if one manages to find a flat for a Syrian architect with two children because he is educated middle-class but perhaps one should consider whether it is not more necessary to find an apartment for a Roma family, who has experienced life-long discrimination'[18]

Aside from this direct discrimination, access to housing appears to be restricted to those who meet best the requirements of the housing market:

> 'We found out that man, woman and 2-3 children works well. Everything above does not. The market cannot cope with it. This is regrettable as actually it is perhaps these, the families with many children, which most deserve their own flats'[19]

[18] *Interview with Robert, 29.06.2016*
[19] *Interview with Karl, 20.06.16*

Both respondents point out existing discrimination, with the first explicitly criticising the distinction between "deserving" and "undeserving" forced migrants. Yet strikingly, both quotes involve a conceptualisation of "deserving forced migrant". For the first respondent the Roma family 'who has experienced life-long discrimination' is "more deserving" than the Syrian middle-class family. The second respondent, on the other hand, views 'families with many children' as "more deserving" than smaller families. This supports Holmes and Castaneda's (2016:18) claim that 'moral deservingness . . . interrelates with class, race and nationality'.

While the particular discrimination against Roma within the Cologne housing model is by no means denied, the construction of Roma or "families with many children" as "deserving" is equally problematic as the distinction underpinning the *Guidelines* and the *Auszugsmanagement.* Although the image of who is "deserving" therein varies, all conceptualisations consider good housing as something that is more deserved by some than by others. This implies that "good" housing is something that can be "earned" and not an unconditional, universal right [20] . Interestingly stakeholder transposed their own conceptualizations of vulnerability and "deservingness" onto forced migrants, irrespective of the division between "asylum seeker" and "refugee", conceptualised by several scholars (Sales, 2002:476; Darling, 2016a:8)

Due to its significance for physical and mental well-being "good" housing cannot be understood as a final objective, as in the *Guidelines,* but must be the aim from the very first accommodation onwards. Considering that asylum-seekers' status already signifies insecurity, uncertainty and that 'as "non-citizens" asylum-seekers are already marked out as not belonging, not "at home"' (O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010:278), the exclusion of asylum-seekers from housing conducive to "home" within the Cologne model is particularly concerning. In the wider context of Cologne as a "city of sanctuary", the exclusionary dynamics underlying the "deserving home" shows what Darling (2016a:8) labels the 'limits of urban hospitality'. With regard to the role of the city as agent within the state's structure 'the reiteration of categorical assumptions over who is "deserving" of welcome . . . illustrate[s] how progressive imaginaries of the city may be enfolded into state-centric logics of

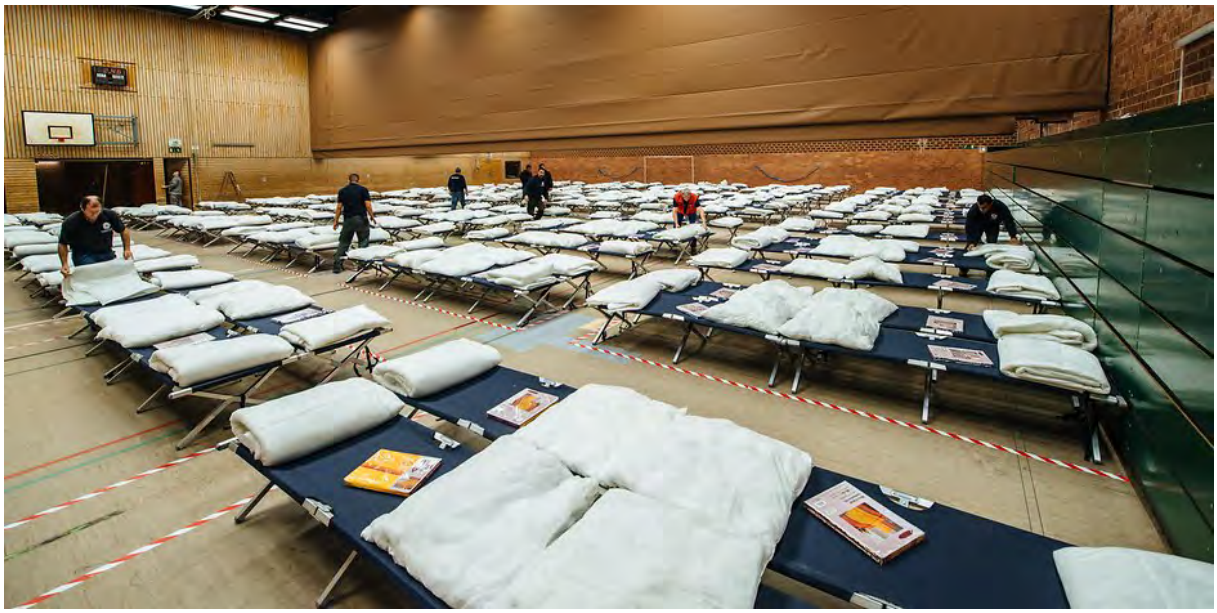
[20] The right to adequate housing was recognised in several binding international treaties, including the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights where it is included as part of the right to an adequate standard of living: 'everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, . . .' (Article 25(1)). It has further been affirmed in UN Habitat's Policy Paper *The Right to Adequate Housing* (OHCR, n.d.).

citizenship' (ibid.). Arguably, the potential of the *Guidelines* as an instance of an "activist city" (ibid: 15) is lost in the reification of national politics of who belongs and who does not.

3. The (Il)legitimacy of Emergency (Housing)

The rise in people seeking asylum in Cologne since 2011 has led to a grave deterioration of refugee housing. Faced with severe housing shortage, Cologne has been increasingly relying on so-called "emergency housing" (*Notunterkünfte*), which can be identified as housing that had to be set up quickly and does not fulfil the *Guidelines'* standards with regards to accommodation size and length of stay, such as housing in hotels, gym halls, former office buildings and warehouses. The quality thereof varies considerably: from overcrowded hotel rooms offering some privacy and own bathrooms to mass accommodations with hundreds of people sleeping in one hall and shared bathrooms located outside the building (see F1 and F2)

F1: Gym hall used as emergency housing

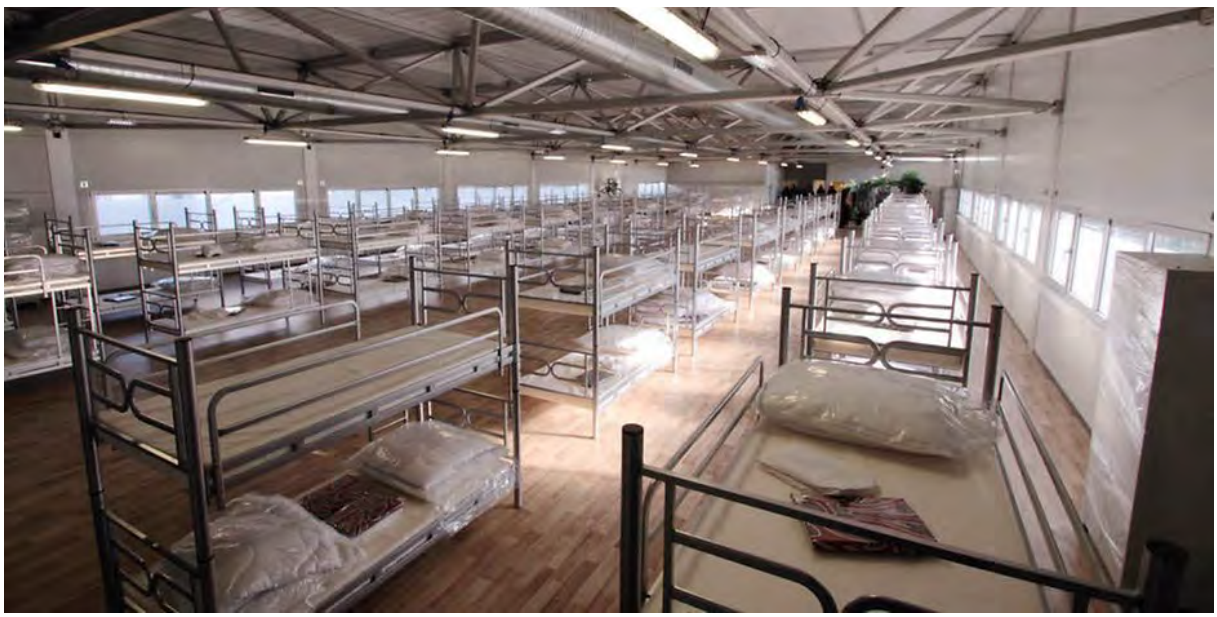


Source Kölnische Rundschau (2016) 'Flüchtlingsunterbringung: Die Stadt räumt die ersten drei Turnhallen', (WWW) Köln: Kölnische Rundschau, (http://www.rundschau-online.de/region/koeln/fluechtlingsunterbringung-die-stadt-raeumt-die-ersten-drei-turnhallen-24202140; 1.09.16).

The resultant neglect of the 2004 *Guidelines* has provoked considerable criticism, in particular by civil society and refugee rights' organisations, such as the Cologne Refugee Council. In response to the mounting criticism in November 2015 the Cologne department of housing presented and introduced a 4-phase housing model, whereby an "emergency phase", preceding the former first phase, is added to the previous 3-phase model. It is here argued that

thereby criticism is not addressed but de-legitimised; it is rendered void through the normalisation of "emergency housing" as part of a new model of housing. Arguably and building on Agamben (2005:2), the exception is construed as the rule. The housing in breach of the *Guidelines* is conceptualised as a part of the new governing "rule", it becomes the rule. As "emergency" housing becomes the "new normal", the state of emergency is rendered permanent. This appears to be legitimised through what Skilling (2014) terms a *crisis narrative*. This 'constr[ues] problems in a way that makes a preferred response appear urgently necessary, thus marginalising dissent and debate' (ibid.). Next to the use of "emergency housing" the crisis narrative in Cologne is manifested in the establishment of the *Task Force for Refugee Housing*, which, consisting of representatives of all municipal departments involved in housing, 'shall facilitate decision-making and ensure rapid responses'.[21] Thereby usual negotiation practices between different departments within the administration are displaced by a "rapid response unit" (ibid.).

F2: Lightweight building construction as "emergency housing"



Janecek, B. (2016) 'Asyl in Köln Erste Leichtbauhallen für Flüchtlinge sind in Köln bezugsfertig', (WWW) Köln: Kölner Stadtanzeiger (http://www.ksta.de/koeln/neue-hallen-fuer-neue-fluechtlinge-sote-23462382; 1.09.2016)

Although members of the *Roundtable* were aware of the poor conditions of "emergency housing" and deplored their total disregard for the *Guidelines*, they simultaneously legitimised it by invoking the situational circumstances, signalising the acceptance of the crisis narrative:

[21] *Interview with David, 22.06.16*

'When someone arrives in Cologne and registers as asylum-seeker, then it can only be emergency housing. Many people in one room and external food supply. It is clear that it is hardly feasible otherwise . . . Gym halls of course are the absolute emergency, that's why large halls are used, to make it quick and fit as many people as possible. They are without doubt a catastrophic form of housing but if it has to go quick there is no other option'
– Interview with Ludwig, 1.07.16

'Of course emergency housing is far from ideal, far from the *Guidelines* but one has to consider the extremely difficult situation the administration is in. This emergency situation calls for emergency measures'
- Interview with Maria, 22.06.16

'Cologne was on the brink of collapse. If we wouldn't have taken every possible space, every gym hall available to accommodate refugees we would not have made it'
- Interview with Isabel, 21.06.16

The quotes reveal that poor housing is legitimised by the perceived urgency and severity of the situation. This crisis narrative arguably is embodied by the gym hall as 'the absolute emergency', justified by its capacity to provide short-term housing to a large number of people. The legitimacy of emergency housing and the illegitimacy of criticism thereby stem from the perceived lack of alternatives. The crisis narrative gives rise to what Wood and Flinders (2014:161) term discursive depoliticisation: 'the promotion of an issue . . . alongside a single interpretation and the denial of choice'. Indeed, the 'narrative of constant crisis has an antipolitical force insofar as it normalizes the pursuit of certain goals and, in doing so, marginalizes competing perspectives' (Skilling, 2014:62).

While stakeholders employed the crisis narrative to legitimise poor housing, the "emergency" as such is considered illegitimate by most stakeholders as it is seen as being mainly self-inflicted. Accordingly, the housing shortage accounting for the "emergency situation" in Cologne primarily results from years in which the municipality neglected the construction of housing and, in particular, social housing:

'The city speaks of emergency, of emergency housing, but what has actually happened is that the city has failed to act, to build more housing, and so now we have more than 6000 people living in gym halls'.
- Interview with Karl, 20.06.16

'Actually it [the "crisis"] is not so much about refugees but about council housing. We should thank the refugees for having brought the topic back on the agenda. Already before the number of refugees increased Cologne had a huge housing problem, it lacked thousands of council flats'.
- Interview with Robert, 29.06.16

An interview with a member of the housing department further revealed that with a decrease in asylum-seekers between 2008 and 2011 the municipality closed and dismantled numerous refugee accommodations.[22] Moreover, several stakeholders mentioned that already in 2010 the district government (*Bezirksregierung Arnsberg*) had called municipalities' attention to the increasing number of people seeking asylum, which Cologne however ignored[23]. Arguably, the housing shortage is not only a result of inaction but of actions lacking foresight. The fact that all stakeholders, including two respondents who work for the municipality, shared this view substantiates the impression that the alleged crisis is self-inflicted. This implies that the "crisis" is primarily about housing or, as one respondent asserts: 'it is not a refugee but a housing crisis'.[24] In light thereof the use of the term "emergency" to legitimise poor housing standards in refugee accommodations appears even more problematic. Although the lack of housing in conjunction with an increased number of asylum-seekers poses a challenging situation to the municipality, the finding that the housing shortage results from its deliberate (in)action disqualifies its framing as an "emergency". As Skilling (2014:63) points out, a 'crisis or an emergency is an exceptional moment; a departure from the norm that calls forth a concomitant response'. While the substantial increase in people seeking aslyum in Germany since 2013 arguably constitutes an "exceptional" moment, the preceding years of (in)actions, leading to the situation which is experienced as "crisis", cannot be identified as such.

The crisis narrative is also mirrored in the standards against which "emergency" housing is measured. Indeed, "emergency" accommodations appear to be measured against *Obdachlosigkeit*, literally meaning *shelterlessness*, however commonly translated as home- or houselessness:[25]

[22] *Interview with David, 22.06.16*
[23] *Interview with Thomas, 29.06.16; Interview with Isabel, 21.06.16; Interview with Ludwig, 1.07.16*
[24] *Interview with Gerhard, 23.06.16*
[25] To avoid further conceptual confusion and a loss in translation in the following the literal translation is employed

'What one has to be aware of is shelterlessness. That's always the alternative. That's why I can understand that the administration accepts any available space to house refugees, even if these are not adequate' – *Interview with Maria, 21.06.16*

'At the end of the year [2015] we had around 400 young people accommodated in hostels, hotels, large meeting rooms, empty schools and dwellings of any kind, . . . properties we would usually not obtain a operating permit for but where we said better these than sleeping on the street' – *Interview with Richard, 22.06.16*

'Well, need trumps misery. It's still better to share a room with hundreds of other people than to have no room at all' – *Interview with Ludwig, 1.07.16*

By contrasting "emergency housing" with the absence thereof, with no housing, the quotes illustrate how the meaning of housing is reduced to that of a shelter. Instead of a 'setting for "home"' (Clapham, 2005:138) housing is confined to its physical quality. While the risk of houselessness and its inherent vulnerabilities are by no means intended to be understated, the measurement of refugee housing against "no housing" is extremely problematic because based thereon any type of housing will qualify as "adequate" simply by virtue of constituting a shelter. This is perhaps most evident in the statement 'need trumps misery', which could be (mis)read as implying that human suffering is justifiable or acceptable in emergency situations.

The reduction of housing to its most basic meaning within the official discourse on refugee housing is also problematic because it completely neglects how asylum-seekers and refugees themselves evaluate and conceive of (emergency) housing. In line with van der Horst's findings, these appear to 'measure their situations against ideas they have of a home' (van der Horst, 2004:44). Indeed, current and former inhabitants of "emergency" accommodations complained about the lack of privacy and the inability to control their environment, felt amongst others in the lack of control over light switches, the cleanliness, and the time and choice of meals.[26] In this context several respondents were also frustrated with not being able to live in accordance with cultural customs and, linked to the timing of research, in particular the inability to celebrate Ramadan appropriately. Mohammed, a 19-year old Sudanese who at the time of research had been living in a gym hall for 6 months, for example, asserts: 'we cannot cook or prepare food; we have to eat when food is served and lights are turned off at

[26] *Interview with Mohammed, 30.06.16; Interview with Armin, 30.06.16; Interview with Omar, 27.06.16*

10. During Ramadan that is when we eat!'[27] Similarly, a former inhabitant of "emergency" housing, now living in a private flat, remembers:

> 'There was no space I could call my own, where I could invite friends to, for example during Ramadan. That's why sometimes I went to Iftar [fast-breaking] organised by the local mosque or welcome initatives but it was not the same'[28].

The wish to host friends, denied to the inhabitants of "emergency" housing because of the lack of privacy and common spaces, perhaps most clearly demonstrates how asylum-seekers and refugees' conceptualisations differ from that apparent in Cologne's official discourse. Unlike stakeholders, who contrast "emergency" housing with shelterlessness, asylum seekers and refugees evaluated housing by comparing it to "home" standards, such as the ability to exert control over whom to include (by hosting friends) and exclude (through the wish for privacy). By framing the situation as an emergency these as well as existent standards of housing, such as the *Guidelines*, are replaced by housing that at most qualifies as emergency relief. Through the crisis narrative that presents "emergency" housing as the only option, debates and criticisms thereof are displaced, leaving asylum-seekers and refugees in Cologne with precarious claims to adequate housing and forcing them to spend months, if not years, in housing, which does not fulfil the most basic criteria of humane housing.

Conclusion

If 'the measure of a society is in how it treats its most vulnerable members' (O'Mahony & Sweeney, 2010:311), then the Cologne housing model evinces a society characterised by exclusion and distrust, in which access to humane housing is reserved to those who can meet subjective criteria of "the deserving forced migrant". These conceptualisations cannot be confined to a distinction between the "deserving refugee" and the undeserving "asylum-seeker", as previous research highlighted, but reflect subjective preconceptions of "deservingness". Adequate housing becomes construed as something that needs to be earned, thereby denying its existence as a human right. This *per se* highly problematic situation, where individuals, who by virtue of their status as non-citizens are already marginalised, are withheld a basic human right, is exacerbated through the recent establishment of "emergency" housing. Through the addition of another housing phase the prospect of adequate housing, namely in phase III, becomes even more distant. This is discursively legitimised and criticisms thereof illegitimised by a crisis narrative. The issue of refugee

[27] *Interview with Mohammed, 30.06.16*
[28] *Interview with Jabbar, 24.06.16*

housing is thus displaced from political deliberation and arguably the standards of housing are reduced to extinction, resulting in housing being measured against *shelterlessness.* Considering the context in which the *Guidelines* emerged, namely that of a political and humanitarian crisis, the legitimisation of the neglect of the *Guidelines* through a crisis narrative appears absurd. It reveals a paradox: the guidelines drafted in the wake of a crisis and to prevent the recurrence thereof are declared void during a similar alleged "crisis".

Being based on the *Guidelines*, Cologne's housing model is informed by an economic logic, which discursively degrades forced migrants as "burden" due to their perceived costs to society. The alleged "best practice" of decentralised housing thereby acts as a measure to reduce the "burden", both financially, constituting the cheapest housing available, and socially by minimising the threat forced migrants are considered to pose to social cohesion. The latter is achieved by rendering these "invisible" to the local population; again indicating how forced migrants are reduced to troubling presences, which need to be "managed". The fact that decentralised housing coincides with ideas of "good" housing and enables home-like attachments thereby appears more a coincidence than a deliberate choice to improve forced migrants' well-being.

The complete exclusion of forced migrants' voices in the deliberation process underpinning the guidelines as well as from the current discourse surrounding "emergency" housing further illustrates the exclusionary dynamics inherent in the Cologne housing model. Considered in the context of the *sanctuary city* and the widely celebrated German welcome culture (*Willkommenskultur*) this points out both their limits. Arguably it also shows the inadequacy of the notion of hospitality in the context of the current crisis of displacement. The virtue of hospitality by nature inheres a power imbalance between the host and the guest; it presupposes that the guest is invited, welcomed by the host. It is conditional upon the host's welcoming and therefore implies the host's ability to both include and exclude. Hospitality also entails a fixed temporariness; it suggests a temporary stay and therefore implies that the guest will only ever remain a guest. In light thereof the notion of the "city of arrival" might perhaps be more suitable for conceptualising the city as a place of refuge than the "city of sanctuary".

Overall this dissertation has demonstrated how the "activist" potential of municipalities in the context of urban displacement can serve not to contest the nation-state centric discourse but to reify it. Indeed, the Cologne housing model, being underpinned by an exclusionary logic of who belongs and who does not, reiterates a citizenship-based model of belonging. The study

also illustrated the dangers of an increasingly de-politicised and managerial discourse on refugee housing. It therefore concludes that with regard to the Cologne housing model the re-politicisation and re-humanisation of the issue of forced migrants' protection in general must be the utmost priority. By pointing out the deliberate (in)actions by the Cologne administration, primarily responsible to the situation represented and experienced as "crisis", this study further reveals the need to more critically engage with the use of the term "crisis" in contemporary politics. Most importantly perhaps, it demonstrates the importance of developing long-term concepts for the housing of forced migrants and, in particular, the need for the construction of social housing. Both are fundamental to ensuring the safeguarding of forced migrants' right to adequate housing, which, so crucial for human well-being, arguably is the first big step towards a more humane refugee policy.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Covering Letter to Potential Interviewees

Sehr geehrter Herr/Sehr geehrte Frau...

erlauben Sie mir, dass ich mich vorstelle: Mein Name ist Magali Mohr und ich absolviere momentan den Masterstudiengang „Global Migration“ am University College London. Im Rahmen meiner vom Mead Fund UCL geförderten Masterarbeit untersuche ich bestehende Ansätze zur Dezentralisierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung.

Dabei interessiere ich mich insbesondere für das dreistufige Unterbringungsmodell der Stadt Köln, welches 2004 durch die „Leitlinien zur Unterbringung und Betreuung von Flüchtlingen“ eingeführt wurde. Um ein besseres Verständnis für die Funktionsweise des Kölner Unterbringungsmodells zu entwickeln und die damit verbunden Herausforderungen zu erforschen, möchte ich Interviews mit Vertretern der wichtigsten Akteure in der Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln führen.

Da Sie als . . und dessen Vertreter beim Kölner Runden Tisch für Flüchtlingsfragen Teil einiger der wichtigsten Akteure in der Kölner Flüchtlingsunterbringung sind, wäre ich sehr an einem kurzen Interview mit Ihnen interessiert und möchte mich hiermit erkundigen, inwiefern die Möglichkeit besteht, ein solches mit Ihnen zu führen. Im Anhang finden Sie eine Zusammenfassung meines Forschungsvorhabens, eine Vorstellungsschreiben meiner Dozentin sowie einen tabellarischen Lebenslauf. Für etwaige Fragen bezüglicher meiner Person sowie meines Forschungsvorhabens stehe ich Ihnen natürlich jederzeit zur Verfügung.

Ich wäre Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie meine Forschungsarbeit unterstützen und mir helfen könnten, auf diese Art einen Überblick über die Chancen und Herausforderungen des Kölner Unterbringungsmodells zu erhalten sowie die Sichtweisen unterschiedlicher Akteure kennenzulernen.

Ich bedanke mich vielmals im Voraus für Ihre Kooperation!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Magali Mohr

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Appendix 2: Attachment 1 to Covering Letter - Summary of Research Project

Forschungsvorhaben (Kurzfassung)

Arbeitstitel: Die Dezentralisierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung und das dreistufige Unterbringungsmodell der Stadt Köln – Herausforderungen und Chancen

Hintergrund:

Angesichts des gegenwärtigen Ausmaßes an Vertreibung und der Krise des internationalen Flüchtlingsschutzes ist die Dezentralisierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung von höchstem Stellenwert und Schlüsselelement für eine langfristige und menschenwürdige Flüchtlingspolitik. Alleinig durch die Unterbringung in privaten Wohnungen und/oder kleinen Wohnheimen mit begrenzten Einwohnerzahlen, welche Flüchtlingen ausreichend Privatsphäre einräumen und deren Selbständigkeit fördern, kann eine dem Individuum gerecht werdender Flüchtlingsschutz gewährleistet werden.

Im Vergleich zu den zentralen Massenunterkünften haben dezentrale Unterkünfte sich nicht nur als kostengünstiger erwiesen – ein wichtiger Aspekt in Anbetracht der angespannten finanziellen Lage vieler Kommunen - sondern auch als integrationsfördernd und Maßnahme um räumliche und soziale Segregation entgegenzuwirken. Durch die rapide Zunahme der jeweils aufzunehmenden Flüchtlinge, insbesondere seit Beginn des Syrienkrieges, stellt die dezentrale Unterbringung Kommunen jedoch vor erhebliche logistische Herausforderungen.

Fallstudie: Die Stadt Köln und die 2004 Leitlinien zur Flüchtlingsunterbringung

Bereits in 2004 beschloß der Rat der Stadt Köln „Leitlinien zur Unterbringung und Betreuung von Flüchtlingen", welche ein dreistufiges Unterbringungs- und Betreuungsmodell vorstellen. Demnach wird die Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen in drei Phasen unterteilt die jeweils einer Unterbringungsstufe" entspricht: in der ersten *Orientierungsphase* werden Flüchtlinge in Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen untergebracht, in der darauffolgenden *Integrationsphase I* werden diese auf Wohnheime verteilt und in der *Integrationsphase II* schließlich an private Wohnungen vermittelt.

In Ergänzung dazu und darauf beruhend hat der Rat im Jahr 2011 das sogenannte „Auszugsmanagement" eingeführt. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Kooperation der Stadt Köln mit drei Trägern der Flüchtlingsarbeit (dem Caritasverband für die Stadt

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Appendix 3: Attachment 2 to Covering Letter - Introduction Letter by Dr. Claire Dwyer

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15. April 2016

Vorstellungsschreiben: Magali Mohr

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

Hiermit möchte ich Ihnen Magali Mohr, Masterstudentin im Fach Globale Migration am University College London (UCL),vorstellen. Ich schreibe Ihnen in meiner Eigenschaft als Dozentin und Kurskoordinatorin der Migrationsstudien und wissenschaftliche Betreuerin von Frau Mohr. Im Rahmen Ihrer Masterarbeit erforscht Frau Mohr kommunale Ansätze zur Dezentralisierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung anhand einer Fallstudie der Stadt Köln.

Ich wende mich an Sie mit der Bitte Frau Mohr bei der Durchführung Ihres Forschungsvorhabens zu unterstützen. Für Ihre Zusammenarbeit und jedwede Hilfestellungen möchte ich mich im Voraus recht herzlich bei Ihnen bedanken.

Zögern Sie nicht mich bezüglich etwaiger Fragen zu Frau Mohrs Person und/oder ihrem Vorhaben zu kontaktieren.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

claire Dwyer

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Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Interviews with Refugees (English version)

1. Arrival in Cologne

    - Where are you from?
    - When did you first arrive in Cologne?
    - Have you stayed in other German cities before arriving in Cologne? If yes, where?
    - Did you arrive in Cologne on your own or were you accompanied by family, other relatives or friends?
    - Briefly describe your arrival in Cologne
        - What were your first impressions?
        - How were you received?

2. Refugee housing in general
    - What do you consider to be „good“ refugee housing? What do you consider to be „bad“ refugee housing?
    - What factors must be considered when planning housing for asylum-seekers and refugees?
    - Must different factors be taken into account for initial reception centers than for more permanent housing, such as collective housing? If yes, which?

3. Refugee housing in Cologne
    - What were your first impressions of refugee housing in Cologne?
    - Where you at some point informed about how refugee housing in Cologne “works”, so for instance how long you will stay in the different types of housing, where you can complain if necessary?
    - Reception centers
        - Could you describe your experience with initial refugee housing, so with so-called reception centers, here in Cologne
            - Where did you first stay in Cologne..? For how long did you stay in your first accommodation?
            - With how many people do/did you share a room? How many people did approximately live in the whole housing while you were there?
            - Was/Is there a possibility to cook for yourself?
            - How did you experience the neighbourhood it was in?
            - How well connected is/was the housing to grocery shops/supermarkets, public transportation, doctors, school, cafés/restaurants
            - Where there/Are any activities offered? If yes, did you take part in any? If yes in which? How did you like it/them?
            - Do/Did you feel supported by the people working at the housing? If yes, how did they support you?
            - Do/Did other external organizations offer support at the housing?
            - Do you/Did you have any contact with people from outside the housing during your stay?
        - Where did you go next? How long did you stay there?

- Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte (collective housing)
  - Could you describe your experience (if any) with GUs/collective housing here in Cologne?
  - After how many months did you move there? How long did you/have you been staying there?
  - With how many people do/did you share a room? How many people (did) approximately live in the whole housing while you were there?
  - Was/Is there a possibility to cook for yourself?
  - How well connected is/was the housing to grocery shops/supermarkets, public transportation, doctors, school, cafés/restaurants
  - Where there/Are any activities offered? If yes, do/did you take part in any? If yes in which? How do/did you like it/them?
  - Did you feel supported by the people working at the housing? If yes, how did they support you?
  - Do/Did other external organizations offer support at the housing?
  - Do/Did you have any contact with people from outside the housing during your stay?
  - Where did you go next? How long did you stay there?
- Private flat
  - (Are you planning or trying to plan to move into a private flat in the near future? If yes, how is this going for you?)/ After how many months in Cologne did you find private accommodation/flat?
  - Are or have you received support in your search for private flats? If yes, from whom?
  - Have you heard from the project 'Auszugsmanagement' (moving out support) of the city of Cologne, which assist refugees in finding a flat? If yes, what have you heard about it or have you yourself got to know the project?
  - How long did it take you to find a flat?
  -
- Overall evaluation of refugee housing in Cologne
  - How would you overall evaluate refugee housing in Cologne?
  - Some studies have names Cologne's refugee housing as a best practice model so as an example for good refugee housing in Germany, what do you think about this? Do you agree/disagree?
  - If disagree –why? What could be improved?

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule for Interviews with Refugees (German version)

1. Ankunft in Köln

    - Woher kommen Sie?
    - Wann sind Sie in Köln angekommen?
    - Haben Sie sich in anderen deutschen Städten aufgehalten bevor Sie nach Köln gekommen sind?
    - Sind Sie alleine nach Köln gekommen oder mit ihrer Familie, Verwandten oder Freunden?
    - Beschreiben Sie kur Ihre Ankunft in Köln
        - Was war Ihr erster Eindruck?
        - Wie wurden Sie empfangen?

2. Flüchtlingsunterbringung im Allgemeinen

    - Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach „gute“ Flüchtlingsunterbringung? Was ist „schlechte“ Unterbringung?
        - „Notunterkünfte“/Erstaufnahme
        - Wohnheime/Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte
    - Welche Faktoren müssen bei der Planung/Auswahl von Unterkünften für Asylsuchende und Flüchtlinge berücksichtigt werden?
    - Müssen unterschiedliche Faktoren bei Gemeinschaftsunterkünften/Notunterkünften berücksichtigt werden als bei Wohnheimen? Wenn ja, welche?

3. Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln

    - Was waren deine ersten Eindrücke der Flüchtlingsunterbringug in Köln?
    - Wurden Sie zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt während Ihres Aufenthaltes in Köln darüber informiert wie die Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen in Köln „funktioniert“ bzw. aufgebaut ist, z.B. wie lange Sie in unterschiedlichen Unterkünften voraussichtlich bleiben werden oder wo Sie sich, falls notwendig, über die Unterbringung beschweren können?
    - Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte
        - Könnten Sie Ihre Erfahrung mit Gemeinschaftsunterkünften in Köln beschreiben
            - Wo in Köln waren Sie als Erstes untergebracht? Wie lange sind Sie dort geblieben?
            - Mit wie vielem Menschen haben Sie ein Zimmer geteilt? Wie viele Bewohner hatte die Unterkunft etwas zu dem Zeitpunkt als sie dort gewohnt haben?
            - Gab/Gibt es die Möglichkeit selbst zu kochen?
            - Wie haben Sie die Nachbarschaft in dem sich die Unterkunft befindet empfunden?
            - Wie war/ist die Anbindung der Unterkunft, sin Einkaufsmöglichkeiten, Cafés, Restaurants, ärztliche Versorgung, Schulen usw. in der Nähe?

- Werden/wurden in der Unterkunft Freizeitaktivitäten angeboten? Wenn ja, welche? Haben Sie daran teilgenommen? Wie zufrieden waren Sie mit diesen?
- Hatten Sie das Gefühl dass die Mitarbeiter der Unterkunft Sie unterstützen? Wenn ja, wie haben die Mitarbeiter Sie unterstützt?
- Haben externe Organisationen Freizeitaktivitäten oder Hilfe innerhalb der Unterkunft angeboten?
- Haben Sie während Ihres Aufenthaltes Kontakt zu Menschen außerhalb der Unterkunft gehabt?
- Wo haben Sie als nächstes gewohnt?

- Private Wohnungen
  - Planen Sie oder versuchen Sie in naher Zukunft in eine private Wohnung zu ziehen? Wenn ja, wie läuft die Wohnungssuche bzw. Planung bisher?/Nach wie vielen Monaten in Köln haben Sie eine Wohnung gefunden?
  - Haben Sie/Werden Sie bei Ihrer Wohnungssuche unterstützt? Wenn ja, von wem?
  - Haben Sie von dem Projekt „Auszugsmanagement“ gehört? Wenn ja, von wem oder wie haben Sie davon gehört? Was haben Sie davon gehört?...
  - Wie lange hat Ihre Suche nach einer Wohnung gedauert?
  - Was waren die größten Herausforderungen bei Ihrer Suche?

- Abschließende Einschätzung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln
  - Wie würden Sie allgemein die Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln bewerten?
  - Einige Studien haben Köln ein „Best-Practice“-Modell (als gutes Beispiel für Flüchtlingsunterbringung) genannt, was denken Sie darüber? Würden Sie diesen Studien zustimmen?

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule for Stakeholder Interviews

Fragenkatalog Akteure der Flüchtlingsunterbringung Köln

1. **Fragen zu Ihrer Arbeit bei Organisation/dem Verein . . .**

    - Ich würde Sie zu Beginn gerne bitten Ihren Tätigkeitsbereich beim/bei der . . . kurz zu skizzieren und kurz zu erwähnen
        - Wie lange Sie schon in diesem Bereich tätig sind
        - Was Ihr Hauptaufgabenbereich dort ist
    - Kurz erklären welche Rolle Ihre Organisation/Ihr Verein in der Kölner Flüchtlingsunterbringung spielt

2. **Fragen zur Flüchtlingsunterbringung im Allgemeinen**

    - Was verstehen Sie unter „guter“ Flüchtlingsunterbringung? Was unter „schlechter“ Unterbringung?
        - Welche/r Akteur/e können dieser Aufgabe am besten gerecht werden?
    - Was für Faktoren müssen bei der Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen berücksichtigt werden? Sind manche davon wichtiger als andere? Wenn ja, welche?
    - Inwiefern können diese Faktoren tatsächlich bei der Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen berücksichtigt werden? Wenn nicht alle berücksichtigt werden können, warum nicht?

3. **Fragen zur Kölner Flüchtlingsunterbringung**

    <u>Allgemein</u>
    - Einige Akademiker haben das Kölner Unterbringungsmodell als ein sogenanntes „Best-Practice-Beispiel“ (ein Paradebeispiel) hervorgehoben. Würden Sie dieser Einschätzung zustimmen. Wenn ja/nein, warum?

    <u>Runde Tisch für Flüchtlingsfragen der Stadt Köln</u>
    - *Ihre Rolle/Die Rolle Ihrer Organisation*
        - Wie lange vertreten Sie schon den/die... beim Runden Tisch für Flüchtlingsfragen?
        - Wie lange ist Ihre Organisation insgesamt schon ein Mitglied des Runden Tisches?
    - *Ihre Einschätzung*
        - Inwiefern hat der Runde Tisch für Flüchtlingsfragen zu einer Veränderung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln beigetragen? Was für eine?

    <u>Dezentrale Unterbringung in Köln</u>
    - Flüchtlinge möglichst schnell dezentral unterzubringen, d.h. in kleinere, abgeschlossenere Wohneinheiten anstatt in groß angelegten Hallen oder Lagern, ist eines der Hauptziele der in 2004 beschlossenen Leitlinien des Kölner Runden Tisches für Flüchtlingsfragen

- Inwiefern konnten die Leitlinien über die Jahre hinweg umgesetzt werden?
  - Woran lag es dass sie nicht (mehr) umgesetzt werden konnten?
  - Wie könnten diese Probleme/Herausforderungen gemeistert werden?
  - Ist das Modell dann noch aktuell? Oder müssen die Leitlinien angepasst werden?
  - Momentan wohnen rund ein Drittel der in Köln lebenden Flüchtlinge in Turnhallen und Gewerbehallen (5.000 Menschen). . .Warum?
  - Allein auf die steigende Zahl an Flüchtlingen in den vergangenen zwei Jahren zurückzuführen oder andere Faktoren?
  - Was gibt es für mögliche Lösungsansätze um die Probleme ... anzugehen?

4. <u>Abschluss</u>
   - Wenn Sie sich .. wünschen würden was würden Sie sich wünschen, nicht nur als Mitarbeiter von .. sondern persönlich...
   - Wenn Sie ein Fazit zur Flüchtlingsunterbringung in Köln aus den letzten 2 Jahren ziehen müssten, was wäre dieses?

Appendix 7: Informed Consent Form (German version)

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Einverständniserklärung

Bitte füllen Sie dieses Formular aus nachdem Ihnen das Forschungsvorhaben kurz mündlich vorgestellt wurde.

Projekttitel: *Die Dezentralisierung der Flüchtlingsunterbringung und das dreistufige Unterbringungsmodell der Stadt Köln – Herausforderungen und Chancen (Working Title)*

Vielen Dank für Ihr Interesse daran an diesem Forschungsprojekt teilzunehmen. Bevor Sie einer Teilnahme zustimmen ist es meine Pflicht Ihnen das Projekt zusammenfassend zu erklären.

Sollten Sie bezüglich meiner Person oder meinem Vorhaben Fragen haben, zögern Sie bitte nicht mir diese bevor Ihrer Einwilligung zu stellen. Sie werden eine Kopie dieser Einverständniserklärung erhalten.

Einverständnis des Teilnehmers/der Teilnehmerin

Ich,

- Wurde über den Inhalt und Zweck dieses Forschungsvorhabens ausreichend informiert und willige hiermit ein an dieser Studie teilzunehmen
- Verstehe, dass ich jederzeit meine Einverständniserklärung wiederrufen kann, sollte ich nicht mehr an diesem Projekt mitwirken wollen
- Stimme der Verarbeitung der aus diesem Interview resultierenden Daten im Zuge und dem alleinigen Zweck dieses Forschungsvorhabens zu
- Verstehe, dass diese Daten streng vertraulich gehandhabt und nicht an Dritte weitergegeben werden
- Verstehe, dass mein Interview zu Forschungszwecken aufgezeichnet wird und stimme der Verarbeitung dieser anonymisierten Daten zu diesem Zwecke zu

Unterschrift: Datum:

Sarah Magali Mohr
Tel: 0049 (0) 15772128048// 0044 (0) 7842785064
Email: magali.mohr@yahoo.de // sarah.mohr.15@ucl.ac.uk

Appendix 8: Informed Consent Form (English version)

UCL DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

Informed consent form for research studies

Please complete this form after you have listened to an explanation about the research project

Working Title of Project: **Cologne Refugee Housing – A Best Practice Model?**

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask the researcher before you decide whether to take part in the research. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Participant's Statement

I

- Have been sufficiently informed about the topic of this research project and hereby agree to take part in this study
- Understand that if at any time I decide that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and withdraw immediately
- Consent to the processing of anonymised data from this interview for the sole purposes of this research study
- Understand that such information will be treated strictly confidential and not transferred to third parties
- I understand that my interview will be audio recorded for the purposes of analysis and I consent to the use of this interview data in academic writing and exhibition materials in a fully anonymised form

Signed: Date:

Sarah Magali Mohr
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Appendix 9: Excerpt from Transcription of Interview with Jabbar on 24.06.2016

Transcription Key:

Bold = emphasis

(.) (..) (...) = short, medium, and long pauses

(?) = unclear on recording

= interjection

[] = non-verbal actions

M: Ok. Und so der erste Eindruck ähm also du nach Köln gekomemn bist in der Herkulesstraße, wie war der? So von der Aufnahme sowohl vielleicht von den Menschen, die da waren, aber auch von der Unterkunft selbst?

J: Ähm, der erste Eindruck war Deutschland, also wir reden jetzt über Deutschland. In Bulgarien habe ich viele ähm viele schlechte Gefühl gehabt, ich hab ich gar nicht gedacht dass Europa so ist, wie Bulgarien z.B. und da habe ich die ganze Zeit gedacht okay man muss warten bis es äh meine Papiere ich in Bulgarien habe und danach fahre ich woanders hin, z.B. nach Deutschland, habe ich gedacht. Danach also bin ich als ich in Dortmund war, war es so sehr schlimm, also hab ich gedacht, okay Deutschland ist nicht viel Unterschied äh, gibt gar kein Unterschied äh, zwischen Bulgarien und Dortmund und Deutschland. Ich habe immer Hoffnung gehabt dass vielleicht die zweite Unterkunft es ist besser als die erste. Aber Burbach das war auch viele Leute, also auch 8 Menschen in einem Zimmer, wir kennen uns nicht und jeder hat sein Bett, alles chaotisch, keine Privatsachen und ich hab immer die gleichen Hoffnung, okay, man muss bisschen warten. Ich war in Hermat auch, das war noch schrecklucher als Burbach, egnau. Die Leute die da dort waren, die sagen okay das ist nur für die kurze Zeit, danach wird es besser sein. Danach bin ich nach Köln Herkulesstraße, das war auch, es ist (. . .)ähm ja alles ähm vielleicht ist es wenn Herkulesstraße mit Hermat oder Burbach vergleichen will, also findet man die Herkulesstraße ist besser als die anderen. Es gibt immer schlimmere Stunden.

M: Weißt du noch wie viele Leute ungefähr auch da waren als du auch da warst, in dem Sommer?

J: Im Einzelzimmer die war so klein und wir waren 5. Genau.

M: Uns insgesamt in der ganze Unterkunft etwa? Also nur geschätzt?

J: Ähm so 1000 vielleicht oder bisschen weniger. Man zählt diese Etagen und diese Zimmer und wie viele Zimmer gibt es. Genau.

M: Und wie lange warst du dann da?

J: 2 Wochen

M: Und danach?

J: Danach war, nach Herkulesstraße ähm Xantener Straße (. . .) wir haben die Unterkunft war auch sehr schlecht ähm, wir haben die beste Zimmer gehabt, als wir gekommen sind die große und wir haben für uns ein paar Sachen gekauft und so, wir haben versucht eine kleine ähm Heim zu bauen, also so aber als ich in Exanterstraße habe ich nicht die gleiche Gefühl dass ich in 2 oder 3 Wochen diesen Platz verlassen muss, sie haben gesagt dass ich hier bleibe, das dauert Zeit, bis ich Aufenthaltserlaubnis bekommen werde und die wissen schon das es nicht weniger als 4 oder 5 Monaten dauern wird, ja. Genau. Also keine weitere Verteilung.

M: Und da in der Exanterstraße war das einr richtiges Haus oder waren das Container?

J: Das war wie in Herkulesstraße, ein haus mit 2 Etagen und in jeder Etage gibt es verschiedene Zimmer und in jedem Zimmer gibt es 4 oder 5 Menschen.

M: Gab es dort eine Kochmöglichkeit?

J: Ja, man kann kochen im Zimmer aber es gab **keine** Privatssphäre, 4 Menschen in einem Zimmer und wenn man kocht es riecht überall und das Badezimmer und alles sind gemeinsam mit all den anderen Leute auch und ist immer schrecklich (..) und chaotisch und äh ja.

M: Und von der Lage von den beiden Unterkünfte in Köln, wie lagen die? Waren fort Supermärkte, Cafés . . . Restaurants und was man sonst so braucht in der Nähe? Gab es eine Verbindung zur U-Bahn? Fangen wir vielleicht mit der Herkulesstraße an.

j: In der Herkulesstraße ähm, das war die ganze Venloer Straße ja (..) Also an dem ersten Tag wir sind mit ein paar Freunden dahingegangen und wir haben endlich die Leute in Deutschland gesehen, die Straßen, die Geschäfte [laughs] und ich habe dort durch Zufall ein arabisches Café gefunden mit Shischa und so und ich habe dort Shischa geraucht, genau. Das war sehr schön. Und das war billiger auch ähm (. . .) dann bin ich jede zwei Tage in dem Café gewesen und meine Zeit für ähm genießen genau. Ähm ja genau das war die erste Straße die ich in Deutschland richtig gesehen habe, genau. Und wir haben die Leute kennengelernt und ähm ja, viele Araber die gleiche Sprache sprechen. Ja und ich verstehen gar nicht Deutsch damals und Englisch niemand also die Türken können gar nicht Englisch. Ähm und ja die Leute sie waren nett und **weil wir auch Syrier sind** und die Menschen sind immer nett und wir haben erzählt und waren wilkommen und so. Genau. Also bin ich immer dort gegangen. Und als ich Xantener Straße bin ich auch dort in das Café gegangen, aber jetzt habe ich Café verloren weil am letzten Tag als ich dort war sie haben gesagt wir haben ein neues Café gebaut udn wir verlassen das. Genau. Ähm aber ich habe die Adresse noch nicht gehabt aber ich gehe nacher gucken. Also ähm auf der Venloer Straße. Das war die erste Straße die ich in Köln gesehen haben, in Deutschland. Als ich auch in Xantener Straße war, erste 2-3 Tage das war sehr langweilig, es ein paar Tage muss man Papiere machen und Ausländerbüro gehen und wir müssen alleine gehen, erst einmal wir haben unseren Weg verloren, die Unterkunft von Herkulesstraße sie geben uns Fahrkarten und sie geben eine Karte und sie sagen ja okay. Eine Karte, ich kenne die Stadt nicht, weil bei uns gibt es keine U-Bahn, es gibt nur normale Bus und so. Genau. Also wir sind gefahren, wir waren 7 oder 8 Menschen wir sind zusammen gegangen und wir haben unseren Weg verloren und wir müssen dort sein, und wir konnten gar nicht äh (. . .) ein deutsches Wort. Ja aber die Leute die Mitarbeiterinnen sie verstehen schon was wir brauchen weil wir ein Papier haben aber wir es war **kein** schönes Gefühl, wir sitzen da mit jemanden den wir nicht verstehen kann und er gibt dir Papiere, 1000 Papiere und ich mache Unterschrift, ich muss das machen weil ich wenn ich das nicht mache, ich bekomme kein Geld, ich bekomme kein Ausweis und ich weiß nicht worum es geht. Danach ähm nach Wohnung 2-3 Wochen ungefähr es gibt fort ein Büro und ich habe dort immer nach ähm (. . .)

eine Schule gefragt, wo man die Sprache lernen kann. Dann sie sagen ja es gibt einen Lehrer, eine Lehrerin, die kommen 1x in der Woche, kann man hier lernen. Die Lehrerin sie kommt 1x in der Woche, einmal kommt sie, einmal kommt sie nicht, sie entschudligt sich. Das war (. . .) also richtig wenig wenn man nur jede 10 Tage 1 Stunde lernt. Habe ich gefagt wo ist eine Möglichkeit gibt wo man lernen kann, ja, die Leute waren nett und sie haben ein paar Adressen gegeben und ähm für ein äh (. . .) in Nippes mit der S-Bahn ja, sie haben gesagt da gibt es eine Schule dort, das ist eine islamische (?) bin ich dort gegangen und sie haben gesagt ja gibt es hier, kann man die Sprache lernen aber man muss bezahlen. Das war nicht so teuer aber, 80 Euro, ja aähm pro Monat. Genau. Da habe ich dort gelernt nur ein Monat, danach hab ich noch eine andere Person nach eine bessere Schule gefragt und ein paar Leute sie haben ähm sie haben mir gesagt du könntest bei VHS dich melden. Dann bin ich zur VHS gegangen, ich habe keine Aufenthaltserlaubnis, ich habe kein Papier, sie haben gesagt okay du kannst dich heir melden aber du brauchst ähm (. . .) du musst selber bezahlen weil der Bundesstaat bezahlt nur wenn du eine Aufenthaltsgenehmigung hast.

M: Mhm (. .) okay, das war jetzt alles noch in der Exanterstraße?

J: Ja, genau. Ja, dann habe ich gesagt, wie viel sollte ich bezahlen. Sie haben gesgat 120 Euro ungefähr jede 5 Wochen, in jedem Modul. Das ist, diese Tage ist bisschen besser als bei der islamischen Schule weil dort man lernt nur 2-3 Mal die Woche aber Intensivurs, also 4 Stunden am Tag und 5 Mal die Woche. Ich hab das Geld nicht, ich bekomme nur 330 Euro damals, da habe ich gesagt ich hab das Geld nicht, sie haben gesagt ähm sie können erst einmal die erste Kurs bezahlen und danach könntest du nur dein Konto geben und wenn du Geld hast kannst du das in Raten bezahlen. Dann habe ich das so gemacht. Dann habe ich mich für 4 Kurse angemeldet - M: Wow, wahnsinn! - und ich bezahle alles in Raten.

M: Es wurde gar kein Kurs von der Stadt bezahlt?

J: Nee, gar nicht. In dem Kurs können nur die Leute die eine Erlaubnis haben kostenlos teilnehmen. Danach als ich mein Aufenthaltserlaubnis bekommen habe, dann war mein Kurs kostenlos, der Bundesstaat hat gesgat wir zahlen das jetzt. Aber alles was ich schon bezahlt gelernt habe, ich musste es selber bezahlen.

M: Wahsinn (. . .)

J: Dieser Punkt ist hier, man sitzt hier 5-6 Monate ohne etwas zu machen und das ist **sehr sehr** lange, man verliert viel Zeit. Ähm (. . .) genau.

M: Und gab es denn bei den beiden Unterkünften in Köln irgendwie Aktivitäten, Programm, enwteder von der Unterkunft organisiert oder von externen Organisation angeboten?

J: Nein, bei Herkulesstraße gibt es nur [laughs] Frühstück und Mittagessen. Ja, das war ja Frühstück und Mittagessen, es gibt nur Essen, es gibt gar keine Aktivitäten, nein. Gar nichts. Ähm.

M: Und bei der Xantener Straße?

J: In der ersten Unterkunft bei Burbach war ok, sie haben ein große Halle und kann man Tisch (. .) ähh?

M: Tischtennis?

J: Genau, Tischtennis spielen. Das ist mein Lieblingsspiel! Und man kann andere Aktivitäten machen, es gibt auch Cafeteria wo man kann auch billig Sachen kaufen. Ähm ja, war schon gut. Ähm aber in Herkulesstraße war gar nichts und bei der 2. Unterkunft war auch nichts. In Herkulesstraße gibt es nur 2 Büros mit Mitarbeiter, wenn man ein Brief hat kann man denn da geben oder wenn man ähm (. . .) Fahrkarten braucht, die geben die einem, Aktivitäten nix.

M: Und ähm die Mitarbeiter, also die Leute die dort in den beiden Unterkünften gearbeitet haben, wie hast du die erlebt?

J: Also sie waren nett, die waren richtig nett, also wenn man fragen hat kann man ja, sie konnten auch nichts machen, ne. Ich meine die Bürokratiearbeiten, sie haben Büro und so wenn man Fragen hat also sie waren richtig nett. Als ich in der Xantener Straße war habe ich gedacht so nicht die ganze Zeit nur im Zimmer sitzen, unschön gefunden. Dann also Burbach habe ich einen Freund kenengelernt, er ist Libanese und wir sind nicht zusammen nach Köln, sondern ich nach Köln, er ist in eine andere Stadt, cih weiß nicht wie sie heißt, aber er kommt immer regelmäßig zu mir und wir haben, wir sind immer durch die Stadt gelaufen und so und die ersten 3 Tage gab es, habe ich gehört ähm ein gab es ein Schokoladenmuseum gibt und da hab ich gesagt, das ist interessant. Ich bin Archäeloge, ich mag alle Museen. Als bin ich mit Ahmed, er heißt Ahmed, zum Bahn gegangen, zu der Haltestelle, wir haben ein, das war in Xantener Straße in der Nähe, wir haben einen Deutsche gesehen und wir haben sie gefragt: "Wo ist die Schokoladenmuseum?" und sie hat überlegt und sie hat gesagt: “ja also wie wir fahren müssen und sie hat gesagt: "wie lange seit ihr schon in Deutschland?" Ich hab gesagt: "Seit 2-3 Tage”. Ich wohne seit 20 Jahren hier in Köln und ich habe noch nie das Schokoladenmuseum gesehen [laughs loudly]. Genau also das war.

M: Haha, Ich war als Kind schon immer in Köln und war damals öfter da. Und sonst, weil du eben gras gesprochen hast zu Deutschen oder Leuten die hier schon länger wohnen, während du in diesen ersten 2 Unterküften warst, hattest du irgendwie Kontakt zu Leuten in der Nachbarschaft, also außer in dem Café von dem du erzählt hast?

J: In der Herkulesstraße nee, und in der Xantener Straße auch gar nicht. Ich hab viele Kontakte hier in Köln also ich kenne viele Leute aber ähm in Köln gibt es ähm ein Sprichwort, man sagt ähm "Wir kennen euch nicht, wenn jemand uns braucht, dann soll er zu uns kommen" also das ist richtig, wirklich, weil ähm wir alle die neu angekommen sind wir solten in der Gesellschaft ähm (. . .) alleine oder wir sollten es alleine machen. Die Leute kennenlernen, die Leute auch müssen was machen also die Gesellschaft in Köln ist sehr offen ähm ja, danach hab ich Kölner Apell gegen Rassismus kennengelernt, also ein Freund von mir war in der Unterkunft, hat eine Freundin kennengelernt, er ist Deutscher ähm und sein Vater ist Syrer und er hat mir gesagt es gibt heute in Kölner Apell ein fest, wir können zusammen gehen, wenn du magst. Genau. Das hat er gesagt, dann wir sind zusammen gegangen und ich habe dem Mann kennengerlent, er wohnt hier auch. Und ähm genau, Gandhi hat viele Freunde, die auch Flüchtlinge sind. (. .) Danach wir haben zusammen. Also als ich in Bulgarien war, habe ich auch ehrenamtlich gearbeitet und ähm er hat erzählt was er macht, was er mit Flüchtlingen machen möchte und habe ich gesagt ja gerne also ich kann mitmachen und so und ähm ja, seitdem sind wir zusammen und danach wir haben Kölner Syrienhilfe gegründet, Larissa ist die Leiterin. Also die Kontakt kommt automatisch danach, von der Schule, über Gandhi. Danach bin ich bisschen mit der Sprache bisschen besser gewroden, wenn man bisschen mit den Leuten kommunizieren kann. Und dann hab ich auch über Leute kennengelernt ein paar Mitarbeiterinnen bei der VHS und ähm (. .) der wichtigste Grund war ähm (. . .) das war im letzten Jahr in 2015 gibt es ein ähm (. . .) eine türkisch-bulgarsiche Fest, heißt ähm (. . .) die machen das imme rin Mühlheim ähm, Balka (. . .) ich

weiß es nicht mehr. Es ist ein großes Treffen, die ganze Straße in Mühlheim war voll, man kann essen kaufen und es gibt Musik und Geschäfte. Das war in 2015 ähm und sie haben geplant dass ein große Demo machen möchten an dem Tag gegen Rassismus und ähm (. . .) ein Freund von mir, er arbeitet auch mit Sommerglut, und er hat mich gefragt ob ich ähm Rede halten kann auf Deutsch [laughs]. Habe ich ja gesagt. Genau. Dann ahbe ichd ie Rede geschrieben und zusammen übersetzt mit dem Freund, das war 2 Seiten, du findest die Rede auf youtube. Und damals waren mehr als 7000 Menschen glaube ich dort. Das war wirklich cool. Ich habe erklärt dass ich, ich habe über die Flüchtlinge geredet und erklärt dass ich auch Syrien bin und Archäeloge bin und meine Zukunft verloren ist und ich komme nicht hierher wegen, damit ich abhängig sein möchte, sondern weil ich Arbeiten möchte. Und danach in 2-3 Tagen hat jemand, der Chef von Kölner Museum, hat sich bei dem Freund gemeldet, der von Sommerglut und hab nach meinem Kontalt gefragt. Er hat gesagt der junge Mann der erzählt hat dass er Arbeit sucht und so soll mit mir Kontakt aufnehmen. Er kennt die Chefs in Köln. Genau. Und er hat mir gesagt ob ich im Romanisch-Germanischen Museum arbeiten möchte. ja und da habe ich gerne gesagt, und seitdem arbeite ich dort.

M: Super, wie das geklappt hat!

J: Und seit Februar bin ich im Museum ja.

M: Super!

J: Also das war so, ich habe die Sache erzählt und das war ein wichtiger Schritt. Ich meine von Kontakte sind wichtig. Wenn ich nein gesagt hätte z.B. wenn ich ihm gesagt hätte nee ich mache das nicht, warum und so dann z.B. hätte ich vielleicht bis jetzt keinen Job weil der Mann der im Museum ist, der kennt mich ja nicht. Für den Kontakt muss man sich auch zeigen. Wenn man die ganze Zeit nur in einem Zimmer sitzt und sich denke die Gesellschaft, die kommen nicht zu uns, nee, da muss man auch ein bisschen an die neue Gesellschaft richten. Das ist nicht wie in arabischen Gesellschaften.

M: Aber du hast auch eine Ausstellug zu Palmyra mitorganisiert hab ich gesehen?

J: Ja, das ist aber beim Rchard Wallraff Museum. Es gibt ein Literaturhaus am Neumarkt und es gibt dort ein Kulturhaus für Flüchtlinge und ich bin im dort gewesen und dann irgendwan kommt ein verantwortlicher von den Museum er hat dieses Projekt vorgestellt dass er ein Projekt, eine Ausstelung über Palmyra machen möchte und der schon mal gehört dass ich jemanden hat Larissa glaube ihm erklärt dass ich Archäeologe bin und er hat mich gefragt ob ich mitmachen möchte, das war nur 3 Monate, ja. Ja habe ich gerne gesagt und wir haben die Ausstellung zusammen gemacht.

M: Um zur Unterbringung zurückzukommen, wie ist es nach der Xantener Straße weitergegangen?

J: Also da bin ich wie gesagt 5 Monate geblieben und dann habe ich meine Erlaubnis bekommen und dann habe ich alleine nach einer Wohnung gesucht. Das war auch sehr schwierig, ja. Ähm (. . .) ich kenne eine Freundin durch die Kölner Syrienhilfe und ich habe alle Leute die ich kenne Bescheid gesagt dass ich eine Wohnung such und so und sie hat gehört dass ich eine Wohnung suche und hat in eine Internetgruppe wo viele Leute sind eine Nachricht geschrieben woher ich komme und dass ich eine Wohnung suche. Nach 2 Tagen hat sie mich angerufen und sie hat gesagt es gibt einen Mann aus dem Iran und er wohnt in der Balthazarstraße, er hat sich gemeldet und der Mann hat eine Wohnung dort und er musste

nach Hamburg umziehen und weil ich aus Syrien bin und er von der Situation gehört hat möchte er die Wohnung gerne an mich geben. Danach habe ich ich mit ihm getroffen, genau. Und das war nur 1 Monat zwischen meiner Aufenthaltserlaubnis bis ich die Wohnung gefunden habe.

M: Und was war das schwierigste an der Wohnungssuche?

J: Das schwierigste für mich, für mich habe ich keine Schwierigkeiten gehabt, die Schwierigkeiten von anderen Leuten, was sie erzählt haben, Es ist unmöglich hier eine Wohnung zu finden und ich habe ein paar Leute die seit 6-7 Monate suchen. Es gibt viel Diskriminierung gegen Flüchtlinge. Vermieter wollen keine Flüchltinge als Mieter.