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Grandhotel Cosmopolis
A Lesson Taught by Civil Society

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Abstract

The Grandhotel Cosmopolis is one out of eight collective accommodation centres for asylum seekers in Augsburg, Germany. It was initiated and is now run by a collective of artists and activists with a housing capacity for 56 asylum seekers. The thesis at hand aims at analysing appraisal of asylum seekers as well as the policy preferences towards asylum seeking persons of staff members in the centres. The author will conduct a comparison of the activists, the so-called hoteliers, working in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis on the one hand, and the directors of all eight collective accommodation centres in Augsburg, who are employed by the government of Swabia, on the other hand. To be able to conceive the staff members' appraisal and policy preference, interviews with standardized questionnaires have been conducted and evaluated. Findings show that appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial or threatening to the receiving society predict support for immigration policy directed either at defending immigrants' rights or defending the receiving society. Furthermore, a difference in attitudes and policy preferences could be found for the hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis and the directors of the collective accommodation centres. Directors' appraisals revealed an ambivalent relationship towards asylum seekers.

“The great thing is, if someone walks down these stairs, you can't tell whether it's a refugee, a visitor, a hotel guest, or someone from the Café.” – Peter Fliege, Hotelier

„In the Grandhotel Cosmopolis diverse hotel guests live together, the Grandhotel is a metaphor for a place where all humans are travellers in the journey of life who found a temporarily shelter.” – Georg Heber, Hotelier

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1. Introduction

Violent conflicts, political and religious persecution, starvation, poverty – an inexhaustible list of reasons drives humans from all over the world to leave their home countries for uncertain prospects hoping for a peaceful and secure life in dignity. In 2015 alone, 1,321,600 persons applied for asylum in the European Union (EU), 476,649 of them in Germany.^{1,2} The number of refugees arriving in Germany in 2015 is actually even higher, however. Due to the processing backlog in the asylum authorities, only about half of the asylum applications could be filed before the end of the year 2015. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) registered 1,091,894 asylum seekers with its asylum seeker distribution software EASY.³ The constantly rising number of asylum seekers in Germany causes a lot of new challenges to the political elite as well as to the society as a whole. Finding a suitable accommodation for all those people arriving in Germany is one of them. Being in a new country, often even on a new continent, asylum seekers face language barriers and a lack of understanding for bureaucratic procedures and the general functioning of daily life in Germany. Often, the staff working in the accommodation centres are the first reference persons for all asylum seekers' queries and the centre residents therefore highly rely on the staff's support and advice. Augsburg, a city located in southwest of Bavaria, provides 3,300 housing opportunities for asylum seekers. Approximately 800 stay in reception centres, 981 asylum seekers can be accommodated in collective lodgings, 360 unaccompanied minors are hosted in child care institutions and the remaining 1,150 live in decentralised housing.⁴

The author of this thesis will focus on collective accommodation centres as asylum seekers can live there for several years and are supervised and assisted by staff employed by

¹ Eurostat Homepage. Asylbewerber und erstmalige Asylbewerber - jährliche aggregierte Daten (gerundet). <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=de&pcode=tps00191&plugin=1> (reviewed on 30.05.2016).

² Federal Office for Migration and Refugees Homepage. 476.649 Asylanträge im Jahr 2015. <https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Meldungen/DE/2016/201610106-asylgeschaeftsstatistik-dezember.html> (reviewed on 30.05.2016).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Cf. City Augsburg Homepage. Zahlen und Fakten – wer, wo, wie viel.

the government. There are eight collective accommodation centres in the city of Augsburg. The usual amount of staff members per collective accommodation centre is three to four, independent of the vastly varying capacities of the centres: a director, a care taker, and one or two social workers. The directors of collective accommodation centres in Augsburg are responsible for all administrative tasks around the centre and are employed by the government of Swabia, an administrative division of Bavaria. The care taker is tasked with the maintenance of the building, while the social workers, usually employed by the ecclesiastic organisations Caritas and Diakonie, provide bureaucratic and psychological support to the asylum seekers two to three days per week. In the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, an additional group of so-called hoteliers is at daily disposal for the asylum seekers to assist them with all their needs, which is unique in Germany.

1.1 Theoretical argument

During a trip to Augsburg in 2014, the author of this thesis visited several collective accommodation centres and talked to a number of asylum seekers residing in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis and in other centres. She got the impression that the reputation and perceived support of the asylum seekers was significantly higher in the Grandhotel compared to the other collective accommodation centres. In the thesis at hand, the author argues that the staff members' personal values and attitudes towards asylum seekers have an impact on their commitment as directors or hoteliers. A job that is done out of conviction leads to stronger commitment and consequently manifests itself in greater support of the target group. This argument is backed by a number of studies which have found evidence, for instance, that moral convictions about various causes, such as gender discrimination⁵ or the use of genetically modified meat in consumer products⁶ can be a strong predictor of a person's willingness to engage in activism.⁷ Given that the staff members' attitudes

⁵ Zaal, M., Van Laar, C., Ståhl, T., Ellemers, N., & Derks, B. (2011). By any means necessary: The effects of regulatory focus and moral conviction on hostile and benevolent forms of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology* No. 50, pp. 670–689.

⁶ van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the social identity model of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology* No 51, pp. 52–71.

⁷ Skitka, L. J., & Morgan, G. S. (2014). The social and political implications of moral conviction. *Political Psychology*, 35(S1), pp. 95-110.

have an impact on their willingness to relieve asylum seekers and in turn on the perceived support, the staff members' appraisal and policy preferences are important to assess. This thesis will analyse the asylum seeker appraisal and policy preference towards asylum seekers of two target groups: the directors of all eight collective accommodation centres in Augsburg and the hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis. Directors were chosen as the first focus group because they are employed by the government of Swabia and thus tasked with representing the interests of asylum seekers and the often contradicting ones of the government at the same time.

Especially in autumn 2015, the ambivalent and unclear position of the German government towards asylum seekers became obvious. On 5 September 2015, Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel as well as the Austrian chancellor Werner Faymann decided to allow asylum seekers to cross the borders to Germany and Austria after the Hungarian Premier Viktor Orbán emphasised the situation in his country was out of control. While the Angela Merkel publically stated on 15 September 2015 "I honestly have to say, if we now start to apologise for showing a friendly face in an emergency situation, then this is not my country"⁸ in reaction to critics from other politicians in Germany, it was only five weeks later that the first asylum policy package (German: Asylpaket I) came into force. It was the first out of two policy packages that massively toughened asylum policies in Germany since last autumn. The first asylum policy package stipulates that asylum seekers have to stay in reception centres for a longer period of time, extends the residential obligation to six months and constitutes that asylum seekers should be provided with commodity and groceries instead of money. The new law also allows for general cutbacks for some groups of asylum seekers. Furthermore, Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro were assigned a classification as secure countries of origin which exacerbates the chances to be granted asylum. Asylum seekers coming from these countries could from then on be deported without advance notice.

⁸ Tagesspiegel Online, 25.02.2016: Willkommen und Abschiebung für Flüchtlinge. <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/asylpakete-i-und-ii-willkommen-und-abschiebung-fuer-fluechtlinge/13016904.html> (reviewed on 10.06.2016).

Only one month later, in November 2015, preparations for a second asylum policy package (German: Asylpaket II) were in progress. This second policy package eventually passed the parliament on 25 February 2016 and came into force on 17 March. This bill declares that Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria now also count to the squad of secure countries of origin. Moreover, family reunification is now blocked for at least two years even for many adolescents who came to Germany on their own. Another reform brought by the second asylum policy package is that in some special reception stations, asylum motions for big groups of applicants for asylum with little prospects of permanent residence can be processed in a so-called summary procedure in which only life-threateningly ill persons are spared from deportation. The pocket money monthly allocated to asylum seekers is also cut short by ten euros because asylum seekers are supposed to cover the costs for German language courses in parts.^{9,10} The obvious aim of these two policy aggravations is to reduce the number of asylum seekers coming and first and foremost staying in Germany in the long-term.

On top of the increasingly difficult conditions for asylum seekers in Germany in general, Bavaria, governed by Christlich-Soziale Union (CSU), is known for taking particularly drastic measures against asylum seekers. Until 31 August 2013, the Bavarian legislative text „Verordnung zur Durchführung des Asylverfahrensgesetzes, des Asylbewerberleistungsgesetzes und des Aufnahmegesetzes“ (DVAsyl) contained the sentence „Distribution and allocation should increase the asylum seeker’s willingness to return to his/her country of origin“ (German: „Sie [die Verteilung und Zuweisung] soll die Bereitschaft zur Rückkehr in das Heimatland fördern“).¹¹ This sentence is now replaced by the new formulation „Distribution and allocation cannot hamper the affected persons’ repatriation“ (German: „Die Verteilung und die Zuweisung darf die Rückführung der betroffenen

⁹ WD 3 - 3000 - 018/16. Sachstand. Änderungen des Asyl- und Aufenthaltsrechts seit Januar 2015 mit den Schwerpunkten Asylpaket I und II. Wissenschaftliche Dienste, Deutscher Bundestag. <https://www.bundestag.de/blob/424122/.../wd-3-018-16-pdf-data.pdf> (reviewed on 10.06.2016).

¹⁰ Deutscher Bundestag Homepage, records (25.02.2016). Bundestag beschließt schnellere Asylverfahren. <https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/2016/kw08-de-asylverfahren/409490> (reviewed on 10.06.2016).

¹¹ Wendel, K. (2014). Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland. Regelungen und Praxis der Bundesländer im Vergleich. Pro Asyl e.V., Frankfurt/Main, p.56.

Personen nicht erschweren“).¹² Avoidance of complications for the repatriation of asylum seekers refers mainly to integrative measures. The Bavarian directive on social counseling of asylum seekers (German:Asylsozialberatungsrichtlinie, AsylSoz) puts this intention in the following words: since asylum seekers only need to be served merely socially, advice and care cannot comprise measures that support social, linguistic, or vocational integration (German: „Da der Personenkreis lediglich sozial zu versorgen ist, darf die Beratung und Betreuung keine Maßnahmen umfassen, die der sozialen, sprachlichen oder beruflichen Integration in die deutsche Gesellschaft dienen/ Die Fähigkeit zur Reintegration in die Herkunftsländer soll erhalten bleiben“).¹³ These legal obligations reflect government intentions that are unlikely to coincide with the interests of asylum seekers. It is therefore fair to assume that directors of collective accommodation centres who are employed by the government need to find a fine balance between serving as an adviser and supporter of asylum seekers on the one hand and minding the partly contradicting aims of the government on the other hand.

Hoteliers comprise the second focus group since they are what makes the Grandhotel Cosmopolis unique in Germany and different from other accommodation centres. They are the initiators of the project and the embodiment of the idea ‘Grandhotel Cosmopolis`. It is mostly thanks to them that the Grandhotel exists in the present form today and is able to host and support more than 50 asylum seekers. The hoteliers are most widely independent from the government and driven by their own convictions and values. The research question the thesis at hand aims to answer therefore reads as follows:

How do asylum seeker appraisals and policy preferences of the hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis differ from those of the directors of the collective accommodation centres?

¹² BayRS 26-5-1-A. Verordnung zur Durchführung des Asylverfahrensgesetzes, des Asylbewerberleistungsgesetzes und des Aufnahmegesetzes, § 7 Abs. 5. <http://www.gesetze-bayern.de/Content/Document/BayDVAsyl> (reviewed on 10.06.2016).

¹³ Cf. Wendel, 2014, p.56.

1.2 Definitions of central terms

Before starting with the main body of the thesis at hand, central terms used by the author need to be defined. The most important term in this regard is asylum seeker. For the purpose of the present thesis, asylum seeker is a collective term which includes all persons that have left their country of origin to escape a conflict or otherwise threatening situation and who officially seek refuge in another country, in this case Germany. These persons have arrived to Germany and are in the asylum procedure but have not yet been granted asylum and obtained a status as a permanent resident. When the author talks about asylum seekers, she refers to persons of various legal statuses in this context. They can be asylum questers, asylum applicants, individuals who seek subsidiary protection and also tolerated persons whose asylum application has been declined but whose deportation has nevertheless been postponed. When they file an application for asylum, all persons collected under the term asylum seeker are entitled to make use of the preliminary right to reside in Germany while their application is being processed.

The second central term of the present thesis which needs to be explained is that of the collective accommodation centre. Collective accommodation centres are to today the most frequent form of accommodation for asylum seekers during the processing of their motions in Germany. The word-to-word translation of the German term ‘Gemeinschaftsunterkunft’ would be community accommodation. The term was first used in the German Asylum Procedure Law in 1982. The word community was purposely chosen for the term instead of collective because of its positive connotation although these accommodation centres lacked a community-building character right from the beginning with their often bad conditions and the heterogeneous composition of their residents.¹⁴ The correct translation of the German term ‘Gemeinschaftsunterkunft’ being community accommodation, such a term is uncommon in English literature in this context, however. For this reason, the author decided to stick to the more frequently used English term of collective accommodation centre while meaning the German equivalent Gemeinschaftsunterkunft. The main feature of a collective accommodation centre is that it temporarily hosts asylum seekers, often under straitened conditions. Critics and human rights

¹⁴ Cf. Wendel, 2014, p.11.

activists therefore often fault a warehouse structure of the accommodation of asylum seekers.¹⁵

In the following, the author will first expound the current stage of research (Chapter II). Then, the asylum procedure and asylum accommodation in Germany will be amplified and the collective accommodation centre Grandhotel Cosmopolis introduced (Chapter III). Subsequently, the threat-benefit theoretical framework by Sophie Walsh and Eugene Tartakovsky will be explained with modifications for the thesis at hand (Chapter IV). In the next step the used method will be exposed (Chapter V). In the interest of testing the hypotheses and answering the research question, chapter six presents and interprets the study results. Finally, chapters seven and eight will discuss the limitations as well as implications of the work done in the present thesis.

2. Current state of research

The topic asylum has been of an increasing political, civil, and scientific interest in Germany in recent years. Consequently, the range of publications surrounding the field of asylum is large and a complete overview can thus not be given in the present thesis. Therefore, the following overview is limited to the thematic works that are most relevant for the research topic of this paper. The overview is mainly taken from a last year's publication by the Robert Bosch Foundation.¹⁶ Not included in the research overview are publications dealing with Schengen and Dublin regulations since they do not have a direct effect on the research question the author addresses.

Following a temporarily dropping of research on asylum in the 1990s caused by the so-called asylum compromise¹⁷, the subject asylum has gained strong popularity again in

¹⁵ Aumüller, J., Daphi, P. & Biesenkamp, C. (2015). Die Aufnahme von Flüchtlingen in den Bundesländern und Kommunen. Behördliche Praxis und zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement. Robert Bosch Stiftung, Stuttgart, p.15.

¹⁶ Cf. Robert Bosch Foundation. Aumüller, Daphi & Biesenkamp, 2015, p.10f.

¹⁷ In the beginning of the 1990s, a rising number of asylum applications is filed in the EU member states. A large majority of applicants comes from the then civil war-ridden Yugoslavia. When the number of asylum seekers in Germany reached 483.191 in 1992, the so-called asylum compromise was agreed on, which entailed serious consequences for the fundamental right to asylum. The new bill curtailing this right passed the parliament in December 1992 and came into force in January 1993. With the adjustments of the convention and the asylum procedure law, the so-called third country regulation and the airport

recent years in German literature. Various studies assess living conditions as well as social mobility of asylum seekers, often with a special focus on educational perspectives.^{18,19,20} Besides, access to the labour market was repeatedly investigated.^{21,22,23,24,25} Another research topic various authors turned to is the question of integration of asylum seekers in cities and communities.^{26,27} Moreover, competences of municipalities in terms of asylum policies have been discussed and analysed in various papers.^{28,29,30} An overview of the different political conditions for approval of asylum applications in the respective federal states of Germany (German: Bundesländer) has been given by the authors

practice were introduced. Likewise in 1993, the also highly contested German social welfare law for asylum seekers comes into force. As a result, the state then only had to grant a minimum basic requirements for livelihood security to asylum seekers, for example in the form of in-kind benefits like vouchers (see Federal Office for Migration and Refugees Homepage: <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Migration/AsylFluechtlinge/Asylverfahren/EntwicklungAsylrecht/Asylkompromiss/asylkompromiss-node.html>, reviewed on 10.06.2015).

¹⁸ Studnitz, S. (2011). Ausgrenzung statt Ausbildung: die Situation junger Flüchtlinge im deutschen Bildungssystem. *Migration und Soziale Arbeit* (2), pp. 130–136.

¹⁹ Ekmescic, G. (2011). Inklusion statt Exklusion! – Zur Bildungsproblematik unbegleiteter und begleiteter minderjähriger Flüchtlinge in Deutschland. *Jugendhilfe*, pp. 21–23.

²⁰ Schwaiger, M. & Neumann, U. (2014). Junge Flüchtlinge im allgemeinbildenden Schulsystem und die Anforderungen an Schule, Unterricht und Lehrkräfte. In M. Gag & F. Voges. *Inklusion auf Raten. Zur Teilhabe von Flüchtlingen an Ausbildung und Arbeit*. Münster: Waxmann, pp. 60–79.

²¹ Weiß, B. (2011). *Arbeitsmarktchancen von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland*. Göttingen: Optimus Verlag.

²² Gag, M. (2012) *Berufliche Integration von Flüchtlingen und Asylsuchenden in Hamburg – Verschlungene Wege vom Modell zur Struktur*. <http://www.passage-hamburg.de/betriebe/miz/download/hamburg-einsicherer-flucht-ort-1.pdf> (reviewed on 10.06.2016).

²³ Gag, M. & Voges, F. (2014). *Inklusion auf Raten. Zur Teilhabe von Flüchtlingen an Ausbildung und Arbeit*. Münster: Waxmann.

²⁴ Grehl-Schmitt, N. (2014). Asylschutz und Beschäftigung - ein unauflösbarer Widerspruch? Zur Rolle europäischer Richtlinienpolitik. In M. Gag & F. Voges, *Inklusion auf Raten. Zur Teilhabe von Flüchtlingen an Ausbildung und Arbeit*. Münster: Waxmann, pp. 119–136.

²⁵ Tölle, H. & Schreiner, P. (2014). *Migration und Arbeit in Europa*, Köln: Papy Rossa.

²⁶ Ottersbach, M. (2011). Zur Lage der Flüchtlinge in Köln. In M. Ottersbach & C.-U. Pröhl. *Flüchtlingsschutz als globale und lokale Herausforderung*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 145–168.

²⁷ Aumüller, J. & Bretl, C. (2008). *Die kommunale Integration von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland*. Berlin: Edition Parabolis.

²⁸ Aumüller, J. (2009). Die kommunale Integration von Flüchtlingen. In F. Gesemann & R. Roth. *Lokale Integrationspolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 111–130.

²⁹ Bötel, A. & Steinbrück, A. (2014). *Lebenslagen von Asylbewerbern. Vorschläge zur Verwaltungs- und Verfahrensvereinfachung*. Published by Nationale Normenkontrollrat and the Robert Bosch Stiftung. Stuttgart: Robert Bosch Stiftung.

³⁰ Schammann, H. 2015: Rette sich, wer kann? Flüchtlingspolitik im Föderalismus. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, No. 25, pp. 26–31.

Andreas Müller (2013) and Kay Wendel (2014).^{31,32} Kay Wendel further looked at the living conditions and the different forms of accommodation in the federal states in his study paper, including collective accommodation centres in Bavaria.

Another critical survey on allocation and accommodation of asylum seekers in Germany was written by Tobias Pieper who dedicated his dissertation in 2008 to this topic.^{33,34} The Robert Bosch Foundation examined the interplay of administrative practice, civil society engagement and reactions in the local society to allocation and accommodation of asylum seekers. It was found out that positive reactions in the local population to asylum accommodation centres can be triggered with a transparent and inclusive manner during the planning phases of the centres and through a close cooperation with authorities as well as civil society organisations. Such a good practice in turn leads to more social care and integration offers and general courtesy by the local society.³⁵ Detailed analyses of asylum policies in individual federal states only exist in rare cases, for example the empirical study conducted by the refugee council of North Rhine-Westphalia which examined asylum accommodation in the federal state.³⁶ In addition to the mentioned papers, grey literature is an important source of information in the field of asylum politics contributed by aid organisations, social welfare organisations and other institutions focusing on lobbying and social work. It is the grey literature as well which reflects the dynamics of the constantly evolving discourse. Other sources are mostly unnoticed and often even not accessible to the public: expert assessments and advisory opinions on asylum policy practices commissioned by politicians are numerous but often forgotten.

A fair amount of studies already examined people's attitudes towards migrants and asylum seekers in Germany as well as in other countries or the EU in general. Findings of

³¹ Müller, A. (2013). Die Organisation der Aufnahme und Unterbringung von Asylbewerbern in Deutschland. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge.

³² Cf. Wendel, 2014.

³³ Pieper, T. (2008a). Die Gegenwart der Lager – Zur Mikrophysik der Herrschaft in der deutschen Flüchtlingspolitik. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

³⁴ Pieper, T. (2008b). Menschenrechte, Demokratie und die Wirklichkeit bundesdeutscher Lager. In Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie (edit.), yearbook 2008. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, pp. 113 –121.

³⁵ Cf. Robert Bosch Foundation. Aumüller, Daphi, Biesenkamp, 2015.

³⁶ Refugee Council North Rhine-Westphalia e. V. (2013). Flüchtlingsunterkünfte in NRW. Ergebnisse einer Fragebogenerhebung des Flüchtlingsrats NRW. Bochum.

most of these studies show a tendency towards more openness and tolerance for migrants in Germany since 2012 as well as an understanding of Germany as a country of immigration.³⁷ On this positive note, also xenophobic attitudes have been observed to decline since 2002.³⁸ However, this is not true for attitudes towards the particular group of asylum seekers coming to Germany. While general attitudes towards migrants have changed positively, rejection and negative attitudes towards asylum seekers has become a more and more prevalent phenomenon since 2011.³⁹ According to the study, the share of German citizens defeating a bounteous consideration of asylum applications has increased from 26 percent in 2011 to 76 percent in 2014.^{40,41} Moreover, more than half of the population (55%) believed in 2014, that asylum seekers are not actually persecuted or facing serious danger in their countries of origin –an increase by almost ten percent.⁴² A study conducted by the Robert Bosch Foundation in 2014 further revealed that although many citizens are willing to support asylum seekers with donations of food and clothes (45%) or German language classes (30%), much smaller numbers reported they would also help improving the situation of asylum seekers politically (18%).⁴³

These already existing assessments of people's attitudes towards asylum seekers give an idea about what shapes and determines a person's attitude towards these groups of people and why some people show support and others rejection. They do not, however, focus on specific groups of people but are usually based on general surveys. They therefore often assess attitudes of people who do not have many points of contacts with asylum seekers in their daily routines and can only explain in parts the way asylum seekers feel received

³⁷ Bertelsmann Foundation (2015). Willkommenskultur in Deutschland: Entwicklungen und Herausforderungen. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Bevölkerungsumfrage in Deutschland. https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/28_Einwanderung_und_Vielfalt/Emnid_Willkommenskultur_2015.pdf. (reviewed on 13.06.2016).

³⁸ Decker, O., Kiess, J. & Brähler, E. (2014). Die stabilisierte Mitte. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2014. Leipzig: Mitte Studie. http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/w/files/pdfs/mitte_leipzig_internet.pdf. (reviewed on 13.06.2016).

³⁹ Rejection of asylum seekers has, however, not yet reached levels of 1993 ("asylum compromise") (see: Robert Bosch Stiftung (2014). Asyl und Asylbewerber: Wahrnehmungen und Haltungen der Bevölkerung 2014. Stuttgart).

⁴⁰ Heitmeyer, W. (2012). Deutsche Zustände. Edition 10. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

⁴¹ Cf. Decker, Kiess, & Brähler, 2014, p. 50.

⁴² Cf. Heitmeyer, 2012, p.50.

⁴³ Robert Bosch Stiftung (2014). Asyl und Asylbewerber: Wahrnehmungen und Haltungen der Bevölkerung 2014. Stuttgart.

by the citizens of their new home country. The thesis at hand aims at filling this gap in research by examining the different attitudes of people who work at the forefront with asylum seekers.

3. Right to asylum and the Grandhotel Cosmopolis

At the beginning of this chapter, the applicable regulations concerning the right to asylum in Germany will be briefly delineated. Then, the collective accommodation centre Grandhotel Cosmopolis will be introduced.

3.1 Right to asylum

According to the Federal Agency for Civic Education, the right to asylum is defined as “the right of a person persecuted for political, racist, religious, or other reasons, to seek refuge in a safe place”. This definition resembles that of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967 relating to the status of refugees. The Federal Republic of Germany has signed and ratified the Geneva Conventions in 1954, the German Democratic Republic followed two years later. Therefore, Germany has committed itself to grant asylum.

Article 16a of the German constitution regulates the asylum law. If a person wishes to apply for asylum in Germany the motion has to be filed by the BAMF. The ministry then places the asylum seeking person in the reception centre that is closest to the place of arrival. The final allocation to collective accommodation centres, where asylum seekers live until their asylum procedures have been finalized, follows a system of acceptance quotas for the individual federal states which are defined in the Königstein Formula (German: Königsteiner Schlüssel).⁴⁴ What share of asylum applicants each federal state is obliged to take depends on the tax receipts and population number of the respective state.

⁴⁴ The so-called "Königsteiner Schlüssel" determines how many asylum seekers have to be taken care of in each respective federal state in Germany. According to this formula, the two decisive factors are tax revenue (taken into account with two thirds) and population size (taken into account with the remaining third). The quota is newly calculated each year. (see: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees Homepage. Glossary: Königsteiner Schlüssel. [http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Glossareintraege/DE/K/koenigsteiner-schluessel.html?view=renderHelp\[CatalogHelp\]&nn=1363258](http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Glossareintraege/DE/K/koenigsteiner-schluessel.html?view=renderHelp[CatalogHelp]&nn=1363258), reviewed on 12.06.2016).

According to the quota system, 15.33% of all asylum seekers in Germany had to be accommodated in Bavaria (the federal state of Augsburg) in 2015.⁴⁵

Once an asylum application has been filed, the applicant has a preliminary right to residence until the case has been decided upon. Subsequent to a private interview, personal data check which includes the verification that no other asylum application is being processed in another EU member state, and a criminal record examination, the case is judged. The applicant is either granted asylum or has to leave the country.⁴⁶ Under certain circumstances, the obligation to leave the country may be postponed. An applicant whose motion has been declined, but who is yet unable to leave the country due to a sickness or an affiliation to a group which is protected by a ban on deporting, is assigned the status “tolerated”. The tolerance permit postpones the obligation to depart by a maximum of six months but leaves the affected person in a constant uncertainty about the duration of the permit.⁴⁷ In general, asylum seeker applicants are allocated to collective accommodation centres not later than three months after filing the motion.

Conditions and regulations of accommodation centres are a shared responsibility by the national state and the EU. Since 1999, the EU has created and further developed a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) to work on the legislative framework. Between 1999 and 2005, a number of legislative measures aiming at harmonising and setting a common minimum standard for asylum were adopted.⁴⁸ Harmonization of reception conditions has been one of the issues tackled by the Common European Asylum Policy. The EU Council’s Reception Condition Directive 2003/9/EC and the recast Directive 2013/33/EU lay down minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers. Two articles in the recast directive concern the staff in accommodation centres⁴⁹: Article 18 (7)

⁴⁵ Federal Office for Migration and Refugees Homepage. Verteilung der Asylbewerber. <http://www.bamf.de/EN/Migration/AsylFluechtlinge/Asylverfahren/Verteilung/verteilung-node.html> (reviewed on 30.05.2016).

⁴⁶ Täubig, V. (2009). *Totale Institution Asyl. Empirische Befunde zu alltäglichen Lebensführungen in der organisierten Desintegration*. Weinheim und München: Juventa Verlag, p.20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.21.

⁴⁸ European Commission Homepage. Common European Asylum System. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/index_en.htm (reviewed on 31.05.2016).

⁴⁹ Accommodation centres are defined as “any place used for collective housing of asylum seekers” (Directive 2013/33/EU, Art.2(i)).

states that “persons working in accommodation centres shall be adequately trained and shall be bound by the confidentiality rules provided for in national law in relation to any information they obtain in the course of their work”. Article 29 (1) points out that “Member States shall take appropriate measures to ensure that authorities and other organisations implementing this directive have received the necessary basic training with respect to the needs of both male and female applicants.” Reception conditions for asylum seekers in Germany are defined partly in the Asylum Procedure Act⁵⁰ and partly in the Asylum Seekers' Benefit Act (Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz).⁵¹ Both acts mainly refer to material reception conditions. While training and professionalism are regarded as necessary pre-conditions for employees in accommodation centres, benevolence, empathy and a willingness and ability to help overcome a reciprocal feeling of strangeness, scepticism or fear, fostered inter alia by media, seem to be seen merely as an asset. Asylum seekers therefore are often left alone when they are confronted with resentment in the media or in the streets.

Moreover, the often far away and isolated location of the collective housing centres, makes it clearly difficult for asylum seekers to understand the new country they live in and socialise with the local community. The staff in the centres are often their first and only focal point. However, the dependence-based relationship which manifests itself in a way of treating the asylum seekers more like children than self-reliant adults, is bound to further intensify the feeling of isolation. In order to encourage asylum seekers to approach the new culture and people in the receiving country, the local population, too, can help to pave the way. A successful integration thus does not only depend on the asylum seekers but also on the behaviour of the receiving society.

⁵⁰ Asylum Procedure Act, Art. 44 ff. http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/asylvfg_1992/index.html (re-viewed on 31.05.2016).

⁵¹ Pro Asyl Homepage. Reception Conditions and the Impact of the EU Reception Directive in Germany. <http://archiv.proasyl.de/en/about-us/foundation/projekte/icf/europ-network-icf/newsletter/icf-newsletter-may-2007/germany/> (reviewed on 31.05.2016).

3.2 Portrait of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis

This approach has been adopted by the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, a collective accommodation centre with a housing capacity for 56 asylum seekers.⁵² The Grandhotel Cosmopolis arose from an interplay of circumstances such as the artists' engagement, the government of Swabia's willingness to cooperate and compromise and the support by the Diakonie (translated "benevolence service"), a charity organization of the Protestant church. The building, which was constructed in the 1960s, measures 2,500 m². Until 2007, it served as a home for the elderly ran by the Diakonie, followed by several disused years. It is located near the cathedral in the old city-centre of Augsburg.⁵³

In 2011, a group of local artists and political activists suggested to the Diakonie as the house owner to use the vacant building as a place for cultural activities, art and public events. The artists were already known in the city for previous projects like, for instance, transforming an inoperative brewery into a social-cultural centre which advanced to the main venue for the alternative artist scene in Augsburg. However, after the demolition of the old brewery, a new meeting place for cultural activities was needed.⁵⁴ Incidentally, the government of Swabia was looking for vacant buildings to establish new accommodation centres for asylum seekers due to their constantly rising numbers around the same time. One of the places attracting the attention of the authorities was the former elderly home owned by the Diakonie. Since one of the responsibilities of the Diakonie is the support and care for people in need, inter alia asylum seekers, it approved the government's plan of a collective accommodation centre.⁵⁵ The collective of artists then proposed a compromise by which the various needs and ideas could be knit together and complement one another. The idea was to open a hotel for "guests with and without asylum" pursuant to the conception of a "social sculpture in the heart of Augsburg" (German:

⁵² City Augsburg Homepage. Zahlen und Fakten – wer, wo, wie viel. <http://www.augsburg.de/umwelt-soziales/asyl-in-augsburg/zahlen-fakten/> (reviewed on 30.05.2016).

⁵³ Zill, M. (2014). (Un)Welcome Encounters? The case of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis: A space for guests 'with' and 'without' asylum. Utrecht University, p.30. <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/297375> (reviewed on 11.06.2016).

⁵⁴ Schophoff, J. (2014). Asyl de luxe. Die Zeit, No. 11, Dossier. http://schophoff.de/?page_id=44 (reviewed on 05.06.2016).

⁵⁵ Grandhotel Cosmopolis (2012). Concept for a Social Sculpture in the Heart of Augsburg. <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/konzept/> (reviewed on 15.05.2016).

“Konzept für eine soziale Skulptur im Herzen Augsburgs”).⁵⁶ The Diakonie agreed and the concept was subsequently approved by the municipal council of Augsburg and the government of Swabia in May 2012.⁵⁷ The building renovations were carried out by the collective of artists and financed with a loan amounting to 340,000 EUR taken out by the Diakonie.⁵⁸ Neighbours and concerned citizens of Augsburg were embraced and informed from the very beginning with the intention to win them over with transparency and to scotch potential scepticism and renunciation towards the project. It is for that reason that the lobby and café of the Grandhotel were finalised and opened first to welcome residents for concerts, performances and informative events.⁵⁹

When the Grandhotel Cosmopolis finally opened as a whole, it comprised the collective accommodation for asylum seekers as well as a hotel for tourists, numerous ateliers of the artists, the café and a small community centre for public events. It is a place characterised by a mixed use which entails the potential to positively connect diverse interests and to combine the urgent social task of accommodating the growing number of asylum seekers with civil engagement, cultural diversity, and an artistic approach.⁶⁰ The main concept of the Grandhotel was developed by the artists with the intention to:

- “Render a meaningful temporary use possible for the owner of the building which is charitable,
- create a place for artistic exchange in the city,
- provide accommodation to a limited number of asylum seekers for a certain time period and involve them in the project on a voluntary basis,
- offer new impulses and participation opportunities with the cultural centre to the environment.”⁶¹

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Cf. Zill, 2014, p.30.

⁵⁸ Cf. Schophoff, 2014, p.1.

⁵⁹ Grandhotel Cosmopolis (2013). Presseinformationen zum Grandhotel Cosmopolis, Stand 14.08.2015. Augsburg, p.2. <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/konzept/> (reviewed on 31.05.2016).

⁶⁰ Grandhotel Cosmopolis Homepage. Revolution Willkommen. <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/hotel/hotel-mit-asyl/> (reviewed on 31.05.2016).

⁶¹ Grandhotel Cosmopolis (2011). Initial Concept: Konzept für eine soziale Skulptur in Augsburgs Herzen. grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/wp-content/.../2/.../Grandhotel-ErstKonzept_2011.pdf (reviewed on 20.05.2016).

As the term “Cosmopolis” indicates, no distinction should be made based on origin, nationality, social background, or skin colour – everybody should be equally seen as a welcomed human being. Instead, diversity should be embraced and fostered. The more diverse “hotel guests with or without asylum” are, the merrier. The hotel guests with asylum enhance diversity by bringing in different cultures and traditions, the ones without consist of tourists, business men, students and hoteliers of different social status and age.⁶² The term “Grandhotel” obviously cannot be taken literally since there is nothing bourgeois about the place, although it is still great luxury compared to other collective accommodation centres. What the word “Grandhotel” stands for is the attitude with which the asylum seekers are welcomed by the hoteliers and their supporters. When the first asylum seekers mostly from Chechnya (Russia) arrived at the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, the hoteliers were all wearing concierge costumes zealously offering to carry their baggage to their rooms.^{63,64}

⁶² Cf. Grandhotel Cosmopolis: <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/hotel/hotel-mit-asyl/> (reviewed on 31.05.2016)

⁶³ Cf. Schophoff, 2014, p.1

⁶⁴ Cf. Jalsovec, 2015.

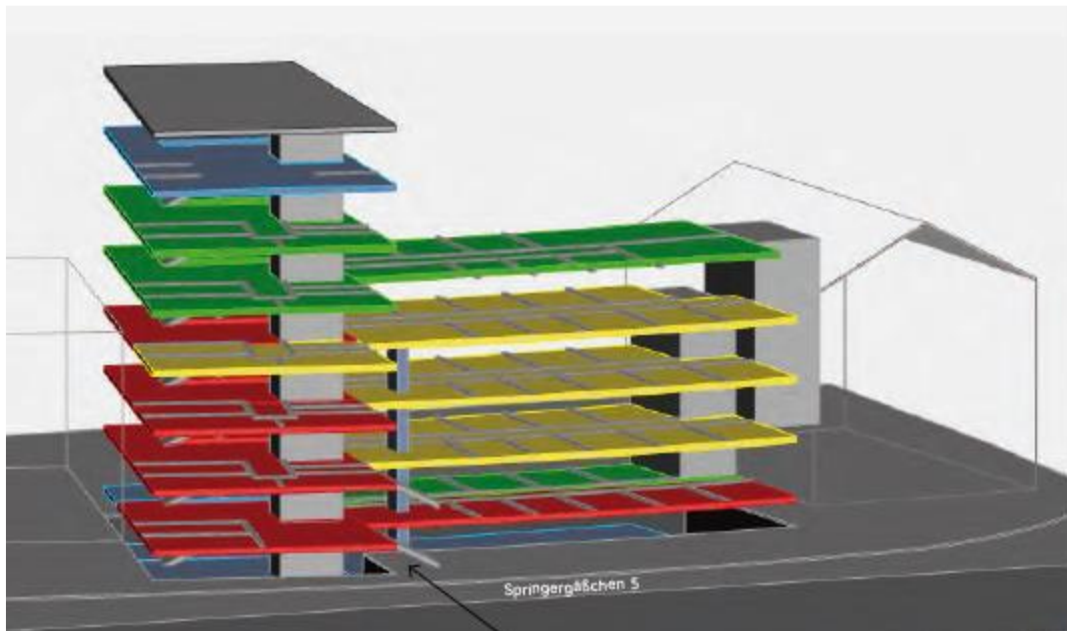


Figure 1: Hoteliers⁶⁵

There are two tenants in the building: The government of Swabia on the one hand, who is the administrative operator of the collective accommodation centre, and the charity association »Grandhotel Cosmopolis e.V.« on the other hand, which runs the hotel, the café and bar as well as the ateliers and seminar rooms. The Diakonie is not only the owner and lessor of the building but also responsible for the counselling on asylum in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis.⁶⁶ Since 2015, the Diakonie further employs the director of the accommodation centre in the Grandhotel on behalf of the government of Swabia. As opposed to ordinary collective accommodation centres, asylum seekers in the Grandhotel do not live isolated and far away from the general public. They share their temporary home with artists, other hotel guests and the hoteliers. The spatial division of the building is illustrated in the ensuing graphic.

⁶⁵ Neue Szene Augsburg (2012). And the winner is: das Grandhotel! <http://www.neue-szene.de/magazin/region/and-winner-das-grandhotel> (reviewed on 29.05.2016).

⁶⁶ Cf. Grandhotel Cosmopolis Homepage: <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/konzept/historie/> (reviewed on 12.05.2016).



- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ateliers ■ Shared rooms (Lobby-Bar etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ordinary hotel guests/ “hotel without asylum” ■ Asylum seekers/ “hotel with asylum” |
|--|---|

Figure 2: Building plan⁶⁷

Asylum seekers inhabit nine double rooms on three floors respectively, in addition to a recreation room for common use on each floor. All three floors further accommodate two kitchens and restrooms separated according to sex. The shared use of the kitchens and sanitary facilities leads to a decrease in cleanness as some residents criticise.⁶⁸ The double rooms measure between 16 m² and 18 m² and some of them include a balcony with a view over the old town of Augsburg.

⁶⁷ See foot note 61.

⁶⁸ Guigas, C. (2015). Das Grandhotel Cosmopolis als Unterkunft für Asylbewerber/-innen. Eine ethnografische Momentaufnahme. Bachelor thesis, Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin. Berlin: p.56.



Figure 3: Balcony view⁶⁹

The majority of asylum seekers living in the Grandhotel are families, although some single men and women can also be found. The families have one or two private rooms at their disposal, depending on the number of family members. The single residing asylum seekers all share their room with one other person. Accommodating asylum seekers in multi-bed rooms is general practice in collective accommodation centres in Germany.⁷⁰ In addition to the official asylum seekers allocated to the Grandhotel by the government of Swabia, women in emergency situations also find refuge in a spare room, since they cannot be accommodated in the normal battered women's shelters in Augsburg. Moreover, some asylum seekers which are officially placed in one of the other collective accommodation centres actually live in the ateliers or other vacant rooms of the Grandhotel. In the beginning, an altering use of the rooms as ateliers or seminar rooms and private rooms of the asylum seekers was considered. However, the comprehension that many

⁶⁹ See foot note 66.

⁷⁰ Cf. Wendel, 2014, p.39.

asylum seekers need a dedicated place for retreat after their often burdensome and traumatising refugee experience, has led to a separation in tracks only for asylum seekers.⁷¹ Asylum seekers who are sceptical towards the culture of the Grandhotel and prefer to be on their own hence have the same opportunity of withdrawal as in the other accommodation centres. The only visual sign of the division between the public space and private rooms provided only to the asylum seekers is a note pinned on the glass doors of the asylum seekers' corridors.



Figure 4: Corridor⁷²

The corridors can nevertheless be accessed by non-asylum seekers in the case that one has been invited to visit one of the residents of the corridor. The corridors are thus treated as private homes which have to be met with respect.

Dispersed among all four floors are altogether 17 ateliers, workshop rooms, and offices of the association »Grandhotel Cosmopolis e.V.«. The ateliers are the private working

⁷¹ Cf. Guigas, 2015, p.56.

⁷² See foot note 67.

places for the local artists whereas workshop rooms have opening hours and can be used by interested people from the outside as well. The hotel rooms are individually designed each by another artist. There are twelve double rooms on two floors and five additional hostel rooms which can host four guests respectively on the ground-floor.

The main meeting place for all residents and involved actors is the hotel lobby which also serves as a café during the day and a bar at night.⁷³ Another place for interaction is the basement which comprises a canteen kitchen and a big eating hall which can be transformed to a dancing hall for concerts or an audience room during performances. The stairs of the central entrance to the Grandhotel which leads to the hotel lobby are covered by a red carpet and world time clocks on the wall behind the lobby counter show the local times of Lampedusa, Gaza, Dhadhaab, Manila and Port-au-Prince. At the back of the house are a yard with outdoor furniture and a bicycle repair shop which is run by one of the Grandhotel's residents.



Figure 5: Red carpet⁷⁴

⁷³ Grandhotel Cosmopolis Homepage, Gastro, Episode: Eine Barschicht am Mittwochmorgen. <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/gastro/lobby/> (reviewed on 15.05.2016).

⁷⁴ Jalsovec, A. (2014). Warum das »Grandhotel Cosmopolis« in Augsburg eine Erfolgsgeschichte ist. *Sonntagsblatt* 19/2914. http://www.sonntagsblatt.de/news/aktuell/2014_19_01_01.htm (reviewed on 15.05.2016).



Figure 6: Lobby⁷⁵

A special characteristic of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis is its location in the cathedral quarter of Augsburg, which is right in the city centre and only minutes away from the central station by public transportation. Many social services provided by the Diakonie and other charity organisations are in walking distance and shops, restaurants, bars and cultural institutions are surrounding the hotel. Not least because of the many cultural events organised by the Grandhotel, the cathedral quarter has become a more and more lively, young and popular part of the city due to gentrification processes.

With its many particularities presented in this chapter, the Grandhotel Cosmopolis obviously differs from other collective accommodation centres in Augsburg. The Grandhotel, as it exists today has actually become the living “social sculpture” the hoteliers had imagined in their concept. It does not only serve the practical need of accommodating the growing number of asylum seekers coming to Germany but also clearly implements idealistic goals such as benevolence and solidarity. The main initiators behind the

⁷⁵ See foot note 54.

Grandhotel are the hoteliers and their appraisals and policy preferences will thus be analysed and compared to those of the staff of other centres in chapter five. Now that the main subject of investigation has been introduced, the following chapter deals with the underlying theory of the present thesis study.

4. Theoretical background

4.1 The Threat-Benefit Theoretical Model

Existing literature on attitudes towards immigrants explores two different epistemological interests. The first research tradition addresses perception of an immigrant group by citizens of the receiving country.^{76,77} The second tradition examines immigration policy preferences of the local people.^{78,79,80,81,82} Walter Stephan's and Cookie Stephan's Integrative Threat Theory (ITT) of 1996 constitutes the basis of the threat-benefit model by Eugene Tartakovsky and Sophie Walsh.⁸³ ITT differentiates between four types of threats - realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes - that an out-group (e.g. asylum seekers) can possess for the receiving society. Studies that tested ITT mostly focused on symbolic and realistic threats and found that perceiving immigrants as a threat correlated with negative emotions and attitudes towards the out-group as well as

⁷⁶ Stephan, W. G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes in Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, No. 31, pp. 240-249.

⁷⁷ Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1996). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. *International Journal of Psychology*, No. 31, pp. 1635-1635.

⁷⁸ Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, No. 46, pp. 5-34.

⁷⁹ Bourhis, R., Moise, L., Perreault, S., & Senecal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, No. 32, pp. 369-386.

⁸⁰ Burns, P., & Gimpel, J. G. (2000). Economic insecurity, prejudicial stereotypes, and public opinion on immigration policy. *Political Science Quarterly*, No. 115, pp. 201-225.

⁸¹ Gorodzeisky, A. (2013). Mechanisms of exclusion: Attitudes towards allocation of social rights to out-group population. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Nr. 36, pp. 795-817.

⁸² O'Rourke, K. H., & Sinnott, R. (2006). The determinants of individual attitudes towards immigration. *European Journal of Political Economy*, Nr. 22, pp. 838-861.

⁸³ Tartakovsky, E., & Walsh, S. D. (2016). Testing a New Theoretical Model for Attitudes Toward Immigrants The Case of Social Workers' Attitudes Towards Asylum Seekers in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 0022022115613860, p.73.

support for discriminative action against the out-group.^{84,85,86,87,88,89} It could also be shown that lower education, lower socioeconomic status, older age, higher religiosity, and rightist political orientation increased perception of immigrants as a threat.^{90,91,92,93,94,95} Sophie Walsh and Eugene Tartakovsky added a positive dimension to the ITT arguing that immigration is not only perceived as a negative but also as a positive phenomenon by a significant part of the receiving society. Accordingly, a complementary benefit-dimension needs to be appended to the threat aspect in order to yield a comprehensive theory.⁹⁶ This argument is backed by exhaustive literature support.^{97,98,99,100}

⁸⁴ Croucher, S. M., Aalto, J., Hirvonen, S., Sommier, M., & Hirvonen, S. (2013). Integrated threat and intergroup contact: An analysis of Muslim immigration to Finland. *Human Communication*, No. 16(2), pp. 109-120.

⁸⁵ Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. P. (2007). Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, No. 7(1), pp. 2-46.

⁸⁶ Cf. Stephan, Diaz-Loving, Duran, 2000.

⁸⁷ Stephan, W. G., Lausanne Renfro, C., Esses, V. M., White Stephan, C., & Martin, T. (2005). The effects of feeling threatened on attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, No. 29, pp. 1-19.

⁸⁸ Cf. Stephan, Stephan, 1996.

⁸⁹ Velasco Gonzalez, K., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J., & Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, No. 47, pp. 667-685.

⁹⁰ Cf. Berry, 1997.

⁹¹ Cf. Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, Senecal, 1997.

⁹² Cf. Burns, Gimpel, 2000).

⁹³ Gang, I. N., Rivera-Batiz, F., & Yun, M. S. (2002). Economic strain, ethnic concentration and attitudes towards foreigners in the European Union (IZA Discussion Paper 578). Retrieved from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp578.pdf> (reviewed on 09.05.2016).

⁹⁴ Cf. Gorodzeisky, 2013.

⁹⁵ Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2007). Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes towards immigration in Europe. *International Organization*, No. 61, pp. 399-442.

⁹⁶ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.74.

⁹⁷ Lee, T. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the stereotype content model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, No. 30, pp. 751-768.

⁹⁸ Leong, C.-H. (2008). A multilevel research framework for the analyses of attitudes towards immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, No. 32, pp. 115-129.

⁹⁹ Mayda, A. M. (2006). Who is against immigration? A cross-country investigation of individual attitudes towards immigrants. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, No. 88, pp. 510-530.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Velasco Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, Poppe, 2008.

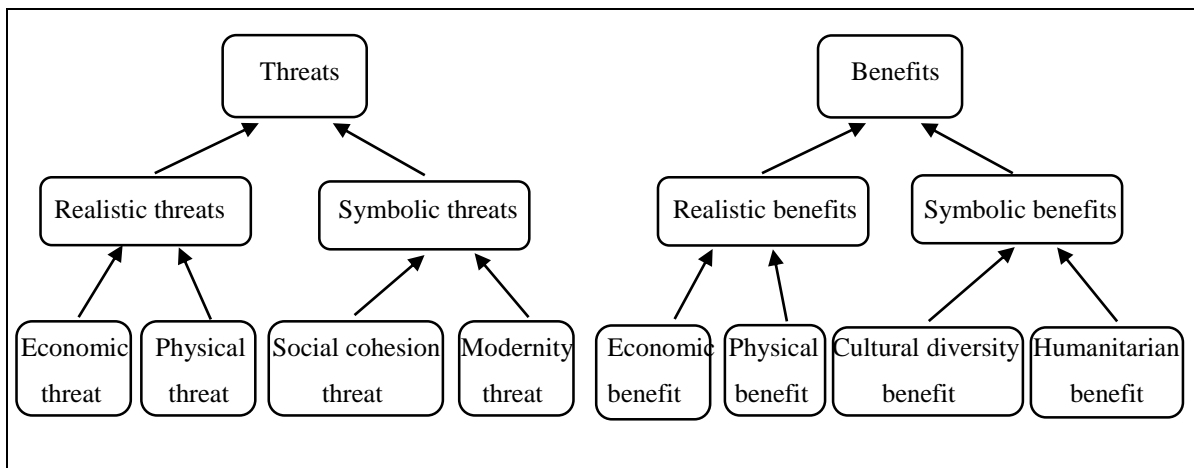


Figure 7: Threat-benefit model according to Sophie Walsh and Eugene Tartakovsky 2016

The second dependent variable, preference of immigration policy, likewise has been examined focusing on two different perspectives. Sociologists' main research interest was the local people's view of the rights allocated to immigrants, admission rules, naturalization,^{101,102,103,104,105,106,107,108} whereas psychological research focused on local people's estimation of a desirable degree of acculturation of immigrants.^{109,110}

¹⁰¹ Cf. Burns, Gimpel, 2000.

¹⁰² Cf. Gorodzeisky, 2013.

¹⁰³ Gorodzeisky, A., & Semyonov, M. (2009). Terms of exclusion: Public views towards admission and allocation of rights to immigrants in European countries. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 32, pp. 401-423.

¹⁰⁴ Levanon, A., & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2010). Grounds for citizenship: Public attitudes in comparative perspective. *Social Science Research*, No. 39, pp. 419-431.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. O'Rourke, Sinnott, 2006.

¹⁰⁶ Rajzman, R. (2013). Foreigners and outsiders: Exclusionist attitudes towards labour migrants in Israel. *International Migration*, No. 51(1), pp. 136-151.

¹⁰⁷ Rajzman, R., & Semyonov, M. (2004). Perceived threat and exclusionary attitudes towards foreign workers in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 27, pp. 780-799.

¹⁰⁸ Rajzman, R., Semyonov, M., & Schmidt, P. (2003). Do foreigners deserve rights? Determinants of public views towards foreigners in Germany and Israel. *European Sociological Review*, No. 19, pp. 379-392.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Berry, 1997.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, Senecal, 1997.

The threat-benefit model further entails a modified version of Shalom Schwartz' theory of values as the explanatory factor for a local citizen's appraisal of asylum seekers as well his opinion regarding the respective policy.^{111,112,113}

4.2 The Modified Threat-Benefit Model

The thesis at hand does not intend to analyse the psychological factors that determine a certain attitude or policy preference, therefore the personal value preference aspect of the threat-benefit-theory is not examined. Instead, the author will investigate whether the context in which the staff members work and interact has an influence on their attitudes. The important role of collective accommodation centres for asylum seekers not only as a place of living but also as an embodiment of asylum and immigration policies is the decisive factor. Relations between asylum seekers and service providers in centres in different EU countries have been examined in a number of studies.^{114,115,116} The directors in the eight collective accommodation centres of Augsburg are government-employed and responsible not only for securing asylum seekers' housing needs but also for ensuring that all accommodated asylum seekers are behaving according to the more and more restrictive asylum law and centre regulations.¹¹⁷

The threat-benefit-theoretical model was originally tested on social workers in Israel. Eugene Tartakovsky and Sophie Walsh argue that this professional group is in an ambivalent

¹¹¹ Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1-69). San Diego, CA: Academic press.

¹¹² Schwartz, S. H. (2006). Basic human values: Theory, measurement, and applications. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, No. 47, pp. 929-968.

¹¹³ Schwartz, S. H., Cieciuch, J., Vecchione, M., Davidov, E., Fischer, R., Beierlein, C., Konty, M. (2012). Refining the theory of basic individual values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, No. 103, pp. 663-688.

¹¹⁴ Kobelinsky, C. (2008). The moral judgment of asylum seekers in French reception centers. *Anthropology News*, No. 49(5), pp. 5-11.

¹¹⁵ Koehn, P. H. (2005). Medical encounters in Finnish reception centres: Asylum-seeker and clinician perspectives. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, No. 18(1), pp. 47-75.

¹¹⁶ Mackrill, T. (1996). Aspects of structure and dynamics at a refugee centre in Denmark: a social psychological analysis. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, No. 9(2), pp. 199-215.

¹¹⁷ Szczepanikova, A. (2013). Between control and assistance: The problem of European accommodation centres for asylum seekers. *International Migration*, No. 51(4), pp. 130-143.

situation as social workers are expected to mediate the interests of asylum seekers and those of the government. They are supposed to support asylum seekers in the new environment on the one hand and to defend the often opposing interests of the government and voting population on the other hand.¹¹⁸ What puts social workers in this ambivalent position is the circumstance that they are at the forefront of working with asylum seekers but also the ones responsible for the distribution of state welfare resources as they are usually employed by the government directly or by governmentally subsidized agencies.¹¹⁹ Consequently, social workers can to a certain extent steer policy regarding asylum seekers, through their work in both, governmental and non-governmental institutions, court rulings, or even parliament commissions.¹²⁰

The arguments brought forward for social workers also apply to directors of collective accommodation centres, independently from their professional background. They find themselves in the same ambivalent situation as the social workers mentioned above and they are in a similar power-support relation with the asylum seekers. Therefore, directors are the first group of investigation in this thesis. Directors manage all eight collective accommodation centres, including the Grandhotel Cosmopolis. However, what is unique to the Grandhotel and the main difference compared to the other centres is the group of hoteliers. They are independent from the government and consist of artists and activists which repudiate themselves from the state-philosophy towards asylum seeker accommodation. The thesis will thus draw a comparison between government-employed directors of the centres and the government-independent hoteliers who only exist in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.73.

¹¹⁹ Ayalon, L., Kaniel, M., & Rosenberg, L. (2008). Social workers' perspectives on care arrangements between vulnerable elders and foreign home care workers: Lessons from Israeli/Filipino caregiving arrangements. *Home Health Care Services Quarterly*, No. 27, pp. 121-142.

¹²⁰ Kritzman-Amir, T. (2012). Refugees and asylum seekers in the state of Israel. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, No. 6(3), pp. 97-111.

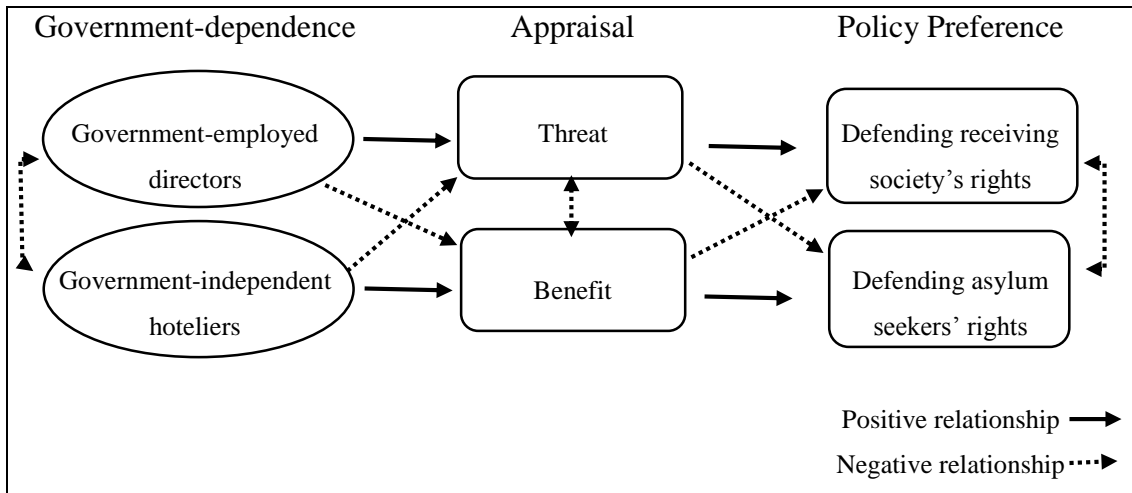


Figure 8: Theoretical model

In the present thesis, the professional relation to the government - government-employed in the case of the directors, independent from the government in the case of the hoteliers - will hence be examined as the independent variable which explains the two dependent variables. The first dependent variable is asylum seeker appraisal as beneficial or threatening respectively and the second measured variable refers to the policy preferences towards the group of asylum seekers either directed at protecting the rights of asylum seekers or protecting the receiving society.

Three hypotheses will be examined:

1. *Hypothesis: Directors of accommodation centres perceive asylum seekers as both threatening and beneficial to the receiving society.*
2. *Hypothesis: Beneficial appraisal is associated with an immigration policy directed at defending asylum seeker's rights. / Appraisal as rather threatening relates to a preferred immigration policy directed at protecting the receiving society.*
3. *Hypothesis: The hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis do not share the ambivalent attitudes of the government-employed directors.*

The way in which the modified threat-benefit theoretical model is applied to the present study case will be exposed in the “Method” chapter hereinafter.

5. Method

In the following chapter the methodical approach and procedure are described. The research topic approach as well as preparation and application of the data collection and analytic tools are presented in detail. Furthermore, the case selection and field work are explained.

5.1 Research topic

As already mentioned in the introductory chapter of this paper, the research interest arose when the author visited Augsburg and volunteered in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis for two months. During the stay, the author talked to a number of asylum seekers placed in various collective accommodation centres who reported their satisfaction or disappointment with the perceived support they experienced in the centres. Having reviewed extensive literature about the life in accommodation centres and the relation between the staff and the residents, the idea arose that the professional relationship with the government puts the worker in an ambivalent situation. Such an ambivalence could impact the staff member’s appraisal of the asylum seekers as well as their evaluation of the policy towards asylum seekers.

5.2 Preparation of the data collecting tool

Data was collected with the help of self-report standardized questionnaires. The original questionnaire was provided by Eugene Tartakovsky and Sophie Walsh who developed the questions based on Millward’s multistage procedure and mixed emic-etic approach.

^{121,122} The items were first generated from public discourse on asylum seekers through an

¹²¹ Millward, L. J. (2012). Focus groups. In G. M. Breakwell, J. A. Smith, & D. B. Wright (Eds.), *Research methods in psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 411-438). London, England: Sage.

¹²² Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.80.

analysis of newspapers and online sources. Subsequently, different focus groups consisting of students and experts discussed the initially selected items and brainstormed additional terms coming to their minds. The focus groups were further asked in what ways they personally as well as other members of the Israeli society might be impacted by asylum seekers. In the end of the process, more specific questions were asked, for instance “In what ways could asylum seekers be seen as a threat to Israeli society? In what ways could asylum seekers be seen as a benefit to Israeli society?”¹²³ Simultaneously, interviews with experts were conducted without an initial trigger focusing on how they believed asylum seekers were perceived in the Israeli public. The authors were aware of “theoretical sensitivity”¹²⁴ and based their research approach on immigration literature and theory to conceptualize the framework and to formulate the items of the questionnaire. In a last step, a pilot study with 172 students from two different universities in Israel was carried out to finalise the structure and affirm the internal consistency of the questionnaire.

For the thesis at hand the questionnaire was translated to German and adapted to the German context. Questions which were particularly related to the politics or the history of Israel were substituted by questions relevant to Germany. The newly modified questionnaire was discussed in detail with a professor working for the Centre for Social Investment in Heidelberg, Germany. Following the expert review, a Two-Phase Pretesting was conducted as proposed by the Centre for Survey Research and Methodology (ZUMA) which is part of GESIS, the Leibniz-Institute for the Social Sciences headquartered in Mannheim, Germany. Pretesting serves the purpose of improving the quality of questionnaires. The Two-Phase Pretesting by ZUMA is a combination of the so-called standard pre-test and cognitive pretesting techniques. In a standard pre-test, respondents fill in the questionnaires in an authentic field test and then give feedback, for example they evaluate the interviewer. The cognitive techniques, by contrast, allow a systematic testing of the

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory* (Vol. 2). Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

propositi's comprehension of the questions.¹²⁵ For the cognitive pretesting, the author used the "thinking aloud" method, where the propositi comment all their thoughts and feelings while filling in the questionnaire in order, for instance, to help the interviewer find complicated or unclear formulations, as well as uncomfortable or two-dimensional questions. Following the cognitive test, a standard pretesting took place with seven students. Although this was a very small test group, in fact important insights could be gained, in particular with regard to the order of the questions, one-dimensionality and the estimated fill-in time. A professional social researcher would have conducted a much more comprehensive pre-test with many more propositi, however, considering the limited resources in time and money, a small scale pre-test was the most reasonable and viable option.

5.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprises three separate parts. The first part relates to the dependent variable "appraisal", the following part measures the second dependent variable "policy preference". In the third part, statistical data is retrieved from the participants. The questionnaire starts with introducing the participants to the purpose of the survey, why they were selected to share in, and how the data is going to be used. The questionnaire closes with the author's expression of thanks and e-mail contact in case of further questions and demands.

Appraisal. Appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial or threatening was measured using the Threat-Benefits Inventory (TBI) created by Eugene Tartakovsky and Sophie Walsh.¹²⁶ It consists of 37 items measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = "Totally agree" (German: "Stimme absolut zu") to 5 = "totally disagree" (German: "Stimme absolut nicht zu"), with a "not applicable" (German: "Keine Angabe") option. Eight areas were examined. The four threat-dimensions comprised

¹²⁵ Prüfer, P. & Rexroth, M. (2000). Zwei-Phasen-Pretesting. ZUMA-Arbeitsbericht 2000/08. www.gesis.org/fileadmin/upload/forschung/.../gesis.../zuma_arbeitsberichte/00_08.pdf (reviewed on 03.05.2016).

¹²⁶ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.79.

- economic threats (e.g. “Social welfare services for Germans decrease because of asylum seekers”, German: “Sozialleistungen für Deutsche verringern sich aufgrund der Asylbewerber_innen”),
- physical threats (e.g. “Asylum seekers carry sicknesses to Germany”, German: “Asylbewerber_innen tragen Krankheiten nach Deutschland“),
- threats to social cohesion (e.g. “Asylum seekers are too different to become part of the German society”, German: “Asylbewerber_innen sind zu anders um Teil der deutschen Gesellschaft zu werden“),
- and threats to modernity (e.g. “Asylum seekers re-introduce out-dated educational methods like corporal punishment to Germany“, German: “Asylbewerber_innen führen veraltete Erziehungsmethoden wie körperliche Bestrafung wieder in Deutschland ein“).

Likewise, benefits were examined in four different areas:

- economic benefits (e.g. „Asylum seekers have language skills which are an important asset for the German economy“, German: „Asylbewerber_innen haben Sprachkenntnisse, die für die deutsche Wirtschaft wichtig sind“),
- physical benefits (e.g. “Asylum seekers usually drink less alcohol than Germans”, German: „Asylbewerber trinken in der Regel weniger Alkohol als Deutsche“),
- cultural diversity benefits (e.g. “Asylum seekers teach us and our children tolerance and open-mindedness”, German: „Asylbewerber_innen helfen uns und unseren Kindern Toleranz und Offenheit zu lernen“),
- and humanitarian benefits (e.g. “Accepting asylum seekers rescues lives”, German: „Asylbewerber_innen aufzunehmen bedeutet Leben zu retten“).

Policy preference. Varying preferences for policies towards asylum seekers were measured with the help of the Immigration Policy Questionnaire (IPQ) which was also created by Tartakovsky and Walsh.¹²⁷ The 19 items measuring the second dependent variable were also examined on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = “Totally agree” (German: “Stimme absolut zu”) to 5 = “Totally disagree” (German: “Stimme überhaupt nicht zu”),

¹²⁷ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.80.

with the option of indicating “no applicability” (German: “Keine Angabe”). Characteristic attributes were directed either towards a policy preference focusing on the protection of asylum seekers’ rights (e.g. “Asylum seekers should have a work permit as soon as possible”, German: “Asylbewerber_innen sollten so früh wie möglich eine Arbeitserlaubnis bekommen”), or towards defending the interests and particularities of the receiving German society (e.g. “Asylum seekers, who work illegally, should be fined”, German: “Asylbewerber_innen, die illegal arbeiten, sollten eine Strafe zahlen müssen”).

The theoretical three-level TBI construct as well as the two-factor structure of the IPQ were interpreted with qualitative content analysis. Findings are presented in the sixth chapter.

Statistical data. Besides the substantial parts of the questionnaire, statistical information was gathered from the participants. They were asked to indicate their sex, age category (e.g. 30 to 39), ethical origin, immigration status, educational background, level of income (e.g. 1,001 EUR to 2,000 EUR), and confession.

5.4 Case selection

The paper at hand aims at determining a factor that distinguishes the Grandhotel Cosmopolis from ordinary collective accommodation centres. Therefore a most similar design survey was conducted addressing only collective accommodation centres in Augsburg, Germany. In total, there are currently eight collective accommodation centres for asylum seekers all run by the government of Swabia either directly or indirectly through the Diakonie which acts on behalf of the government and is bound by its instructions. Altogether, five directors are employed by the government of Swabia, three of whom are in charge of two collective accommodation centres respectively, the two remaining ones being responsible for one centre each. All five directors participated in the study.

The initial group of hoteliers in the Grandhotel, which makes for the core group of activists and artists, consists of nine men and women. Today, many more volunteers and committed citizens work in the hotel. The exact number of participants is difficult to estimate, though, since some volunteers work only sporadically. It is still fair to say that several

hundred people are involved in the “social sculpture project” Grandhotel Cosmopolis.¹²⁸ However, for this thesis, only the initiators of the project, who have been working and living in the Grandhotel since the beginning in 2012 and still serve as the key actors who are at daily disposal for the asylum seekers, are relevant. Eight out of all nine hoteliers, participated in the study. For health reasons, one hotelier was not available for an interview. Accordingly, my sample consists of 13 staff members in collective accommodation centres in Augsburg, eight hoteliers and five directors. The basic population (all directors of collective accommodation centres in Augsburg and hoteliers of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis) for this research is thus very small. The selection was random, all suitable candidates were asked to participate in the study, and the return rate was exceptionally high with 93%. The government of Swabia as well as all study participants gave their informed approval for the survey.

5.5 Field work

The data collection took place in Augsburg between 9 and 13 May, 2016. All interviews were conducted by the author herself, at the interviewee’s workplace during working hours. Appointments with the directors of the centres were made beforehand with the help of the responsible authority of the government of Swabia. The interviews with the five directors took between one and two hours respectively and were not interrupted nor conducted in the presence of a third party. The author started off by explaining the study programme and the topic of the master thesis. To avoid a response bias due to a tendency of the participants to respond according to what they believed they were expected to say, the purpose of the thesis was slightly changed. The pretended research interest was the difference in appraisal and policy preferences between persons who are in daily contact with asylum seekers and persons who have no personal encounters with asylum seekers. The participants were told that they were chosen for the study because they work on the forefront with asylum seekers, as opposed to the majority of people who conceive an opinion without any personal experience. The deceit was necessary because it is likely

¹²⁸ Grandhotel Cosmopolis (2012). Concept for a Social Sculpture. Derived from: <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/konzept/> (reviewed on 14.05.2016).

that at least the directors would not have evaluated the statements honestly, knowing that they were to be compared to the hoteliers of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis. Besides, the government of Swabia, which had to approve the interviews, presumably would not have agreed to a study in which the own employees turn out worse than the reference group.

Subsequent to the introduction, the participants began to evaluate the statements made in the questionnaire. Comments made by the interviewees during the fill-out process were noted down by the interviewer after asking for permission. Unfortunately, the government of Swabia did not approve an audio recording of the interviews. The advantage of an interview without recording is, however, that the interviewees talk more freely since they do not have to worry about consequences of their statements. Following the questionnaire, the author also asked some open questions, often dwelling on comments that were made by the interviewee. Therefore, the interview entailed standardised closed questions for a better comparability of the individuals and two focus groups on the one hand, and a narrative part for clarifications and a more in-depth understanding. Narrative questions were, for instance “What motivates you in your work?”, “Why do you work in the field of asylum?” or “What do you like, dislike about your work?” All directors appeared comfortable in the situation and talked openly and lengthy about their work and personal views. Only one director refused to talk about the statements referring to asylum and immigration policy directed at protecting the receiving society. The director explained her inability to evaluate the statements the way she would do as a civil person because of her function as an employee by the government of Swabia.

Creating similar interview situations with the hoteliers in the Grandhotel was not possible as the hoteliers did not have enough time for individual, extensive interviews. Instead, the questionnaires were distributed to the hoteliers, who evaluated the statements and noted down additional comments on the sheet. One of the hoteliers, however, agreed on a comprehensive interview to lay down the philosophy, asylum seeker appraisal and opinions on immigration and asylum policies deputizing all eight hoteliers. An audio tape and the transcription of this interview are annexed to the thesis.

5.6 Data management

The data material thus entails standardised and narrative elements which, together, glean information on the participants' attitudes towards asylum seekers and asylum policy. In order to merge these two elements, the author applied Philipp Mayring's qualitative content analysis.^{129,130} Qualitative content analysis is defined as "an approach of systematic, rule guided qualitative text analysis, which tries to preserve some methodological strengths of quantitative content analysis and widen them to a concept of qualitative procedure."¹³¹ Objects of the content analysis can be any form of recorded communication, for example transcripts of interviews. The analysis procedure starts by fitting the text material into a model of communication. Then, based on a set of rules, codes and categories are formulated, which help analyse the main statements within a text and compare them to other text materials. In "Grounded Theory"¹³², these processes are referred to as axial and selective coding.¹³³ Categories can be built following two different procedures: inductive category development and deductive category application. When inductive category development is used, categories are derived directly from the text material by systematically reducing the content until only the central points are selected and can be formulated as categories. Deductive category application, by contrast, is based on a theoretical framework which pre-sets the categories. Coding guidelines are developed which determine how the text material is appropriately assigned to the categories.¹³⁴

In the thesis at hand, deductive category application was used, since the questionnaire was already developed based on the threat-benefit theoretical framework. The categories used for the analysis of the first variable were hence, firstly, asylum seeker appraisal as

¹²⁹ Mayring, Ph. (1994). Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. In A. Böhm, A. Mengel & T. Muhr (Edit.), *Texte verstehen: Konzepte, Methoden, Werkzeuge* (S. 159-176). Konstanz: Universitätsverlag.

¹³⁰ Mayring, Ph. (2010). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken* (10. edition, first edition 1983). Weinheim: Beltz Verlag.

¹³¹ Mayring, Philipp (2000). Qualitative Content Analysis [28 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 1(2), Art. 20, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204> (reviewed on 14.05.2016).

¹³² Strauss, Anselm L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientist*. Cambridge: University Press (deutsch 1991: *Grundlagen qualitativer Sozialforschung – Datenanalyse und Theoriebildung in der empirische soziologischen Forschung*. München: Fink).

¹³³ Mayring, P. (2001, February). Combination and integration of qualitative and quantitative analysis. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 2, No. 1).

¹³⁴ Cf. Mayring, 2000.

benefit (physical, cultural diversity, humanitarian, economical) and secondly, asylum seeker appraisal as threat (physical, social cohesion, modernity, economical). Likewise, categories for the second explained variable, policy preference, were protection of asylum seekers' rights and protection of the receiving society. The questionnaire already entailed several statements for each category which were later assessed with their individual and group evaluations in the respective categories. One of the statements already assigned to the sub-category "physical benefit" for instance was "Asylum seekers are less criminal than Germans".

Comments, which were made during the interviews in addition to the standardised questionnaire, were allocated to the categories in accordance with their content relevance and proximity to the questionnaire's statements. For that purpose, the interviews had first to be transformed to a written text. Therefore, the author took notes during the interviews with the directors and transcribed the audio taped interview with the hotelier. The underlying transcription rules can be found in Appendix I. In a second step, all text material was paraphrased, which means that it was put in the author's own concise words, leaving all irrelevant elements aside. Paraphrasing thus aims at reducing the content to what is relevant for the research question. In this thesis, a second analytical step, generalising, was performed in one run together with paraphrasing. This process is necessary to abstract the statements to such an extent, that they can be easily assigned to one of the categories. Each paraphrase served as a coding unit. The coding units were then allocated to the respective category as „comments“. One example for a coding unit under "comments" in the category "policy preference directed at protecting receiving society" would be "no more detention centres, better to just register immigrants as asylum seekers for normal process". The two analysis tables therefore content the (sub-) categories, the statements as well as comments belonging to each (sub-) category, and evaluations for each participant as well as focus group. Each table analyses one of the dependent variables.

6. Results

6.1 Data analysis

Data analysis shows that appraisal and policy preference differ individually as well as for the two focus groups. Whereas the hoteliers show a relatively coherent appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial for Germany, the director's appraisals are mixed, so that an overall group's tendency for an appraisal as beneficial is not perceptible. Likewise, a common strong rejection of asylum seeker appraisal as threatening is observable among the hoteliers, while the directors' appraisals again vary significantly. When turning towards the second dependent variable, policy preference, one finds that hoteliers are again relatively united in their approval of policies directed towards protecting asylum seekers and their disapproval of policies directed towards protecting the receiving society. The directors, by contrary, are commonly in favour of policies protecting the rights of asylum seekers, but divided in their views regarding policies protecting the receiving society. In the following, the detailed findings of the focus group of the hoteliers will be presented, followed by those of the directors. Finally, the author will draw a comparison between the findings of both focus groups.

The group of hoteliers comprises two women and six men. Ages range from the 20s to 50s, although only two out of the eight hoteliers are below 30 years old. Three reported to have an immigration background. Educational backgrounds varied also significantly from secondary school to a master's degree. The group was homogeneous, however, concerning their income (all below 1,000 EUR except for one) and their confession (all atheists except for one).

Two characteristic respond tendencies could be observed in the first focus group (hoteliers): They often either indicated "no applicability" or chose the extreme evaluation options 'total agreement' (for positive statements about asylum seekers) and 'total disagreement' (when rating negative statements about asylum seekers). This tendency was stronger for the statements measuring threats, which were often highly rejected whereas statements measuring asylum seeker appraisal as beneficial were evaluated slightly more moderate. No applicability was put for all statements throughout the entire questionnaire

by two hoteliers, while two other hoteliers decided in seven out of eight sub-categories measuring the first dependent variable “asylum seeker appraisal” for nearly all statements to not evaluate them. Half of the participating hoteliers thus used “no applicability” as their standard answer. The main explanations the hoteliers gave for this responding behaviour specified that the statements as such were met with vigorous disapproval because of their generalising and categorising character. The hotelier (H1) who took part in the interview on behalf of the group explained that it is one of the main ideas in the Grandhotel to try to overcome categorisations and generalisations because of a common conviction that they make “absolutely no sense”.¹³⁵ The interviewee emphasised that neither “asylum seekers” nor “Germans” can be brought together in one category with a ready set of attributes since they are two diverse crowds and the only thing everybody has in common is being human.¹³⁶ The interviewee’s explanation coincides with the comments noted down by the other hoteliers: “generalisations to such an extent are preposterous”, “strong rejection of the category ‘asylum seeker’”, “statements are in parts racist and based on stereotypes, they aim at categorising people; a division between asylum seekers and Germans is not helpful”, “strong rejection of the statements as such and therefore unwilling to evaluate them”.¹³⁷

The strongest appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial could be observed for the sub-categories “cultural diversity benefit” and “humanitarian benefit”. The evaluations of the statements in these categories again correlate with the assertions made in the interview. A strong asylum seeker appraisal as a cultural diversity benefit was reflected in comments like “we see asylum seekers as an enriching and diversifying possibility for a society”¹³⁸ or “in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis diverse hotel guests live together, the Grandhotel is a metaphor for a place where all humans are travellers in the journey of life who found a temporarily shelter”.¹³⁹ Even more parts of the interview indicated a strong humanitarian motive: “in the beginning our idea was an utopia, we wanted to push things to make this world a better place”, “I refuse to accept the inequality in our world; I do not want to just

¹³⁵ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line number 58.

¹³⁶ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line numbers 13-17, 59-65.

¹³⁷ See Appendix A, H2, H4, H8.

¹³⁸ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line number 5.

¹³⁹ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line number 54f.

carelessly live in this privileged, rich country and exclude humans in need from this society in a cultural, social and economical way”, “I know from my own family background how refugees were treated in Germany one generation ago, and I am shocked how it still is nowadays”, “we want to create a different reality with a new inclusive society without borders”, “I really believe that we are all human beings who have to find a way to live together”, “it is important to always maintain a good heart and a positive spirit”, and many more statements.¹⁴⁰

As already stated above, rejections of asylum seeker appraisal as threatening for Germany was disapproved more rigorously than asylum seeker appraisal as beneficial was approved by the hoteliers. Rejections were particularly strong for the sub-categories physical threat and social cohesion threat. The interviewee underlined that “isolation of asylum seekers creates fear on both sides” and criticised that “accommodation centres often harbour many men with poor perspectives for a long time which does something to people as well as to the atmosphere, when you live crowded with no privacy and dignity, that creates problems”.¹⁴¹ The interviewee further elaborated on the “importance of creating awareness why it is that asylum seekers commit crimes”: “If asked whether asylum seekers steal, their situation needs to be taken into account: they have no hope for legal work, are under high pressure because of the financial expectations of their family back in their home country, they face social cut-downs by the state, and often are additionally burdened with for example fines for travelling without documents...”.¹⁴²

The hoteliers’ responding tendency for the second dependent variable “policy preference” was similar to the observations already described. Statements measuring policy preferences directed towards the protection of asylum seekers were either strongly agreed on or not evaluated at all (“no applicability”). The focus group responded very uniformly with almost no deviations. Likewise, statements measuring policy preferences directed towards protecting the receiving society were commonly strongly rejected. One exception from that general propensity, however, occurred repeatedly: Three hoteliers stated that

¹⁴⁰ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line numbers 4, 6-12.

¹⁴¹ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line numbers 43-45, 53.

¹⁴² Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line numbers 67-70.

companies which employ asylum seekers illegally should be punished. This is probably the case because black labour always involves a risk of exploitation and also diminishes the chance to be granted a resident permit when busted. “No applicability” was chosen in many cases instead of evaluating the statements for the reasons explained above.

The second focus group consists of women between 50 and 59 years of age, except for one men who is between 18 and 24 years old. All of them have no immigration background, have completed secondary school as their highest educational attainment and earn between 1,001 EUR and 2,000 EUR. Three of the directors are atheists, one is catholic and one protestant. The division in terms of asylum seeker appraisal as beneficial within the group of directors is visible in all four sub-categories. One director, D2, tends to consistently have a more negative appraisal of asylum seekers, which is also expressed in comments like “asylum seekers do not fare well in my opinion”, “all asylum seekers are in the same boat, they are suffering similar faiths, and yet they hate each other that is difficult to understand”, “I personally had a negative experience with a violent father of a Roma family, I am now going to attend an imminent second court hearing because he did not show up the last time, all court procedure costs are covered by taxes, Roma do not pay taxes in any country”, “illegal immigrants should be sent away immediately”, or “[...] other asylum seekers only come to Germany because they believe all living costs will be covered for them, they are very demanding but I put a spoke in their wheel” .¹⁴³ In this specific case, asylum seekers were appraised much more as a threat than as a benefit.

As opposed to director D2, the directors D3 and D5 strongly argued the case for asylum seekers. Statements measuring appraisal as beneficial were approved, whereas statements portraying asylum seekers as a threat were disapproved. Comments like “it is important to campaign for asylum seekers, to be their voice”,¹⁴⁴ “I chose this job out of conviction and joy and I see this job as an opportunity to gain valuable experiences, to do good”,¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D2, 11/05/2016, line numbers 1-2, 9-10, 14, 16, 17-18.

¹⁴⁴ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D5, 11/05/2016, line number 7.

¹⁴⁵ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D5, 11/05/2016, line numbers 28f.

“it is important to get engaged in the asylum field”¹⁴⁶ or “you can only do this work if you want to help people in need”¹⁴⁷ underline their attitudes.

Positions somewhere in between these two orientations were taken by the remaining two directors, D1 and D4. Whereas both directors do not or only slightly appraise asylum seekers as threatening, their opinions diverge more noticeable for beneficial appraisal. Although director D1 does not see asylum seekers as a threat to the German society, they are still not actually perceived as a benefit. Statements made by director D1 indicate that asylum seekers are not met on an eye-level but are rather seen as a group of people that need to be supervised and disciplined: “Asylum seekers behave a bit like children (they test their limits)”, “all kinds of visits are prohibited after 10 pm, if this rule is defied, the visitors get barred”, “the centre offers 80 EUR-jobs to residents (corresponds to 1 EUR-per-hour-job), some people think they are „too good“ for those jobs, then that is their loss.”¹⁴⁸ Director D4, by contrast, does see asylum seekers as a social cohesion, humanitarian and economic asset: “Asylum seekers push the German economy (they for example provide new jobs in construction and maintenance of accommodation centres)”, “quality of classes might suffer because of asylum seeking children, but also German pupils learn important social and intercultural skills which is even more beneficial and important”, “residents of the centre have demonstrated multiple times that they can solve issues amongst each other without the involvement of the director, that shows an impressive ability to solve their own problems”, “Important topics are discussed again because of the refugee crisis (for example own fleeing experience in the Second World War)”, “Germany becomes globally more economically competitive with more spoken languages and more cultures”, “Everybody benefits in all possible ways if the situation of asylum seekers improves”.¹⁴⁹

The director’s appraisals are reflected in their policy preferences. The most reserved director, D2, is also the one showing the strongest support for policies directed at protecting

¹⁴⁶ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016, line number 43.

¹⁴⁷ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016, line number 45.

¹⁴⁸ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D1, 10/05/2016, line numbers 17-19, 27f.

¹⁴⁹ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D4, 12/05/2016, line numbers 19-21, 29-31, 45-47, 49-50, 69-70.

the receiving society. However, the director also supports policies protecting the rights of asylum seekers to a certain extent. Likewise, the directors most in favour of asylum seekers, D3 and D5, most clearly embrace policies protecting asylum seekers' rights. Policies directed at protecting the receiving society are mostly rejected by director D5, whereas director D3 refused to evaluate the respective statements at all, explaining that "political questions cannot be answered the way she would like to as a private person because of her employment by the government of Swabia".¹⁵⁰ Director D1 showed policy preferences for the protection of asylum seekers as well as for the receiving society. Similarly, director D4 showed preferences in both directions although the ones directed towards protecting the receiving society were only limited.

In a direct comparison of the two focus groups two important observations are particularly visible. Firstly, the group of hoteliers is more or less coherent in its asylum seeker appraisal as beneficial and policy preference directed at the protection of asylum seekers as well as its rejection of appraisals of asylum seekers as threatening and policies directed at protecting the receiving society. As opposed to the first focus group, the directors are divided throughout the two variables and (sub-) categories.

The second interesting observation is that the response behaviour of the directors D3 and D5 resembled to some extent that of the hoteliers. Both directors also remarked their difficulty with the generalisations of the statements ("Infelicitous wording, statements are often not rateable in general"¹⁵¹ and "'asylum seeker' is only a status, not a feature or personal characteristic, they are all humans, therefore these general statements are technically not rateable"¹⁵²), just like many hoteliers did. However, unlike the hoteliers, the directors did not as a consequence decide not to rate the statements but to put their objections aside instead.

Director D3 is also the one who seemed most concerned about the role of the government of Swabia, which was expressed in comments like "political questions cannot be answered the way she would like to as private person because of her employment by the

¹⁵⁰ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016, line numbers 17-18.

¹⁵¹ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016, line numbers 5f.

¹⁵² Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D5, 11/05/2016, line numbers 2f.

government of Swabia” or “there are sometimes tensions between Caritas, Diakonie and the volunteers on the one hand, and the director representing the government on the other hand because they only see the „humanitarian“ perspective, but not the administrative part, however the government of Swabia sets strict rules which directors have to abide by, unfortunately it is hence not always possible to meet all requests”.¹⁵³ Director D3 therefore seemingly tried to avoid obvious inconsistencies with the government line and the own personal position.

The other director, D5, being the director of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, his broad accordance with the appraisal and policy preference of the hotelier is therefore not surprising. The director emphasised several times that the co-operation with the hoteliers works well on both sides: “Hoteliers in the Grandhotel do most of the work that is done by volunteers in other centres”, “there is a clear allocation of responsibilities between director and hoteliers”, “we have a well-working communication between director and hoteliers as well as director and residents, therefore conflict potential is minimised from the beginning”.¹⁵⁴ The strong opinions of the hoteliers and the environment of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis in general can be interpreted as an influencing factor on the director’s attitude towards asylum seekers which would explain the similar responding behaviour.

6.2 Data interpretation

At this point the findings stated above will be applied to this paper’s research question: How do asylum seeker appraisals and policy preferences of the hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis differ from those of the directors of the collective accommodation centres in Augsburg? The three hypotheses will help to find an answer to the question.

1. Hypothesis: Directors of accommodation centres perceive asylum seekers as both threatening and beneficial to the receiving society.

The mixed result the author elaborated on in the previous section shows that when assessing the focus group as a whole there are clearly appraisals of asylum seekers as both,

¹⁵³ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016, line numbers 17f, 36-40.

¹⁵⁴ Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D5, 11/05/2016, line numbers 9f, 14f, 17-19.

Category	Sub-category	Case	Appraisal sub-category individual	Appraisal sub-category group	Category	Sub-category	Case	Appraisal sub-category individual	Appraisal sub-category group
Benefit	Physical	D1	– Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit	All cases mention generalisations in the statements, but no refusal to evaluate Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit (one exception: D3)	Threat	Physical	D1	– Limited appraisal as physical threat	Mixed appraisal: one clear appraisal as physical threat, three more or less limited appraisals as threat, one clear appraisal as non-physically threatening
		D2	– Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit				D2	– Appraisal as physical threat	
		D3	– Strong appraisal as physical benefit – Generalisations often make evaluation difficult				D3	– Limited to no appraisal as physical threat	
		D4	– Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit – Generalisations often make evaluation difficult				D4	– Limited to no appraisal as physical threat	
		D5	– (Limited) appraisal as physical benefit – Generalisations often make evaluation difficult				D5	– No appraisal as physical threat at all	
	Cultural diversity	D1	– Appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit (one exception: D2)		Social cohesion	D1	– No appraisal as social cohesion threat (at all)	No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all (One exception: D2)
		D2	– (Limited) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit				D2	– Appraisal as social cohesion threat	
		D3	– Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit				D3	– No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	
		D4	– (Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit				D4	– No appraisal as social cohesion threat (at all)	

Category	Sub-category	Case	Appraisal sub-category individual	Appraisal sub-category group	Category	Sub-category	Case	Appraisal sub-category individual	Appraisal sub-category group
		D5	– Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit				D5	– No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	
	Humanitarian	D1	– Limited to no appraisal as humanitarian benefit	Mixed appraisals: in three cases (strong) appraisal, in two cases limited/no appraisal as humanitarian benefit		Modernity	D1	– No appraisal as modernity threat	Mixed appraisals: in three cases no appraisal as modernity threat (at all), in two cases (limited) appraisal as modernity threat
		D2	– Limited to no appraisal as humanitarian benefit		D2		– (Limited) appraisal as modernity threat		
		D3	– (Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit		D3		– No appraisal as modernity threat (at all)		
		D4	– Appraisal as humanitarian benefit		D4		– Limited appraisal as modernity threat		
		D5	– (Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit		D5		– No appraisal as modernity threat at all		
	Economic	D1	– Limited appraisal as economic benefit	Mixed appraisals: Limited to strong appraisal as economic benefit		Economic	D1	– Limited to no appraisal as economic threat	Mixed appraisals: one appraisal as economic threat, three more or less limited appraisals as threat, one clear appraisal as non-economic threat
		D2	– Limited to no appraisal as economic benefit		D2		– Appraisal as economic threat		
		D3	– Appraisal as economic benefit		D3		– Limited to no appraisal as economic threat		
		D4	– Strong appraisal as economic benefit		D4		– Limited to no appraisal as economic threat		
		D5	– Strong appraisal as economic benefit		D5		– No appraisal as economic threat at all		

Table 1: Directors' appraisals

beneficial and threatening (see Table 1). Moreover, when looking at the individual appraisals, the responses also indicate the expected ambivalence. Although tendencies go either towards rather beneficial (D1, D3, D4) or rather threatening (D2), opposing appraisals can be measured at least to a limited extent and for some of the sub-categories. The only deviant case is director D5 who has a strong appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial and totally rejects the view of asylum seekers as threatening to the receiving society. This deviation might be due to the influence of the hoteliers and the context of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, in which director D5 works. Therefore, the first hypothesis, with the exception of D5, can be seen to be proved true.

2. *Hypothesis: Beneficial appraisal is associated with an immigration policy directed at defending asylum seeker's rights. / Appraisal as rather threatening relates to a preferred immigration policy directed at protecting the receiving society.*

In all 13 cases, the participants' appraisals can serve as strong predictors for their policy preferences (see Table 2). Even fine nuances in appraisals are mirrored in their attitudes towards asylum policies. The correlation between the two variables is equally distinct for directors and hoteliers. The second hypothesis is thus affirmed by the findings of this study.

Case	Appraisal	Policy Preference
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Appraisal as benefit, in one case no evaluation – No appraisal as threat at all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – (Strong) appraisal as benefit, in two cases no evaluation – No appraisal as threat at all, in two cases no evaluation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers, in some cases no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories – Rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No evaluation possible for appraisal because of refusal to think in categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No evaluation possible for either policy preference because of refusal to think in categories

Case	Appraisal	Policy Preference
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No evaluation possible for appraisal because of refusal to think in categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No evaluation possible for either policy preference because of refusal to think in categories
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong appraisal as benefit – No appraisal as threat (at all) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Appraisal as benefit – No appraisal as threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – To certain extent rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – (Strong) appraisal as benefit, often no evaluation – No appraisal as threat at all, often no evaluation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Strongly rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mostly no evaluation, (limited) appraisal as benefit – No evaluation possible for threats because of refusal to think in categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Strongly rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society, In some cases no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Limited appraisal as benefit – Limited to no appraisal as threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Approving policy directed at protecting receiving society
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Limited to no appraisal as benefit – Appraisal as threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference to limited extent directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – Approving policy directed at protecting receiving society
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – (Strong) appraisal as benefit – (Limited to) no appraisal as threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – No evaluation possible because employed by government of Swabia
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Appraisal as benefit – Limited to no appraisal as threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – To certain extent approving policy directed at protecting receiving society
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – (Strong) appraisal as benefit – No appraisal as threat at all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Policy preference (strongly) directed towards protecting rights of asylum seekers – To certain extent rejecting policy directed towards protecting receiving society

Table 2: Appraisal-Policy preference coherence

3. *Hypothesis: The hoteliers in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis do not share the ambivalent attitudes of the government-employed directors.*

As Table 3 shows, hoteliers are quite clear about asylum seekers being a physical, economic, and especially cultural diversity as well as humanitarian benefit to the receiving society and strongly opposing the view of asylum seekers as a threat in all of the sub-categories.

Cate- gory	Sub-category	Cases	Evaluation of sub-category	Evaluation of category
Benefit	Physical	H1 - H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appraisal as physical benefit - In five cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appraisal as benefit - In many cases no evaluation possible
	Cultural diversity		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit - In four cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	
	Humanitarian		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit - In six cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	
	Economic		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Appraisal as economic benefit - In four cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	
Threats	Physical	H1 - H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No appraisal as physical threat at all - In four cases no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No appraisal as threat (at all) - In many cases no evaluation possible
	Social cohesion		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all - In four cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	
	Modernity		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No appraisal as modernity threat - In four cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	

Category	Sub-category	Cases	Evaluation of sub-category	Evaluation of category
	Economic		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No appraisal as economic threat at all – In three cases no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories 	

Table 3: Hoteliers

Besides the evaluations of the various statements, also the repeating refusal to rate the statements can be interpreted as a more extreme expression of this attitude towards asylum seekers taking into account the reasons why the statements were not evaluated.¹⁵⁵ The rigorous refusal to categorise asylum seekers and disapproval of the statements which are “in parts racist and based on stereotypes”¹⁵⁶ reflects a more vigorous attitude towards asylum seekers than that of the directors, who did not hesitate to evaluate the statements despite their impression of the statements as being generalising. The underlying philosophy of the Grandhotel to treat every guest, whether with or without asylum, equally as a traveller on the journey of life who found a temporarily common home, also demonstrates a very positive view of asylum seekers not as “the other” but as part of the group. This in turn displays that the hoteliers do not feel threatened by asylum seekers as you would not feel threatened by someone like yourself.¹⁵⁷ Another important point to raise is that the hoteliers, as opposed to the directors, did not at any moment mention the government. It can hence be presumed that they do not consider the government of Swabia much in the context of their daily work, which demonstrates a perceived independence from the government.

In summary, the data shows a clear appraisal of asylum seekers as beneficial and not threatening to the German society, with little to no deviance. Only one hotelier, H6, displays a more moderate opinion, although very limited, with an appraisal as modernity threat and just a slight appraisal of asylum seekers as a humanitarian benefit (see Table 4). However this deviation is very insignificant. All in all, it can therefore be concluded

¹⁵⁵ See footnotes 136, 137.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix A, H4.

¹⁵⁷ Paraphrased interview H1, 12/05/2016, line number 54f.

that the hoteliers have a definite idea of asylum seekers being beneficial for the German society which is not influenced by the attitude or decisions of the government of Swabia. An ambivalence is not visible in the responses of the hoteliers, quite the contrary, the hoteliers are very consistent in their appraisals. Consequently, the third hypothesis is affirmed by the data.

Cate- gory	Sub- cate- gory	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation sub-cate- gories
Benefit	Physical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that asylum seekers are usually calm, polite, friendly – Partial agreement that asylum seekers usually consume less alcohol – No applicability for tidiness and criminal behaviour 	No applicability when no grounded information or personal experience, rejects evaluating statements only based on feeling	Appraisal as physical benefit
	Cultural diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that asylum seekers introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial – Agreement that asylum seekers help Germans develop tolerance and openness, introduce Germans to cultures which they would otherwise not know 		(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit
	Humanitarian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that accepting asylum seekers rescues lives – Partial agreement that accepting asylum seekers makes Germans feel they act as positive example – Total disagreement that Germans show compassion because of World War II experiences – No applicability for asylum seekers support creating positive image of Germany in the world, support strengthening civil society in Germany 	No clear idea of composition of (German) civil society German image in the world should not be important in this context "The German culture" does not exist	Limited appraisal as humanitarian benefit

Cate- gory	Sub- cate- gory	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation sub-cate- gories
	Eco- nomic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that asylum seekers contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – No applicability for asylum seekers help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries, their native languages being helpful for German economy, asylum seekers make Germany economically more competitive 	No applicability if no grounded information or personal experience, rejects evaluating statements only based on feeling	No applicability because no fact-based information Appraisal as economic benefit
Threat	Physical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disagreement that asylum seekers frequently take drugs, are aggressive towards Germans – No applicability for asylum seekers carrying illnesses to Germany, stealing frequently, being a threat to German women, frequently working as prostitutes 		No appraisal as physical threat at all No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories
	Social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that asylum seekers are too different to become part of the German society – Total disagreement that asylum seekers harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) – No applicability for asylum seekers weakening German culture 	"The German culture" does not exist What really harms cohesion in society is our economic system	No appraisal as social cohesion threat
	Moder- nity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that asylum seekers are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women – Disagreement that the fact that asylum seekers often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, asylum seekers reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		Limited to no appraisal as modernity threat

Cate- gory	Sub- cate- gory	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation sub-cate- gories
	Eco- nomic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that asylum seekers use off German social security money – Disagreement that asylum seekers harm the German economy with their cheap work force – Total disagreement that asylum seekers harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, amount of their children decreases education quality 		No appraisal as economic threat

Table 4: Hotelier H6

The validation of the three hypotheses revealed that appraisals and policy preferences are different for the two focus groups. It could be shown that

- (1) directors of the centres perceive asylum seekers as both, beneficial and threatening, and that the ambivalence is likely to be connected to their professional relationship with the government,
- (2) policy preferences can be distinctively predicted by the appraisals for all study participants, and
- (3) hoteliers do not have an ambivalent perception of asylum seekers but instead appraise them as only beneficial to the German society.

7. Limitations of the study

The present thesis has several limitations. The author assesses the staff's attitudes as a main cause for the difference in perceived support reported by asylum seekers in Augsburg. Further studies would be needed to ascertain whether the staff members' attitudes really are a relevant factor in the worker-asylum seeker relationship and to identify other potentially important factors like for example health and hygiene standards or educational

offers.^{158,159} Furthermore, attitude-behaviour consistency is a supported but also contested theoretical construct. Whether or not attitudes guide people's behaviour has been widely debated. While a number of famous studies suggest that there is essentially no relation between someone's attitude and the person's behaviour, other studies have shown that sometimes attitudes do predict acting.^{160,161,162,163} Voting behaviour, for instance, could be predicted from pre-election attitudes for 85% of the respondents in a study conducted by Stanley Kelley and Thad Mirer.¹⁶⁴ Also for organ transplantation attitudes could be found to influence a person's behaviour.¹⁶⁵ Frankly, one can say that research has concluded everything from no relation whatsoever to almost perfect correlation. The question must thus be under which circumstances attitudes can predict behaviour. Icek Ajzen and Martin Fishbein found that attitudes can predict general behavioural patterns much better than a behaviour in a specific situation.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, awareness of one's feelings¹⁶⁷ as well as higher levels of moral reasoning¹⁶⁸ and a lower score in self-monitoring¹⁶⁹ also relate to a greater attitude-behaviour consistency. In addition, stronger attitudes

¹⁵⁸ Amara, M., Aquilina, D., Argent, E., Betzer-Tayar, M., Coalter, F., Green, M. & Taylor, J. (2004). The roles of sport and education in the social inclusion of asylum seekers and refugees: An evaluation of policy and practice in the UK. Retrieved September, No. 10, 2008.

¹⁵⁹ into Maternal, C. E. (2010). Seeking asylum and motherhood: health and wellbeing needs. *Community Practitioner*, 830(20), No. 3.

¹⁶⁰ Corey, S. M. (1937). Professed attitudes and actual behavior. *Journal of educational psychology*, No. 28(4), p. 271.

¹⁶¹ Kutner, B., Wilkins, C., & Yarrow, P. R. (1952). Verbal attitudes and overt behavior involving racial prejudice. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, No. 47(3), p. 649.

¹⁶² LaPiere, R. T. (1934). Attitudes vs. actions. *Social forces*, No. 13(2), pp. 230-237.

¹⁶³ Wicker, A. W. (1971). An examination of the "other variables" explanation of attitude-behavior inconsistency. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, No. 19(1), pp. 18.

¹⁶⁴ Kelley, S., & Mirer, T. W. (1974). The simple act of voting. *American Political Science Review*, No. 68(02), pp. 572-591.

¹⁶⁵ Goodmonson, C., & Glaudin, V. (1971). The Relationship of Commitment-Free Behavior and Commitment Behavior: A Study of Attitude Towards Organ Transplantation. *Journal of Social Issues*, No. 27(4), pp. 171-183.

¹⁶⁶ Ajzen, I./ Fishbein, M. (1977). Attitude-behavior relations: A theoretical analysis and review of empirical research. *Psychological Bulletin*, No. 84, pp. 888-918.

¹⁶⁷ Fazio, R.H./ Ewoldsen, D.R. (2005). Acting as we feel: When and how attitudes guide behavior. In T.C. Brock and M.C.Green (eds). *Persuasion: Psychological Insights and Perspectives*, 2005 (second edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p.45.

¹⁶⁸ Rholes, W.S./ Bailey, S. (1983). The effects of level of moral reasoning on consistency between moral attitudes and related behaviors. *Social Cognition*, No. 2, pp. 32-48.

¹⁶⁹ Snyder, M. (1987). *Public appearances/ Private realities: The psychology of self-monitoring*. New York: Freeman.

(“stronger” referring to the importance of the respective attitude to the person)¹⁷⁰, as well as a direct behavioural experience which connects the attitude to the object are more predictive for a subsequent behaviour.¹⁷¹ Likewise, more accessible attitudes, meaning attitudes that easily come to one’s mind have a stronger influence on behaviour.^{172,173} The thesis at hand thus presumes that the staff member’s attitudes do influence their behaviour since general attitudes (leading to general behavioural patterns) are being examined and since these attitudes are developed on the grounds of direct behavioural experience on a frequent basis. Therefore, the attitudes can be assumed to be easily accessible as well as of significant importance for the staff members.

Another obvious limitation of the thesis at hand is that it only investigates collective accommodation centres in Augsburg. Consequently, the study sample is very small. The results of the study therefore do not allow to deduce conclusions for the general attitudes of government-employed directors of collective accommodation centres in Germany. Moreover, the study cannot assess whether the hoteliers’ attitudes differ from those of the directors for more reasons than just their independence from the government of Swabia. The hoteliers are artists and activists and it is therefore likely that they are not necessarily in conformity with other government-independent staff members of accommodation centres. However, the time frame for this thesis made it impossible for the author to conduct a country-wide survey of the largely decentralised organised asylum seeker accommodation. The findings of this study can hence only serve as a suggestion but not as a definite explanation for the asylum seekers’ higher perceived support in the Grandhotel in comparison to the other collective accommodation centres. Furthermore, the predictive nature

¹⁷⁰ Petty, R.E. & Krosnick, J.A. (eds.), (1995). *Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

¹⁷¹ Regan, D.T. & Fazio, R.H. (1977). On the consistency between attitudes and behavior: Look to the method of attitude formation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, No. 13, pp. 38-45.

¹⁷² Blascovich, J., Ernst, J. M., Tomaka, J., Kelsey, R. M., Salomon, K. L., & Fazio, R. H. (1993). Attitude accessibility as a moderator of autonomic reactivity during decision making. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, No. 64(2), pp. 165.

¹⁷³ Fazio, R. H., Blascovich, J., & Driscoll, D. M. (1992). On the functional value of attitudes: The influence of accessible attitudes on the ease and quality of decision making. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, No. 18(4), pp. 388-401.

of the relationship between the explanatory variable ‘government-employed’ and the explained variables ‘asylum seeker appraisal’ and ‘policy preference’ rests on a theoretical and conceptual base and lacks previous knowledge from prior data assessments. The findings of the research are therefore based on cross-sectional data and would need additional longitudinal research to establish a lasting causality.

The fact that nearly all directors were female (four out of five) whereas the majority of hoteliers was male (six out of eight) also constitutes a restraint. Gender did not seem to have a significant impact on the appraisals and policy preferences of the hoteliers. For the directors, however, it is impossible to evaluate the gender effect since the only male director, D5, showed group deviations in appraisals and policy preferences. Previous studies have found, however, that the correlations between gender and attitudes are low.¹⁷⁴ It is thus fair to assume that the deviations are not caused by a gender bias. Likewise, age did not appear to impact the response behaviour of the hoteliers, but again cannot be excluded as a potential influencing factor for the directors, since director D5 was significantly younger than the four other directors (between 18 and 24 years old as opposed to 50 to 59 years old). A number of studies came to the conclusion that age is positively related to ethnic prejudice and even more significantly to right-wing attitudes.^{175,176,177,178} Moreover, cross-sectional survey data have revealed a tendency of older people to adhere to traditional values, social rules, and norms, in contrast to younger individuals.^{179,180}

As mentioned in the beginning of the thesis, the author developed the research interest during a visit to Augsburg, when she volunteered in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis. The

¹⁷⁴ Vecchione, M., Caprara, G., Schoen, H., Castro, J. L. G., & Schwartz, S. H. (2012). The role of personal values and basic traits in perceptions of the consequences of immigration: A three-nation study. *British Journal of Psychology*, No. 103, pp. 359-377.

¹⁷⁵ Franssen, V., Dhont, K., & Hiel, A. V. (2013). Age-Related Differences in Ethnic Prejudice: Evidence of the Mediating Effect of Right-Wing Attitudes. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, No. 23(3), pp. 252-257.

¹⁷⁶ Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2009). The crystallization of contemporary racial prejudice across the lifespan. *Political Psychology*, No. 30, pp. 569–590.

¹⁷⁷ Cornelis, I., Van Hiel, A., Roets, A., & Kossowska, M. (2009). Age differences in conservatism: evidence on the mediating effects of personality and cognitive style. *Journal of Personality*, No. 77, pp. 51–88.

¹⁷⁸ Truett, K. R. (1993). Age differences in conservatism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, No. 14, pp. 405–411.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Cornelis et al, 2009.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Truett, 1993.

personal experiences and consequential preference for the Grandhotel over the other centres bear a risk of a study bias. In the interest of avoiding such a bias the author chose to use standardised closed questions in the questionnaire, so as to guarantee an objective basis for the study. The trap of a personal preference bias is therefore minimised but may not be completely ruled out.

Finally, the differing interview situations with the directors and the hoteliers and the resulting disparity of the data material for the two focus groups constitute a certain constraint. Since not all participating hoteliers were at disposal for a detailed interview, seven out of eight filled out the questionnaire without the presence of the interviewer and only added short personal comments. The material is therefore thinner than that of the directors. The detailed interview with hotelier H1 aimed at compensating this imbalance. Nevertheless, all participants equally filled in the questionnaire, which was the basic source for the analysis.

8. Implications of the study

The present study provides some answers to the question of why it is that asylum seekers perceive support in the Grandhotel Cosmopolis and the remaining collective accommodation centres in Augsburg so differently. The differing perception of asylum seekers by directors and hoteliers and the impact of asylum seeker appraisals on policy preference have been analysed. The author suggests that the degree of litigation to government approval puts the directors in an ambivalent situation which negatively influences their appraisal of asylum seekers and thus the quality of advice and support for them.

A major contribution of the thesis at hand is that it demonstrates that directors are ambivalent not only as a group but also among themselves. Prior studies suggest that most people show patterns that indicate a perception of asylum seekers in a non-differentiated manner. They indiscriminatorily consider asylum seekers either as threatening or beneficial instead of developing a more in-depth discernment of them as being a threat to society

in some ways while being a benefit in others.¹⁸¹ The thesis at hand, however, obtained results that indicate that directors are not only ambivalent as a group but also within the individual. A plausible reason for the differing result is that the directors of collective accommodation centres have significantly more frequent and intimate personal contact with asylum seekers than the majority of the population which allows them to evolve a more differentiated attitude towards them.¹⁸² This thesis thus affirms the anticipated effect by Eugene Tartakovsky and Sophie Walsh of greater levels of contact on the sophistication of perception.¹⁸³

The findings of the present thesis furthermore suggest that it might be recommendable to assign responsibilities for collective housing centres to government-independent charity organisations like the Diakonie rather than keeping them in the hands of government-employed directors. The director of the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, D5, is the only director with looser ties to the government since he is employed by the Diakonie and only indirectly bound by the government. His response behaviour largely resembled that of the hoteliers which supports this suggestion. Besides, the comments on tensions between the Caritas and Diakonie on the one hand and the government on the other hand further support the observation that civil charity organisations are more humanitarian mannered and would probably be more willing to fully support asylum seekers without any ambivalent thoughts. On this note, it is particularly interesting and pleasant to mention that two Grandhotel Cosmopolis-affiliated projects are starting at present. The thesis will thus end by introducing these two new projects worth to be included in a succeeding study since they could well increase the sample of “hotelier-alike” workers in asylum accommodation centres.

One of the two new initiatives is the City Plaza hotel located in the city-centre of Athens, Greece. For many years, the City Plaza was closed because the owners were not able to make up for the declining revenue in the economic collapse. In this regard, the abandoned

¹⁸¹ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.89.

¹⁸² Ajzenstadt, M., & Shapira, A. (2012). Socio-legal construction of otherness under a neo-liberal regime: The case of foreign workers in the Israeli criminal courts. *British Journal of Criminology*, No. 52, pp. 685-704.

¹⁸³ Cf. Tartakovsky, Walsh, 2016, p.88f.

City Plaza was for a while nothing but a symbol of the Greek economic crisis.¹⁸⁴ Very recently, in June 2016, the City Plaza re-opened, this time not welcoming bourgeois travellers however still retaining its international character. The new guests came with little baggage and no money: they are asylum applicants mainly from Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan seeking refuge in Europe. Thanks to its old function as a hotel, the City Plaza's spacious infrastructure allows for more privacy than conventional collective accommodation centres. It holds a capacity for a maximum of 400 "hotel guests without asylum", with special care for the 185 minors.

The new type of use of the City Plaza had its starting point in April this year, when it was occupied by a group of activists who wanted to use the valuable resource in a time where many asylum seekers in Greece sleep outside in the streets or along the beaches. Today, the initiative has a far-reaching support in the civil society and is jointly run by the activists, volunteers, and the asylum seekers themselves. Not part of the supporting partners of the project is, however, the Greek state. Financial support or donations of food and goods by the government have not been given. But even without subsidies, the City Plaza is endowed with enough food, medical care and hygienic and clean premises. Even a hairdresser, a library and support offers in terms of language courses and legal advice are at the asylum seekers' disposal. Every person working in the City Plaza acts on a voluntary unsalaried basis.

Just like the hoteliers in the Grandhotel, all involved workers in the City Plaza make decisions collectively, with no perceptible hierarchies. The City Plaza's device is "We live together – solidarity will win" which demonstrates the underlying humanitarian motives of the initiative. The idea is that in particular in a situation of crisis and impoverishment, basic values and fundamental rights need to be upheld more than ever before. Again like the Grandhotel Cosmopolis, the City Plaza is therefore a manifested constant demonstration and lived "antithesis" of the politics made by the European and national elites.¹⁸⁵ Since the City Plaza project is still very new and non-established and lacks any kind of

¹⁸⁴ Grandhotel Cosmopolis Homepage, News (14.06.2016). The best hotel in Europe – Hotel City Plaza Athens. <http://grandhotel-cosmopolis.org/de/2016/06/14/the-best-hotel-in-europe/> (reviewed on 20.06.2016).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

institutional support, it relies fully on donations and trophy money from social engagement or peace prizes. Whether or not this Grandhotel's sister-initiative will manage to linger in the long-run remains to be seen.

The second Grandhotel-affiliated project to be presented here is called Bellevue di Monaco, located in Munich, Germany. The project was initiated by a broad alliance of asylum supporters, lawyers, social workers and experts, and cultural as well as political activists.¹⁸⁶ It can therefore be said that the personal composition in the Grandhotel was almost exactly copied for this project. What brings all these people with different backgrounds together is the aim for a more humane, welcoming and better treatment of asylum seekers and the conviction that such a change in treatment would be beneficial for all involved parties in the long-run. Asylum seekers that are already in Germany should be received in a friendly manner and the arising culture of compartmentalization should be strongly defeated. The alliance started out of the belief that also citizens of Munich are in need for a place where they can address all their pressing questions regarding the topics flight, migration, immigration, asylum, living together, or identity.¹⁸⁷ The project is still in the making and will try to provide a room for exactly this purpose once it is opened. It is meant to be a comfortable place for citizens of Munich as well as for asylum seekers who will find a temporary home in Bellevue di Monaco. The project officially started on 23 March 2015, when the alliance founded and registered a social co-operative with an elected board and supervisory council which is going to be the responsible body of the Welcoming Centre Bellevue di Monaco.¹⁸⁸

The driving force behind the idea was the so-called satire group Goldgrund of the Munich Lustspielhaus.¹⁸⁹ They convinced the government not to demolish the three abandoned old buildings in the city-centre, but to make them available for the social project. The three buildings belong to the former Munich Ensemble and are owned by the municipality which planned to replace the old buildings by a new residential complex. After three years

¹⁸⁶ Bellevue di Monaco Homepage. <http://bellevuedimonaco.de/das-bellevue/> (reviewed on 22.06.2016).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Kastner, B. (2014). Projekt Bellevue di Monaco. Zuhause im Herzen Münchens. Süddeutsche Zeitung Online (19.Juli 2014). <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/projekt-bellevue-di-monaco-zuhause-im-herzen-muenchens-1.2054076> (reviewed on 22.06.2016).

of discussion and cumbersome administrative and bureaucratic procedures, the municipality finally gave its approval for the social use of the buildings for the next 40 years on the 27 January 2016. The municipality also agreed to partly finance the renovations with 1.7 million euros.¹⁹⁰ Renovations are ongoing since mid-April. They are already seen as a joint project of citizens of Munich and asylum seekers which is meant to foster integrations.¹⁹¹

The central meeting point to have a cup of coffee or tea, a chat with friends, to become acquainted with each other, or play a game of pool, kicker and table tennis will be the so-called “information café”. Besides, many cultural facilities will be open to the public to interact in a creative environment. In addition to fun get-togethers also comprehensive legal advice as well as concrete support in daily life issues will be provided to asylum seekers and general information given to every person who is interested.¹⁹²

Asylum seekers who wish to do so will be involved in all house activities and the café will also be run with the help and honorary engagement of asylum seekers. In the accommodation part of Bellevue di Monaco altogether around 40 young asylum seekers will be placed side by side with 20 to 30 German adolescence who benefit from the youth welfare service of Munich and are supported in their process of re-installing a self-sufficient independent way of living.¹⁹³ Most of them will live in 14 flat-sharing apartments in the first renovated building for two people each. Furthermore, all available spaces of the two other buildings are planned to be used to accommodate unaccompanied minor asylum seekers. The apartments will be rented by the authorities of the youth welfare service. The children and adolescents will also be chosen and mentored by the youth welfare service provider. The service providers further help families and single parents to set up new perspectives. The main cultural room is regularly used for public events and the Munich

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Anlauf, T. (2016). Bei Bellevue di Monaco geht es los. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (07.06.2016). <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/muenchen/fluechtlinge-bei-bellevue-di-monaco-geht-es-los-1.2939120> (re-viewed on 22.06.2016).

¹⁹² Cf. Bellevue di Monaco Homepage.

¹⁹³ Cf. Anlauf, 2016.

Ensemble as well as other eligible facilities are located in the direct neighbourhood of Bellevue di Monaco and provide additional locations for cultural events.¹⁹⁴

For now, the Grandhotel Cosmopolis is the only “established” project of its kind in Germany. However, the asylum integration project has already inspired two new projects one of which has already opened its doors to asylum seekers. Many more interested people have visited the Grandhotel in the past years trying to understand its dynamics and concept with the intention to set up a similar project in other cities. This development is a positive sign and demonstrates strong civil society engagement. So far, experiences with these projects have been clearly positive which gives reason for hope that more “Grandhotels” and “City Plaza hotels” will emerge in the future.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Bellevue di Monaco Homepage.

Appendix A: Appraisal of asylum seekers (AS), parts 1-8

Category: Benefits

1. Sub-Category: Physical Benefits

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Appraisal Sub-category individual	Appraisal Sub-category group	Appraisal category individual	Appraisal Category group
H1	– No applicability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – AS as a very diverse crowd of people; only thing in common is being human; diverse societal and educational backgrounds, very different life stories and traumata – Try to overcome categorisations/generalisations because they make no sense; aim to put together diverse people which cannot be put together because people are different – What does it mean to be German? It is the Turkish guest-worker's son in the third generation as well as the old lady who has seen the Second World War and so on – Composition of AS even more diverse than German society, with different socialisations, cultural backgrounds, religions 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	Appraisal as physical benefit In five cases (almost) no evaluation possible due to refusal to think in categories	H1 benefits: appraisal as benefit, in 1 case no evaluation H1 threats: no appraisal as threat at all	Appraisal as benefit, in many cases no evaluation No appraisal as threat (at all), in many cases no evaluation
H2	– No applicability	– Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories		H2 benefits: (strong) appraisal as benefit, in 2 cases no evaluation H2 threats: no appraisal as threat at all, in 2 cases no evaluation	
H3	– No applicability	– Strong rejection of category "AS"	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories		H3 benefits: no evaluation H3 threats: no evaluation	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Appraisal Sub-category individual	Appraisal Sub-category group	Appraisal category individual	Appraisal Category group
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types – Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories		H4 benefits: no evaluation H4 threats: no evaluation	
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly and drink less alcohol than Germans – Agreement that AS are more tidy and clean as well as less criminal than Germans 		Strong appraisal as physical benefit		H5 benefits: strong appraisal as benefit H5 threats: no appraisal as threat (at all)	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly – Partial agreement that AS usually consume less alcohol – No applicability for tidiness and criminal behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability when no grounded information or personal experience, rejects evaluating statements only based on feeling 	Appraisal as physical benefit		H6 benefits: appraisal as benefit H6 threats: no appraisal as threat	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, and friendly, less criminal, and more tidy and clean than Germans – No applicability for alcohol consumption 		Limited appraisal as physical benefit		H7 benefits: (strong) appraisal as benefit, often no evaluation H7 threats: no appraisal as threat at all, often no evaluation	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly – No applicability for tidiness, alcohol consumption, criminal behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	<p>Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p> <p>Appraisal as physical benefit</p>		H8 benefits: mostly no evaluation, (limited) appraisal as benefit H8 threats: no evaluation	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Appraisal Sub-category individual	Appraisal Sub-category group	Appraisal category individual	Appraisal Category group	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partial agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly and less criminal than Germans Total disagreement that AS are more tidy and clean than Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statements are too general Personally not afraid of AS, experienced that AS men are protective towards her when another AS acts aggressively 	Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit Generalisations often make evaluation difficult	Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit (one exception: D3)	D1 benefits: limited appraisal as benefit D1 threats: limited to no appraisal as threat	Very mixed appraisals for benefits, no group evaluation possible	
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partial agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly and drink less alcohol than Germans Disagreement that AS are more tidy and clean as well as less criminal than Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> AS do not fare well in my opinion Issues with alcohol, drugs, criminality in centres only for men (much less in family residences) Question of reciprocity: less issues when responsive toward AS' queries There are always those and those - like in Germany too 	Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit		All cases mention generalisations in the statements, but no refusal to evaluate		D2 benefits: limited to no appraisal as benefit D2 threats: appraisal as threat
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly No applicability for alcohol use, clean- and tidiness, criminal behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Negative experiences are a rare exception Alcohol consumption, cleanness and criminal behaviour cannot be generalised (same as with Germans) Statements are ineligible, too general No applicability because not sure how to evaluate them 	Strong appraisal as physical benefit Generalisations often make evaluation difficult	D3 benefits: (strong) appraisal as benefit D3 threats: (limited to) no appraisal as threat			
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partial agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly and are more tidy and clean than Germans Disagreement that AS usually consume less alcohol than Germans No applicability for criminal behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No knowledge of criminal records of AS and German National and individual differences make it difficult to generalise Positively noticed that AS are able to overcome solve their issues amongst each other → find compromises easier than Germans 	Limited to no appraisal as physical benefit Generalisations often make evaluation difficult	D4 benefits: appraisal as benefit D4 threats: limited to no appraisal as threat			

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Appraisal Sub-category individual	Appraisal Sub-category group	Appraisal category individual	Appraisal Category group
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS are usually calm, polite, friendly – Partial agreement that AS usually consume less alcohol, are more clean and tidy and less criminal than Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Evaluation of statements rather impossible as "AS" is only a status, not a characteristic, statements are generalising – Personal experiences with AS positive 	(Limited) appraisal as physical benefit Generalisations often make evaluation difficult		D5 benefits: (strong) appraisal as benefit D5 threats: no appraisal as threat at all	

2. Sub Category: Cultural Diversity Benefit

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial – Agreement that AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness – No applicability for AS's introduction to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – AS as enriching and diversifying possibility for a society – In the Grandhotel diverse hotel guests live together; Grandhotel as a metaphor for a place where all humans are travellers in the journey of life who found a temporarily shelter – Spirit of a community 	(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit In 4 cases (almost) no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know 		Appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of category "AS" 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types – Aimed at categorizing people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know 		Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial – Agreement that AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which they would otherwise not know 		(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial – No applicability for AS helping Germans develop tolerance and openness, introducing Germans to cultures they would otherwise not know, AS helping Germans develop tolerance and openness 		Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS introduce Germans to cultures which they would otherwise not know – No applicability for AS introducing Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS helping Germans develop tolerance and openness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories Appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know 		Appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness – Partial agreement that AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know 		(Limited) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit (one exception: D2)

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D3	– Total agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know	– Impressed how many migrants are able to "switch" between cultures, especially children	Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
D4	– Total agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness – Agreement that AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know		(Strong) appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	
D5	– Total agreement that AS introduce Germans to new cultures which is beneficial, AS help Germans develop tolerance and openness, AS introduce Germans to cultures which Germans would otherwise not know		Strong appraisal as cultural diversity benefit	

3. Sub-Category: Humanitarian Benefit

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	– Agreement that accepting AS rescues lives – No applicability for Germans feeling they act as positive example, Germans showing compassion because of 2 nd World War experiences, AS support creating positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthening civil society in Germany	– Original idea of Grandhotel = utopia, push things to make this world a better place – Refuse to accept inequality, living in this in this privileged, rich country while excluding humans in need from this society in a cultural, social and economical way – Knowledge from own family background of how refugees were treated in Germany a generation ago, shocked how it still is nowadays – Maintain a good heart and a positive spirit, love for humankind and nature urges to do something	Strong humanitarian motives behind project No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	(Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit In 6 cases (almost) no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that accepting AS makes Germans feel they act as positive example, strengthens civil society in Germany - Agreement that accepting AS rescues lives - No applicability for Germans showing compassion because of 2nd World War experiences, AS support creating positive image of Germany in the world 		<p>Strong appraisal as humanitarian benefit</p> <p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong rejection of category "AS" 	<p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types - Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	<p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans feel they act as positive example, AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthens civil society in Germany, Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences 		<p>Strong appraisal as humanitarian benefit</p>	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives - Partial agreement that accepting AS makes Germans feel they act as positive example - Total disagreement that Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences - No applicability for AS support creating positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthening civil society in Germany 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No clear idea of composition of (German) civil society - German image if the world should not be important in this context - "The German culture" does not exist 	<p>Limited appraisal as humanitarian benefit</p>	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives – No applicability for Germans feeling they act as positive example, Germans showing compassion because of 2nd World War experiences, AS support creating positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthening civil society in Germany 		Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories Strong appraisal as humanitarian benefit	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives – Agreement that AS support strengthens civil society in Germany – Total disagreement that Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences – No applicability for Germans feeling they act as positive example, AS support creating positive image of Germany in the world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories Limited appraisal as humanitarian benefit	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that AS support strengthens civil society in Germany – Disagreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans feel they act as positive example, Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences, AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 23 different nationalities live in centre, noticed that most issues arise between "whites" and "blacks" → thought about separating the two "groups" but would be counter-productive for integration → have to get along 	Limited to no appraisal as humanitarian benefit	Mixed appraisals: in 3 cases (strong) appraisal, in 2 cases limited/no appraisal as humanitarian benefit
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences, AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world – Disagreement that AS support strengthens civil society in Germany, Germans feel they act as positive example 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – AS are "all in the same boat", have suffered from similar faiths, yet they hate each other → not understandable – No matter who is asking for help, as long as friendly and polite 	Limited to no appraisal as humanitarian benefit	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans feel they act as positive example, AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthens civil society in Germany - Agreement that Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If a pleasant person asks for help, impossible to say no → sometimes no time for administrative work because more important to support inhabitants - Occasional tensions between Caritas, Diakonie and volunteers on the one hand and director and government of Swabia on the other hand, because the latter cannot just consider the humanitarian perspective but have bureaucratic duties and strict regulations → cannot meet all desires of AS - Work can only be done if you are willing to help people in need 	(Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthens civil society in Germany - Agreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans feel they act as positive example, Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Important topics like the refugees in the 2nd World War come back to the media because of refugee crisis - Civil society is divided, but self-inflicted, not imposed by AS - We cannot save the world, if AS would have continued to come to Germany in these big numbers, wouldn't have been possible to handle → not beneficial for anyone - Believe it is necessary that people help themselves in order to advance 	Appraisal as humanitarian benefit	
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that accepting AS rescues lives, Germans feel they act as positive example, AS support creates positive image of Germany in the world, AS support strengthens civil society in Germany - Partial agreement that Germans show compassion because of 2nd World War experiences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Doing the work because convinced that it is important to do good, collect valuable experiences, happy to help 	(Strong) appraisal as humanitarian benefit	

4. Sub-Category: Economic Benefit

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS' native languages are helpful for German economy – Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – Total disagreement that AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries 		(Partial) appraisal as economic benefit	Appraisal as economic benefit
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	In 4 cases (almost) no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of category "AS" 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types – Aimed at categorizing people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – Partial agreement AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries, AS' native languages are helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive 		Appraisal as economic benefit	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – No applicability for AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries, AS' native languages being helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability when no grounded information or personal experience, rejects evaluating statements only based on feeling 	No applicability because no fact-based information Appraisal as economic benefit	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany , AS' native languages are helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive – No applicability for AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries 		Strong appraisal as economic benefit	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries – No applicability for AS contributing new knowledge and skills to Germany , AS' native languages being helpful for German economy, AS making Germany economically more competitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	<p>Almost no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p> <p>Limited appraisal as economic benefit</p>	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – Partial agreement AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries – Disagreement that AS' native languages are helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive 		Limited appraisal as economic benefit	Mixed appraisals: Limited to strong appraisal as economic benefit
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries, AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany – Disagreement that AS' native languages are helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive 		Limited to no appraisal as economic benefit	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany, AS' native languages are helpful for German economy 		Appraisal as economic benefit	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS' native languages are helpful for German economy, AS make Germany economically more competitive, AS help improving economic relations between Germany and their home countries, AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – AS support German economy (e.g. many jobs created with constructing and running of accommodation centres) – Increase in cultural and language skills makes Germany more competitive globally 	Strong appraisal as economic benefit	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D5	– Total agreement that AS contribute new knowledge and skills to Germany, AS' native languages are helpful for German economy		Strong appraisal as economic benefit	

Category: Threats

5. Sub-Category: Physical Threats

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, steal frequently, are a threat to German women, frequently work as prostitutes – No applicability for AS frequently taking drugs, AS being aggressive toward Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Accommodation centres often harbour many men with poor perspectives for a long time; it does something to people as well as to the atmosphere, to live crowded with no privacy and dignity; it creates problems – If asked whether asylum seekers steal, their situation needs to be taken into account: no hope for legal work, financial expectations of family in home country, social cut-downs by the state, fine for travelling without documents – Importance of creating awareness why asylum seekers commit crimes 	<p>No appraisal as physical threat at all</p> <p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	<p>No appraisal as physical threat at all</p> <p>In 4 cases no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>
H2	– No applicability	– Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H3	– No applicability	– Strong rejection of category "AS"	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H4	– No applicability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types – Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H5	– Total disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, steal frequently, are a threat to German women, frequently work as prostitutes, frequently take drugs, are aggressive toward Germans		No appraisal as physical threat at all	
H6	– Disagreement that AS frequently take drugs, are aggressive toward Germans – No applicability for AS carrying illnesses to Germany, stealing frequently, being a threat to German women, frequently working as prostitutes		No appraisal as physical threat at all No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H7	– Total disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, steal frequently, are a threat to German women, frequently work as prostitutes – No applicability for AS frequently taking drugs, AS being aggressive toward Germans		No appraisal as physical threat at all No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H8	– No applicability	– Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
D1	– Agreement that AS frequently take drugs – Partial agreement that AS are aggressive toward Germans – Disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, steal frequently, are a threat to German women	– Two drugs raids within first four weeks, both initiated by prosecution, director informed beforehand but does not prepare AS	Limited appraisal as physical threat	Mixed appraisals: one clear appraisal as physical threat, 3 more or less limited appraisals as threat, one clear appraisal as non-physically threatening
D2	– Total agreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, are a threat to German women – Agreement that AS are aggressive toward Germans – Partial agreement that AS frequently steal and take drugs	– Negative experience with aggressive father of a Roma family in the centre – Not happy about medical confidentiality in case of contagious illnesses of inhabitants	Appraisal as physical threat	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that AS frequently take drugs - Disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, are a threat to German women, are aggressive toward Germans - No applicability for AS stealing frequently, frequently working as prostitutes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Often lack of communication which leads to problems not particular in the centre but amongst humans in general 	Limited to no appraisal as physical threat	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, are a threat to German women, often work as prostitutes - Disagreement that AS steal and take drugs frequently - Total disagreement that AS are aggressive toward Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distinctions need to be made in assessing threat for German women, but generally higher precaution needed with AS - Women of other cultures (e.g. Nigerians) have very different relation to sexuality - Believe that many AS women work in prostitution to pay back smugglers - Great differences between Syrian (more civilised) and African men (and between African cultures) 	Limited to no appraisal as physical threat	
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that AS carry illnesses to Germany, steal frequently, are a threat to German women, frequently work as prostitutes, frequently take drugs, are aggressive toward Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communication flow works well between residents and director, therefore conflict potential minimised from the beginning 	No appraisal as physical threat at all	

6. Sub-Category: Modernity Threat

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish democratic environment that is open for all new inhabitants - Try to meet each other on an eye-level - "You have to create the world like you want it, otherwise it will come like you don't want it" 	No appraisal as modernity threat at all	No appraisal as modernity threat No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy - No applicability for AS being often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women, AS reintroducing outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous 	<p>No appraisal as modernity threat at all No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong rejection of category "AS" 	<p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types - Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	<p>No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>	
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy - Disagreement that AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		<p>No appraisal as modernity threat (at all)</p>	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women - Disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		<p>Limited to no appraisal as modernity threat</p>	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women – Disagreement that AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		No appraisal as modernity threat (at all)	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		No appraisal as modernity threat	Mixed appraisals: in three cases no appraisal as modernity threat (at all), in two cases (limited) appraisal as modernity threat
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) – Partial agreement that AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – „Women of fate“ (terrible experiences back home with violence and rape) are quiet and frugal 	(Limited) appraisal as modernity threat	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disagreement that AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) – Total disagreement that AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women 		No appraisal as modernity threat (at all)	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partial agreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women No applicability for AS reintroducing outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position of women in societies not primarily question of religion but traditions, traditions give feeling of security Education much different in African families: children are always around, never sent away, parents less cautious, let children explore freely 	Limited appraisal as modernity threat	
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total disagreement that the fact that AS often come from non-democratic, conservative countries is dangerous for German democracy, AS are often against gender equality and women's rights which is dangerous for German women, AS reintroduce outdated educational methods (e.g. corporal punishment) 		No appraisal as modernity threat at all	

7. Sub-Category: Social Cohesion Threat

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impossible to become part of a society nobody explains to you Great issue that people are excluded on the one hand but expected to integrate themselves in the German society on the other hand Ordinary accommodation centres are inside old factories/buildings in secluded areas far away from social and cultural life, or supermarkets; makes it difficult to participate in society Grandhotel as continuous protest for an inclusive society and equality of chances Create a different reality with a new inclusive society without borders Believe that we are all human beings who have to find a way to live together 	No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	<p>No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all</p> <p>In 4 cases (almost) no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stereotypes are myths - Not even clear what a German society is 		
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that AS are too different to become part of the German society - No applicability for AS weakening German culture, harming the feeling of togetherness in the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous 	No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong rejection of category "AS" 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statements in parts racist and based on stereotypes - Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 		No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that AS are too different to become part of the German society - Total disagreement that AS harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) - No applicability for AS weakening German culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "The German culture" does not exist - What really harms cohesion in society is our economic system 	No appraisal as social cohesion threat	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 		No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) – Total disagreement that AS are too different to become part of the society 		No appraisal as social cohesion threat (at all)	No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all (One exception: D2)
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) – Agreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society – Partial agreement that AS are too different to become part of the society 		Appraisal as social cohesion threat	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 		No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society – Total Disagreement that AS eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Reference to cultural freedom and human rights limited (example of covering a naked ancient statue during visit of Saudi Arabian officials) – Christianity has issue with itself (less and less members) → weakening independent from Islam (if anything, the presence of lived Islamic traditions can make weakening of Christianity more obvious) – Everybody will adapt to the new situation with more cultures living together, the Germans and hopefully also the AS 	No appraisal as social cohesion threat (at all)	
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS weaken German culture, harm the feeling of togetherness in the German society, are too different to become part of the society, eliminate Christianity with their religion (Islam) 		No appraisal as social cohesion threat at all	

8. Sub-Category: Economic Threats

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, use off German social security funds, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce, reduce social welfare of Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Refuse to live in comfort zone like most privileged Europeans Privilege of being German is not earned but random and therefore unfair No understanding why a part of the world enjoys privileges including freedom of movement and social insurance whereas the majority is excluded from that Grandhotel to set things straight, difficult because people don't have the same chances Disappointed by Western society members who participate in neo-liberal system Strong believe that everybody has responsibility to improve the world situation Outrage about few people owning most of the world's money since long time 	No appraisal as economic threat at all	<p>No appraisal as economic threat at all</p> <p>In 3 cases no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong rejection of category "AS" 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	No evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, amount of AS' children decreases education quality – Total disagreement that are the cause of rising apartment prices, use off German social security funds, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce, reduce social welfare of Germans 		No appraisal as economic threat	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Partial agreement that AS use off German social security funds – Disagreement that AS harm the German economy with their cheap work force – Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, amount of AS' children decreases education quality 		No appraisal as economic threat	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, use off German social security funds, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce, reduce social welfare of Germans, amount of AS' children decreases education quality 		No appraisal as economic threat at all	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, use off German social security funds, reduce social welfare of Germans, amount of AS' children decreases education quality, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce 		No appraisal as economic threat at all	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that amount of AS' children decreases education quality, AS use off German social security funds - Disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, reduce social welfare of Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Accommodation centre offers voluntary 80€-jobs to residents (relates to 1€ per hour) 	Limited to no appraisal as economic threat	Mixed appraisals: one appraisal as economic threat, 3 more or less limited appraisals as threat, one clear appraisal as non-economically threatening
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that AS use off German social security funds, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce, reduce social welfare of Germans - Agreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, are the cause of rising apartment prices, amount of AS' children decreases education quality - Partial agreement that AS take away work from Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Roma people do not pay tax in any country - Some AS only come to Germany because they believe all costs will be covered for them, very demanding → put a spoke in their wheel 	Appraisal as economic threat	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that amount of AS' children decreases education quality, AS use off German social security funds - Disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause of rising apartment prices, reduce social welfare of Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schools are overloaded, welfare costs naturally increase with AS 	Limited to no appraisal as economic threat	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agreement that AS are the cause of rising apartment prices - Disagreement that amount of AS' children decreases education quality, AS harm the German economy with their cheap workforce - Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, use off German social security funds, reduce social welfare of Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not social welfare money is used off but taxes - Some schools in villages would have been closed due to lack of students, thanks to new demand by AS' children schools can stay open (education quality possibly reduced, but social and intercultural skills children learn instead make up for that) 	Limited to no appraisal as economic threat	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation Sub-category individual	Evaluation Sub-category group
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that AS harm German economy by sending money home, take away work from Germans, are the cause for rising apartment prices, use off German social security funds, harm the German economy with their cheap workforce, reduce social welfare of Germans, amount of AS' children decreases education quality 		No appraisal as economic threat at all	

Appendix B: Policy Preference, parts 1-2

1. Category: Directed at protecting rights of asylum seekers (AS)

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Problem that asylum seekers had no opportunities to work three years ago 	<p>Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS</p>	<p>Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS</p> <p>In some cases no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Total agreement that AS should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care No applicability for AS being paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generalisations to such an extent are preposterous 	<p>Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS</p> <p>In some cases no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong rejection of category "AS" 	<p>No evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	<p>No evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care 		Policy preference strongly directed towards protecting rights of AS	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care – Partial agreement that AS should get free German language classes – Total disagreement that AS should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – AS should get residence permit earlier than after 10 years of living in Germany with no criminal behaviour 	Policy preference directed toward protecting rights of AS	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care 		Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get work permit as soon as possible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them 	Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No applicability for AS getting same social welfare benefits as Germans, getting residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), getting free basic health care 			
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance – Agreement that AS should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care – Partial agreement that AS should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour) 		Policy preference directed toward protecting rights of AS	Policy preference directed toward protecting rights of AS
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes – Agreement that AS get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care – Partial agreement that AS should get the same social/psychological support as Germans – Disagreement that AS should enjoy same maternity rights as Germans, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans 		Policy preference to limited extent directed toward protecting rights of AS	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care – No applicability for AS getting residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour) 		Policy preference strongly directed toward protecting rights of AS	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that should enjoy same maternity rights as Germans, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get free basic health care, should get residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour) – Agreement that AS should get the same social/psychological support as Germans – Partial agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, should get free German language course 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Minimum wage yes, but only if state ensures AS do a well job so that employers don't pay extra – Same rights only after asylum status has been accepted – Everybody benefits if AS are doing better – Same free school education for AS' children so that in case they are deported, they at least learned something – Work permit as quickly as possible to give life new meaning, appreciation for self, new task and therefore less time to think about past, reduces aggression potential 	Policy preference directed toward protecting rights of AS	
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that AS should be paid minimum wage and covered by insurance, AS' children should get free school education like German children, AS should get free German language classes, should get work permit as soon as possible, should get same social welfare benefits as Germans, residence permit after living in Germany for 10 years (no criminal behaviour), get free basic health care – Agreement that AS should enjoy same maternity rights and social/psychological support as Germans, AS' children should get health care under same conditions as German children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Importance of acting as voice for AS → represent their interests 	Policy preference (strongly) directed toward protecting rights of AS	

2. Category: Directed at protecting rights of receiving society

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
H1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that AS who work illegally, should pay fine, companies which employ AS illegally should be punished – Total disagreement that AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Friend who had to leave Germany and go back to Chechnya was forced by Russian military to fight in the war in Donetsk; fearing for his life 	Rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society	Rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
	<p>should be detained until deportation, should be offered money to leave Germany</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability for Germany protecting borders to prevent illegal immigration, Germany constructing more detention centres for illegal immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Travelled to EU external borders to get better impression of the situation - Even if Roma families do not face torture or death threatening, they are excluded from many things - "Durchmischungsideale": avoid physically isolating marginalised groups of society - People shouldn't be living in camps because that prevents integration - Isolation of asylum seekers creates fear on both sides 		<p>In some cases no evaluation possible because refusal to think in categories</p>
H2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partial agreement that companies which employ AS illegally should be punished - Total disagreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation - No applicability for AS paying fine for working illegally, Germany constructing more detention centres for illegal immigrants, AS being offered money to leave Germany 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generalizations to such an extent are preposterous 	<p>Rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society</p>	
H3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strong rejection of category "AS" 	<p>No evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>	
H4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Statements in parts racist and based on stereo types - Aimed at categorising people, division between "AS" and "Germans" is not helpful 	<p>No evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories</p>	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
H5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total agreement that companies which employ AS illegally should be punished – Disagreement that AS who work illegally, should pay fine – Total disagreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation, Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants, AS should be offered money to leave Germany 		Rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society	
H6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agreement that Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants – Disagreement that companies which employ AS illegally should be punished, AS who work illegally, should pay fine – Total disagreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation – No applicability for AS being offered money to leave Germany 		To certain extent rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society	
H7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total disagreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation, Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants, AS should be offered money to leave Germany – No applicability for companies which employ AS illegally being punished, AS who work illegally, paying fine 		Strongly rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society	
H8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Total Disagreement that AS should be prohibited to send money home, AS should be offered money to leave Germany – No applicability for Germany constructing more detention centres for illegal immigrants, illegal immigrants being consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants being deported, illegal immigrants being detained until deportation, companies which employ AS illegally being punished, AS who work illegally paying fine 	Strong rejection of statements as such → unwilling to evaluate them	Strongly rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society In some cases no evaluation possible because of refusal to think in categories	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
D1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation, companies which employ AS illegally should be punished, AS who work illegally, should pay fine - Disagreement that AS should be offered money to leave Germany, Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants, AS should be prohibited to send money home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - AS sometimes behave like children - After 10 pm no visitors allowed anymore (consequence of defiance: house ban) - Two drugs raids within first four weeks, both initiated by prosecution, director informed beforehand but does not prepare AS - Feeling need to defend "her AS" when media report negatively 	Approving policy directed at protecting receiving society	(To certain extent) approving policy directed at protecting receiving society
D2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal immigrants should be detained until deportation, companies which employ AS illegally should be punished, AS who work illegally, should pay fine - Agreement that AS should be prohibited to send money home - Total disagreement that AS should be offered money to leave Germany, Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Illegal immigrants should be sent away immediately 	Approving policy directed at protecting receiving society	
D3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No applicability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Policy statements" cannot be answered the way she would as private person because of government of Swabia - Occasional tensions between Caritas, Diakonie and volunteers on the one hand and director and government of Swabia on the other hand, because the latter cannot just consider the humanitarian perspective but have bureaucratic duties and strict regulations → cannot meet all desires of AS 	No evaluation possible because employed by government of Swabia	
D4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that AS who work illegally should pay fine, companies which employ AS illegally should be punished - Agreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, illegal immigrants should be deported - Disagreement that Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government of Swabia gives director free rein to manage centre her own way as long as nothing goes wrong - Germany is one of the causal agents of "economic refugees" (economic exploitation of developing countries), compared to 	To certain extent approving policy directed at protecting receiving society	

Case	Statements	Paraphrased comments	Evaluation manifestation individual	Evaluation manifestation group
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total disagreement that AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be detained until deportation, should be offered money to leave Germany - No applicability for AS being more consequently sought and arrested 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> that financial damage caused by sending money to home countries extremely little - No more detention centres, better to just register immigrants as AS for normal process - No illegal employment for AS (potential of exploitation) but better to change labour law 		
D5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Total agreement that AS who work illegally should pay fine - Agreement that companies which employ AS illegally should be punished, AS should be paid money to leave Germany - Disagreement that Germany should construct more detention centres for illegal immigrants - Total disagreement that Germany should protect borders to prevent illegal immigration, AS should be prohibited to send money home, illegal immigrants should be consequently sought and arrested, illegal immigrants should be deported, illegal should be detained until deportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Directing institution of this centre is Diakonie, however on behalf of government of Swabia (has to abide by instructions) 	To certain extent rejecting policy directed toward protecting receiving society	

Appendix C: Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D1, 10/05/2016

- 1 *Mitarbeiter der Unterkunft: 1 Heimleitung, 1 Hausmeister, an einigen Tagen jeweils 1*
2 *Beraterin der Caritas und der Diakonie // Staff working in the centre: 1 director, 1 care taker,*
3 *on some days 1 advisor of Caritas and Diakonie respectively.*
- 4 *Spaß an der Arbeit, jeder Tag sieht etwas anders aus // Fun at work, every day looks*
5 *different.*
- 6 *Zu allgemein formulierte Statements // Statements are too general.*
- 7 *Keine Angst vor Bewohnern, eher erlebt, dass Bewohner der Heimleiterin gegenüber*
8 *beschützend auftreten, wenn andere Bewohner wütend werden // Not afraid of residents,*
9 *experienced that some residents are protective toward director when other residents become*
10 *aggressive.*
- 11 *Reine Männerunterkunft, zwei Drogenrazien innerhalb von 4 Wochen, von Staatsanwaltschaft*
12 *festgelegt, Heimleitung wird lediglich im Vorfeld informiert // Centre purely form men, two*
13 *drugs raids within four weeks, director is informed by prosecution beforehand.*
- 14 *Keine Security, da bisher keine Bedrohung von rechter Gewalt // No security because so far*
15 *no threats by Neo-Nazis.*
- 16 *Besuche jeglicher Art nach 22.00 untersagt, falls dennoch Besucher auftauchen droht*
17 *Hausverbot // All kinds of visits are prohibited after 10 pm, if rule is defied, visitor get barred.*
- 18 *Verhalten ein bisschen wie das von Kindern (z.B. Austesten von Grenzen) // Asylum seekers*
19 *behave a bit like children (they test their limits).*
- 20 *23 Nationen in der Unterkunft vertreten, auffällig, dass es untereinander eine Unterscheidung*
21 *anhand der Hautfarbe gibt: Probleme zwischen „Schwarzen“ und „Weißen“, Überlegung sie*
22 *anhand der Konfliktlinie zu trennen, wäre aber wider Integrationsbemühungen, müssen mit*
23 *einander auskommen // 23 nations live in the centre, noticed that there is a cleavage line*
24 *between „black“ and „white“ asylum seekers, thought about separating them accordingly, but*
25 *counter-productive for integration efforts, have to get along.*
- 26 *Unterkunft bietet Bewohnern 80€-Jobs an (entspricht dem klassischen 1€-Job), wer sich „zu*
27 *gut“ dafür ist, selber schuld // Centre offers 80€-jobs to residents (corresponds to 1€ per hour-*
28 *job), some people think they are „too good“ for those jobs, their loss.*
- 29 *Asylbewerber haben an einer Schule Drogen an Schüler verkauft, darüber reißerisch*
30 *geschriebener Artikel, Bedürfnis eigene Asylbewerber zu verteidigen, wo beispielsweise*
31 *kaufen die Asylbewerber die Drogen? → von Deutschen natürlich // Asylum seekers sold*
32 *drugs to students, was published in a sensational article in a local newspaper, feels like*
33 *defending „her“ asylum seekers, where do they get the drugs from? → bought from Germans*
34 *of course.*
- 35 *Grund für Beruf: mit über 50 Jahren dringend nach einer Anstellung gesucht // Why in this*
36 *job: looked desperately for a job when already more than 50 years old.*
- 37 *Seit circa einem Jahr tätig als Heimleiterin // Works as director for about one year.*

Appendix D: Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D2, 11/05/2016

- 1 *Bei mir schneiden die Asylbewerber nicht gut ab // Asylum seekers do not fare well in my*
2 *opinion.*
- 3 *Deutlicher Unterschied zwischen Familienunterkünften und reinen Männerunterkünften // Big*
4 *difference between family accommodation and accommodation centres only for men.*
- 5 *Männerunterkünfte sind deutlich chaotischer (mehr Probleme mit Drogen, Alkohol,*
6 *Kriminalität) // Men accommodation centres much more chaotic (more problems with drugs,*
7 *alcohol, criminality).*
- 8 *Alle Flüchtlinge sitzen im selben Boot, haben ähnliche Schicksale erlitten, dennoch*
9 *gegenseitiger Hass → das ist schwer nachvollziehbar // All asylum seekers are in the same*
10 *boat, are suffering similar fates, yet they hate each other → difficult to understand.*
- 11 *Negative Erfahrung mit übergriffigem Vater einer Roma Familie, 2. Gerichtstermin steht nun*
12 *bevor, da der Mann zu dem ersten Termin nicht erschienen ist, alles auf Kosten der Steuern,*
13 *die von Roma Familien nicht mitgetragen werden, da Roma in keinem Land Steuern zahlen //*
14 *Negative experience with a violent father of a Roma family, now second court hearing*
15 *imminent because he did not attend the last meeting, all costs are covered by taxes, Roma do*
16 *not pay taxes in any country.*
- 17 *Illegale Einwanderer sollten sofort wieder zurückgeschickt werden // Illegal immigrants*
18 *should be sent away immediately.*
- 19 *Nicht vom Gesundheitsamt bei Bewohnern mit ansteckenden Krankheiten informiert, da wider*
20 *der ärztlichen Schweigepflicht, schwierig, da man als Heimleitung eine Verantwortung für*
21 *das Wohl aller Bewohner trägt // Health ministry does not inform in case resident has*
22 *contagious disease, because of medical confidentiality, finds that difficult, because director is*
23 *responsible for well-being of all residents.*
- 24 *In der xxx Straße sehr wenige Probleme mit Asylbewerbern, je mehr Eingegangen wird auf*
25 *die Bitten/Anfragen der Bewohner, desto weniger Probleme // In xxx street little problems*
26 *with asylum seekers, the more one interest shown in queries of asylum seekers, the less issues*
27 *there are.*
- 28 *„Schicksalsfrauen“ (schlimme Erfahrungen in der Heimat, u.a. Vergewaltigung und Gewalt)*
29 *sind sehr genügsam, andere Asylbewerber kommen dagegen vor allem, da sie gehört haben in*
30 *Deutschland kann man viel bezahlt kriegen, sind sehr fordernd → Strich durch die Rechnung*
31 *// „women of fate“ (awful experiences in their home countries, i.a. rape, violence) are*
32 *undemanding and easily satisfied, other asylum seekers only come to Germany because they*
33 *believe all costs will be covered for them, very demanding → put a spoke in their wheel.*
- 34 *Egal wer kommt, so lange freundlich und höflich angefragt wird, wird gerne geholfen // No*
35 *matter who has a request, as long as friendly and polite she happily helps*
- 36 *Es gibt immer solche und solche, wie in Deutschland auch // There are always those and*
37 *those, like in Germany, too.*

38 *Seit circa 16 Jahren Arbeit mit Asylbewerbern, seit circa 1,5 Jahren Leitung von Unterkunft //*
39 For about 16 years work with asylum seekers, director since 1.5 years.

40 *Nie bewusst dazu entschieden, diese Arbeit zu machen, eher durch Arbeit in ähnlichen*
41 *Bereichen „hineingerutscht“ //* Never decided to do this job, rather slipped into the position
42 because worked in similar fields before.

Appendix E: Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D3, 13/05/2016

- 1 *Negative Erfahrungen sind absolute Ausnahme* // Negative experiences are a rare exception.
- 2 *Zu Alkohol: lässt sich nicht „durch die Bank“ sagen, genauso bei Sauberkeit und Kriminalität*
3 *→ ähnlich wie bei Deutschen* // About alcohol consumption: cannot be said in general, same
4 with cleanliness and criminality → similar to Germans.
- 5 *Fragestellung unglücklich, pauschal oft nicht zu beantworten* // Infelicitous wording,
6 statements are often not rateable in general.
- 7 *Schulen sind überlastet und Sozialhilfegelder werden zwangsläufig verbraucht* // Schools are
8 overloaded, social welfare budget is inevitably used off.
- 9 *Oft „keine Angabe“, da nicht sicher gewusst oder unsicher, wie zu beurteilen* // Often put „no
10 applicability“ because not sure how to answer, no sufficient knowledge.
- 11 *Viele Immigranten (ab 2. Generation) können leicht zwischen ihren Kulturen „switchen“:*
12 *Beispiel des Films über eine in Deutschland lebende Familie mit türkischen Wurzeln → sehr*
13 *beeindruckend* // Many immigrants (in the second or more generation) can easily switch
14 between their cultures: example of a family of Turkish origin living in Germany → very
15 impressive.
- 16 *„Politische Fragen“ können aufgrund der Regierung Schwaben nicht so beantwortet werden,*
17 *wie es als Privatperson auf der Straße möglich wäre* // Political questions cannot be answered
18 the way she would as private person because of employment by government of Swabia.
- 19 *Große Hilfe durch ehrenamtlich engagierte Unterstützercreise* // Huge support by volunteers.
- 20 *Leistet mehr Hilfe über eigentliche Arbeit hinaus, als es in ihrem Job gedacht ist;*
21 *Arbeitsbereiche schwer trennbar, eigentlich nur Verwaltungsaufgaben* // Provides more
22 support to asylum seekers than job requires, work areas difficult to separate, should actually
23 do only administrative tasks.
- 24 *Wenn ein sympathischer Mensch um Hilfe bittet, nicht nein sagen können → Prioritäten dann*
25 *manchmal eher zugunsten der Unterstützung von Menschen auf Kosten liegenbleibender*
26 *Verwaltungsaufgaben* // Cannot say no to a nice person → priority sometimes on individual
27 support rather than on administrative functions, which are left undone.
- 28 *Oft fehlt Kommunikation und das führt zu Problemen (nicht in dieser Unterkunft sondern*
29 *allgemein zwischen Menschen)* // Often a lack of communication is cause for problems
30 (talking in general).
- 31 *Manchmal kommt es zu Spannungen zwischen der Caritas, Diakonie und den*
32 *Unterstützercreisen auf der einen und der Heimleitung bzw. Regierung Schwaben auf der*
33 *anderen Seite, da „Unterstützter“ die Situation aus rein menschlicher aber nicht aus*
34 *verwaltungstechnischer Sicht betrachten und beurteilen → Reg Schwaben schreibt feste*
35 *Regeln vor, die eingehalten werden müssen, da ist es leider nicht immer möglich, jedem*
36 *Wunsch nachzukommen* // There are sometimes tensions between Caritas, Diakonie and the
37 volunteers on the one hand, and the director representing the government on the other hand
38 because they only see the „humanitarian“ perspective, but not the administrative part →

- 39 government of Swabia sets strict rules which directors have to abide by, unfortunately not
40 always possible to meet all requests.
- 41 *Macht Arbeit sehr gerne, auch wenn härter als zunächst gedacht* // Enjoys the work, although
42 tougher than first expected.
- 43 *Wichtig, sich im Bereich Asyl zu engagieren* // It is important to get engaged in asylum field.
- 44 *Man kann die Arbeit nur machen, wenn man auch das Bedürfnis hat Menschen in Not zu*
45 *helfen* // You can only do this work if you want to help people in need.

Appendix F: Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D4, 12/05/2016

- 1 *Viel Engagement über eigentliche Arbeitszeit hinaus, Regierung von Schwaben lässt der*
2 *Heimleiterin ziemlich freie Hand, so lange die Unterkunft problemlos läuft // Strong*
3 *engagement beyond working hours, government of Swabia is relatively tolerant as long as*
4 *no problems arise in accommodation centre.*
- 5 *Spaß an der Arbeit, viel Unterstützung für die Bewohner der Unterkunft (z.B. Hilfe bei der*
6 *Suche nach geeignetem Ausbildungsplatz) // Enjoys the work, supports the residents of the*
7 *centre a lot (e.g. helps with finding an appropriate apprenticeship training position).*
- 8 *Art der Unterkunft (Familien-, Männerunterkünfte, Aussiedler, Asylbewerber,*
9 *Herkunftsländer der Bewohner usw.) wirkt sich auf die Einschätzung der Statements in*
10 *dem Fragebogen aus // Type of accommodation (family, only men, emigrants, asylum*
11 *seekers, nationalities etc.) relevant for evaluation of statements.*
- 12 *Nicht ausreichend informiert über Kriminalität von Asylbewerbern im Vergleich zu*
13 *Deutschen // No sufficient knowledge to evaluate criminal behaviour of asylum seekers*
14 *compared to Germans.*
- 15 *Man kann nicht pauschalisieren, da persönliche und nationale Unterschiede (so wie auch*
16 *innerhalb Deutschlands) // One cannot generalise because of the differences in*
17 *nationalities and personalities (just like in Germany).*
- 18 *Asylbewerber helfen der deutschen Wirtschaft (z.B. viele Arbeitsplätze durch Bau und*
19 *Unterhaltung von Unterkünften geschaffen) // Asylum seekers push the German economy*
20 *(they for example provide new jobs in construction and maintenance of accommodation*
21 *centres).*
- 22 *Information, das in 2 Dörfern Schulen, die sonst aufgrund der geringen Schülerzahl*
23 *hätten geschlossen werden müssen, nun dank der Kinder von Asylbewerbern weiter*
24 *gebraucht werden (möglicherweise geringere Unterrichtsqualität durch Kinder von*
25 *Asylbewerbern wird aufgewogen, da gesteigerte soziale Kompetenz und interkultureller*
26 *Austausch im jungen Alter nun eine deutliche Bereicherung für deutsche Kinder*
27 *darstellen) // Knowledge that two schools in different villages were planned to be closed*
28 *because of the only small numbers of children. Thanks to the asylum seeker's children the*
29 *schools are now still needed (quality of classes might suffer because of asylum seeking*
30 *children, but also German pupils learn important social and intercultural skills which is*
31 *even more beneficial and important).*
- 32 *Nicht Sozialhilfegelder werden von Asylbewerbern aufgebraucht, sondern Steuergelder //*
33 *Not social welfare money is used off by asylum seekers but taxes.*
- 34 *Bedrohung für deutsche Frauen durch männliche Asylbewerber differenziert zu sehen →*
35 *latent höhere Aufmerksamkeit nötig (persönlich bisher überhaupt keine Probleme dieser*
36 *Art gehabt) // Imminence for German women due to the presence of asylum seekers needs*
37 *to be seen distinguishably, it is true that a constant higher alertness is necessary (personally*
38 *absolutely no problems of this kind).*

39 *Zu Prostitution: Frauen anderer Kulturen oft sehr anderes Verhältnis zu Sexualität (z.B.*
40 *Nigerianische Frauen) → Verdacht das einige Frauen als Prostituierte arbeiten um*
41 *Schlepper-Schulden zu bezahlen // About prostitution: women of other cultures often have*
42 *a very different way of living their sexuality (for example Nigerian women), I have the*
43 *suspicion that some women work as prostitutes to pay back human smugglers.*

44 *Hausbewohner haben häufig die Fähigkeit demonstriert ihre internen Schwierigkeiten*
45 *selbst zu klären → bewundernswert // Residents of the centre have demonstrated multiple*
46 *times that they can solve issues amongst each other without the involvement of the*
47 *director, that shows an impressive ability to solve their own problems.*

48 *Wichtige Themen werden in Deutschland durch die Flüchtlingskrise wieder angestoßen:*
49 *z.B. Fluchterfahrungen im 2. Weltkrieg // Important topics are discussed again because of*
50 *the refugee crisis (for example own fleeing experience in the Second World War).*

51 *Zivilgesellschaft wird gespalten, dies ist aber selbstverschuldet und nicht von*
52 *Asylbewerbern provoziert // Civil society is divided, however this is not the fault of the*
53 *asylum seekers but self-inflicted.*

54 *Berufung auf Menschenrechte und kulturellen Freiraum hat auch Grenzen (z.B.*
55 *Staatsbesuch Saudi Arabiens in Rom, Abdeckung nackter Statur) // Invoking human rights*
56 *and cultural freedom for justification needs to have limits (example of coverage of nude*
57 *antique sculpture in Rome during state visit from Saudi Arabia).*

58 *Christentum hat mit sich selbst ein Problem (immer weniger Glaubensanhänger in*
59 *Deutschland), Schwächung ist unabhängig vom Islam (höchstens der deutliche stärker*
60 *gelebte Glauben im Islam könnte den Christentum schwächer aussehen lassen) //*
61 *Christianity has a problem within itself (it is losing its denomination in Germany),*
62 *however this weakening is not caused by the Islam (merely the much more visible*
63 *traditions of Muslims could make Christianity look even more fainting).*

64 *Alle werden sich dem neuen Zusammenleben anpassen („anpassen“=blödes Wort), wir*
65 *Deutsche und hoffentlich auch die Asylbewerber // Everybody will have to adopt to the*
66 *new living together („adaptation“ not a good word), us Germans as well as hopefully the*
67 *asylum seekers.*

68 *Deutschland wird global wettbewerbsfähiger durch mehr Sprachen, mehr Kulturen //*
69 *Germany becomes globally more economically competitive with more spoken languages*
70 *and more cultures.*

71 *Stellung der Frau in anderen Ländern oft nicht primär Frage des Glaubens sondern der*
72 *Gewohnheit, Gewohnheiten geben Sicherheit // Position of women in other countries are*
73 *often not primarily a question of religion but much more a question of traditions, and*
74 *traditions give people a feeling of security.*

75 *Erziehung unterscheidet sich deutlich: Kinder in afrikanischen Familien sind immer bei*
76 *dem Erwachsenen, werden nie rausgeschickt, mit gewissem Alter sollen sie*
77 *selbstentdecken, selbst ausprobieren (weniger mütterliche Vorsicht) // Educational*
78 *methods differ a lot: children in African families are always together with the adults, they*
79 *are never asked to leave the room, when they reach a certain age they are expected to*
80 *learn from their own experiences, try things out (less motherly caution).*

81 *Deutliche Unterschiede im Verhalten von Syrern (zivilisierter) und Afrikanern (auch hier*
82 *deutliche nationalitätenabhängige Unterschiede) // Noticeable differences in the*
83 *behaviour of Syrians (more civilised) and Africans (also here significant variances*
84 *according to nationalities).*

85 *Mindestlohn ja, aber der Staat muss auch gewährleisten, dass die Asylbewerber so gute*
86 *Arbeit leisten, dass Arbeitgeber nicht draufzahlen müssen // Yes to minimum wage, but*
87 *the state also has to make sure that asylum seekers perform well in their jobs, so that*
88 *employers are not losing money.*

89 *Gleiche Rechte ebenfalls, allerdings erst nach der Anerkennung des Asylstatus in*
90 *Deutschland (z.B. Kindergeld) // Yes to equal rights in general, but only after asylum has*
91 *been granted (for example child allowance).*

92 *Alle profitieren in jeder Hinsicht, wenn es Asylbewerbern wieder besser geht // Everybody*
93 *benefits in all possible ways if the situation of asylum seekers improves.*

94 *Schulbildung auch für Asylbewerber, so dass selbst im Falle der Ablehnung noch Wissen*
95 *mit zurück genommen werden kann // School education should also be provided for*
96 *asylum seekers so that if they are deported, at least they could profit from our educational*
97 *system for a while.*

98 *Wir können nicht die ganze Welt retten, wären weiterhin so viele Asylbewerber nach*
99 *Deutschland gekommen, dann wäre das nicht mehr zu leisten gewesen, davon hat*
100 *niemand etwas // We cannot save the entire world, if the number of asylum seekers*
101 *coming to Germany had kept growing in the same pace, the system would have collapsed,*
102 *and that is in nobody's interest.*

103 *Prozesse notwendig, in denen Menschen sich selbst helfen, um voranzukommen // It is*
104 *necessary that people go through processes in which they have to help themselves in order*
105 *to proceed.*

106 *Deutschland mit Verursacher einiger Fluchtursachen (wirtschaftliche Ausbeutung von*
107 *Entwicklungsländern), dagegen wirtschaftlicher Schaden durch Geldsendungen in*
108 *Heimatländer vernachlässigbar // Germany is one of the countries responsible for some of*
109 *the fleeing causes (economic exploitation of developing countries), compared to that,*
110 *financial damage caused by immigrants sending money to their home countries*
111 *insignificant.*

112 *Möglichst schnell Arbeit, da neuer „Sinn im Leben“, persönliche Aufwertung, neue*
113 *Aufgabe und daher weniger Zeit zum Nachdenken, vermindert Aggressionspotentiale //*
114 *Asylum seekers should be allowed to work as soon as possible to give their lives a new*
115 *meaning, new personal valorisation, new task and less time to think, decreases the*
116 *potential for aggressions.*

117 *Keine Auffanglager für illegale Einwanderer, lieber normale Registrierung als*
118 *Asylbewerber // No detention centres for illegal immigrants, they should rather be*
119 *registered like all asylum seekers.*

120 *Asylbewerber nicht illegal arbeiten lassen (Gefahr von Ausbeutung), besser Arbeitsrecht*
121 *ändern // Asylum seekers should not work illegally (risk of exploitation), it is better to*
122 *modify the labour law.*

123 *Warum Arbeit als Heimleitung? Nach Krankheit Umschulung, neu Erlerntes anwenden*
124 *Arbeitssuche nach Krankheit, nicht mehr so jung, Kindheitstraum eine eigenen Pension zu*
125 *leiten, Management-Tätigkeit erlaubt sich auf mehreren Feldern „auszutoben“, viele*
126 *unterschiedliche Aufgaben und Dimensionen // The work as a director of an asylum*
127 *accommodation centre was chosen because subsequent to a re-training following a*
128 *sickness, director wanted to exert the newly learned skills, not so young anymore so*
129 *finding a job was not easy, childhood dream of running a guest house, management-tasks*
130 *allow her to work passionately in different fields, various tasks and dimensions.*

Appendix G: Translated and paraphrased interview notes, D5, 11/05/2016

- 1 „Asylbewerber“ ist nur ein Status, kein Charakteristikum, alles Menschen → Daher
2 Beurteilung der Statements so allgemein eigentlich nicht möglich // „Asylum seeker“ only a
3 status, not a feature, all humans, therefore these general statements technically not rateable.
- 4 *Persönlich gute Erfahrungen mit geflüchteten Menschen gemacht* // Personally positive
5 experiences with asylum seekers.
- 6 *Wichtig, sich für Bewohner der Unterkünfte stark zu machen, als „Sprachrohr“ zu fungieren*
7 // It is important to campaign for asylum seekers, to be their voice.
- 8 *Hoteliers im Grandhotel Cosmopolis fangen vieles ab, was sonst von Helferkreisen gemacht*
9 *würde* // Hoteliers in the Grandhotel do most of the work that is done by volunteers in other
10 centres.
- 11 *Heimleitung im Grandhotel zwar die Diakonie, allerdings im Auftrag der Regierung*
12 *Schwabens (an Weisungen gebunden)* // Director of Grandhotel works for Diakonie, but
13 government mandate, bound by government instructions.
- 14 *Es gibt eine klare Aufgabenverteilung zwischen Hoteliers und dem Heimleiter* // There is a
15 clear allocation of responsibilities between director and hoteliers.
- 16 *Gute Kommunikation zwischen Hoteliers und Leitung sowie zwischen Bewohnern und Leitung*
17 *der Unterkunft, daher Konfliktpotential im Ansatz minimiert* // We have a well-working
18 communication between director and hoteliers as well as director and residents, therefore
19 conflict potential minimised from the beginning.
- 20 *Teil guter Kommunikation ist Rücksichtnahme auf variierende Sprachkenntnisse (z.B.*
21 *Hausmeister oder so genannte Kümmerer in den verschiedenen Unterkünften aus dem Irak*
22 *oder anderen Ländern kommend, so dass verschiedene Sprachen, nicht nur Englisch und*
23 *Deutsch, abgedeckt sind)* // Part of well-working communication is deference to language
24 barriers (e.g. employs care takers of volunteers from Iraq and other countries, so that more
25 languages are covered, not only English and German).
- 26 *Arbeitsbeginn September 2015* // Works as director since September 2015.
- 27 *Arbeit aus Überzeugung und Freude an der Tätigkeit, Möglichkeit wertvolle Erfahrungen zu*
28 *sammeln, wichtig, etwas Gutes zu tun* // I chose this job out of conviction and joy; and I see
29 this job as an opportunity to gain valuable experiences, to do good.

Appendix H: Transcribed Interview: Interviewee H1, 12/05/2016

- 1 **I:** Okay, first, I would like to ask you some questions about your person and your position at
2 the Grandhotel. Can you tell me your name, your age and your educational background?
3 (00:56-01:07)
- 4 **P:** (.) Yes. My name is Georg and I am 34 years old. I / My educational background / My
5 degree was Abitur and I didn't decide to go to the university because I had kind of critics
6 about the education system in Germany. So, I decided to go for a different way. And after
7 finishing a (inc.) or internship as a photographer I landed in the cultural field and self-
8 organised surroundings and this is where my, yes, maybe self-education of what I am doing
9 today started ten years ago. (01:08-02:09)
- 10 **I:** Okay, thank you. So, what is your position at the Grandhotel Cosmopolis? (02:10-02:15)
- 11 **P:** Well, this is not an easy questions because we tried from the first day to work as a
12 collective, as a collaborative organism that is avoiding hierarchies. So, we are trying to
13 establish a democratic surrounding that should be, in the best way, open for all new
14 inhabitants and all new guests of the hotel. I am sort of one of the initiators of the project, but
15 this is not so important because it is now five years that we're doing that and it wouldn't be at
16 the place where it is if it wouldn't be a project where we work, where we try to work together
17 in a new way and we try to meet each other on an eye-level. So, well, I don't know if this
18 satisfies you. (02:16-03:21)
- 19 **I:** Yes, yes. Thank you. And can you tell me a few things about what the Grandhotel
20 Cosmopolis is to you and is in general? (03:22-03:33)
- 21 **P:** (...) I mean what it is / It is to me / I actually think that I would have answered the question
22 very differently throughout the different phases. So, I also try to recall some of the feelings
23 and emotions and ideas that I personally had. In the beginning it was a (..) utopia, trying to
24 really push things in a way that would make this world a better place and to not accept
25 anymore a situation of people who seek asylum in this country and to not see this as a
26 threatening moment but to see this as an enriching and diversifying possibility for a society.
27 (..) As we come from cultural field and we have been experimenting with different collectives
28 throughout the last ten years to use empty spaces for (..) cultural and artistic platforms that
29 also (.) worked on the accessibility of cultural possibilities and activities / So we were very
30 open and throughout the last project that was close to a refugee house by accident, we kind of
31 found an organic connection and it was long time before this topic was big in the media so it
32 was not acceptable for people, for us, or in this case for myself, that we live in this so
33 privileged surrounding in this rich country and we exclude humans in NEED from this society
34 in many ways, in a cultural way, in a social way, in an economical way. So, throughout / We
35 have only been able to achieve our cultural activities throughout also running some kind of
36 economical parts. We were starting to think in bigger scales and to try to bring together ideas
37 we had throughout all the years and to form something new that supports itself in a process.
38 (..) Can you repeat the question? I am lost. (03:34-06:58)
- 39 **I:** (laughter) Yes, sure. The question was what is – (06:59-07:03)
- 40 **P:** What it is for ME. (07:03)

41 **I:** Yes, what it is for you. Yes. But I think (..), yes. (07:04-07:07)

42 **P:** My, actually it also is kind of a home for me in this world as my personal family
43 background also is, like many, many people in Europe, is (..) having a history of my mother
44 escaping, and my grandmother, and also knowing how they were treated when they came
45 here, which was not very good. And I was really shocked how it is still nowadays. It was like
46 eight years ago. And, so we created kind of a different reality (.) on the way to experiment on
47 what could be a new society, what could be a new society without borders and without (..)
48 yes, with big diversity in an inclusive way. (...) Yes, and what else is it? (...) (07:08-08:19)

49 **I:** Can I ask you a quick question? (08:19-08:21)

50 **P:** Yes. (08:21)

51 **I:** Where does your grandmother come from? Where your mother? (08:22-08:25)

52 **P:** My grandma was born in the / It was called at this time Yugoslavia and it was on the
53 border, so it was always a fought region between Hungary and Yugoslavia and nowadays it
54 would be called Serbia. So my mum was born '44 in Serbia. Exactly, so I was always attached
55 to this issue and I really believe that we are all humans on this planet earth and we got to find
56 a way how to live together. And this is what we know is how to experiment and how to move
57 on problems or on challenges, on issues, by trying, by / (..) But with a good heart, with a
58 positive, yes, idea. (08:26-09:34)

59 **I:** Thanks a lot. I now come to the second part of the interview where I would like to ask you
60 about your personal experiences with people who seek asylum in Germany. Can you just say
61 whether they were overall positive or negative, or whether at all you could give some general
62 feedback? (09:35-09:56)

63 **P:** Yes, this is like one of the issues why the questions were not so easy to answer, because
64 what we try here is to get over all these generalisations (..) I will use the term refugees now
65 which I try normally to avoid in the daily process here. But to make it clear. Refugees are a
66 very diverse crowd of people. I know people from Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Senegal,
67 Congo, Uganda, Kenya (..) and I mean, this brings me to the question: What is the common
68 thing these people have? I don't know. They are humans. Then I know people from Iran,
69 Afghanistan, Iraq (...) Chechnya, (..) from Burma, from / I mean they are people from all over
70 the world. They have diverse societal backgrounds, they have diverse educational
71 backgrounds, they have all very, very, very different stories, very different baggage to carry
72 and maybe also different traumas. And my question would be at this point: What is the
73 German society? Also, I mean, somehow a very heterogenic crowd of people that lives
74 together in this country and what is the common / I kind of reject all these generalisations that
75 are also brought by mainstream media about how Germans are, they are punctual, blablabla.
76 These are all MYTHS also created in the so-called "Wirtschaftswunder" after the second
77 worldwar that they are tidy, that they are on time, that they are so (was heißt fleißig) (09:57-
78 12:15)

79 **I:** hard-working? (12:16)

80 **P:** Hard-working. I mean, this is a myth. I just saw / read an article AGAIN today, Germany
81 is not at all under the first countries of working hours within Europe, and especially not in the
82 world. I mean, I couldn't say / I have made different kinds of experiences that I didn't do

83 before in my life. I mean, I got Whatsapp calls from a friend of mine who was forced to leave
84 the country back to the Russian Federation or Chechnya and when he was trying to cross the
85 border to Russia the Russian military forced him to fight in the war in Donetsk with bad
86 material, like with old Kalashnikov, he was talking about standing on bodies in a coal basin
87 and he didn't know what was going to happen if this was going to be his last news. We
88 travelled to different places on the external borders, to the so-called hotspots to see what the
89 situation is. I mean this is a very different reality out of the comfort zone that probably most
90 privileged Europeans are in and I cannot think out of this position anymore. I also don't know
91 why I should accept these privileges just like that, because I am born in this country, what did
92 I do for that? I mean, last Christmas I brought a Roma family from Serbia to the main station
93 because they couldn't stay here anymore. And it was on the first public holiday of Christmas.
94 And this was kind of / Even though they have not like the worst situation at home, it's not like
95 a (inc.) country, but they are excluded from many things. But it is still / Why am I not sitting
96 in this bus? Why is a part of the world having all of these privileges, from freedom of
97 movement to social insurance to all those kind of things and a certain part of the world, which
98 is the bigger part, is excluded from that? This is, I mean, also kind of an approach to set things
99 straight inside of this work what we do here every day. Even though, yes, this is sometimes
100 very hard because people don't get the same chances. (12:17-15:20)

101 **I:** Okay, so let me reframe the question. Did this job have a personal impact on you as a
102 human being? (15:21-15:27)

103 **P:** (..) Because I think that one of the / Maybe one of my qualities in my work is that I try to
104 open up my heart every day and try to react spontaneously on situations and I have been doing
105 that also before. But of course my job, or what means job, I mean, I also / I cannot think in
106 these / I am an activist, or I am an artist and I cannot divide between / If it is a job or / I mean
107 I don't have a nine-to-five job where I get a normal salary. We are in a struggle, we are in a
108 constant, I don't know, demonstration for (..) making things different. So (..) yes, I think
109 struggling with fellow humans that are excluded from these, what we call the "Western
110 values" or the human rights, that of course has changed my perspectives in many ways.
111 (15:28-16:38)

112 **I:** Thank you. You already mentioned a few things, but can you tell me what it is that
113 motivates you to live the life you're living, to contribute it to the people you're contributing it
114 to? What is the motivation behind that? (16:39-16:55)

115 **P:** I mean, like I told you, I didn't feel so good inside classical systemic institutions and
116 surroundings. Those were different jobs I did before or school time and I come from the
117 countryside where we were young people that didn't have a place to meet and we were very
118 different from the other crowds of young people there. We were not in a football club or in a
119 fire brigade, or what is classical, in shooting clubs. And we were fighting for a youth
120 community, youth centre, which we achieved after many years in a big group of people. And
121 after, I mean, you make these decisions on how your life goes on. I moved to the city and kind
122 of this form of a very strong community was lost. So, as we started, I told you, the first
123 projects, where we didn't start with any budget or anything like that / And we were, yes,
124 inviting all of our artists friends and all creative people we knew, some of this community
125 force, this community power, came back to my understanding. I was at a very different place
126 in my life but I understood something about myself. And, I mean, I cannot accept the world
127 like it is. And, maybe I can quote something that I like, (...) "You have to create the world like

128 you want it, otherwise it will come like you don't want it". So, I think, or, I am very sad about
129 most people in the world just participating in the kind of mainstream neo-liberal economical
130 surrounding, or, let's say most of the people in the West. And, because I do think and I really
131 believe that we all have great responsibilities, that we have to make the world, to change the
132 world. Because we all know, also you, and your people in your university, that we don't have
133 so much time anymore, I mean, the climate warming, all the social injustice that happens in
134 the world (..) and the few people that own most of, yes, the world's money since a long, long,
135 long time. This is, to me, not acceptable. And I think this is where my rage comes from, and
136 out of this kind of rage and from the love to the world that I saw during travels and that I
137 experienced in many different humans, I love humans, and I love this, yes, this planet, and the
138 nature, and then I have to do something. And, I mean, I have my tools how to do it and so I
139 try to use my tools. (16:56-21:09)

140 **I:** (..) Yes. Okay, I have a last part of the interview, which would be: Where do you see the
141 main differences between this place and the other residential centres in Augsburg? Why is it
142 so different for humans to stay here than in the other centres? (21:10-21:34)

143 **P:** I mean, this is one of the reasons why we started. What is a normal refugee home? It is an
144 old factory, or it is an old building in the outcasts (..), it is normally far away from all social
145 life or from any supermarkets and from any cultural possibilities to participate in the society
146 and this is why we started this, because we wanted to break it up. So this place is very central
147 (..). Yes, refugee houses can be very scary, some people live there / Let's say 500 men live in
148 a house for ten years without knowing where the process and where their status goes, and that
149 does something to people, and this does something to the atmosphere, to live crowded in a
150 situation where you have no chance for any privacy, for any (Was heißt entfalten?) / Yes, it
151 doesn't matter, but to live a life in dignity. And the other problem was that in the time when
152 we developed the project there was absolutely no chance that asylum seekers could work. And
153 also, I mean if you put / I mean, this is happening in the society so much in this moment, if
154 it's old people, they are put in one house, if it's disabled people, they are put in one house,
155 and if it's refugees, they are put in one house. And I don't believe in a society like that. There
156 is one word, and I think it doesn't exist in English, but it is from a "Kaiser", Kaiser is like a
157 king, who was very influential for the city development in Germany, and the word is
158 "Durchmischungsideale". It means that a city can function very well if it is mixed up
159 completely. If it is not mixed up anymore, the social, the peace in the city is not there
160 anymore. They will get problems. And, I mean, look at the (..) yes, well I speak with my
161 street-English, the fucked-up understanding of the German state of migration / I mean,
162 Turkish people were invited as guest workers since the 1960s and they are still branded as
163 Turkish or foreigners, not-Germans. So this is one big issue, that the people are excluded on
164 the one hand but at the same time people want them to be integrated in a society that I don't
165 know what it actually is. (21:35-25:06)

166 **I:** Can you clarify who else, besides refugees, stay under this roof? (25:07-25:10)

167 **P:** Here? (25:11)

168 **I:** Yes. (25:11)

169 **P:** Ah, no. Yes. What is, I mean, what is the difference? Exactly. I mean, it should be / No,
170 what I mean is the greatest difference to wherever else you go / I will use the stupid term
171 "Welcome culture". I mean, we have been working on this project before it became real for / I

172 think it was two years in a community, in a collective, and there were also so-called refugees
173 involved and diverse people from this city or other cities / What actually was here was a spirit
174 of a community. And I think this changes a lot. If you bring random people together in a
175 fucked-up living situation without privacy, without working possibilities, without possibilities
176 of participating in any kind of social life, then you will get what you get. You get problems,
177 you don't get a, I don't know, INTEGRATION. Because, why, I mean / The best forms, I
178 would say / People shouldn't be living together in camps, in these huge places, in these huge
179 detention centres, because that is dis-integrational, it is exclusive. If people don't know where
180 they are how can they participate? It creates fear on both sides. Because they have no
181 possibilities for connection with the local population, and the local population sees there is
182 kind of this UFO with, let's say 500 men from different places, and of course there are
183 conflicts in places where 500 men live together, forced. So, here diverse, this was the idea,
184 here diverse hotel guests live together. The hotel is a metaphor for a place where we're all
185 travelers somehow in the journey of our lives and somehow we found a shelter here,
186 temporarily. So I wouldn't, I couldn't also say / There are travelers from all over the world
187 who use the hotel, there is the, if you want to call it like this, there are the refugees who apply
188 for asylum in Germany and we cannot say for how long they can stay here or if they have a
189 possibility / This is also because of all these processes and new laws, because people are
190 treated differently, they are coming from this or from that country, so / And there is, I mean,
191 from the 90-year old lady neighbour to you as a young lady to someone just passing through
192 for an architectural conference being a professor from Kenia, to a homeless person who can't
193 find something for the night. Yes, very different people are coming under the roof. (25:12-
194 28:52)

195 **I:** Thank you. Yes, one last question: I noticed that many of the Hoteliers who work here
196 refused to answer the questionnaire, they just decided on choosing "not applicable" in most
197 cases. Can you / Do you have an idea why that is that they couldn't work with the
198 questionnaire? (28:53-29:17)

199 **P:** Well, I think this comes from a consciousness that has been developed in this house, and I
200 guess maybe you have also interviewed people who are newer, who felt provoked by the
201 questions, but we try to overcome these categorisations that make NO SENSE. Because what
202 does it mean to be German? I mean, from asking this question, it is from a Turkish guest-
203 worker's son in the third generation to an old lady who has seen the second world war to (..)
204 maybe / Yes, there is no / I think generalisations in total don't work. They try to bring
205 together a diverse amount of people that cannot be brought together. Because people are
206 different, people think different. And as diverse the population of Germany is, the
207 composition of refugees coming to Germany or Europe is even more diverse, because they
208 have different socialisations, they have different cultural backgrounds, different religions.
209 And so, I don't believe that a society is homogenous at all, in ANY way. Also, when I think
210 of Austria, or Italy, this is one of the greatest problems that we also have with mainstream
211 media nowadays, or that mainstream media are pushing, they always generalize people. I
212 mean, the most victims of terrorist attacks are Muslim people and to say "Hey, all Muslim
213 men are like this or like that" or "North African men are like this or like that" / I have North
214 African friends that actually don't fit at all into this picture of "the rapist" they created after
215 the incidents at the Cologne New Year. So, I think, we completely understood in this process
216 that generalisations don't make sense. People can't be generalized in this simplistic way.
217 (29:18-32:24)

218 **I:** Thank you. (32:25)

219 **P:** And I mean, then also, if you ask a question like whether a refugee is stealing. I mean, then
220 you also have to think about the situation in which a person is, if you have no hope for your
221 status, your family that has sent you off from somewhere to send money is expecting
222 something from you, you get social cut-downs from the state, maybe you have to pay a fine
223 because they controlled you without documents. There are so many stupid issues around
224 refugee people that I think it is much more important to create an awareness why, maybe, for
225 example, there could be some accidents or some / In a refugee centre there is more crime than
226 in other places. It also has something to do with the personal situation of people. But, also, I
227 mean (...). Yes, I don't know. That's not a good last word. (32:26-33:46)

228 **I:** (laughter) Do you have another quote maybe? (33:49-33:50)

229 **P:** Quote? (...) Yes, I can quote Beuys: "My greatest work of art was to be a teacher". And as a
230 democratized artist I am a teacher and at the same time I am also a student of life. For this, I
231 am grateful. But I really think we all have to act, and because maybe your professors listen to
232 this or some of the students, I really think that (.) it is also very good to research theoretically
233 but we all have not so much time anymore and we have to get active, we have to do practical
234 things. (33:51-34:44)

235 **I:** That was your last message? (34:45)

236 **P:** Maybe, yes. (34:46)

237 **I:** Thank you very much for participating. (34:47-32:48)

238 **P:** Thank you, too. (34:49)

Appendix I: Underlying transcription rules

1. Transcribe literally; do not summarize or transcribe phonetically. Dialects are to be accurately translated into standard language. If there is no suitable translation for a word or expression, the dialect is retained.
2. Informal contractions are not to be transcribed, but approximated to written standard language. E. g. “gonna” becomes “going to” in the transcript. Sentence structure is retained despite possible syntactic errors.
3. Discontinuations of words or sentences as well as stutters are omitted; word doublings are only transcribed if they are used for emphasis (“This is very, very important to me.”) Half sentences are recorded and indicated by a slash /.
4. Punctuation is smoothed in favor of legibility. Thus short drops of voice or ambiguous intonations are preferably indicated by periods rather than commas. Units of meaning have to remain intact.
5. Pauses are indicated by suspension marks in parentheses (...). The number of suspension marks indicates the length of the pause: (..) for a shorter silence.
6. Affirmative utterances by the interviewer, like “uh-huh, yes, right” etc. are not transcribed. EXCEPTION: monosyllabic answers are always transcribed. Add an interpretation, e.g. “Mhm (affirmative)” or “Mhm (negative)”.
7. Words with a special emphasis are CAPITALIZED.
8. Every contribution by a speaker receives its own paragraph. In between speakers there is a blank line. Short interjections also get their own paragraph. At a minimum, time stamps are inserted at the end of a paragraph.
9. Emotional non-verbal utterances of all parties involved that support or elucidate statements (laughter, sighs) are transcribed in brackets.
10. Incomprehensible words are indicated as follows (inc.).
11. The interviewer is marked by “I:”, the interviewed person by “P:” (for participant).

Appendix J: Paraphrased Interview: Interviewee H1, 12/05/2016

- 1 Work as a collective that avoids hierarchies
- 2 Establish democratic environment that is open for all new inhabitants
- 3 Try to meet each other on an eye-level
- 4 Beginning our idea was an utopia, we wanted to push things to make this world a better place
- 5 We see asylum seekers as an enriching and diversifying possibility for a society
- 6 Refuse to accept the inequality in our world; do not want to carelessly live in privileged, rich
- 7 country & exclude humans in need from this society in a cultural, social and economical way
- 8 Knowledge from own family background of how refugees were treated in Germany a
- 9 generation ago, shocked how it still is nowadays
- 10 Create a different reality with a new inclusive society without borders
- 11 Believe that we are all human beings who have to find a way to live together
- 12 It is important to always maintain a good heart and a positive spirit
- 13 Try to overcome generalisations
- 14 Refugees are a very diverse crowd of people; only thing in common is being humans; they
- 15 have diverse societal and educational backgrounds, they have very different life stories and
- 16 traumata
- 17 What is the German society? Also a very heterogenic group of people that lives
- 18 I kind of reject all these generalisations that are created by mainstream media
- 19 Stereotypes are myths
- 20 Friend who was forced to leave Germany and to go back to Chechnya was forced by Russian
- 21 military to fight in the war in Donetsk fearing for his life
- 22 Travelled to the EU external borders to see what the situation is
- 23 Refusal to live in comfort zone like most privileged Europeans
- 24 Privilege of being German is not earned and therefore unfair
- 25 Even if Roma families do not face torture or death threatening, they are excluded from many
- 26 things
- 27 No understanding why it is that a part of the world enjoys privileges including freedom of
- 28 movement and social insurance whereas the majority is excluded from that?
- 29 Grandhotel to set things straight, difficult because people don't have the same chances
- 30 Try to open up own heart every day

31 Life as an activist and artist, Grandhotel not a working place but a way of living
32 Grandhotel as continuous protest for an inclusive society and equality of chances
33 Community force/power, came back to my understanding
34 “You have to create the world like you want it, otherwise it will come like you don’t want it”
35 Disappointed by Western society members who participate in neo-liberal
36 Strong believe that everybody has responsibility to improve the world situation
37 Global warming one of the phenomena that show we are running out of time
38 Outrage about few people owning most of the world’s money since long time
39 Love for humankind and nature urge to do something
40 Ordinary accommodation centres are inside old factories/buildings in secluded areas far away
41 from social and cultural life, or supermarkets. Make it difficult to participate in society
42 Grandhotel is very central
43 Accommodation centres often harbour many men with poor perspectives for a long time,
44 which does something to people as well as to the atmosphere, to live crowded with no privacy
45 and dignity, that creates problems
46 Problem that asylum seekers had no opportunities to work three years
47 “Durchmischungsideale”: avoid physically isolating marginalised groups of society
48 Great issue that people are excluded on the one hand but at the same time expected to
49 integrate themselves in the German society
50 Spirit of a community
51 People shouldn’t be living in camps because that prevents integration
52 Impossible to become part of a society nobody shows to you
53 Isolation of asylum seekers creates fear on both sides as asylum seekers
54 In the Grandhotel diverse hotel guests live together, the Grandhotel is a metaphor for a place
55 where all humans are travellers in the journey of life who found a temporarily shelter
56 Very different people live under the roof
57 Some hotelier might have felt provoked by the questions
58 Try to overcome categorisations because they make absolutely no sense
59 What does it mean to be German? It is the Turkish guest-worker’s son in the third generation
60 as well as the old lady who has seen the Second World War and so on
61 Categorisations aim to put together diverse people which cannot be put together because
62 people are different
63 Composition of refugees even more diverse than German society, with different
64 socialisations, cultural backgrounds, religions

- 65 Believe that societies are not homogenous in any way
- 66 Most victims of terrorist attacks are Muslim
- 67 If asked whether asylum seekers steal, their situation needs to be taken into account: no hope
- 68 for legal work, financial expectations of family in home country, social cut-downs by the
- 69 state, fine for travelling without documents
- 70 Importance of creating awareness why asylum seekers commit crimes
- 71 Beuys: “My greatest work of art was to be a teacher”; teacher and student of life
- 72 Everybody has to become active, not much time left

Appendix K: Questionnaire (in German)

Lieber Teilnehmer,

ich bin Melanie Wündsch, Studentin am European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation, einem Menschenrechtsprogramm der Europäischen Kommission. Ich bitte Sie heute um die Teilnahme an einem Studienprojekt, auf dessen Grundlage ich meine Masterarbeit schreiben werde und das sich mit der Wahrnehmung von Asylbewerbern in Deutschland beschäftigt. Sie wurden als Zielperson ausgewählt, da Sie in einer Asylbewerberunterkunft in Augsburg arbeiten. Alle Ihre Antworten werden anonym behandelt, d.h. die Antworten werden ohne Ihren Namen oder den der Unterkunft in der Sie arbeiten ausgewertet. Die Forschungsarbeit unterliegt den Regelungen der Datenschutzgesetzgebung. Es ist absolut sichergestellt, dass Ihre Angaben nicht mit Ihrer Person in Verbindung gebracht werden. Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie mich mit Ihrer Teilnahme bei meiner Masterarbeit unterstützen. Die Bearbeitungszeit beträgt zehn bis 15 Minuten.

Die Debatte um Flüchtlings- und Asylpolitik ist in den letzten Jahren zu einem der beherrschenden Themen in Deutschland herangewachsen. Die unterschiedlichsten Meinungen finden in den Medien, im privaten Kreis und in der Politik ihren Ausdruck. Im Folgenden wird Ihnen die Spannweite der Meinungen anhand beispielhafter Statements präsentiert. Ich möchte Sie bitten, Ihre Zustimmung zu den unterschiedlichen möglichen Einstellungen zu Asylbewerber_innen abzuwägen.

A	Statements	stimme absolut zu	stimme eher zu	teils/ teils	stimme eher nicht zu	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	keine Angabe
1	Asylbewerber_innen sind in der Regel ruhige, höfliche und freundliche Menschen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Asylbewerber_innen lassen Deutsche in Frieden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Asylbewerber_innen trinken in der Regel weniger Alkohol als Deutsche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Asylbewerber_innen sind oft mehr auf Sauberkeit und Ordnung bedacht als Deutsche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Asylbewerber_innen sind seltener kriminell als Deutsche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Asylbewerber_innen schaden der Wirtschaft hier zu Lande, indem sie Geld in ihr Heimatland schicken	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Asylbewerber_innen nehmen deutschen Arbeitssuchenden die Arbeitsplätze weg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A	Statements	stimme absolut zu	stimme eher zu	teils/ teils	stimme eher nicht zu	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	keine Angabe
8	Kinder von Asylbewerber_innen verringern die Unterrichtsqualität, da sie die Schulen zahlenmäßig überlasten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Aufgrund vieler Asylbewerber_innen steigen Wohnungspreise in Deutschland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Asylbewerber_innen verbrauchen deutsche Sozialhilfegelder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	Die billige Arbeitskraft von Asylbewerber_innen schadet der deutschen Wirtschaft	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	Sozialleistungen für Deutsche verringern sich aufgrund der Asylbewerber_innen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	Asylbewerber_innen helfen uns und unseren Kindern Toleranz und Offenheit zu lernen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	Asylbewerber_innen zeigen uns neue Kulturen mit ihrer Musik, dem Essen, der Kunst, was eine Bereicherung für Deutschland darstellt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Durch Asylbewerber_innen lernen Deutsche Kulturen kennen, mit denen sie sonst oft nie in Berührung kommen könnten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16	Asylbewerber_innen konsumieren häufig Drogen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	Asylbewerber_innen sind aggressiv Deutschen gegenüber	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	Asylbewerber_innen tragen Krankheiten nach Deutschland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Asylbewerber_innen stehlen häufig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	Asylsuchende Männer stellen eine Bedrohung für Frauen in Deutschland dar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	Asylbewerber_innen arbeiten häufig als Prostituierte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22	Asylbewerber_innen aufzunehmen kann uns als Deutschland das Gefühl geben als positives Beispiel voranzugehen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A	Statements	stimme absolut zu	stimme eher zu	teils/ teils	stimme eher nicht zu	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	keine Angabe
23	Asylbewerber_innen aufzunehmen bedeutet Leben zu retten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24	Asylbewerber_innen lösen Mitgefühl in Deutschen aus, da sie Erinnerungen an europäische Fluchterfahrungen im zweiten Weltkrieg wecken	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	Asylbewerber_innen zu helfen ist gut für das Ansehen Deutschlands in der Welt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	Wenn Deutsche Asylbewerber_innen helfen, stärkt das auch die Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	Asylbewerber_innen schwächen mit ihren Bräuchen, ihrem Essen und ihrer Musik deutsche Kultur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
28	Asylbewerber_innen schaden dem Gefühl von Zusammenhalt in der Gesellschaft, denn sie sehen anders als Deutsche aus, reden anders und kleiden sich anders	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
29	Christentum wird durch Asylbewerber_innen in Deutschland langsam vom Islam verdrängt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
30	Asylbewerber_innen sind zu anders um Teil der deutschen Gesellschaft zu werden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
31	Asylbewerber_innen helfen Deutschland dabei, wirtschaftliche und politische Beziehungen zu ihren Heimatländern zu verbessern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
32	Asylbewerber_innen machen Deutschland weltwirtschaftlich wettbewerbsfähiger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
33	Asylbewerber_innen haben Sprachkenntnisse, die für die deutsche Wirtschaft wichtig sind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
34	Asylbewerber_innen können Deutschland neue Fähigkeiten und neues Wissen einbringen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
35	Das Asylbewerber_innen oft aus nicht-demokratischen, wertkonservativen Ländern kommen stellt eine Gefahr für die Demokratie in Deutschland dar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
36	Asylbewerber_innen sind oft gegen Frauenrechte und Geschlechtergleichheit und daher eine Gefahr für deutsche Frauen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A	Statements	stimme absolut zu	stimme eher zu	teils/ teils	stimme eher nicht zu	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	keine Angabe
37	Asylbewerber_innen führen veraltete Erziehungsmethoden wie körperliche Bestrafung wieder in Deutschland ein	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Auch die Frage nach der geeigneten Asylpolitik ist viel diskutiert und bringt unzählige stark variierende Meinungen hervor. Bitte geben Sie an, wie Sie zu den kontrovers diskutierten Aspekten stehen.

P	Statements	stimme absolut zu	stimme eher zu	teils/ teils	stimme eher nicht zu	stimme überhaupt nicht zu	keine Angabe
1	Asylbewerber_innen müssen von ihren Arbeitgebern den Mindestlohn und alle nötigen Versicherungen bezahlt kriegen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Asylbewerberinnen sollten die gleichen Mutterschaftsrechte genießen wie deutsche Frauen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Asylbewerber_innen sollten die gleiche soziale und psychologische Unterstützung erhalten wie Deutsche	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Kinder von Asylbewerber_innen müssen eine kostenlose Schulbildung erhalten, genau wie deutsche Kinder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Gesundheitsfürsorge sollte Kindern von Asylbewerber_innen zu den gleichen Konditionen wie deutschen Kindern zur Verfügung stehen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Deutschland sollte seine Grenzen besser schützen, um illegale Einwanderung zu verhindern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Asylbewerber_innen sollte es verboten werden Geld in ihre Heimatländer zu senden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Illegale Einwander_innen sollten nachdrücklicher gesucht und festgenommen werden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Alle illegalen Einwander_innen sollten ausgewiesen werden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Illegale Einwander_innen sollten bis zu ihrer Ausweisung unter Arrest stehen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	Asylbewerber_innen sollten kostenlose Deutschkurse angeboten bekommen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12	Asylbewerber_innen sollten die gleichen Sozialleistungen (z.B. Rente) erhalten wie Deutsche, wenn sie die gleichen Abgaben leisten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	Kriminell unauffällige Asylbewerber_innen sollten nach 10 Jahren in Deutschland eine dauerhafte Aufenthaltsgenehmigung bekommen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	Asylbewerber_innen sollten so früh wie möglich eine Arbeitserlaubnis bekommen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Alle Asylbewerber_innen sollten eine kostenlose Basis-Gesundheitsversorgung bekommen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16	Asylbewerber_innen, die illegal arbeiten, sollten eine Strafe zahlen müssen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	Deutschland sollte mehr Auffanglager für illegale Einwander_innen schaffen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	Firmen, die illegal Asylbewerber_innen beschäftigen, sollten konsequenter bestraft werden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Asylbewerber_innen sollte Geld angeboten werden, damit sie Deutschland verlassen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ganz zum Schluss möchte ich Sie zum Zweck der Datenanalyse noch um einige statistische Angaben bitten.

Geschlecht	männlich <input type="checkbox"/>	weiblich <input type="checkbox"/>				
Alter (in Jahren)	18-24 <input type="checkbox"/>	24-29 <input type="checkbox"/>	30-39 <input type="checkbox"/>	40-49 <input type="checkbox"/>	50-59 <input type="checkbox"/>	>60 <input type="checkbox"/>
Ethnische Herkunft	Deutsch <input type="checkbox"/>	Europäisch (nicht Deutsch) <input type="checkbox"/>			Andere <input type="checkbox"/>	
Migrationsstatus	mit Migrationshintergrund <input type="checkbox"/>		ohne Migrationshintergrund <input type="checkbox"/>			
höchster erreichter Ausbildungsgrad	kein Abschluss <input type="checkbox"/>	Volks-/Hauptschulabschluss <input type="checkbox"/>	Mittlere Reife <input type="checkbox"/>	Hochschulreife (Abitur) <input type="checkbox"/>		
	Bachelor <input type="checkbox"/>	Master/Magister/o.ä. <input type="checkbox"/>	Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/>			
Durchschnittl. Nettoeinkommen (monatl. in €)	bis 1.000 <input type="checkbox"/>	1.001-2.000 <input type="checkbox"/>	2.001-3.000 <input type="checkbox"/>	3.001-4.000 <input type="checkbox"/>	4.001-7.000 <input type="checkbox"/>	
	>7.000 <input type="checkbox"/>					
Konfession	Evangelisch <input type="checkbox"/>	Katholisch <input type="checkbox"/>	Islam <input type="checkbox"/>	Andere <input type="checkbox"/>	Keine <input type="checkbox"/>	Judentum <input type="checkbox"/>

Ich danke Ihnen vielmals für Ihre Teilnahme an meinem Forschungsprojekt! Sollten Sie an den Umfrageergebnissen interessiert sein oder Fragen haben können Sie mich gerne kontaktieren unter:

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