

UNIVERSITY OF LUXEMBOURG

European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation

Academic Year 2016/2017

“It’s my right to cook”

—

Refugees’ human rights perceptions and daily needs

Author: Frank, Marieluna

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Lehnens, Jean-Paul; Prof. Dr. Koff, Harlan

CONTENT

I. Acknowledgements	4
II. Declaration.....	4
III. Abbreviations.....	4
IV. Abstract.....	5
1. Introduction	5
2. Research Question and Research Aim.....	7
3. Social and Empirical Relevance	9
4. Literature Review	10
5. Theoretical Background and Conceptual Framework.....	12
5.1. The Universality of Human Rights	12
5.2. The Critique - Cultural Relativism.....	14
5.3. Bottom-Up Approaches.....	15
5.4. The Localising Human Rights Approach.....	16
5.5. The Localisation of Human Rights	16
5.6. Critical Review of the Localising Human Rights Approach.....	17
6. Concept Specification	18
6.1. Asylum seekers and refugees.....	18
6.2. Rights Consciousness	19
6.3. The Insider and the User Perspective	19
6.4. The Localisation of Integration	20
7. Research Design and Methodology.....	21
7.1. A Methodological Approach to the Local Relevance of Human Rights	21
7.2. Modified Research Design	22
7.3. The Data Collection Process.....	23
7.3.1 Access to the field	24
7.3.2. Obstacles and Limitations	25
7.3.3. Issues of Trust and Mistrust.....	25
7.3.4. Social Desirability	26
7.3.5. Representativeness and External Validity	26
7.3.6. Other Ethical Considerations	26
7.3.7. Semi-structured interviews.....	27
7.4. The Grounded-Theory-Methodology.....	28
7.5. Quality Control Interviews.....	28
7.6. Partial Conclusion.....	29
8. Refugees in Luxembourg – a case study	29
8.1. The Interviews	29
8.2. Analysis and Interpretation of Data Material.....	30
8.2.1 Levels of rights consciousness	32
8.2.2. Partial Conclusion	34
8.2.3. Perceptions and dynamics of human rights	34
8.2.4. Perceptions of dignity	39
8.2.5. Partial Conclusion.....	41
8.2.6. Refugees’ realities and daily needs – defining human rights issues	42
8.2.7. Partial Conclusion.....	46
8.3. Participant Observation	47

8.4. Quality Control Interviews.....	50
9. Final Conclusion	54
10. Final Remarks	58
V. Appendices	59
Appendix 1: Research Information Summary	59
Appendix 2: Interview Request Letter	60
Appendix 3: Introduction Letter	61
Appendix 4: Written Consent Letter	62
Appendix 5: Questionnaire	63
Appendix 6: Observation Sheet	64
Appendix 7: Quality Control Interview Guide	65
Appendix 8: Transcript of Interviews	66
Appendix 9: Interviews – Coding	85
Appendix 10: Observations.....	118
Appendix 11: Quality Control Interviews	132
VI. Bibliography.....	135

I. Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Tony Kazenjian who introduced me to people with various backgrounds, helped out as an interpreter and was a great companionship and discussion partner during long days of intense interviews. Spending time with the asylum seekers and refugees I interviewed was an extremely enriching experience. Moreover, many thanks to Anola who organised interviews in different refugee camps as well as Victoria who gave me her insider knowledge and also helped to find interview participants. I have great admiration for the work they do every day and also for all the interviewees participating in this research whose names are not mentioned here but who shared their views.

I am also grateful to my supervisors Professor Dr. Lehnert and Professor Dr. Koff who always took time out of their day to answer my questions and give me advice. I very much appreciate the opinions and thoughts they shared.

II. Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is all my own work. I understand that I may be penalised if I use the words of others without acknowledgement.

Marieluna Frank (signature also in separate document)

III. Abbreviations

CCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
CESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
EU	European Union
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LHRA	Localising Human Rights Approach
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund

IV. Abstract

This thesis analyses the local relevance of human rights to uprooted people following a modified model of the Localising Human Rights Approach developed by Koen de Feyter. A qualitative single case study design consisting of asylum seekers and refugees in Luxembourg is adopted. The research design includes three steps: investigating the rights consciousness of asylum seekers and refugees, exploring their human rights perceptions and finally examining their daily needs in the terminology of human rights. The data is collected from twenty interviews with asylum seekers and refugees, participant observation as well as two quality control interviews. It is argued that establishing a link between human rights and integration could contribute to the facilitation of the integration process of asylum seekers and refugees in Western societies. The overarching aim of this thesis is to give a voice to asylum seekers and refugees by providing a platform to share their views and experiences.

The research detects a very low level of rights consciousness among the target group. Various human rights perceptions were explored generally characterised by a critical and negative attitude towards the concept of human rights due to disappointing experiences and betrayals of trust. The daily needs of the interviewees mainly consist of basic needs such as clean sanitary facilities or the possibility to cook one's own food.

Based on the low level of rights consciousness, the critical attitude towards human rights and the formulation of daily needs without the use of any rights language, it is concluded that human rights are of little relevance to asylum seekers and refugees in Luxembourg.

1. Introduction

In 2015, 1.255.640 million people applied for asylum in the member states of the European Union.¹ They all left something behind, some of them are traumatised, some came with their families, others are alone, some are highly educated, others never saw a school from the inside. They come from various cultures, have a wide range of backgrounds and experiences and different expectations of their host countries. What most of them have in common is the loss of connection to their home communities, the search for a new beginning of life and the need to be integrated into our societies. The media propagated this clash of cultures as a “crisis”. Not as a political crisis or crisis of norms and values but as a “refugee crisis”. Thus,

¹ This amount refers to people who apply for asylum in a member state of the EU for the first time (Eurostat 2016). With 35,2 %, most of the asylum applications were made in Germany. In Luxembourg were made 2360 asylum applications, more than for example in Portugal or Rumania (Statista 2016). Every third asylum seeker comes from Syria (Eurostat 2016).

² The discussed scholars are selected on the basis of the subjective opinion of the author of this thesis whether

the word 'refugee' became synonymous to an omnipresent sense of crisis. Asylum seekers and refugees turned into the objects of public debates and media analyses, of family disputes and party programmes. Suddenly everyone had an opinion about how to deal with refugees, how to best integrate them or about their daily needs and what is their best interest.

It is necessary that we all have a conscious look at the newly arisen issues; not only in the frame of academic research but also in private and public discussions. The crucial question is *how* to address those novel issues. This research makes a contribution to find a way on how to critically address those questions from a different perspective than most of the research that has already been done in relation to this topic. Moreover, this thesis wants to demonstrate the importance of localising human rights not only in countries like China, India or Bangladesh but also in the middle of Western societies where people from all over the world are seeking refuge and bringing various cultural backgrounds that are now tangent to each other. In a situation of such a clash of cultures, it is crucial to find a common basis for a successful integration and co-existence. Thus, integration needs to build on an idea that is shared by most of the people. This idea, forming the possible foundation of an inclusive society could be found in the concept of human rights. Therefore, it is inevitable to enforce a localised understanding of human rights as well as to connect human rights to the daily needs and experiences of asylum seekers and refugees. Moreover, daily needs should also be localised in terms of human rights. This localisation is even more necessary when people are dislocated and uprooted as most of the asylum seekers and refugees are after they left their home countries and before they feel as a fully accepted and an equal member of the societies in their new host countries.

The aim of this thesis is to establish the link between the localisation of human rights and integration. It follows the Localising Human Rights Approach (in the following LHRA) developed by Koen de Feyter (2006; 2007; 2011). The research adopts a single case study design to demonstrate how the establishment of such a link could be done. Furthermore, it investigates how human rights can be localised when the rights users are uprooted and not part of a community.

The strategy of the link-building and of this thesis in general consists of three components. At first, it is necessary to find out whether there is a certain minimum level of (human) rights consciousness among asylum seekers and refugees. In the frame of this work, knowledge of international human rights law or of specific rights terms is perceived as an indicator to rights consciousness. Rights consciousness in turn is an indicator to the relevance of human rights at a local level and as a consequence the presence of a minimum standard of human rights

legitimacy. Secondly, this thesis aims to give uprooted asylum seekers and refugees a voice by listening and reproducing their stories and especially their perceptions of human rights. It allows them to be an active part of the research process, not only its object. The point is not doing research *on* asylum seekers and refugees, but *for* and even *with* (compare Hynes 2003: 14). Thirdly, this thesis wants to explore what the asylum seekers' and refugees' daily needs are in the terminology of human rights. The international human rights system assumes that "all people have equal rights, although all do not have equal needs" (Merry 2006: 220). Even though asylum seekers and refugees live in the middle of our Western societies, they might have very different needs. These needs have to be the starting point for the further elaboration of integration strategies and policies (compare de Feyter 2007: 68). In the author's opinion, this perspective on the localisation of integration has been totally disregarded until now from an interdisciplinary point of view combining social sciences and human rights.

The first part of this thesis will give the theoretical background. It consists of a detailed formulation of the research questions and main aims as well as of the rationale of its empirical and social relevance. It will review the key areas of relevant literature within different approaches to human rights and refugee studies and give an overview of the theoretical foundations performing a "metaphorical zoom" from universalism via cultural relativism to the LHRA by referring to writers such as Kant, Habermas, Donnelly, Ibhawoh as well as de Feyter and Oré Aguilar. Specifications of the main concepts relevant to this research will be provided. Moreover, the research design and its methodology will be explained in detail and its shortcomings and limitations will also be discussed.

The second and main part of this thesis will map the empirical execution of the research design and the analysis of the collected data. The outcome of the analysis will be presented in detail. A discussion of the findings and closing remarks on the whole research process and its obstacles, as well as a look into possible further research related to the topic will conclude this work.

2. Research Question and Research Aim

The main research question of this thesis is: *Are human rights relevant to asylum seekers and refugees?* In order to simplify the track to an answer and following the study of Chen/Desmet/de Feyter (compare Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 43), the research question is divided into three sub-questions:

- 1. Do asylum seekers and refugees have a minimum level of human rights consciousness?***
- 2. How do asylum seekers and refugees as a vulnerable, marginalised and uprooted group of persons perceive human rights?***
- 3. What are their daily needs in terms of human rights?***

To answer these questions, the author of this thesis tries to use a different perspective to conceptualise human rights, the perspective of a so-called “user” (Desmet 2014: 1; Tait 2011: 134). In order to do so, the author wants to give a voice to uprooted and marginalised people who are continuously affected by human rights violations at the local level. The *first sub-question* refers to the human rights consciousness among this group of persons. The author of this thesis perceives the level of rights consciousness as an indicator of the local relevance of human rights as well as one of the main conditions for the legitimacy of human rights. The *second sub-question* aims to explore whether human rights play a role in the everyday life of asylum seekers and refugees and how they perceive the concept of human rights and its usefulness. The *third sub-question* tries to find out what the asylum seekers’ and refugees’ daily needs in the terminology of human rights are. The questions will be answered by using a modified form of the LHRA according to de Feyter (2006, 2007). This approach will be applied exemplary in the frame of a case study on asylum seekers and refugees in Luxembourg. The particularity about asylum seekers and refugees is not only their marginalisation and vulnerability but also the fact that they are uprooted from their home communities and not yet part of the new societies. The integration of refugees in their host countries could be facilitated if the link between human rights and integration was enforced and the relevance of human rights at the local level increased.

The overarching aim of this research is first of all to give a voice to asylum seekers and refugees who are not yet part of any community and to find out what their perceptions of human rights are. Moreover, it wants to make a contribution to the controversial debate about the integration of refugees in our societies and establish a link between the localisation of human rights and integration, thus emphasising the importance of the localisation of human rights in Western societies.

3. Social and Empirical Relevance

This thesis aims to make both, a social and an empirical contribution to the localisation of human rights as well as to the discourse about the integration of refugees. First of all, the social relevance of this work lies in the fact that it gives a voice to asylum seekers and refugees. As mentioned above, it does not only treat them as objects of research but as participants. Again, this is not supposed to be a research *on* asylum seekers and refugees but *for* and in some cases even *with* them (compare Hynes 2003: 14).

Its second aim is to contribute to the localisation of human rights for two reasons. Firstly, the localisation of human rights could positively affect the integration process of refugees in our societies. The success of their local integration is not only “related to the recognition of refugee status but also to recognition of human rights in general, from political and civil to social, economic and cultural rights” (Oomen 2016: 8). Additionally, the author of this thesis emphasises the importance of following the maxim “the local matters” (Gómez Isa 2011: 79) in the frame of the development of integration strategies. Secondly, “the credibility and effectiveness of the global human rights system” (*ibid.*), and therefore its legitimacy, is dependent on “its local relevance and the appropriation of international norms and mechanisms by those whose rights are continuously violated at a local level” (*ibid.*).

Brems makes a similar argument pointing out that

“human rights require the participation of the people. They make no sense if they exist only in the book. This means in the first place that human rights have to be alive among the people, that they have to be part of the discourse of public opinion. If human rights do not fit into the people’s mental framework, if they contradict what is to them self-evident or important, there is a problem. Human rights can only make sense if they are claimed, exercised, possessed by the human beings they are named after” (Brems 2001: 311).

Besides that, Brems argues that it is crucial to bridge the gap between local people’s realities in form of needs and experiences on the one hand and the international human rights system and language on the other (Brems 2001: 314). The responsiveness of human rights to the needs of real people has to be improved (Brems 2001: 314; Oré Aguilar 2011: 115). Therefore, we have to explore what exactly these needs consist of. As the individual is the central subject to human rights protection, it has to become a “real” individual, not just an abstract research object (Brems 2001: 323). By giving a voice to asylum seekers and refugees this work performs a change of perspective, from the researcher’s perspective to the so-called “user” perspective (Brems 2001: 323; Tait 2011: 134; Desmet 2014: 1). Additionally, the

author of this thesis wants to emphasise the importance of enforcing the local relevance of human rights not only in African countries or countries such as China, India or Bangladesh but also in Western societies. This *shift of focus in the frame of the LHRA* is one of the reasons that make this work original.

From an empirical point of view, there are different reasons why this thesis is relevant and innovative. There has been little work done on the localised understanding of human rights of uprooted people such as asylum seekers and refugees. Kirsten Tait underlines that “almost any research involving interviews with asylum seekers can contribute to the evidence base” (Tait 2011: 139) on why people come to the EU and what their needs are. She argues that collecting more evidence about refugee experiences from non-governmental sources is essential (ibid.). Moreover, she points out that there is still an “absence of a long-standing rich evidence base of refugee voices and experiences” (Tait 2011: 136) and emphasises that “information about who refugees are, what their needs are and where they live” (Tait 2011: 149) is needed as well as “information to educate the public, change the climate of public opinion” (ibid.). This thesis contributes to such an evidence base and wants thereby to make a contribution, so that asylum seekers’ and refugees’ voices cannot be ignored by governments’ realisation of policies and by all future public debates about integration.

The particularity of this research is the combination of the LHRA with the integration of asylum seekers and refugees whereby the focus lies on the localisation of human rights. The voices of asylum seekers and refugees and the description of their daily needs are linked with their perceptions and knowledge of human rights. This link allows the author to draw conclusions on how – or if – human rights are relevant to the everyday life of asylum seekers and refugees. This work will show whether the concept of human rights is at all present in the way of thinking of asylum seekers and refugees. The research design will be based on an innovative modification of the LHRA (de Feyter 2006, 2007, 2011) and its application on a new target group.

4. Literature Review

A lot of research has been done related to asylum seekers and refugees, especially in the field of social sciences (Bloch 1999; Jacobsen/Landau 2003; Brennan 2005; Bilger/van Liempt 2009; Temple/Moran 2011). There is a large amount of studies including interviews with asylum seekers and refugees (Bloch 2004; Rosenberg 2008; Bilger/van Liempt 2009; Temple/Moran 2011) as well as extensive surveys carried out in all member states of the EU investigating asylum seekers and refugees (see Fundamental Rights Agency 2016; Eurostat

2016; UNHCR 2016). Furthermore there is a wide range of journals publishing research studies related to migrants such as the Refugee Survey Quarterly, the Journal of Refugee Studies and the Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies.

In the field of human rights, scholars and practitioners increasingly focus on bottom-up approaches and “are pointing at the localisation of human rights as a way to address the enforcement gap” of human rights (Oomen 2016: 8). The amount of publications on the localisation and vernacularisation of human rights has grown steadily in the last years (see for example Merry 2011; Desmet 2014; de Feyter 2006, 2007, 2016; Oré Aguilar 2011, Temple/Moran 2011). Koen de Feyter and his research team apply the LHRA on various groups of persons in different places of the world such as Bangladesh and China (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016; Brems/Desmet/Vandenhole 2017). Oré Aguilar (2011) has proposed a detailed methodology for the application of the LHRA. Another highly relevant work is the study by Sally Engle Merry (2006) who investigated human rights consciousness among marginalised women and the vernacularisation of human rights language. Similarly, Manfred Liebel (2012) extensively explored the localisation of children’s rights in his study “Children’s Rights from Below”.

Other influential works related to the local relevance of human rights that should be mentioned are for example the World Bank Study “Voices of the Poor. Can Anyone Hear Us?” (Narayan et al. 1999) containing interviews with poor people in 23 countries as well as the works of Paul Zeleza who explored the localisation of human rights in Africa (see for example Zeleza 2004). Zeleza argues that “universal principles have their genesis in local situations and traditions and national insights and experiences will continue to improve, and perfect international human rights standards and values” (Zeleza 2004: 18). Makau Mutua emphasises in his book “Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique” that only by “locating the basis for the cultural legitimacy of certain human rights and mobilizing social forces on that score can respect for universal standards be forged” (Mutua 2002: 81). Uprenda Baxi, another influential author in the field of the localisation of human rights, makes a similar point stating that people and communities are the main authors of human rights and that “in the making of human rights it is the local that translates into global languages the reality of their aspiration for a just world” (Baxi 2002: 101).

A research gap can be found in the link between the LHRA and refugee or integration studies. This work combines the LHRA with refugee studies by conducting interviews with asylum seekers and refugees, not merely by asking them about their daily needs but also about their human rights knowledge and perceptions.

5. Theoretical Background and Conceptual Framework

The following chapter provides the theoretical background and conceptual framework of this thesis. The author wants to give a short overview of the main ideas of influential approaches to human rights beginning with universalism and moving through bottom-up approaches until finally introducing the LHRA. It would go beyond the scope of this work to mention all scholars who contributed to the main debates and the development of different approaches to and theories of human rights. Therefore a subjective selection² of the main representatives of each debate or approach will be discussed.

5.1. The Universality of Human Rights

There are uncountable different argumentation lines why human rights are universal and belong to all human beings. Kant argues that liberty rights are universal because each human being is endowed with inherent dignity and reason (Kant 1793: 462; Bielefeldt 1998: 63). He refers to the pre-existence of natural law and rationalism as the legitimate basis to justify the universality of liberty rights and norms (Kant 1793: 96). More recently, Jürgen Habermas (2010) made a new attempt to justify the universality of human rights and defends the concept of human rights against critiques emphasising that human rights are a “*realistic* (emphasis added by author) utopia” (Habermas 2010: 355). Similarly to Kant, Habermas argues that the concept of human dignity builds the moral source of the universal legitimacy of human rights (Habermas 2010: 345). The concept of human dignity allows overcoming the seemingly unbridgeable differences between the various parties participating in the universalism versus cultural relativism debate and obtains therefore a certain compromise function.

In the essay “Universal Human Rights: An Unfinished Project”, George Ulrich (2001) proposes a distinction between “the universality of scope or applicability” (Ulrich 2001: 198) and the “universality of validity” (ibid.). The first one means that human rights are “applying to *all people everywhere*” (ibid.). In reality, “this aspiration is not matched” (ibid.). Due to the discrepancy between theory and reality, we have to admit that human rights *are* not universal in their scope but they “*ought to be so*” (Ulrich 2001: 199). Human rights become then a “*moral project*” (Ulrich 2001: 200). This moral project bases on the universality of validity of human rights that has been justified in various attempts. Because it is beyond the scope of this thesis to mention all the different attempts, only a few examples out of many will be shortly explained in the following paragraphs.

² The discussed scholars are selected on the basis of the subjective opinion of the author of this thesis whether the influence of a scholar to the topic of this research is relevant or not.

Some authors argue that the universal validity of human rights can be justified because of the universal human capacity of suffering (Brems 2001: 306). States and other human beings can cause suffering, and therefore, “every single human right is a response, a defence against a particular form of human suffering” (ibid.). In other words, human rights can be seen as an instrument of the people against injustices in the modern world (Bielefeldt 1998: 590).

Eva Brems (2001) develops the idea of an “inclusive universality” (Brems 2001: 295). She supports the universal validity of human rights and tries at the same time to find a compromise between universalism and cultural relativism arguing that “applying the same human rights standards to all human beings in all situations calls for alike results in alike situations” (Brems 2001: 317) and vice versa “for different results in different situations” (ibid.). Moreover, Brems underlines the necessity of a “common denominator” (Brems 2001: 304). In her opinion, the final sum that can be established by cross-cultural approaches to human rights would be “too meagre to be called human rights” (ibid.). Hastrup argues similarly, stating that human rights would not make any sense if they did not pertain to all humans (Hastrup 2001: 5).

Morten Kjoerum (2001) observes a threat to human rights from two main criticisms. On one hand, human rights are perceived “by certain observers to be an integral part of the process of globalization” (Kjoerum 2001: 76) and therefore accentuating the threats and insecurities that follow globalisation (ibid.). On the other hand, human rights are criticised from a cultural relativist perspective. Kjoerum states that the universality of human rights is not excluding but rather presupposing “a differentiation in their implementation” (Kjoerum 2001: 84). He underlines that human rights “should not be perceived as ends which have to be achieved but as forceful means to protect human dignity” (Kjoerum 2001: 83). Universal human rights can therefore be perceived “as part of a universal language that may, in fact, support cultural diversity and challenge the negative elements of globalization” (Kjoerum 2001: 76).

According to Kofi Annan (1997), it is “the universality of human rights that gives them strength. It endows them with the power to cross any border, climb any wall, defy any force” (Annan 1997). Moreover, human rights are indivisible: “one cannot pick and choose among them, ignoring some, while insisting on others” (ibid.). Therefore, their validity must also be universal. The international human rights system is not “a system à la carte where the individual state is free to choose the most appetizing interpretation from the point of view of the government” (Kjoerum 2001: 84).

5.2. The Critique - Cultural Relativism

Beside the defenders of the universality of human rights, there are as many critics. Critiques vary from the argument that human rights consist of an “invented nature” (Hunt 2007), that they have an imperialistic character, dominated by Western hegemonic predominance and therefore lack legitimacy (Schaffer/Follesdal/Ulfstein 2014: 2) to the argument that human rights are just a set of “empty promises” (Hathaway 2002). For many people, human rights probably appear as an empty promise due to the common practice of violating human rights all around the world. The gap between the theoretical claim of universality of human rights and the reality is tremendous.

Beside those reasons, cultural relativists also argue that human rights cannot be universal because of the unbridgeable differences between peoples, cultures and situations. Cultural relativism rose after decolonisation, when people realised that human rights are a product of Western thoughts and ideas and therefore again an outcome of a colonial understanding of culture (Merry 2006: 226). There is not enough space for cultural diversities in a universalist perception of human rights. Moreover, cultural relativists accuse the human rights discourse of containing “implicit assumptions about the nature of civilized and backward societies” (ibid.). Additionally, they see the global human rights system deeply influenced by the resource and power gap between the global North and the global South (ibid.).

Furthermore, the concept of human *rights* does not seem suitable for many cultures and societies. First of all, there are significant differences between the Western concept of law, based on the right of the individual and the customary law based on collective duties (Kjoerum 2001: 76). The latter is mainly applied in the global South. Especially African countries put emphasis on collective duties and the importance of the participation in a community (Ibhawoh 2004: 29). The individual is not perceived to be at the core of the rights system (ibid.). Moreover, some African and Asian cultures do not even recognise the concept of rights, as they focus more on duties (Ibhawoh 2004: 32). Because of these reasons, many cultural relativists argue that the international human rights system is not compatible with the rights perceptions in some of the world regions and therefore cannot claim universal validity.

There is also critique of the cultural relativist approach to human rights. Several influential authors tried to combine the advantages of universalism and cultural relativism in order to overcome their weaknesses and to find a compromise.

Kjoerum argues that in our world “cultures can no longer be seen as isolated; the cultural islands have merged, or at least become interconnected by bridges” (Kjoerum 2001: 77). The question remains how to reinforce the universal legitimacy of human rights on a local level

satisfying all cultural diversities. Abdullahi An-Na`Im pleads for the “golden rule of reciprocity” as a basis for the entire human rights system (An-Na`Im 1990: 37). This means everyone should treat other people as they themselves want to be treated (ibid.). Moreover, in order for universal human rights principles to be culturally legitimate, they must fit into already existing normative structures of thinking (Merry 2006: 179). The universal human rights regime always needs to respect the cultural peculiarities of each society without denying its universal legitimacy (compare Ibahwoh 2004: 28).

In the essay “Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights”, Jack Donnelly (1984) aims to reconcile the universalism versus cultural relativism debate. He begins by pointing out that “cultural relativity is an undeniable fact” (Donnelly 1984: 400). Contrary to the point of view of strong cultural relativists, Donnelly does not perceive culture “as the *principal* (emphasis added by author) source of the moral right or rule” (Donnelly 1984: 401). Continuing, he opposes strong cultural relativism to his idea of “weak cultural relativism” (ibid.). Weak cultural relativism is an approach “that views human rights as *prima facie* universal, but recognizes culture as a limited source of exceptions and principles of interpretation” (Donnelly 1984: 402). Searching for a legitimate basis of human rights, Donnelly turns to human nature. He argues that human rights are based in human nature and human nature in *itself* is “in some measure culturally relative” due to the high impact of culture on the development of a human identity (Donnelly 1984: 403). But there is a “fundamental unity”, a core in human nature remaining the same despite borders and cultural differences (ibid.). In other words, human nature is relatively universal and consequently, “basic human rights must at least initially assumed to be similarly universal” (Donnelly 1984: 415). In this approach to human rights, Donnelly places the individual in the centre of human rights protection and perceives it as entirely embedded in the context of its membership in society or community (Donnelly 1984: 411).

5.3. Bottom-Up Approaches

The adoption of bottom-up approaches began in the field of development studies. A prominent example is the rights-based approach to development. It “calls for existing resources to be shared more equally, and assisting the marginalised people to assert their rights to those resources” (Nyamu-Musembi/Cornwall 2004: 2). It can be described as a “catalyst that can transform the practice of development from a focus on identifying and meeting needs to *enabling* [emphasis added by author] people to recognise and claim rights” (Nyamu-Musembi/Cornwall 2004: 45).

To enforce the legitimacy of the international human rights system, it is crucial to look at human rights from a bottom-up perspective. In order to be accepted, “human rights have to be tailored to the local context” (Merry 2006: 221), they have to be grounded in local experiences (de Feyter 2006: 8). According to de Feyter, a bottom-up approach to human rights requires “the existence of a network consisting of four partners: community based organizations, local human rights NGOs, international human rights NGOs and allies in governmental and intergovernmental institutions” (de Feyter 2006: 12). Paul Zeleza pleads for a bottom-up approach to human rights because “universal principles have their genesis in local situations and traditions, and national insights and experiences will continue to improve and perfect international human rights standards and values” (Zeleza 2004: 18). For this reason, human rights need to be “contextualized” (Zeleza 2004: 15).

5.4. The Localising Human Rights Approach

The LHRA is a bottom-up approach developed by Koen de Feyter (2006, 2007, 2011). It is a promising approach to address the enforcement gap of human rights and their lack of legitimacy as pointed out by many critics such as Ibhawoh, Mutua, Baxi (see above). De Feyter underlines that he does not deny the universal validity of human rights (de Feyter 2006: 4). He strongly emphasises the need to make human rights more locally relevant (de Feyter 2006: 1). In this way, he manages to overcome the gap between the debates around the universality of human rights and its critique, the cultural relativist perspective on human rights. The localisation of human rights implies a culturally sensitive, localised understanding of universal human rights. More and more human rights scholars point at this convincing approach (Oomen 2016: 8). In the context of integration and migration studies, researchers have also recently taken such a local turn to emphasise the importance of a “localized understanding of human rights” and therefore the systematic mapping and analysis of local experiences of asylum seekers and refugees (Oomen 2016: 10). Some scholars even expect the next phase in the evolution of human rights to be “an age of localization” (ibid.).

5.5. The Localisation of Human Rights

“For Human Rights to be relevant to all, they will need to be situation-specific. They will need to be *localised*. Localisation implies taking human rights needs formulated by local people (in response to the impact of economic globalisation on their lives) as the starting point both for the further interpretation and elaboration of human rights norms, and for the development of human rights action, at all levels ranging from the domestic to the global.” (de Feyter 2007: 68)

According to Koen de Feyter, the term ‘local relevance of human rights’ can be used “as a shorthand formula to express this research theme that relates to the daily experiences of people in their neighbourhoods, villages and towns” (de Feyter 2011: 2). It has to be ensured that global norms and rules build on local human rights experiences (de Feyter 2006: 16).

To allow such a process of localisation, various actors “contribute to translating international human rights ‘down’ into local systems and translating actors’ local stories ‘up’ by telling these stories using global rights language” (compare Oré Aguilar 2008: 8; Merry 2006: 211). Oré Aguilar describes the term localisation following de Feyter as a “two-way highway: from global to local and from local to global” (Oré Aguilar 2008: 9).

In the framework of this research, the main emphasis is put on merely one of these directions: from global to local. Therefore, the daily “human rights needs”, as described by de Feyter (2007: 68) and formulated by asylum seekers and refugees, will be investigated. Furthermore, the asylum seekers’ and refugees’ knowledge and perceptions of human rights will be explored. Together these perceptions will form the basis for further interpretation and elaboration of hypotheses.

5.6. Critical Review of the Localising Human Rights Approach

In the following, the shortcomings of the LHRA as subjectively perceived by the author of this thesis will be discussed. The main problem of the LHRA is the requirement de Feyter has for the connection of “those most in need” (de Feyter 2006: 11) to a community, because “those most in need” are not always part of a community. In some cases, people can even be more vulnerable just because they are *not* member of any community. As mentioned above, de Feyter perceives this connection as a precondition for the application of a bottom-up approach. He argues that human rights need to be interpreted and developed “in light of the human rights needs as defined by the community based organisations” (ibid.). In this way, the LHRA disregards the needs and experiences of uprooted and isolated people who continuously face human rights violations but do not have the possibility to claim those violations via their community, either because they lost the connection to their community or because they never had such a form of connection. The question to be addressed is how to localise human rights for a dislocated, uprooted group of persons. The LHRA should allow for the possibility to include uprooted people and should therefore also be applicable without the connection of individuals to a community. This work focuses on those individuals who are not member of any community. Therefore, the methodology of the LHRA will be modified in order to adapt it to the situations of uprooted people and to allow its application on this group

of persons. The applicability of the modified LHRA will be tested in the main part in the frame of a single case study.

6. Concept Specification

The following chapters serve to clarify how the various concepts and terms used in this thesis are understood in the framework of this research.

6.1. Asylum seekers and refugees

According to Article I A. 2.) of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), a refugee is a person outside of the country of his nationality “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” and is, because of that fear unwilling or unable “to avail himself to the protection of that country” (Refugee Convention 1951).

An asylum seeker is a person “who has moved across an international border seeking asylum but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been decided” (Hynes 2003: 3).

Both groups of persons are “people who experience injuries in their daily lives that have been defined as human rights violations” (Merry 2006: 181). Furthermore, there is a period of time in which asylum seekers and refugees do not belong to any community. After leaving their home countries, they lost at least the physical, but in many cases also the mental connection to their home communities. During their flight but also after the arrival in their host countries, asylum seekers and refugees are not yet members of a new community or fully integrated into the societies of the host countries. They are somewhere in limbo between the borders of societies and communities. As a result, they are considered, in the framework of this research, an uprooted, dislocated group of persons and consequently vulnerable and marginalised.

This thesis focuses on asylum seekers and refugees. Their status is not relevant. The only restriction of the sample size is that interviewed asylum seekers or refugees should not have been in a Western country for more than three years. This restriction is a result of the focus on asylum seekers and refugees who are not integrated yet. It is assumed, that most of the asylum seekers and refugees are not (fully) integrated before a period of three years.

In the following, the term ‘refugee’ will include all the interviewees, asylum seekers as well as refugees independently of their status. In order to protect their identities and ensure anonymity, names will not be used. The interviews will be quoted by referring to their number.

6.2. Rights Consciousness

In order to localise human rights, it is important “to ensure harmony between local human rights consciousness and human rights laws” (Ray/Purkayastha 2012: 48). In her methodological approach to the local relevance of human rights, Oré Aguilar points at the importance of measuring empowerment and rights consciousness (Oré Aguilar 2008: 14). The difference between the two concepts lies in the fact that empowerment already implies “a degree of rights consciousness” (ibid.). In a first step it is therefore necessary to explore whether there is a certain level of rights consciousness.

Thus, the first sub-question of this thesis focuses on rights consciousness. Merry states that rights consciousness is “a slippery, unquantifiable concept” (Merry 2006: 201). Individuals should understand themselves as having rights and understand their problems in terms of human rights language (Merry 2006: 194). People “must perceive the concept of human rights and its content as their own”, states An-Na`Im (1995: 431). Thus, a minimum of rights consciousness is crucial to find out whether human rights are locally relevant. Therefore, following Merry, the underlying question is whether those most vulnerable and in need of human rights protection recognise and assert their rights or not (Merry 2006: 179). Merry points out that human rights need to be adapted to local circumstances in order to become part of the local rights consciousness (Merry 2006: 223). She calls it “the process of *localizing transnational knowledge of rights*” (ibid.). Building on Merry’s findings, rights consciousness is considered in the framework of this thesis as an indicator for the local relevance of human rights. Thus, a minimum level of rights consciousness indicates the presence of the relevance of human rights on the local level. From a broader point of view, the minimum level of rights consciousness and consequently the local relevance of human rights is a requirement for the legitimacy of human rights.

In the framework of this thesis, the interviewees’ knowledge and perceptions of human rights will serve as indicators for their rights consciousness. A “minimum level” of rights consciousness is present when the interviewee has a very vague knowledge of the existence of human rights and is able to share any personal opinion or simple perception of human rights independent of the quality of its content. The higher the rights consciousness, the more are human rights relevant on a local level.

6.3. The Insider and the User Perspective

Many scholars stress the importance of studying human rights from an ‘insider’ perspective (Markova 2009: 141; Temple/Moran 2011: 10) and of listening to authentic ‘user voices’

(Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 39; Hynes 2003: 1; Temple/Moran 2011: 17; Tait 2011: 138; Desmet 2014: 2) The terms of ‘insider’ and ‘user’ are two different concepts that will be explained briefly in the following paragraphs.

Research can be carried out from an insider or outsider position. Many scholars advocate for the outsider position because it is considered to be more objective. The research is perceived less influenced by the researcher herself (Temple/Moran 2011: 9). Others are in favour of the insider position. They argue that, as we are all part of the social world, we cannot look at it from the outside (ibid.). In sum, the division of researchers into “those who are ‘insiders’ and cannot remain objective and those who are ‘outsiders’ and can produce valid, objective research” (Temple/Moran 2011: 13) is not possible. The author of this thesis tries to find the golden middle by adapting an “empathic approach” (Desmet 2014: 3) and putting herself “in the shoes of a human rights user” (ibid.).

Ellen Desmet has a broad understanding of the term ‘user’. She splits it into four categories: (potential) rights claimants, rights realisers, supportive users and judicial users (Desmet 2014: 8 f.). According to Desmet, the adoption of a user’s perspective means that the perspective from which the analysis of data is undertaken is that of the individual, group or organisation itself (Desmet 2014: 3). Exploring human rights understandings from the perspective of rights claimants “brings human rights back where they belong – with those whose human rights should be respected and realised – and emphasises their agency” (Desmet 2014: 9). Desmet expands the category of rights claimants to “those who are in the position where they could use human rights but have not undertaken this step” (Desmet 2014: 15). They are *potential* rights claimants (ibid.).

In the empirical part of this research, the author partly adapts the perspective of *potential* rights claimants by exploring human rights understandings and needs from the viewpoint of refugees. Hence, the researcher also adapts to some extent an insider position. As a consequence, a certain level of subjectivity is not perceived as a shortcoming.

6.4. The Localisation of Integration

As explained above, refugees lost the connection to their roots, their local hub or community. They are a vulnerable group of persons, marginalised and not yet integrated into the societies of their new host countries. Their daily needs and human rights understandings may be different from other members of the society. The success of their local integration is not only “related to the recognition of refugee status but also to recognition of human rights in general, from political and civil to social, economic and cultural rights” (Oomen 2016: 8). To enforce

the local relevance of human rights on one hand and to support the integration process on the other, it is thus crucial to localise asylum seekers' and refugees' human rights perceptions and daily needs in terms of human rights. Localisation of integration in the framework of this thesis means the development of a new localised understanding of the relevance of human rights to integration and to the daily needs of refugees.

Integration is understood in this research as a process of “re-embedment” of an individual who has lost the connection to their former community and at the same time has a need to connect to a new community. Those individuals are in limbo between different communities. Most of the scholars participating in the discourse on universality and cultural relativism (see above) focus their interest on individuals placed in the middle of a community and disregard the existence of those uprooted and isolated individuals. Therefore, this understanding of integration implies that we have to take again a step back from a community dimension and to take into account the needs and interests of the *isolated* individual. Integration strategies should be connected to human rights and focus on the needs and local relevance of human rights to the uprooted individual asylum seeker or refugee until they are, again, part of a new community in the host country.

7. Research Design and Methodology

The research question will be answered by using a triangulation of methods (compare Lauth et al. 2009: 204). The objective of such a triangulation is to compensate the weaknesses of one data collection method and analytic instrument by another method and to gain a higher knowledge and validity of the work through the combination of the advantages of different methods (compare Lauth et al. 2009: 205).

The methodological approach used by the LHRA (de Feyter 2006; Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016; Oré Aguilar 2008) will form the core of the research design. On the basis of this approach, the methodology will be modified and expanded by other methods of data collection, building an own research design composed of different methods. The third part of this triangulation will be the analysis of the data using the Grounded-Theory-Methodology (Glaser/Strauss 1967). In the following, each part of the methodology will be explained in detail including its obstacles, weaknesses and limitations.

7.1. A Methodological Approach to the Local Relevance of Human Rights

This chapter focuses on the methodology of three works using the LHRA: the extensive research project at the University of Antwerp “The Right to Education of Rural-Urban

Migrant Households in Chongqing, China” (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016), the paper “Localizing Human Rights” by de Feyter (2006) as well as Oré Aguilar’s paper “The Local Relevance of Human Rights: A Methodological Approach” (2008).

In the research project “The Right to Education of Rural-Urban Households in Chongqing, China” a single case study as research strategy was adopted (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 45). The two principal units of the analysis were parents and children of rural-urban migrant households in China (ibid.). Interviews with parents as well as children were carried out. In order to analyse the collected material, a coding strategy was developed (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 46).

In the paper “The Local Relevance of Human Rights: A Methodological Approach”, Oré Aguilar suggests a methodology based on three different main methods: a case study, the systematisation of experiences and a participatory human rights impact assessment (Oré Aguilar 2008: 21). The methodology “follows a trajectory that begins with the local communities’ needs and claims and ends with an analysis of how the decisions resulting from the claim have or may have impacted the global human rights framework [...]” (Oré Aguilar 2008: 29). The systematisation of experiences is primarily of participatory research nature; this refers to “a process of reconstruction and analytical reflection on experiences of social promotion in which those who participated in the intervention together with the beneficiary local population take part in order to generate knowledge from practice” (Oré Aguilar 2008: 22). At the end, a critical interpretation of the collected material is of high importance (ibid.). Finally, de Feyter argues in the paper “Localizing Human Rights”, that human rights protection has to be extended to “those most in need” (de Feyter 2006: 11). In order to do so, human rights have to be interpreted and further developed “in light of the human rights needs as defined by the community based organizations” (ibid.).

7.2. Modified Research Design

In order to meet the requirements of the above voiced critiques towards the LHRA and its weaknesses, the methodology will be modified to allow its application on the target group of uprooted refugees.

As already shown above, refugees are not members of the communities in their home countries anymore, nor are they a fully integrated part of the communities in the host countries. Especially asylum seekers during the asylum procedure, find themselves in limbo between societies. Therefore, they have different needs compared to most of the other members in the societies of the host countries as well as different needs from people who

stayed in the communities in their home countries. It is highly important to apply the LHRA to this vulnerable, uprooted group of persons. In order to do so, the LHRA needs some modification.

First of all, a single case study will be used in the same way as it has been used in the research project on Rural-Urban Migrant Households in China. The principal units of analysis are refugees in Luxembourg. The experiences and participatory human rights impact assessment will be interpreted by using the Grounded-Theory-Methodology (Glaser/Strauss 1967). This methodology ensures a high level of intersubjective comprehensivity and reflectivity (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 191).

Because refugees are not part of any community, the interpretation will not focus on human rights needs formulated by community-based organisations but by the refugees themselves who can be “considered to be the experts of their individual refugee experience” (Hynes 2003: 12). These needs will be translated into human rights language.

To sum up, the research design comprises of three main steps: first of all, the existing literature was reviewed (view above). Secondly, interviews with refugees in Luxembourg are conducted. The collected data material will be interpreted with the help of the Grounded-Theory-Methodology (Glaser/Strauss 1967). On the basis of the outcome of the interpretation, hypotheses or even a theory can be discovered (compare Glaser/Strauss 1967; Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 202). Thirdly, the information gained through the interviews and their analysis will be complemented by extracts of participant observation protocols and the final findings will be controlled by a comparison to the outcome of quality control interviews with persons who are working in close contact with refugees. It is assumed, if other actors articulate similar positions and ideas than the interviewed refugees, conclusions can be drawn with more certainty.

7.3. The Data Collection Process

The following chapter gives detailed information about the data collection process including the problems that were faced and their solutions. The sample of interviewees includes refugees in Luxembourg of different nationalities and educational levels. The interviewees are female and male between 20 and 70 years old and have not been in Luxembourg for more than three years. This requirement is needed because the focus of research lies on refugees who are not yet integrated into the society. After three years, it can be assumed that refugees

are mostly integrated. The heterogeneous sample aims to be as representative as possible of the Luxembourg asylum seeker and refugee population.³

7.3.1 Access to the field

Refugees are part of a vulnerable and marginalised group of persons and therefore a “hard-to-reach” population (compare Atkinson/Flint 2001: 1). When “classical accessing channels do not work” (Dahinden/Efionayi-Mäder 2011: 103), a very useful strategy to reach those populations is the so-called snowball method (Bloch 1999: 371; Markova 2011: 142; Staring 2011: 89; Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 184). In this research, the snowball method was used as a first step to access the field and get into touch with the target group. Building on the contact to a Syrian refugee living in Luxembourg, getting into touch with refugees from various countries willing to participate in an interview was facilitated.

Nevertheless, the snowball method also faces some disadvantages: in personal social networks there is always a tendency to homogeneity along ethnicity, gender, age, level of education as well as values and norms which means that people are primarily in contact with people with similar characteristics (Dahinden/Efionayi-Mäder 2011: 103). Therefore, snowball samples have a risk of being biased because they include the more cooperative participants of one network and exclude others (ibid.). Furthermore, such a sample can lead to an “over-dependence on one network” which results in “a danger of interviewing people with similar experiences” (Bloch 1999: 372). Besides that, there is the risk that a social network already has traits of a community. In order to avoid such a biased sample and to be as unselective as possible, a second strategy was used: the so-called site-orientated approach focusing on charitable institutions (Staring 2011: 87). Therefore, the Red Cross and Caritas were contacted and two churches, where refugees can go in the case they need help, were visited. Each contacted gatekeeper got a written summary of the content of this research project, a letter that introduced the researcher, the questionnaire as well as an interview request letter in advance.⁴ This site-orientated strategy proved to be very successful and allowed to expand the sample and even to reach isolated persons who are not part of any community or social networks.

³ In 2016, 2160 asylum applications were made in Luxembourg (Eurostat 2016). Most of the asylum seekers are Syrian (669), followed by Iraq (539), Kosovo (239), Afghanistan (214), Albania (153), Montenegro (72), Bosnia-Herzegovina (68), Iran (64), Serbia (56) and Eritrea (38) (Luxemburger Wort 2016). In 2016, 615 of the asylum seekers were female and 1545 were male (Eurostat 2016). 1095 of the asylum seekers were between 18 and 34, 440 between 35 and 64 (Eurostat 2016). In the beginning of 2016, 200 asylum applications were accepted and 525 were refused. Only eight Syrian asylum seekers were accepted as refugees (Luxemburger Wort 2016).

⁴ The documents can be found in the Appendices 1-5.

7.3.2. Obstacles and Limitations

During the data collection process, various obstacles were faced such as the various factors that need to be taken into account when trying to achieve representativeness of asylum seekers and refugees in Luxembourg, problems concerning language and ethical considerations that appear while researching a vulnerable group of persons. A solution for each problem could not always be found. To ensure transparency and reflectivity of the research process, some of the main limitations will be discussed in the following chapters.

7.3.3. Issues of Trust and Mistrust

First of all, it was sometimes challenging to establish a trusting relationship with refugees. After they arrive in the host country, they may mistrust everyone they encounter (Hynes 2003: 7). A woman stressed that she does not “trust [dealing with] any institution that has an office” (Interview # 9). She only agreed to participate in an interview after we spent some time together drinking coffee in her room while talking about politics. She observed each of my movements while I was explaining several times where I come from and especially the reason why this study is conducted and what its exact aim is. At the end, she decided to trust me and now, I am even visiting her from time to time and she is very curious about the progress of my research.

In the case of asylum seekers, another component influences their behaviour: they do not yet know if they will get a residence permit. Therefore, they are afraid to do or say anything wrong. As a consequence, some of them decide not to talk to the researcher because they cannot be sure whether the researcher is working for the government or not. Others decide to talk, but “much will remain unknown to the researcher because there is a boundless universe of mistrust” (Hynes 2003: 13).

As a result, it is important to be aware of this “strong element of suspicion” (Hynes 2003: 15) and the researcher has to make efforts to build up a relationship based on confidentiality and to calm fears. It means that a lot of time has to be invested in order to establish personal contacts. A common risk of building such a relationship experienced by many researchers is that some interviewees generate the hope that the researcher might be able to help them, for example to find an apartment, a job or an Arab speaking doctor (compare Markova 2011: 146; Staring 2011: 85). In some cases, the researcher is able to help but in many other cases, she cannot fulfil these expectations.

7.3.4. Social Desirability

A second problem that has to be mentioned is the issue of social desirability (Paulhus 1984; Phillips/Clancy 1972: 921). In relation to asylum seekers, it is not only the social desirability that influences their answers but also the fact that their stay in the host country depends on their actual migration story. This has an impact on the way of their communication with relevant actors (Dahinden/Efionayi-Mäder 2011: 113). This particular context places great relevance on their self-portrayal (ibid.). The researcher cannot completely hide her role and academic interest. Therefore, the interviewees might respond in a particular way, in which they think they are expected to answer in. Social Desirability can be “a source of bias and invalidity” (Phillips/Clancy 1972: 921). In order to decrease the effects of social desirability, it can be helpful not only to analyse what is presented and what is not presented, but also *how* interviewees present themselves (compare Bilger/van Liempt 2011: 129). This can be done by a participant observation.

7.3.5. Representativeness and External Validity

The author of this thesis does not claim it to be representative of all refugees. The collected material based on the interviews has a selective character (compare Staring 2011: 91). However, it can be ensured that the whole research process proves of a high level of verifiability and external validity through transparency in form of a detailed description of each step undertaken during the research.

7.3.6. Other Ethical Considerations

In relation to research conducted with vulnerable groups of persons such as refugees, various ethical concerns need to be discussed (compare Bilger/van Liempt 2011: 131). First of all, researching private stories and placing the results of the research in the public area requires the compliance with general ethical rules of research (ibid.).⁵ The anonymity and protection of the identity of the persons participating in the interviews has to be guaranteed (ibid.). In order to do so, the names of the interviewees will not be mentioned in this thesis. Each interviewee was informed in detail about the purpose and aim of this research and agreed through an informed consent upon the use of the information given in the interview. Most of the refugees were glad to have the possibility to tell their stories, to see that the researcher

⁵ The Canadian Secretariat on Responsible Conduct of Research published a comprehensive statement on „Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans“ (2014) providing ethical rules and practices that should be met while conducting research involving human beings (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada 2014).

shows compassion and interest. Therefore, a lot of time was spent to listen to the problems the people are facing and to give them advice. The refugees' views and above all their human rights perceptions will be reproduced as much in detail as possible.

7.3.7. Semi-structured interviews

The interviews are based on a semi-structured questionnaire containing both, open-ended questions as well as closed questions.⁶ Semi-structured face-to-face interviews allow more freedom for the interviewees to respond but also for the researcher who asks the questions (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 47). The response rates of face-to-face interviews are much higher and they allow for a greater use of open-ended questions (Bloch 1999: 374). As the majority of the interviewees were grateful to have the possibility to express themselves freely, most of the twenty interviews turned out to be long in-depth interviews. In order to facilitate the planning of interviews and to support the interview process, several tools were developed and handed out to the contacted persons in advance: a research information summary, an introduction letter, an interview request letter, a written consent letter, a questionnaire and an observation sheet.⁷

To ensure “scientific requirements of objectivity, each respondent has to be asked the same question in the same way” (ibid.). In reality, it is not always possible to meet this criterion due to the linguistic challenges the researcher is facing. First of all, because the author of this work is not able to speak the Arab language, for some interviews she had to rely on “external interviewers” (Dahinden/Efionayi-Mäder 2009: 101). In addition to that, in some cases it was difficult to understand the French accents of refugees coming from African countries. This led to situations of spontaneous translating by other people who were sitting next to us and were following the conversation. Lastly, there are “some words and concepts in one language [that] will have no equivalent in another language” (Bloch 1999: 374). This is another reason why it is important to involve members of the refugee communities in the translation process (Bloch 1999: 381). They may be able to explain and translate specific rights-terms into existing terms in another language with a similar meaning. These linguistic challenges increased the difficulty and especially time intensity to ensure that the questions and answers are comparable “across linguistic groups and that interpretations are not affected by cultural bias” (Dahinden/Efionayi-Mäder 2009: 112). Nevertheless, after spending plenty of time discussing different terms, the author of this thesis managed to overcome the “cross-linguistic” (ibid)

⁶ The questionnaire can be found in Appendix 5.

⁷ All documents can be found in Appendices 1-6.

obstacles and to finally reach a satisfying result of “comparability of meaning” (Bloch 1999: 374).

7.4. The Grounded-Theory-Methodology

The Grounded-Theory-Methodology was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss and firstly published in their main work “The Discovery of Grounded Theory” in 1967. They plead for regarding qualitative research not only as a strategy to test theories but also to discover theory from data (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 1). The Grounded-Theory-Methodology allows generating concepts and categories based on collected data material and integrating them in the form of hypotheses or a theory (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 202).

The material collected from the interviews with refugees will be analysed by applying the Grounded-Theory-Methodology. The aim of this interpretation is to formulate hypotheses and in the best case even to generate a theory. The researcher has to begin with the so-called coding (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 101). The coding leads to the generation of concepts. Building on the concepts, it is possible to identify categories. All categories have their specific properties (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 36). Generalised relations among different categories including their properties are hypotheses (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 39). The main categories, their properties and their “interrelations form an integrated theoretical framework – *the core of the emerging theory*” (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 40).

7.5. Quality Control Interviews

The outcome of analysis and interpretation will be compared to the outcome of qualitative control interviews carried out with responsible persons working in refugee camps and charitable organisations in order to ensure a higher level of objectivity and to allow conclusions to be drawn with more certainty.⁸ Furthermore, those social workers, volunteers or other responsible persons navigating “between more or less separate social worlds, helping each group to understand the perspective of the others” (Merry 2006: 193) can play the role of a “translator” (ibid). According to Merry, translators are people who help the members of one layer – in this case refugees – reframe their grievances in the language of others – for example the Luxembourg government (Merry 2006: 194). Translators have a “double consciousness, combining both human rights conceptions and local ways of thinking about grievances” (Merry 2006: 229). They are able to talk about stories anchored in the local kinship system using a global rights language (Merry 2006: 211). Therefore, conducting

⁸ The quality control interview guide can be found in Appendix 6.

interviews with translators cannot only serve as a quality control but also as a tool to understand the needs of refugees in terms of global human rights language.

7.6. Partial Conclusion

As can be seen, the research design is partly based on main works of authoritative researchers in the field of the LHRA as well as on some modifications by the researcher herself. During the development and application of the different steps of this methodology, the author of this thesis was facing obstacles and limitations. Therefore, after each detected failure, the flexible research design was adapted and other methods were added to compensate the weakness. Finally, the outcome was a triangulation of methods complemented by small interim research steps. The question remains whether the findings will be sufficiently representative as a basis for generating hypotheses or even a theory.

8. Asylum seekers and refugees in Luxembourg – a case study

In the following chapters the findings and outcome of the analysis and interpretation of the data material will be presented with regard to the research questions as recapitulated here below:

- 1. Do asylum seekers and refugees have a minimum level of human rights consciousness?*
- 2. How do asylum seekers and refugees as a vulnerable, marginalised and uprooted group of persons perceive human rights?*
- 3. What are their daily needs in terms of human rights?*

The first chapter will provide a descriptive overview of the final sample of interviews conducted in Luxembourg. The second chapter will consist of the interpretative analysis of the collected data material according to the three sub-questions. In the third chapter, the outcome of interpretation will be complemented by extracts of participant observation and by the comparison to the outcome of two quality control interviews.

8.1. The Interviews

A total of twenty interviews were conducted with refugees in Luxembourg. To reflect the composition of the Luxembourg asylum seeker and refugee population as proportional as

possible⁹, seven of the interviewees are female and the amount of male interviewees are is doubled. 75 % of the interviewees are between twenty and forty years old, 15 % are older than fifty years. Most of the interviewees are asylum seekers, four of them have refugee status. Ten interviewees are Syrian, two are from Iraq, one is from Bosnia-Herzegovina and seven respondents come from African countries (Eritrea, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Tunisia and the Democratic Republic of Congo). The educational level is disparate, reaching from six years to 23 years of school in total (including university).

Most of the interviews turned out to be extensive in-depth interviews. In many cases, the interview was followed by intense conversations about personal experiences and problems or discussions concerning general politics in the respondents' home countries such as possible solutions for an end of the war in Syria. As those conversations were not part of the interview itself and in several cases the conversations were very personal and sensitive in nature, they will not be included in the following analysis of data material even though they were highly informative.

8.2. Analysis and Interpretation of Data Material

As explained above, the analysis of the data gained from the interviews was carried out on the basis of the Grounded-Theory-Methodology. The technique mainly consists of the coding of the interviews as well as the development of concepts and the identification of different categories. To ensure the transparency and reproducibility of the complex process of coding, the reporting of the process was transferred and clearly arranged in the form of tables.¹⁰ The process of coding is illustrated by one extract of the tables here below:

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	I heard about it in the news and TV. I know some of it but I have never seen it in practice.	heard about never seen in practice	Limited knowledge from Television	Very limited rights consciousness gained from TV
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes, there is a treaty. Syrian government signed it but they should not be in this system.	Yes, there is a treaty	Some knowledge of treaty law	Limited rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I know that people who work in Human Rights study something but I don't know what it is.	People who work in human rights study something	Limited knowledge of treaty law	Very limited rights consciousness

⁹ For description of the Luxembourg asylum seeker and refugee population, see footnote 4.

¹⁰ The entire tables can be found in the Appendix 9.

4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to life.	Right to life	Referring to the right to life	Limited rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No you can't go anywhere.	No you can't go anywhere	No knowledge of court system	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	It's to live in my country, my dignity being safed and no separation in the law between people because of religion, ethnic or skin colour or anything else. Also no separation between classes. In Syria, you have the first class and the second class population. Also here in Luxembourg I feel like second class person.	Live in my country Dignity being safed No separation in the law between people and between classes	Referring to the concept of dignity and equality between people and classes	Concepts of dignity as well as non-discrimination
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Honestly, we believed there are Human Rights. We believed in the promises of the US, France that Syria will get its freedom. But they cheated on us. My country is in a horrible situation for many years now. I am going to identify Human Rights as to protect the weak from the strong. But I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. At the same time, the Syrian government is negotiating for an end of the war and bombing Syrian cities. No, I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. Now, you have seen me angry. There is this beast in us who wants to revenge for all we have seen. Thinking of human rights awakes this beast because they remind me of all the injustices in the world. They are like any other lie we used to hear and believe. I am now safe and most of the time happy but I wished that someday I could go back and see somebody alive.	We believed there are human rights They cheated on us I don't believe in human rights anymore Human rights are like any other lie we used to hear and believe	Loss of belief in human rights because of feeling of mistrust and disappointment	Change of attitude towards human rights from belief and hope to mistrust and disappointment
10. What is your strongest need?	I feel like European are scared of me. My wife used	I wished I don't have to	Grievance for more	Referring to non-

<p>a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others</p>	<p>to cover her hair, people used to treat us like tourists or terrorists. I wish I don't have to feel this judgment anymore. So I uncovered her hair because I want to be part of this society and I don't want to feel judged. But now the other men in our camp judge me because she is not covered anymore and they don't like it. I wished there would not be this judgement everywhere.</p>	<p>feel this judgement anymore</p>	<p>tolerance and equality</p>	<p>discrimination but no rights language used</p>
---	---	------------------------------------	-------------------------------	---

Each identified category is assigned to one of the research sub-questions. Categories related to the first sub-question are coloured in green, categories related to the second sub-question are coloured in red and categories related to the third sub-questions in blue. The questions will be answered based on the assignment of the various categories as well as their further interpretation. In some cases, the connection of two or more categories allows the formulation of a hypothesis. Illustrative quotations from the interviews will substantiate each category, answer and hypothesis. Moreover, these quotations serve to support this thesis' aim of giving a voice to refugees.

8.2.1 Levels of rights consciousness

"I know there is something like this but I don't know any details. I know that as a woman, I have some rights, I believe as a woman, I have more rights than a man." (Interview # 5)

During the process of coding, different levels of rights consciousness were identified depending on the language used by the interviewee as well as her or his knowledge related to rights concepts and international treaty law. Four levels of rights consciousness were identified:

1. *Presence of rights consciousness*: the respondent is able to formulate in her or his own words what human rights are; the respondent shows knowledge about international treaties and human rights law; the respondent can name specific rights; the answer can be connected to personal situations and experiences and the respondent is using rights language
2. *Limited rights consciousness*: the respondent used language such as "it's my right to", "I think that", "I assume that"; the answer is connected to the personal situation and experience *without* using rights language
3. *Very limited rights consciousness*: the respondent used language such as "have heard of", "there is something like this" but has very limited knowledge and is unfamiliar with concepts of international human rights law

4. *No rights consciousness*: the respondent is not using rights language at all and is completely unfamiliar with concepts of international human rights law

The majority of interviewees did have a very limited rights consciousness or no rights consciousness at all. Similarly to the findings of Chen/Desmet/de Feyter, many respondents “had heard of” terms like human rights or international treaties but “they were unable to formulate their own understanding of these terms” (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 22). In a few cases, a limited level of rights consciousness was detected. Only three respondents showed a real presence of rights consciousness (Interviews # 1, 12, 14).

A second similarity to the findings of Chen/Desmet/de Feyter was detected concerning the main channels through which refugees had heard of human rights or international human rights law: the news and television (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 110; Interviews # 2, 6, 7, 12, 13). Another finding resembling the outcome of the study of Chen/Desmet/de Feyter is that the most often used and thus most familiar rights-related term appeared to be the rights of children (compare Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 114; Interviews # 2, 3, 10, 13, 20).

Only one respondent knew about the existence of the European Court of Human Rights (Interview # 12), two of them mentioned “a court in the Netherlands” (Interview # 2, 7) and other two others mentioned the name of the International Criminal Court (Interview # 14, 15). It can be observed that the three respondents with the highest detected rights consciousness also have the highest educational level (Interviews # 1, 12, 14). On the basis of this observation, it can be concluded that the level of rights consciousness is related to the educational level of the interviewee. This correlation between rights consciousness and level of education is obsolete. If a similar survey was conducted on any street in the centre of Luxembourg City, it would probably lead the same result.

A second correlation was detected between the level of rights consciousness and personal experience. Female respondents for example, often connected their knowledge of rights to the right to physical integrity (Interviews # 5, 9, 13). Having knowledge about the personal situation of these women, it can be assumed that this correlation is made because of their personal experiences of physical violence. Another example is that the knowledge of international human rights law and the human rights perceptions of respondents are as well often connected to their personal situation as an asylum seeker or refugee (Interviews 1, 3, 6, 12, 20). In the majority of cases, the personal situation is perceived as unjust but only a few respondents seemed to have knowledge about their situation in terms of human rights language.

8.2.2. Partial Conclusion

It can be summarised that the average level of rights consciousness among the interviewed refugees is very low. Most of the respondents were unfamiliar with concepts of international human rights law and did not use any rights language in their answers.

If a respondent has a certain level of knowledge concerning international human rights law and therefore a certain rights consciousness, it is in most of the cases connected to her or his personal experience such as being an asylum seeker, being parent or being a woman. Similarly to the findings of Chen/Desmet/de Feyter, there “seemed to be a discrepancy between a general, more implicit rights awareness [...], on the one hand, and the familiarity with specific rights-terms and especially the ability to give a description of these terms, on the other” (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 22). Thus, several respondents were able to give their *general* perceptions of human rights and appeared to have a minimum level of rights consciousness concerning the *existence* of the human rights concepts but only very few respondents used *specific* rights-terms or were able to give any description of rights-terms.

It can be concluded that rights consciousness is dependent on **personal experiences** with human rights violations as well as on the **level of education**. In the majority of interviews, the experienced violations were not formulated in human rights language but they were clearly perceived as injustices. Furthermore, the majority of respondents mentioned injustices of human rights standards and their implementation according to different regions of the world.

8.2.3. Perceptions and dynamics of human rights

The sub-question related to refugees’ human rights perceptions served as a tool to understand refugees as agents, even as participants of the research process. The respondents were asked questions related to their human rights perceptions. In most of the cases these questions led to controversial discussions about the usefulness and effectiveness of human rights. Thus, the interviewer and interviewee became equal discussion partners and in this position, the interviewee felt that she or he could make a real contribution to the research process.

In relation to the second sub-question, fourteen different categories and therefore perceptions of human rights were identified. A category was only built on the basis of concepts that occurred more than once. Nevertheless, a category is *not* understood as a generalisation of asylum seekers’ and refugees’ human rights perceptions. The statements are only related to the specific category and do not claim to go beyond of its scope. In the following, each of the categories will be illustrated by one exemplary quotation from the interviews and explained in detail.

1. Human rights as a tool for protection and support

“Rights which can protect humans, support them and give them their rights” (Interview # 1)

In this category, the main purpose of human rights is protection and support of human beings. This perception occurs in the interviews numbers eight, nine and fourteen as well.

2. Human rights perceived in connection to personal situation

“It’s mostly about equality. I consider that very important because I never experienced it.” (Interview # 12)

Respondents define human rights in relation to personal experienced injustices. Thus, what the respondent *did not* experience but what he or she observed other people experiencing is perceived as the core concept of human rights. This perception of human rights was found in the interviews three, five, six, seven and twenty.

3. Human rights’ usefulness is limited due to unequal implementation and compliance

“I believe human rights exist here but back in Iraq, they sound like a joke” (Interview # 9)

Answers that are assigned to category three are based on the assumption that human rights are implemented and complied in some countries of the world such as Luxembourg but in other countries such as Iraq, Syria or Iran, human rights are not implemented and respected. Therefore, the usefulness of human rights is perceived as strongly limited or even non-existent. This perception emerges in nearly all of the interviews except of interviews three, ten, fourteen, fifteen and sixteen.

4. Human rights as fantasy

“It’s what we hear about in movies. We never believe that it exists, it’s like a fairy tale” (Interview # 2)

Human rights are compared to fairy tales, the content seen in movies or they are simply considered as a joke. By this comparison, human rights become downgraded to an idea that is non-existent. Nevertheless, the comparison to movies or a fairy tale also shows the hidden wish to believe in this idea. Such as we sometimes wished a fairy tale became reality to give us the ability to fly. The perception of human rights as fantasy or content of movies occurs in two more interviews, namely numbers four and five.

5. Human rights as concept of hope

“Just the idea that there is something like human rights still gives hope” (Interview # 2)

Answers assigned to category five show that human rights have the strength to give hope even though the respondents did experience many human rights violations. This perception occurs in two more interviews, namely numbers sixteen and eighteen.

6. Change of attitude towards the usefulness of human rights from hope and belief to disappointment and mistrust

“But I don’t believe in human rights anymore (...). Human rights are like any other lie we used to hear and believe” (Interview # 6)

This category forms the counterpart of category five. It shows that other respondents lost their faith in the strength of human rights because they probably experienced various human rights violations and were disappointed too many times. Concepts assigned to this category, can be found in two more interviews, namely numbers five and twenty.

7. Dignity as a core concept of human rights

“It’s about dignity, to have life with dignity (...). Dignity is a huge word, it does not have a real meaning, or it has a different meaning for everyone.” (Interview # 13)

Some respondents perceive dignity as the core concept of human rights. Dignity is defined in different ways. The respondent quoted above states that dignity is such a wide concept that it somehow lost its “real meaning” or it simply has a different meaning for each person. Another respondent said that after six years of war she forgot what the meaning of dignity is (Interview # 5). The term dignity is mentioned in six further interviews, namely numbers four, five, six, eight, nine and twenty.

8. Equality as a core concept of human rights

“Also, no separation between classes. In Syria, you have a first class and the second class population. Also here in Luxembourg I feel like a second class person.” (Interview # 6)

Besides dignity, equality is mentioned several times as a core concept of human rights. Respondents are mostly referring to their situation in Luxembourg. They feel judged by the Luxembourg society on the one hand, but also by their own compatriots living in the camps or still back in their home countries on the other hand. Respondents try to satisfy the expectations of both groups. As a result of the judgement by the Luxembourg society, they get the impression that they are not treated in the same way as other members of the society.

Even in cases where the respondents are already accepted as refugees, some of them said they still do not feel accepted as a member of the society and treated equally. The concepts of equality or non-discrimination are explicitly mentioned in the interviews numbers six, ten, eleven, seventeen and twenty.

9. Human rights as a tool to fulfil basic needs

“The easiest things should be available for everyone” (Interview # 10)

In this category, the respondents perceived human rights as a tool to the fulfilment of basic needs such as having food, a private place to live or a clean bathroom. This perception also occurs in the interview number fifteen.

10. Mutual respect as a core concept of human rights

“Le respect de l’autre, c’est le plus important. Si on se respectait, on ne pourrait pas se tuer, se discriminer. Il n’y aurait pas le misère comme aujourd’hui. Où le respect de l’autre commence, moi je m’arrête.” (Interview # 17)

Two respondents perceived mutual respect as core concept of human rights. If each person respected the other person, people would not be able to kill each other or discriminate. The borderline of respect of one person marks the end of freedom of action of another person. Two more interviewees mentioned the term of respect as a core concept of human rights, namely the interviews numbers eleven and sixteen.

11. Human rights’ effectiveness is dependent on governments’ willingness to implementation

“I think human rights are useful if governments are bind [bound, note by the author] by it, if everyone respects it, but not everybody does it. If the governments are not bind [bound, note by the author], they don’t respect human rights” (Interview # 15)

Some respondents perceived human rights’ usefulness and effectiveness as limited because governments are not obliged to fulfil and implement international human rights norms and laws. Most of the governments are not willing to implement human rights norms on a voluntary basis. Consequently human rights are non-existent in the majority of countries of the world. This perception can be found in the interviews one and twelve as well.

12. Human rights as a matter of politics and business making

“Human rights only make rules, it’s all about politics. But I met humans, really human who care about other human beings” (Interview # 20)

In some cases, human rights are perceived as a matter of politics and as means of business making. Respondents complained about the international human rights organisations such as UNHCR or IOM because they earn a lot of money but do not invest enough in, for example, refugee camps. According to the opinion of one interviewee, some of the organisations only “make business out of refugees” (Interview # 20). One more respondent perceived human rights “just as a case of politics, nothing more” (Interview # 15).

13. Human rights enforce inequality

“If it’s only applied to a certain group of people, it’s useless. It creates even more inequality” (Interview # 12)

Human rights are unjust due to their unequal implementation and the lack of respect by the majority of countries in the world. Only some groups of people in a few countries benefit from the actual existence of human rights. Because of this unjust implementation, human rights are experienced as an enforcement of inequality between people and regions of the world. This perception can be found one more time in the interview number seventeen.

14. Human rights only exist in theory

“Yes they exist in talking but not in doing things” (Interview # 16)

Many respondents perceive human rights as a concept that only exists in theory and people “like to talk about” (compare interviews # 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20). But when it comes to changing situations in reality, the concept of human rights is unfortunately not helpful.

Several interviewees mentioned organisations such as UNICEF, UNHCR or the IOM (Interviews # 3, 9, 15, 20). These are mostly those organisations the interviewees were in touch with during their flight. Most of the respondents are aware of the existence of those organisations but they only mention them to express their critique or even anger (Interviews # 3, 9, 15, 20). “I don’t know were to go. Where is the UN, where is UNICEF?” complains a woman (Interview # 3). Another interviewee says “there is a lot of cheating, also from the UNHCR” (Interview # 20) and he underlines the fact that many organisations only “make business out of refugees” (ibid.). Similarly to the findings of the World Bank study “Voices of the poor” the majority of interviewees did not seem to be satisfied with the work of these organisations “known worldwide for their excellent work” (Naranjan et al. 2000: 131). This raises questions concerning the effectiveness of the work of some international organisations.

The entire support system for refugees builds on international organisations. On the basis of these findings, one could gain the impression that there is a fundamental trust problem as many interviewees made disappointing experiences with international organisations that led to a breach of trust.

We have seen a wide range of human rights perceptions. The vast majority of interviewees fled from their home countries because they experienced severe human right violations. These violations have a great impact on the respondents' perceptions of human rights. In the majority of the interviews, the interviewee is *aware* of the existence of human rights (which should not be confound with the concept of right consciousness) but underlines that their existence is limited to “here”, in Luxembourg, contrary to “back” in Syria, Iraq or African countries. This dichotomy of the perceived existence of human rights can even lead to a perception of increased inequality between Western countries and countries in the Middle East or African countries. Thus, human rights turn into a concept that enforces the privileged situation of already privileged countries and people and accentuate the gaps between different regions of the world.

8.2.4. Perceptions of dignity

Seven interviewees mentioned the concept of dignity (Interviews # 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 20). In this chapter, four examples of how dignity is perceived will be shown and an interpretation of these perceptions will be given.

“Not to be beaten, especially from the family. There is no dignity when you are beaten. Honestly, we lost all dignity, after six years of war, I forgot what this means.” (Interview # 5)

This 25-year-old woman spoke about her loss of dignity. One reason is the fact that she was beaten. When she was a child, her father beat her. After her marriage at the age of twelve years, her husband started beating her. The second reason she mentions is the war in Syria. Both, being beaten and the war provoked her loss of dignity and in addition to that, she even forgot what the meaning of dignity is.

“My dignity is very important. I lost it several times when I was beaten and other things and now I need to find it again but I don't know how to find it, I don't know if I can get my dignity back.” (Interview # 8)

This woman from Eritrea states that she lost her dignity even several times after being beaten and “other things”. We do not want to imagine what she could mean by these “other things”.

Moreover, the woman expresses her fear of not getting back her dignity because she does not know how to find it.

“When they beat me up I lost my dignity forever. My home country cannot give it back to me, I don’t feel safe anymore back home.” (Interview # 9)

This woman, 62, talks about the loss of dignity while kidnappers beat her up in her own house. She emphasises that she lost her dignity forever; especially in her home country Iraq, she will not be able to recover from this loss.

“It’s about dignity, to have life with dignity (...). Dignity is a huge word, it does not have a real meaning. Or it has a different meaning for everyone.” (Interview # 13)

This woman, 55-year-old, described the concept of human rights as having a life in dignity. It was difficult for her to define dignity. After stating that it is a vast concept without a real meaning or not the same meaning for everyone, the interviewee said that it is important to “disobey the rules of society” (Interview # 13). “In our society the rules are that the woman is in the kitchen, that you can beat the woman. If you disobey the society rules, a woman can have a school degree and a profession and earn money and because of this, she is not losing her dignity” (ibid.). By these words, this Syrian woman is explaining that a woman in Syria can lose her dignity simply by following the rules of society.

The interviewees were not asked explicitly for their perceptions of dignity because the interviewer was interested to see whether dignity plays a role in the perceptions and definitions of human rights and therefore, whether respondents mention the concept of dignity spontaneously. Seven out of twenty interviewees finally mentioned the term dignity. Five of them are women. Four of them were quoted due to the very surprising and alerting outcome of the analysis of the data material: each of these four women mentioned the loss of dignity in relation to physical violence. Each of them was beaten by their fathers, husbands or by some unknown kidnappers. Each of them said that she lost her dignity at some point as a result of this physical violence. One interviewee said that after six years of war she even forgot what dignity means. Another interviewee mentioned the society rules: as long as a woman follows the rules of society, she will lose her dignity. It seems like the four women only became

aware of the existence of dignity after they lost it. Now, they forgot what its meaning is and they feel the need to search for it to get it back.

It is significant that only two male interviewees mentioned the term dignity. An explanation could be that women only became aware of the significance of dignity or even of its existence after they had the feeling of having lost it. In contrast to the women's experiences, it may be assumed that men's dignity is not threatened that often, especially in relation to their physical integrity. Most of them probably never lost or never believed they lost their dignity and are therefore not aware of its crucial importance.

At this point, it is helpful to look at Kant's argumentation related to the loss of dignity. According to Kant, each human being has an inherent dignity (Kant 1785: 420). This inherent dignity is basically "unlosable" (Kant 1785: 436) and provides us with self-estimation (ibid.). In the case of these four interviewed women, Kant would probably say that they did not lose their dignity. The only ones who almost lost their dignity (if it was possible according to Kant) but clearly lost the entitlement to be further on respected, are the fathers, husbands and kidnappers who made the women believe that they lost their dignity.

Another explanation why only two men mentioned the term of dignity could be that men are not able to talk freely about a possible loss of dignity, especially to a female interviewer. It could be perceived as a symbol of weakness. In some cases, the impression was gained that women trusted the female researcher more than men and were therefore willing to share their experiences and opinions in a more open and honest manner.

8.2.5. Partial Conclusion

As it can be seen, the interviewed refugees had various perceptions of human rights. However, there is one commonality that they all share: human rights are mainly perceived in a negative way. The respondents were highly critical towards the usefulness of human rights and statements such as "back in Syria, we don't have them" or "we are not in touch with them" were often made. In a few cases they even became angry when they started thinking and talking about human rights. For example, one interviewee stated towards the end of the interview:

"Now, you have seen me angry. There is this beast in us who wants to revenge for all we have seen. Thinking of human rights awakes this beast because they remind me of all the injustices in the world" (Interview # 6).

8.2.6. Refugees' realities and daily needs – defining human rights issues

“I don't want a high life. I ask you for a human life. I ask you about a normal life, only. A bedroom, a toilet. I am not a god, I don't want to live like a god.” (Interview # 20)

In relation to the third sub-question, seven categories defining the daily needs of refugees in Luxembourg were identified. In the following they will be explained in detail in order of the frequency of their occurrence. Each need will be translated into human rights language.

1. Fulfilment of basic needs

Six interviewees mentioned basic needs such as clean toilets, the possibility to cook their own food or a private place to sleep (Interviews # 5, 9, 10, 13, 17, 20). Four respondents underlined their wish to have the possibility to cook their own food. One reason is that they would like to cook the food in the way they are used to and especially the food their children are used to (Interviews # 5, 10, 20). Another reason is that many asylum seekers have a lot of time while waiting for a decision and cooking is perceived as a helpful diversion (Interview # 17, 20). In terms of human rights, these needs can be subsumed under the individual right of self-determination that can be derived from Article 1 CESCR¹¹ and the right to an adequate standard of living (Art. 11 CESCR). The wish for cooking one's own food for example is strongly linked to the individual right of self-determination. It shows the asylum seekers' and refugees' craving for more agency and independence. Moreover, it can be seen as an expression of their simple wish for normality. In an article in the Guardian, the problem of cooking in refugee centres is described very well:

“No chapattis for the family from Pakistan. No pounded yam for the Nigerians. No breakfast of tea and canjeero for the Somalis. Instead of these staple foods that people love and crave, the system gives them chicken nuggets, ketchup and lots of chips” (Mckenna 2014).

It is a strong restriction of self-determination to deny the most helpless people such a simple and basic need: the right to cook.

¹¹ Originally, the right to self-determination was merely a collective right. But it can be argued that an individual right to self-determination is derivable from Article 1 CESCR. In 1993, the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization published a Conference Report in which is argued that „the right to self-determination [is] a prerequisite to the enjoyment of all other human rights“ and that it is „also a right possessed by the individual“ (UNPO Conference Report 1993).

2. Learning the language

Six respondents emphasised their wish to learn the local language or continue to go to school or to study (Interviews # 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 14). Learning the local language, in these cases mainly French or even Luxembourgish, is perceived as means for communication and therefore as a premise to the integration in the Luxembourg society and to overcome cultural differences. In terms of human rights, learning the language can be subsumed under the right to education (Art. 13 CESCR).

3. Finding a job and accommodation

Five respondents named finding a job as their most important need (Interviews # 15, 16, 17, 18, 19). Finding a job is not only important because of the need to earn money but also, according to one respondent, having a job can be a requirement to have the possibility to rent an apartment (Interview # 19). Usually, interested tenants for an apartment have to give evidence of a minimum income, at least. Private landlords and landladies often do not want to rent their apartments to refugees because most of them do not have an employment contract (Bervard 2017). In a recently published survey in Germany, journalists from *Bayrischer Rundfunk* and *Der Spiegel* wanted to find out whether it is easier for people with a typical German name to find an apartment in German cities than for people with a foreign sounding name (compare Hanna und Ismail 2017). The outcome of the study is alerting: in 27 % of the cases, Arab men are discriminated just because of their names. They do not receive an invitation for a flat viewing (ibid.). Moreover, the study shows that applicants with a higher educational level and income – for example a doctor – but with an Arab or Turkish name are even discriminated against applicants with a German name but a lower educational level and income – for example a long-time student (ibid.). This study reveals the difficulty to find accommodation for people with a foreign sounding name. A similar study conducted in Luxembourg would probably have the same outcome. Thus, the requirement of having a job might be used as a pretext by many landlords or landladies to hide the fact that they do not want to rent their apartments to refugees.

The need of finding a job can be subsumed under Article 6 CESCR guaranteeing the right to work “which includes the right of everyone to gain his living by work” (Art. 6 CESCR). The need to find a place to live can be subsumed under Article 11 CESCR that guarantees an “adequate standard of living”.

4. Wish for a “normal life”

Four interviewees used the expression “a normal life” (Interviews # 3, 10, 15, 20). This mainly includes having a private place to live as well as having a job. In addition to that, it is connected to the need of the fulfilment of basic needs such as having the possibility to cook, having a private bathroom as well as having the same rights as citizens of Luxembourg, “all these basic needs that form a normal life” (Interview # 10).

Translating the wish for a “normal” life into human rights language, it mainly refers to the right to an adequate standard of living (Art. 11 CESCR), the right to work (Art. 6 CESCR) and non-discrimination in the enjoyment of other rights (Art. 2 CESCR) as well as non-discrimination in the sense of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969) and the individual right of self-determination (see footnote 11).

5. Craving for privacy

Three respondents expressed a grievance against the lack of privacy in form of having an own place to live, a private kitchen and bathroom (Interviews # 9, 10, 20). This seems to be especially important for the elderly and for asylum seekers with young children. One woman at the age of 62 explained that, at her age, she just needed rest in her private house (Interview # 9). One can understand that a woman who as spend months on boats and in different camps surrounded by thousands of fleeing persons, has the wish for “some privacy, that’s all” (ibid.). In terms of human rights, these needs can be subsumed under the right to privacy (Art. 17 CCPR), the right to an adequate standard of living (Art. 11 CESCR) as well as the individual right to self-determination.

6. No judgement, to be treated equally

Three respondents wished that there was not so much judgement from the society and that they were treated as equal members of the society (Interviews # 6, 10, 11). One respondent explained how difficult it is to move between two societies:

“I feel like Europeans are scared of me. My wife used to cover her hair, people used to treat us like tourists or terrorists. I wish I don’t have to feel this judgement anymore. So I uncovered her hair because I want to be part of this society and I don’t want to feel judged. But now, the other men in the camp judge me because she is not covered anymore and they don’t like it. I wished there would not be this judgement everywhere” (Interview # 6).

This example shows the inner turmoil of an asylum seeker who is torn between the borders of societies: on the one hand the Luxembourg society in which he wants to integrate, on the other hand his Syrian compatriots living in the refugee camps. Translated into human rights language, this means the freedom from any discrimination because of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin according to Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969).

7. Overcome different communication structures

Two interviewees mentioned the difficulty to integrate into the Luxembourg society because of different communication structures (Interviews # 2, 12). Coming from a culture where main parts of life are placed in the public space, one respondent seems to struggle with the fact that people in Luxembourg “don’t visit each other” or “don’t greet each other, not enough” (Interview # 2). The interviewee’s biggest need is to overcome those different communication structures.

In relation to the formulation of needs, respondents mostly did not use rights language. This can be explained due to the formulation of the question where the interviewer did not use rights language intentionally to see whether respondents are referring to rights-terms spontaneously or not. Rights-related formulations were used in four interviews. One interviewee mentioned “the right to learn” (Interview # 7) and another interviewed woman said that she has “the right to have a house” (Interview # 9). One respondent stated vehemently “just give me the right to cook food in our own style” (Interview # 10) while another interviewee explained that he didn’t know what his rights are: “I only know that refugees have less rights than a human” (Interview # 11).

As explained in the chapter on the “Localisation of Integration” (6.4.), one innovation of this work is the establishment of a connection between a localised understanding of human rights *and* integration. The LHRA implies “taking human rights needs as formulated by local people as the starting point both for further interpretation and elaboration of human rights norms, and for the development of human rights action” (Chen/Desmet/de Feyter 2016: 36). Thus, the seven most important identified needs were translated into human rights language: the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to education, the individual right of self-determination, the right to privacy, the right to work and non-discrimination in the enjoyment

of other rights as well as in the sense of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969).

As already stated above, the author of this thesis wants to emphasise that the localisation of human rights should not only focus on countries such as China, India or Bangladesh but also on Western countries. The local relevance of human rights is crucial to the functioning of the co-existence of people from different countries with various cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds. What unites all those people and builds the foundation of our commonalities are the basic human needs we all have.

8.2.7. Partial Conclusion

In relation to the formulation of needs, interviewees used nearly no (human) rights language. Many respondents referred to experiences or situations that were perceived as unjust such as the discrimination of refugees concerning housing, finding a job or respectful treatment. The needs were finally translated into human rights language by the author of this work. It can be concluded that refugees who are still living in camps or other improvisational living spaces are not satisfied with their living situation. This dissatisfaction can be traced back to unfulfilled basic needs such as clean toilets, having the possibility to cook or the lack of privacy. Another, more implicit reason could be the lack of self-determination. Many respondents seem to desire more possibilities of individual self-determination and participation, to take initiative and be actively involved in decision-making processes or social events. This starts with simple decisions on what to cook for their children or what to plant in the garden and includes questions on how to organise the living together of asylums seekers and refugees in the centres.

On the basis of all the collected information, the author of this thesis got the impression that the authorities withdrew the asylum seekers' and refugees' agency, thus their individual right of self-determination. Authorities take each single decision in the name of refugees. To illustrate this point, the author of this thesis wants to describe a situation that occurred in her hometown Freiburg in Germany: refugees moved into a recently built, very modern building surrounded by an unused brownfield. The inhabitants of the houses had the idea to use this land for planting herbs, vegetables and for some beds of flowers. But the competent communal authority already decided to sow grass in order to avoid any difficulties. The refugees were disappointed because for many of them, planting herbs and vegetables in their own garden reminded them of home. In addition to that, gardening is a mentally and physically healthy activity that can help to occupy the mind while waiting for a decision

concerning their status and in order to process the experienced suffering. In this sense, gardening could not only serve as an occupation and enforcement of self-determination but also as some kind of therapeutic method to overcome traumas.

8.3. Participant Observation

Conducting research in the field of social sciences is always a kind of participant observation due to the researcher's position in the research process: the social world is not researchable without being part of it (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 44). The relation between observation and participation needs to be balanced (ibid.). In this chapter, the researcher of this study will describe some of her personal experiences she made during the period of fieldwork.

The research turned into an intensive time because I was increasingly involved in the social world of the interviewees. Thus I became a regular visitor for lunch at the house of a Syrian family and they treated me like a family member. Or I spent some days in the parsonage of a church where I met many people and helped out preparing food and coffee. Sometimes I felt more like a volunteer than a researcher. At some point, I realised that my relationship to the interviewees became too close and it was difficult to take a step backwards and remind myself as well as the interviewees of my position as a researcher. After those experiences, I observed myself behaving distantly during the following meetings with interviewees and not leaving the role of an observer because I was afraid of getting too close again. Towards the end of the fieldwork, I had to learn, that leaving the field after extended research and involvement can be very difficult (compare Jacobsen/Landau 2003: 188). My experiences helped to raise my awareness of the tightrope walk between closeness and distance during a research process in social sciences (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 46). It is crucial to distinguish private life and research to avoid emotional damages not only of the interviewees but also of the interviewer (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 48).

After each conducted interview observations were noted as detailed as possible.¹² What I observed as a witness or participant of a specific situation can serve as evidence, for example for the living conditions of refugees in Luxembourg. In addition to that, those observations somehow influenced my own perceptions of as well as opinions on various topics and therefore had an impact on the outcome of this research. As it went beyond the scope of this work to describe all the observations, I will give some illustrative and significant examples.

¹² The observation sheets can be found in Appendix 10.

My first appointments for interviews took place in a housing centre for refugees in Bertrange. I conducted several interviews in the private rooms of the interviewees. My first impression of the foyer was positive: the kitchen was spacious and clean as well as the washrooms. Most of the rooms had big windows and some of them were surprisingly spacious. Some interviewees put pictures on the wall or other decor in the room to create an as personal and cosy atmosphere as possible. In several cases, the interviewees' facilities surprised me: I saw for example IMacs from Apple, a sound system, water pipes and flat-screen televisions. Several interviewees in this centre were complaining about the housing situation. The problem seemed not only to be the shared kitchen and toilets but especially the lack of privacy as well as the conflicts among the inhabitants. The latter is understandable but concerning the kitchen and toilets, I realised that my understanding has limits. Having seen much worse kitchens and toilets in the different flats where I lived during my studies, the condition of kitchen and bathrooms in this centre were comparatively good. In any case, one can take a sponge and clean it if he or she is not satisfied with the level of cleanliness.

After spending in total nearly three days in the centre, I noted a feeling of resentment. Some of the refugees have extremely high expectations towards the government and their housing situation but do not show any gratitude. A few of the interviewees stayed in Luxembourg only since December 2016 and complained about not having their own house or apartment. In my opinion, some more patience concerning the improvement of the housing situation would be appropriate. The member states of the EU cannot be as perfect as some refugees imagined them to be before they arrived in their host countries.

I had several meetings in other centres: the camp in Redange, the camp in Mersch, the Old Maternity Centre in Luxembourg City and the Old Logopédie located in Luxembourg City as well. Unfortunately, the appointments in Redange and Mersch were not a success: I did not know that Luxembourg has a city called Redange and a city called Rodange. The man I asked at the information desk at the central station in Luxembourg City understood that I want to go to Rodange. Thus, I ended up in Rodange and spent nearly two hours in trains driving a circle. In Mersch, the responsible person I was in contact with via email did not show up and the security person of the foyer treated me full of mistrust denying me access to the house without the presence of the responsible person. Fortunately, these were the only two meetings that were not successful.

A couple of days later, I had a meeting in the centre located in the building of the former Logopédie department. I had a map showing the whole area where all the hospital buildings are located in detail and I knew approximately where the Old Logopédie should be. At the

end, I spent more than an hour to find it. I asked at the help desk in the main building but they were not able to provide information. I ended up in the building of the psychiatric department but they did not know about a refugee centre nearby. I found the new Logopédie building and they told me where the old building was. I went in the direction but could only find a new, very modern building. I asked again and somebody pointed at the construction site next to it where I already passed several times. I luckily found some sort of an entrance between site fences and finally I arrived in front of the small container where I met the security men. Behind the container, I could now see the building of the former Logopédie but it was surrounded by constructions and from the street I was not able to identify it as an actual building. As I was late for the meeting after this odyssey, the security men told me that the responsible person was just taking her lunch break. They were very unfriendly and treated me like some criminal and did not want to let me in. Thus I waited until my contact person came back from lunch and I could finally enter the building and meet the asylum seeker I wanted to interview. From the inside, the building was dark, old and shabby. One could see that it was originally planned to be tore down.

On the same day, I had a meeting in the Old Maternity Centre located within walking distance from the Old Logopédie. I found it after asking only one person. Entering the building, I immediately noticed the characteristic smell of hospitals. Again, the security man seemed to mistrust me and asked exactly who I was and what I wanted. Luckily, the one responsible of the centre came and helped me out. She gave me the keys to, as she called it, the “study room” where I met the interviewee. The study room appeared to be the out-of-service kitchen. It looked like the person who cooked there a couple of months ago just left everything behind and nobody cleaned it since then. Besides that, there was a big, sticky table surrounded by very old chairs. We sat down and started chatting and then I began the interview. After talking for nearly two hours, the interviewee wanted to introduce me to his wife and their three children. We went upstairs passing different empty rooms, the toilets and washrooms as well as a spacious common room that could be a nice place for the inhabitants to meet and spend time together. Unfortunately, just as the “study room”, it looked like everything was left behind exactly as it was when the building was still used as a hospital. There was no comfort or cosiness at all. The room of the five-member family was very small and only furnished with one bunk bed, one couch and a cot for the baby. The family appeared to be happy to have a visitor and some distraction. The two young boys were very excited and the wife was friendly. In 2016, the family was chosen for the European Resettlement Program. After living in camps in Greece for more than one year, they were very happy when they got to know that

they were chosen to go to Luxembourg. But after their arrival, the disappointment was big: *“Now we are sitting here, in this room and have nothing to do (...). They only make business. Nobody told me the truth. If they told me, you have to stay two years there or there, then at least I know and can do something but like this I am only waiting”*, stated the interviewed father (Interview # 20). The waiting without knowing for how long and for what is the worst, he explained. His wife told me that she wished to have the possibility to cook for her children because they do not like the food that is delivered and she wishes to have any kind of occupation and diversion. She would also like to have a private bathroom: if one of her kids has to go to the toilet during the night, she has to get dressed and to put on the hijab because her husband does not let her go to the corridor (where the washrooms are located) in her pyjamas and without a hijab and her sons are too young to go to the toilet by themselves.

After rereading my observations towards the end of the fieldwork, I realised that I was faltering between a strong feeling of empathy, compassion and anger about the authorities and all the injustices in the world on the one hand and a similar strong feeling of resentment, even anger about the attitudes of some refugees themselves on the other hand. This mess of emotions was confusing but also inspired me to rethink some of my strong opinions about various topics. There are many more experiences, discussions with interviewees and observations I made during the period of fieldwork I would like to share but the method of participant observation is rather understood as a complementation of the research than a focus of this study. Looking back at the entire research process, I finally contend that I managed to maintain the tension between researching distance and empathic participation (compare Przyborski/Wohlrab-Sahr 2014: 49) after some learning experiences at the beginning of the period of fieldwork.

8.4. Quality Control Interviews

Towards the end of the research process two interviews¹³ with responsible persons¹⁴ were conducted to control the outcome of the interpretation of the collected data material. The interviewees' answers will be compared to the findings according to the first and the third sub-questions. The second sub-question related to asylum seekers' and refugees' human rights

¹³ The transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix 11.

¹⁴ In order to protect their identities and anonymity, their names will not be mentioned. One of the interviewees is working in a living accommodation for asylum seekers and refugees, the other is working as a volunteer in a church in Luxembourg City. In the following, they will be called „responsible person“ or simply “respondent”.

perceptions is not taken into account in the frame of the quality control interviews because it is assumed that perceptions cannot be “controlled”.

Concerning the rights consciousness, the first respondent stated that refugees are not often using arguments like “it’s my right that...”. If they do so, it is “non-sense” such as “it’s my right to have an own room” (Quality Control Interview # 1).¹⁵ Contrary to the findings of the analysis of the interviews with refugees, the respondent’s opinion is that “most of the refugees know their rights very well, sole because of their experiences” (ibid.). The first part of the answer contradicts the outcome of this research detecting a very low level of rights consciousness. The second part supports the hypothesis of the correlation between rights consciousness and the personal experiences of refugees as formulated above. The respondent makes another significant statement supporting the findings of this thesis: “In general, if it’s about rights, it is more about that they don’t feel treated equally to others” (ibid.). This statement clearly corresponds with the findings that experienced human rights violations are not formulated in human rights language but they are perceived as injustices (see above). Refugees did mostly not speak in rights language but more in general terms of injustice.

As shown above, children’s rights appeared to be the most often used rights-related terms. For several interviewees, their children seemed to be the main reason why they left their home countries. In some cases, even interviewees without children referred to the importance of the rights of children. Contrary to this impression, the interviewed responsible person said that “the right of the child, for example, is not respected very well by many of the refugees” (Quality Control Interview # 1). The interviewee gave many examples of cases of physical violence against children or the violation of their right to education by their parents.¹⁶ This discrepancy between the findings from the analysis of the interviews with refugees and the quality control interviews could be interpreted as an indication to the different perceptions of parental care and child education. What is in patriarchal societies perceived as a good education of children, is in many Western countries denounced as violence and abuse of parental authority. It is not deniable that the interviewed refugees care about their children. However, they probably define the best way to care and therefore also the rights of children differently than they are defined in most of the Western countries.

¹⁵ One could argue that having a personal room is part of the right to an adequate standard of living and therefore not „non-sense“. But the responsible person wants to show the in many cases very high expectations and false ideas of life in the member states of the EU.

¹⁶ Those examples were given during our conversation after the official interview. Therefore, they are not quoted.

Concerning the third sub-question, the interviewed responsible person firstly mentioned the wish of many refugees of having a private bathroom (Quality Control Interview # 1). In some living accommodations, the option for a private bathroom exists, but not in all of the accommodations and not for everyone. This situation “often leads to conflicts between the inhabitants” (ibid.).

As the second most important need, the respondent named the food. “People want to cook for themselves, they want to cook in their style or to cook for their children” (ibid.). These two needs, a private bathroom and the possibility to cook, match with the category defined as “Fulfilment of basic needs” (see above). The interviewee explained that some children even refuse the food which is delivered and consists of the same as in the hospital (Quality Control Interview # 1). During the interview, which was conducted at lunchtime, two persons entered the interviewee’s office and complained about the food.

The interviewed responsible person finally gave an explanation why cooking is simply not possible in those living accommodations: “Because of security standards, it is not allowed to cook here. This building is even not supposed to exist anymore. There are very high security standards, we cannot do anything against it” (ibid.). A statement of the Luxembourg minister for family and integration, Corinne Cahen, supports this argument. In an interview, she said that some centres were supposed to be demolished but are now still used because there were not enough beds for asylum seekers (Bervard 2017). She even spoke of inhumane conditions in some of these centres (ibid.).

The interviewed responsible person underlined that they try to fulfil all the needs but they can only act in between the borders of law and the limitations of bureaucracy. “We try to do the best, but for some it is not the best but only the least” (Quality Control Interview # 1). This statement can be interpreted as a hint to the very high expectations of some refugees. As an example, the interviewee mentioned the cleaning: each inhabitant of the living accommodation has to clean twice a week. “There are always conflicts about this issue. We are flexible and spend hours to make a timetable for cleaning and to respect each person’s appointments and daily routine, so they can clean when they have time, for example in the evening” (ibid.) but, “honestly, we have more important things to do” (ibid.). She also mentioned that for “many people it is also very important to have a room for themselves” (ibid.) and they consider it as their “right” to have an own room (ibid.). Or they expect to live further on in Luxembourg City because they are now used to the central location as they are living in an accommodation located at the centre (ibid.). In conjunction with the respondent’s facial expression (for example winking) and the information she gave after the interview, it

seemed that she had a similar feeling that were also expressed in this thesis in the frame of the participant observations: many refugees have expectations that are too high with regards to life in one of the member states of the EU.

The second quality control interview was carried out with a volunteer in the parsonage of a church in Luxembourg City. There were some similarities to the answers of the first quality control interview but also significant differences.

Concerning the first and second sub-questions, the interviewee's answer corresponds with the first respondent's statement: refugees rarely use rights language. If they do so, it's about making claims such as "It's my right to have an apartment" (Quality Control Interview # 2). Similarly to the first quality control interview, the respondent stated that refugees argue mainly in terms of injustice and discrimination because "they feel they don't have the same rights as others, so they perceive it as unjust" (ibid.).

In relation to the third sub-question, the interviewee identified several needs: "finding work", "finding an apartment" and "unite the family" (ibid.). She also mentioned the expression of having "a normal life" which was used by many interviewed refugees (see above). Besides that, she referred to the fulfilment of basic needs, especially the problems concerning the toilets (Quality Control Interview # 2). Apparently, the sanitary facilities pose a problem in several centres (Bervard 2017). In some cases, they have to be placed outside because the facilities inside are not usable anymore (ibid.). As the interviewee underlines, this situation especially poses a problem for women (Quality Control Interview # 2).

Contrary to the first quality control interview, the respondent put the opinion forward that the government is able to change situations like this because "Luxembourg is one of the richest countries in the world" (ibid.), "so why do refugees have to live in those old centres" (ibid.)? She added, the government "could invest more money and also break down some bureaucratic borders" (ibid.). But is this really a matter of finances?

At this point, the two interviewed responsible persons' opinions diverge: while the first respondent defended the government's willingness to help while stressing the fact that its capacity to act is limited due to various reasons such as protest of communities or legal boundaries, the second respondent blamed the government for not doing enough even though it has the capacity.

The first and second respondents' opinions can be influenced by different circumstances and experiences. The first one is working in a centre where many families live, mainly coming from conflict regions. The second interviewed responsible person is a volunteer working in a parsonage open for people in distress such as asylum seekers, refugees as well as homeless

people. As I realised after two days spending there, many economical migrants are coming to this parsonage asking for help. Most of the people already spent some time in Spain or Italy and came to Luxembourg hoping to find better job opportunities. The second respondent showed great compassion with each person asking for help. She did not make any difference between economical migrants or refugees from conflict zones. After having a long discussion with her, I realised how much she wants to support everyone no matter if she or he fled because of war or poverty. This is an impressive attitude; nevertheless it is important to set the right priorities (compare Asselborn 2017). Those coming from conflict zones and fear for their lives must take precedence (ibid.).

9. Final Conclusion

The thesis analysed the question whether human rights are relevant to refugees and tried to build a link between human rights and integration. The question was split into three sub-questions concerning the rights consciousness, the human rights perceptions and the daily needs of refugees in terms of human rights. The methodology was orientated towards the LHRA. As research strategy a single case study was adopted.

To begin with the conclusion, the main findings in relation to each sub-question will be summarised.

To give an answer to the *first sub-question*, the level of rights consciousness among refugees in Luxembourg was ascertained which was deemed to be very low. Two hypotheses were built on the basis of these findings: **rights consciousness is strongly connected to personal experiences and is dependent on the level of education**. Besides that, instead of using rights language, respondents mainly argued using the terms of injustice and inequality instead of explicit rights language.

In relation to the *second sub-question*, various perceptions of human rights were identified. Most of the interviewees did not have explicit knowledge about rights-specific terms but nearly each respondent was able to give a more **implicit and general opinion of the usefulness and effectiveness of human rights**. The perception of human rights' usefulness was influenced by the perceived **unequal implementation and compliance**. Human rights can even be perceived as a **concept that enforces injustices and inequalities** in the world and underlies the more privileged situation of already privileged people.

Regarding the *third sub-question*, several daily needs were identified. In general, they were not formulated in human rights language but translated by the author of this thesis. Most of

these daily needs can be subsumed under **economic, social and cultural rights**. The most frequently mentioned needs were education, the fulfilment of basic needs, privacy, work and non-discrimination.

On the basis of the findings, it can be concluded that **human rights are only of little relevance to refugees in Luxembourg**. The way of thinking about human rights is strongly critical. They are mainly perceived as useless and ineffective. The knowledge of international human rights law is very limited.

The first part of the following conclusions will be strictly based on the outcome of the single case study in Luxembourg. In the second part, the possible lessons learned from the case study will be examined and the work will be completed with some general conclusions going beyond the scope of the single case study.

First of all, it will be focused on the connection between a localised understanding of human rights and integration built in the course of this research. Jean Asselborn, foreign minister as well as minister for immigration and asylum of Luxembourg, said in 2015: *“Wir engagieren uns sehr stark. Man kann nicht nur auf die Zahlen schauen. Wenn wir die Menschen hier aufnehmen, wollen wir auch dass sie Arbeit und eine Wohnung finden. Wir wollen hier keine Camps errichten.”* (Asselborn 2015).

Yes, Luxembourg is engaged in integration policies. Yes, it is not a good practice to merely look at the numbers of asylum seekers a country takes in and how many of them will be recognised as refugees. Yes, it can be agreed with Jean Asselborn to the extent that it is even better not to take in too many asylum seekers and refugees. Instead, it is more important to assure the provision of humane living conditions instead of taking in a very high number of asylum seekers but being overstrained by the situation.¹⁷ The question remains whether Luxembourg managed to meet the challenges. The main problems still seem to be the housing situation and the non-fulfilment of basic needs such as cooking or having clean and easy accessible washrooms. The Luxembourg minister of integration, Corinne Cohen, is aware of this situation but emphasises that the government is thwarted by various obstacles (compare Bervard 2017). The construction of new accommodations was planned but its realisation is extremely slow because most of the communities do not want refugee centres and slow down the process (ibid.). The renovation of the old centres is perceived as too cost-intensive

¹⁷ Of course, this point of view is dependent on the numbers of people applying for asylum in the member states of the EU. In the case of the year 2015, each state should have recognised its responsibility and should have taken the biggest efforts to take in as much asylum seekers as possible instead of pass on the responsibility on only a few member states of the EU.

because these centres will be demolished anyways (ibid.). Corinne Cohen underlines the lessons learned for the future: whoever will form the government, has to build new accommodations for refugees (ibid.). In contrast to Asselborn's statement in the beginning of 2015, there was one camp built in Kirchberg. Besides that, the infrastructure of some centres that were visited during the period of fieldwork of this thesis reminded more of a camp than of a decent accommodation. It is not clearly comprehensible why the government is not investing more in the housing situations and the fulfilment of basic needs. One reason could be the discrepancy between the government's *assumption* what refugees' needs are and what their daily needs actually *are*. Of course, finding work and learning the language are very important needs to fulfil, but at the beginning it is crucial to simply fulfil the basic needs in order to support the feeling of contentment of each refugee.

In my opinion, the effort to a successful integration a refugee is willing to fulfil is dependent on a strong basis of inner satisfaction. Once again, I want to emphasise the importance of intensively cooperating with refugees, of asking them about their needs and involving them in the development of integration policies. This would reduce misunderstandings and even more, give refugees the possibility to actively participate and the feeling of being needed as well as simply a useful occupation in times of ardently waiting for a decision concerning their status. Nevertheless, I have to give the Luxembourg government credit for its efforts concerning the provision of language courses and the strong support offered to refugees to find work and housing. There are many obstacles to overcome, reaching from the communities' defence against the construction of refugee centres to the very high security standards set by the EU that have to be met. In addition to that, it is simply not always possible to satisfy the partly high expectations and demanding requests of some refugees who imagine the EU member states as some kind of paradise.

In the following paragraphs, three general conclusions will be drawn based on the findings of this research but claiming a broader scope.

Firstly, this work has shown that refugees do not have enough agency and possibilities to self-determination. It was one of the aims of this study to give refugees a voice and therefore to enable their agency. Enabling refugees' agency should be one of the main pillars of integration strategies. In my opinion, self-determination and self-responsibility are both a powerful engine for self-estimation and therefore an increasing inner satisfaction and happiness. If refugees are continued to be patronised and denied the right of self-determination, the base of a successful integration is withdrawn. In order to enable their agency and self-determination, it is crucial to include refugees into the process of

development of integration strategies as well as conducting more academic research that includes refugees as participants and not only as objects of academic interest. Besides that, it is also important to let them perform simple tasks such as cooking or taking care of the garden. Furthermore, it is necessary not only to talk about their rights but also about their duties towards the society. The future integration of refugees in the Western societies should build on **empowering instead of patronising**.

The *second conclusion* concerns gender inequalities. There were significant differences between the human rights perceptions of women and men. Especially the findings concerning dignity in relation to physical violence were alerting. It therefore should be mentioned that for many women, the flight into a Western society could turn into the liberation from patriarchal society structures. The Western society offers women new chances such as a good education and the freedom from physical violence. This is also a reason why family reunion should not only be seen positively: in some cases, for women as well as children, family reunion could mean a step away from the newly gained freedom from patriarchal family structures. For women, the integration into Western societies can lead to a **higher level of self-determination and agency**.

Thirdly, we need a **better human rights education of vulnerable people** as well as future generations, “so they know better than us what their rights are” (Interview # 11). The focus of discussions should not lie on the universalism versus cultural relativism debate (see above) but **shift to a focus on localisation**. Human rights have to be locally relevant to those most vulnerable and most in need. At this point, I want to remind the distinction explained above made by George Ulrich: the universality of scope or applicability and the universality of validity (Ulrich 2001: 198). As this thesis has shown, the universality of scope is obviously “not matched by actual circumstances in the world today” (Ulrich 2001: 199). It can be concluded that **human rights are of little relevance to refugees in Luxembourg**. This is especially visible in the interviewees’ numerous statements such as “we are not in touch with them” (Interviews # 4, 10), “I have never seen it in practice” (Interview # 6) or “we don’t have them” (Interview # 7, 13). This thesis moreover demonstrated the “scale and continued prevalence of injustices and the disproportionate burden that the world’s most vulnerable and disadvantaged bear” as mentioned by George Ulrich (Ulrich 2001: 199). As we have seen above, this disparity can even lead to the perception of **human rights as an amplifier of injustices**. One interviewed refugee gave a very unique metaphorical description of this disparity:

“But you know, right now it is like that: we give our dogs names of people we don’t like, for example Bush, the American president because dogs don’t count so much in our culture. Here, people name their dogs after nice things, and they even bring their dog to the psychologist if they don’t feel good. I feel like here, a dog has more rights than we have back in Syria. Is this fair?”

(Interview # 2)

If human rights want to survive (compare Gearty 2006), they need to be localised in order to be livelier among the human beings they are named after (Brems 2001: 311). The local relevance of human rights strongly needs to be enforced by an increased application of the LHRA and the development of other approaches to enforce and support the localisation of human rights. Moreover, a profound human rights education for those who are most vulnerable is strongly needed.

10. Final Remarks

The findings of this study deepen our understanding of asylum seekers’ and refugees’ human rights perceptions as well as of their daily needs. Nevertheless, the outcome of the case study in Luxembourg cannot claim to be representative of all refugees. It needs to be tested and verified by conducting more interviews in the framework of a follow-up study with refugees in various Western countries.

At the end of this work, the whole research process is perceived as a learning process. The author of this work tried to ensure a high level of transparency and comprehensibility in each research step she took. Nevertheless, she is not able to leave her position in the social world. Thus, some interpretations of data material are influenced by subjective opinions even though this happened unconsciously.

The most formative experiences in the frame of this research were made during the period of fieldwork, both from a social perspective as well as from an empirical perspective. The lessons learned will be put into practice during the next research study on the LHRA and its potential impact on the improvement of integration strategies.

V. Appendices

Appendix 1: Research Information Summary

Research Information Summary

Master's Thesis Research into the Localisation of Integration in Luxemburg

Marieluna Frank – European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation at the European Inter-University Centre in Venice; as a part of this programme actually enrolled at the University of Luxemburg

Summary

The research examines the local relevance of human rights in a case study of asylum seekers and refugees in Luxemburg. It investigates the asylum seekers' and refugees' rights consciousness and perceptions of human rights. Furthermore, it will explore their daily needs in terms of human rights. The research will draw on as wide a range of perspectives as possible in order to obtain a valid result. The methodology mainly consists of interviews and participant observation.

Theoretical Background

The research builds on the "Localizing Human Rights Approach", developed by Koen de Feyter (2006, 2007, 2011). It's a bottom-up approach focusing on the need to make human rights more locally relevant. This Localisation means to take human rights needs as formulated by local people as a starting point for further elaboration of human rights norms (de Feyter 2007: 68).

Research Questions

The Research is based on three research questions:

- Do asylum seekers and refugees have a minimum level of rights consciousness?
- How do asylum seekers and refugees perceive human rights?
- What are their daily needs in terms of human rights?

Academic Supervisors

This research is being carried out at the European Inter-University Centre and the University of Luxemburg which is participating in the Master's programme in Human Rights and Democratisation. The thesis is supervised by Professor Dr. Jean-Paul Lehnens, holder of the UNSESCO Chair in Human Rights and Professor Harlan Koff, Director of the Political Sciences Laboratory.

Contact Details

I am glad to discuss any aspect of my research project further and you are welcome to contact me at any time.

Email: Marieluna.frank@t-online.de

Phone: +4915773800006

Appendix 2: Interview Request Letter



□ FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, DES ARTS ET DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION

Luxemburg, 2017 - 04 - 04

Interview request letter

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am currently carrying out research in the frame of my Master's Thesis on asylum seekers' and refugees' perceptions of human rights in Luxemburg. A research information summary has been attached. I am particularly interested in what asylums seekers know about human rights and in what their daily needs in terms human rights are.

As part of my research, I am now intending to conduct interviews with asylum seekers and refugees. As I used to work for a NGO in Vienna that offers legal advice to asylum seekers, I am experienced in the social interaction with asylum seekers. Besides that, I already carried out two test interviews and they went very well.

Each interview takes around half an hour. I don't ask any personal questions about their background. All information will be confidential and only be used for the purposes of academic research. I will conduct interviews in French and English, for Arab languages I will need an interpreter.

I very much hope that you will agree to give me access to a facility where I can carry out interviews and look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Marieluna Frank

Appendix 3: Introduction Letter



□ FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, DES ARTS ET DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION

Luxemburg, 2017-03-23

To whom it may concern

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasure to introduce you Marieluna Frank.

With this letter, I confirm that Miss Frank is currently a student in the European Master in Human Rights and Democratisation based in Venice and is presently enrolled at the University of Luxembourg which participates in this programme of the European Inter-University Centre.

Miss Frank is currently writing her dissertation under my supervision on **Refugee's Perceptions of Human Rights in terms of their daily lives.**

I would be grateful if you would kindly participate in an interview which is part of this research.

Thank you for giving this matter your attention.

Sincerely,

Professor Dr. Jean-Paul Lehnrs

Appendix 4: Written Consent Letter



FACULTÉ DES LETTRES, DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, DES ARTS ET DES SCIENCES DE L'ÉDUCATION

Written Consent

Luxemburg, the (...)

I hereby declare that I have been informed about the content and purpose of the research project conducted by Marieluna Frank and I declare my agreement to the use of information I gave Marieluna Frank during the interview in which I participated. This information can be used, quoted and published for the purpose of academic research.

Yours sincerely,

Appendix 5: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

Date:

Country:

Questionnaire Number: #

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	
2. How old are you?	
3. Do you have a school degree?	
4. Do you have a university degree?	
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	
6. When did you come to Luxemburg?	

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	

Appendix 6: Observation Sheet

Observation Sheet

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	
2. Age	
3. Gender	
4. Education	

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	
2. Duration of the interview	
3. Place where the interview was conducted	
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	

Appendix 7: Quality Control Interview Guide

Quality Control Interview Guide

General Information

1. Quality Control Interview Number	
2. Place/Date	
3. Interviewee	

Main Questions

1. Please, could you tell me about your experiences you made since you are working here related to the asylum seekers and refugees, the asylum system in Luxemburg, problems, anything that comes into your mind.	
2. What would you say is working well, what is not?	
3. In your opinion, what are the asylum seekers' and refugees' strongest needs?	
4. Would you agree that the government is able to fulfil those needs?	
5. Would you say that there is a discrepancy between what the government perceives as the asylum seekers' and refugees' most important needs and what their needs actually are?	
6. About the right consciousness of asylum seekers and refugees: does it happen that asylum seekers or refugees use the argument "it is my right that..."?	

Appendix 8: Transcript of Interviews

Interview # 1

Date: 22.03.2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #1

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	23
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	I am currently studying in the 5 th semester
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	15 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	1 st of June 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Rights which can protect humans, support them and give them their rights
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes I think so.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	Yes, I read it once because I wanted to know what my rights are.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is enshrined in an international human rights treaty?	Yes, there is the definition of a refugee, that there are different types of refugees, the political, economic and war refugee. And there is the right to apply for asylum.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	I only know the Dublin Agreement and the Schengen Agreement.
7. Do you know any institution like an international court where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I can go to my lawyer. I think I heard of a court but I don't know where it is or anything.
8. If you think about human rights, what is the most important right that should be protected?	Whatever gives me my freedom, like freedom of speech, opinion and movement. Basically I came here just for that but it is not 100 % protected.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	They are a bit useful, look at me now, I get a lot of help. But it's like a rule in the war. Not everyone follows it. Human Rights exist but for who? If I go to the Court, they will laugh at me. You would never risk to ask for Human Rights in a Dictatorship. It takes your hopes sometimes. And you need something or someone who protects you, but most of us cannot finance a lawyer.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	The most important thing is to learn the language but If war stops, I would like to go back to Syria.

Interview # 2Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #2

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Its what we hear about in movies. We never believe that it exists, it's like a fairy tale.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Somewhere it is. Our government signed it but we are not in touch with any of the effect. It's like shoes, shiny from the outside but you never know what is inside.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	Yes, stop beating children in schools, every child has to go to elementary school and the minimum age of marriage must be twelve years.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No, but after we came here we heard more about it. But its more about what we expect what it is, not information. Its what we <i>think</i> it is.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	There is a court in the Netherlands but its not sure. We don't believe in this court system, that it will bring judgement at all.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The people who are in the prisons now of Assad. If they were animals, they would treat them better. I know that somebody could do something but nobody is trying to do so.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	It is. It will. Its different when you know that there is something to do and there is somewhere to go. Just the idea that there is an institution that protects human rights still gives hope. But you know, right now it is like that: we give our dogs names of people we don't like, for example Bush, the American president because dogs don't count so much in our culture. Here, people name their dogs after nice things, and they even bring their dogs to the psychologist if they don't feel good. If feel like here, a dog has more rights than we have back in Syria. Is this fair?
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	In our culture it is the communication. Maybe we are not that honest than you but we are more close to each other. Here, you don't visit each other, you don't greet each other, not enough. This is what I am missing the most.

Interview # 3*Date:* 28th of March 2017*Country of origin and sex:* Bosnia-Herzegovina (female)*Questionnaire Number:* #3**A. Personal Information**

1. Where do you come from?	Bosnia-Herzegovina
2. How old are you?	33
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	From the economic-technical college
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	8 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	1 st December 2016

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	I have no idea.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't believe so.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to asylum
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I don't know where to go. Where is the UN, where is UNICEF?
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	It's all about the rights of my child. My child must be protected. People don't listen to me, they just give me a number, they don't listen. I must help my son, where I come from, there is nothing to help my son. It's about my story, not about my country!
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes, I have rights, I can go there and there but because I am an asylum seeker, I don't have rights like the others. We don't have so many options, we don't have many rights.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Just a normal life. A job, a normal school for my son, just to help my son.

Interview # 4*Date:* 28th of March 2017*Country of origin and sex:* Syria (male)*Questionnaire Number:* #4**A. Personal Information**

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	63
3. Do you have a school degree?	College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No

5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	December 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Human Rights is basically dignity. Nobody will touch me as a person. It's my right to work, my right to life.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't think so.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The right to work and the freedom of speech.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I expect that in Europe, it may be useful. But in Syria, in the Middle East, we don't believe. We only know from nice American movies that it exists but we are not in touch. Nobody knows anything about it. If you catch a thief in your home and bring him to the police station, there is a chance that they arrest you and not him.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	First of all, I want to learn the language. I am taking French courses. I cannot work anymore, I am too old. I am tired, I cannot work anymore.

Interview # 5

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 5

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	25
3. Do you have a school degree?	Elementary School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	6 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	No, I can't. I only heard of it in some movies.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I know there is something like this but I don't know any details. I know that, as a woman, I have some rights, I believe

	as a woman I have more rights than a man.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No, no idea.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Dignity, learning, going to school. I was forced to go out of school when I was 12. Not to be beaten, especially from the family. There is no dignity when you are beaten. Honestly, we lost all dignity after 6 years of war, I forgot what this means.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I don't believe in Human Rights. Yes, people talk about it but I never witness anything. I expected to change anything since I am here and to be like a normal wife but there is no change. I heard about Human Rights but never felt it. In Luxembourg, I believe it exists and I will see.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	To learn the language, so I can communicate with people. I also miss clean toilets and I miss our food, I wished I could cook what we are used to and what we like.

Interview # 6

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 6

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes, High School.
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	9 years.
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In October 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	I heard about it in the news and TV. I know some of it but I have never seen it in practice.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes, there is a treaty. Syrian government signed it but they should not be in this system.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I know that people who work in Human Rights study something but I don't know what it is.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to life.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.

7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No you can't go anywhere.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	It's to live in my country, my dignity being safed and no separation in the law between people because of religion, ethnic or skin colour or anything else. Also no separation between classes. In Syria, you have the first class and the second class population. Also here in Luxembourg I feel like second class person.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Honestly, we believed there are Human Rights. We believed in the promises of the US, France that Syria will get its freedom. But they cheated on us. My country is in a horrible situation for many years now. I am going to identify Human Rights as to protect the weak from the strong. But I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. At the same time, the Syrian government is negotiating for an end of the war and bombing Syrian cities. No, I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. Now, you have seen me angry. There is this beast in us who wants to revenge for all we have seen and thinking about human rights awakes this beast because the remind me of all the injustices in the world. They are like any other lie we used to hear and believe. I am now safe and most of the time happy but I wished that someday I could go back and see somebody alive.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I feel like Europeans are scared of me. My wife used to cover her hair, people used to treat us like tourists or terrorists. I wish I don't have to feel this judgment anymore. So I uncovered her hair because I want to be part of this society and I don't want to feel judged. But now the other men in our camp judge me because she is not covered anymore and they don't like it. I wished there would not be this judgement everywhere.

Interview # 7

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #7

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	54
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	6 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In September 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's the right to life, the right to freedom, safety and food. Back in Syria, we don't have Human Rights. Anyone can violate them, we don't have them.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I know from TV and the news that there is something like that and our government signed something like this. But our government doesn't want us to know anything about it.

3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I can recognize that people who work for the UN work with any documents but I have never heard the names.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No, I have never heard of this.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to life.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I can imagine that there is some but I don't know what they can do for us. There is a court in the Netherlands but its not for normal people, you have to be famous to make a case there.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Safety. The right to live without bombing.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Human Rights exist. In some places, they are active, in some places not. People like you could make them more effective. People who work for these institutions could help us to know what our rights are.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	The right to learn. In Luxembourg, the government is working on that very strongly, so I am hopeful that I can learn the language.

Interview # 8

Date: 2nd of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Eritrea (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 8

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Eritrea
2. How old are you?	26
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes elementary school
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	For six years.
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In December 2016

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	No I can't, I am sorry. I don't know. Its something that should protect us from the bad and protect our dignity.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I can't imagine that they are.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Back in my home country, I don't feel protected, especially not as woman. So, I think there is nothing to protect us.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	No, I don't believe so. I don't know any system.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No, sorry.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	No, no.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a	No idea.

complaint?	
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	It's my dignity. My dignity is very important. I lost it several times when I was beaten and other things and now I need to find it again but I don't know how to find it, I don't know if I can get my dignity back.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I don't know, not in my home country, not for me. Maybe here, or at some places.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to go to school, finish school. I want a life in dignity, not like here in the camp where I can't do anything except sitting around.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	I needed protection. Now I feel more protected.

Interview # 9

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Iraq (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 9

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Iraq
2. How old are you?	62
3. Do you have a school degree?	Elementary School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	November 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	To be protected and not to be manipulated from government and powerful people. It's about the right to live. Human Rights is also the right to be a refugee when in your country is war. I lost the faith of having food, its not important anymore. Important is to stay at home and live in your house without being kidnapped and beaten up.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't believe so.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	I have never heard of it.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No, I have no idea.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I went to the Red Cross but they did not respond at all. They didn't show compassion. In Germany, Red Cross was better. Back in Iraq, I don't trust to deal with any institution that has an office.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	That would be the right to have a peaceful life. They tried three times to kidnap me and beat me up. When they beat me up, I lost my dignity forever. My home country cannot give it back to me, I don't feel safe

	anymore back home. My own government is against my family.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I remember that there is an office of Human Rights in my town in Iraq. When my children were kidnapped, I went to this office. It was the only office that helped me or at least showed some compassion. I believe that Human Rights exist here but back in Iraq, they sound like a joke.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	That would be the right to have a house. The feeling to have the key of my own house is missing. In my age, I just need rest in my private house. I don't have any privacy here. I even don't have a clean toilet, not a private bathroom. Give me some privacy, that's all.

Interview # 10

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Iraq (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 10

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Iraq
2. How old are you?	27
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	Yes, 3 years of Sociology
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	15 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	November 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's the free speech, the freedom of the man himself. The easiest things should be available for everyone.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes they are. The treaty was signed in the US, the main office is there. They have regular meetings and a lot of countries signed the treaty. For example the US, European countries, Lebanon, some Arab Gulf countries.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes it was made by the United Nations.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	To protect the children from violence inside the family. In Africa, to provide enough food.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	They are very important but we are not in touch with them.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university	People look at us like we just came out of the stone age. They keep refusing us to give us a contract for a house and keep making excuses. We have the money but we are treated like second class people. I got married and spent my honeymoon in camps. And

e. others	now, since one year, I still live in a camp. My basic need is to have my own house, to have a normal life, just give me the right to cook food in our style, have a clean toilet, all these basic needs that form a normal life.
-----------	--

Interview # 11

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 11

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes, College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In November 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	To respect the Human.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	If it does exist, I don't believe that Syrian government signed any treaty.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	I have heard of it when we came to Luxembourg.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No, sorry.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I know the Red Cross.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The protection of children and the peace in the world
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I think Human Rights are not the same in different countries. The standards of Human Rights are not equal. There should be a famous person of Human Rights in every country, like an ambassador and it should be possible to talk to him. For the next generations, there should be better Human Rights education, so they know better than us what their rights are.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	European look at refugees as second class human beings. We don't feel welcomed. We can't rent a house. There is no equality between people. I don't know what my rights are, I only know that refugees have less rights than a human.

Interview # 12

Date: 31th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Palestine/Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 12

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	I was born in Syria but my parents are Palestine and I never got the Syrian nationality.
2. How old are you?	31
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	Yes, in Economics and Accounting
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	23 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's mostly about equality. I consider that very important because I never experienced it. I wasn't treated as a Syrian even though I was born there. It's about being recognized, for that people know that you exist. Here, I am considered as a stateless person.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Of course, I know it from TV and the news. I know there are human rights laws. I know that there is written that nobody should be stateless, its against Human Rights. But there is a difference between the law and its application. The law forbids being stateless. Where is the law in reality? Where is the law in practice? Its up to the government to give me a nationality.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes, I have heard of it, it's from the United Nations.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	Yes I heard about it when I came to Luxembourg.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	Not to be stateless.
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No, I don't know the name of any treaty.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Yes I could go to the European Court of Human Rights and make a case against Luxembourg because they don't give me nationality.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Equality and recognition. And could you please add freedom. When I lived in Syria, it felt like a prison, I couldn't go out, I couldn't move free.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	It's only useful if you apply it. It's useless, if you don't apply it. If it's only applied to a certain group of people, it's useless. It creates even more inequality. I don't have the same rights as a Luxembourg citizen for example but also not like a Syrian citizen. When I finished university, I was shocked by reality. I couldn't do anything. After all, my aim became to become a nationality. This became my highest priority.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	First of all, I want a nationality. And I want to feel home, I want the connection to people. And it should be one of your Human Rights that your family can live together.

Interview # 13*Date:* 31th of March 2017*Country of origin and sex:* Syria (female)*Questionnaire Number:* #13**A. Personal Information**

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	55
3. Do you have a school degree?	College Degree
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In December 2015

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's about dignity, to have life with dignity. What is dignity? It's the right to give. You don't have human rights when you live on society rules. I never follow the rules of society. This is why also freedom of speech and freedom of thinking is very important. Dignity is a huge word, it does not have a real meaning. Or it has a different meaning for everyone. Everyone has to disobey the rules of society because in our society the rules are that the woman is in the kitchen, that you can beat the women. If you disobey the society rules, a woman can have a school degree and a profession and earn money.
2. What do you think, is there an international human rights treaty?	I don't know.
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes I heard from the UN in News and TV.
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.
5. Can you name a specific human right that is enshrined in an international human rights treaty?	Maybe the freedom from physical violence.
6. In your opinion, what is your most important right?	The freedom from physical violence.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No I don't know anything like that.
8. If you think about Human Rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? Why?	The physical right. You should not beat your children and the men should not beat the women. In Syria, nobody can enter into the family rules and say you cannot beat your children. So nearly every man beats his children, his wife.
9. In your opinion, do Human Rights exist in theory? In Practice?	There is nothing like Human Rights back in Syria but I only realised it when I came to Luxembourg. Back in Syria Human Rights are never respected, that never happened. But now, Assad is the problem, nowadays girls in Syria have to search for boys without injuries.
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Nothing. Nothing is missing, we have everything. Before, when we stayed in the foyer, I always wished to cook my own food. But now I can.

Interview # 14*Date:* 27th of April 2017*Country of origin and sex:* Ghana (female)*Questionnaire Number:* # 14**A. Personal Information**

1. Where do you come from?	Ghana
2. How old are you?	21
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes a Bachelor.
4. Do you have a university degree?	I want to do my Master now.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	17 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In October 2016

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	The basic fundamental rights that entitle human beings for special protection.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes they are but I forgot the names of the main UN treaties, I am sorry.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Yes I think in most of the places it exist in practice but there a also a lot of places in the world where human rights only exist in theory.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	For the UN human rights are more a universal thing but it depends if the countries enforce them or not. But its good that the UN try, at least.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Ah yes of course, this is one of the treaties I forgot the name of.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	The right to life, the right to association, the right to education and fair rages.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Yes I know the ICC in the Netherlands but I don't know how it works. But they do a lot with African dictators.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	The right to life I think.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes of course!
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to go to university.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	It was also education because without education you can't move further, you can't do nothing especially as a woman.

Interview # 15*Date:* 27th of April 2017*Country of origin and sex:* Nigeria (male)*Questionnaire Number:* # 15**A. Personal Information**

1. Where do you come from?	Nigeria
2. How old are you?	22

3. Do you have a school degree?	No
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	9 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In 2014

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	They are basic rights like freedom of speech and freedom of movement and easy things like that having a place to sleep and something to eat.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I think human rights are supposed to be written, just like a list in different international documents.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Human Rights exist in practice but not everywhere. For example freedom of religion is very limited in some places.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	We have the United Nations but the system is seriously not working, human rights just become a case of politics, nothing more. The UN is supposed to protect the rights of civilians, they are trying but not fully successful.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I know some human right laws, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of religion and stuff like that.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Yes what I just said, freedom of religion for example.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	When I arrived in Italy there was the International Organisation for Migration or something like that and I know the UNHCR and the ICC but the ICC is corrupt against Africans, they only go against Africans. It would be a good thing if it would be fair and not only focusing on Africans.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	For me, the most important is freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Freedom of speech is the most important because it gives us the chance to share opinions about things that matter and affect us. In few areas it's protected but now even here it is called whistleblowing. This is the most important for me.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I think human rights are useful if governments are bind by it, if everyone respects it, but not everybody does it. If the governments are not bind, they don't respect human rights.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	It was finding a job because I wanted to have a normal life, pay taxes and live normally like everybody else.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	In Nigeria, my strongest need was protection from death.

Interview # 16

Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Senegal (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 16

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Senegal
2. How old are you?	24
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	2 month ago

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	They ensure that we can live a good life, that we respect the rights of others because we are all human beings.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Yes they exist in talking but not in doing things.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	No I don't think so.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	The right to health
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	There is the police and I know there is a Court of Justice but I don't know where and I don't know how it could help me but there are also lawyers but I don't have money for them.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	The health and education, to be in a healthy condition. A good health, physically and mentally is the most important thing.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes I think its good that there are people working for human rights and believing in it.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to work, that's all for the moment.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Health.

Interview # 17

Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Democratic Republic of Congo (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 17

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Congo
2. How old are you?	52
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	Last year

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	La liberté d'expression, l'égalité et le respect de l'autre. C'est connaître le mal et le bien et surtout la réciprocité de respect entre deux personnes.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Oui il y a des documents internationaux mais je ne sais pas les noms. S'ils n'existaient pas, on ne vivrait pas dans les normes des choses.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	A cent pour cent non, mais ils existent partiellement. Ca dépend du pays ou bien du continent où on vit.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Non parce qu'ils y a des abus partout. Regarde par exemple la Syrie, où est le système de protection, je ne peux pas le voir. En Europe, on se chache de la responsabilité, c'est triste. A Ouganda, il y a des cons qui tuent au nom de je ne sais pas qui.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	L'égalité de chacun et l'expression orale libre.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Je connais le UNHCR.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	Le respect de l'autre, c'est le plus important. Si on se respectait, on ne pourrai pas tuer, se discriminer, Il n'y aura pas le misère comme aujourd'hui. Où le respect de l'autre commence, moi je m'arrête.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Il n'y a pas de difference à cause des droits humains. Il y a au contraire plus d'inégalité sur le monde. 80 % de la population mondiale est très pauvre, ils sont où les droit humains?
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Avoir une maison. Avoir un travail. Pas d'adresse, pas travail, c'est un cercle vicieux. Maintenant je travaille dans un restaurant, ils font des très bons Steaks. Je travaille dans la cuisine, tous le soirs il y a beaucoup de steaks qui ne sont pas manger complètement, il y a même des steaks qui n'ont pas être vendu. Donc on les a cacher pour les prendre à la maison et pour qu'ils ne sont pas jetés dans la poubelle. Mais un de mes amis a été tiré parce qu'il a pris un steak à la maison. Ce n'est pas de respect, de nous traiter comme des animaux.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Étudier. Papa me disait toujours, tu n'auras pas à manger pour composer une famille si tu n'études pas. Si on n'étude pas, on ne connaît pas la vie, si on n'étude pas, on est un être-humain mort.

Interview # 18

Date: 4th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Tunisia (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 18

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Tunisia
2. How old are you?	27
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	No

5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	2014

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Non, je ne sais pas. Travail, education, mais non je ne sais pas, c'est difficile pour moi.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No je ne crois pas. Il faut penser de ca, faire mais pas écrire. Maintenant ca existe seulement dans les têtes.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Non, il n'existent pas dans la réalité. Il faut pratiquer les droits humains, mais c'est seulement théorie.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Oui je crois qu'il y a un système des Nations Unis mais je ne sais pas si c'est effective, je ne sais pas.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Vivre.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Non, je ne sais pas.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	C'est le travail.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Oui c'est déjà quelque chose qu'on pense de ca.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Le travail et le logement.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Aussi le travail.

Interview # 19

Date: 4th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Mali (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 19

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Mali
2. How old are you?	39
3. Do you have a school degree?	Non
4. Do you have a university degree?	Non
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	8 années
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	En 2014

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Non, je ne sais pas du tout ce que c'est.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Je ne sais pas.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Il y a des droits humains pour tout le monde, en théorie mais pas dans la pratique. Mais pour moi, c'est

	seulement important de travailler et gagner ma vie et de ma famille.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Je ne sais pas, je ne me suis pas sûr.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Non je ne peux pas le reciter.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Je ne sais pas.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	C'est ma femme, la protection de ma femme.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Non je ne pense pas que ca aide. Je ne le vois pas.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	C'est trouver de travail dans un endroit. Trouver un appartement pour la famille, c est compliqué sans travail.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	La protection de ma femme.

Interview # 20

Date: 12th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 20

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	38
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In march 2017

B. General Questions

1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's only cheating, only blablabla, there is a right law but we don't see anything of it. I heard of them, only speaking, nothing in reality. But I met a lot of people who try to help, from so many organisations, but they can't help. There is a lot of cheating, also from the UNHCR. They only do business, they let me only waiting. I don't have a problem with them but let me know, let me know about your plans. I don't know why they make it like this. They only make some business. Nobody told me the truth. If they told me, you have to stay two years there or there, then at least I know and can do something but like this I am only waiting.
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I learned some things about the rules of the Red Cross and the rules of war. I learned that there are international human rights rules. I know the UN and their work. But I only met people from UNHCR and

	Human Rights Watch. Also Save the Children, it's a good organisation. I met all kind of people from international human rights organisations. Some of them make it better.
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	I wanted to defense my family, bring them in safety. After that we went to Greece, we met a lot of different people. But a lot of those organisations only make business out of refugees. I don't trust people from governments, politics and military. In my religion, I don't run away from death, I want to keep my soul clean. I don't want to be a killer or a murderer of anybody. I saw a man dying with his children in his arms. Then I decided to leave my city. But human rights only make rules, its all about politics. But I met humans, really human who care about other human beings.
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	The system of human rights is something very good, I like it, I love it, I love the idea. But I only hear of them, I never see anything happening in practice. There are some good and helpful international rules, especially rules of war. But I don't see anything in reality. I want to be a good person, I must be clean, from the outside and the inside.
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No, no idea.
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Rules of war, rights for , they are very good rules but where? Only when I am outside in a safety zone, when I can't see and hear anymore the bomb attacks from the airplanes, I can think of good things like human rights. There is also the protection of hostage people, also a good rule.
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No, I don't know.
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	My children life. I want to give my children a good education, this is all I care about. I am happy that they will learn three languages here.
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Human Rights only give good rules, in theory, but in real life, I don't see them. There is such a small team believing in human rights for a very big subject.
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Privacy and good health, so clean toilets and bathroom. And we would like to cook our own food, in our style. Just tell me the situation, how it is here, what can I expect. In Greece, I had a good contract with Red Cross, I was the only refugee. They chose me for resettlement program, Luxembourg chose me. Now we are sitting here, in this room and have nothing to do. I don't want a high life. I ask you for a human life. I ask you about a normal life, only. A bedroom, a toilet. I am not a god, I don't want to live like a god. Why do you help economical migrants? They are poor but at least they are safe in their home countries. If I had a place, I would go back. At least, I would die with my honour. But I don't have a place, they destroyed everything.
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	I don't want to be a murderer but you know, if somebody hurts my family, I will become a killer because I want revenge. Then it is better to leave to protect my family and not to become a murderer.

Appendix 9: Interviews – Coding

Interview 1

Date: 22nd of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #1

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	23
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	I am studying in the 5 th semester
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	15 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	1 st of June 2014

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Rights which can protect humans, support them and give them their rights	protect and support	Purpose of human rights is protection and support of humans	Positive framing of human rights, human rights as tool of support and protection
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes I think so.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	Yes, I read it once because I wanted to know what my rights are.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is enshrined in an international human rights treaty?	Yes, there is the definition of a refugee, that there are different types of refugees, the political, economic and war refugee. And there is the right to apply for asylum.	Yes Definition of a refugee Types of Right to apply for asylum	Knowledge of specific rights is related to refugee rights	Rights consciousness mainly related to refugee rights and therefore connected to personal experiences
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	I only know the Dublin Agreement and the Schengen Agreement.	Dublin Agreement and Schengen Agreement	Knowledge of contract law is related to asylum law	Rights consciousness mainly related to refugee rights, therefore connected to personal experiences
7. Do you know any institution like an	I can go to my lawyer. I think I heard of a court but	Lawyer	Limited knowledge	Very limited awareness of

international court where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I don't know where it is or anything.	Heard of a court		existence of courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is the most important right that should be protected?	Whatever gives me my freedom, like freedom of speech, opinion and movement. Basically I came here just for that but it is not 100 % protected.	Whatever gives me freedom	Outstanding importance of personal freedom	Positive framing of human rights, importance of freedoms
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	They are a bit useful, look at me now, I get a lot of help. But it's like a rule in the war. Not everyone follows it. Human Rights exist but for who? If I go to the Court, they will laugh at me. You would never risk to ask for Human Rights in a Dictatorship. It takes your hopes sometimes. And you need something or someone who protects you, but most of us cannot finance a lawyer.	A bit useful Not everyone follows it Human rights exist but for who?	Limited usefulness because not everyone follows human rights and they don't exist for everybody	Human rights' usefulness is limited because of restricted respect and unequal distribution of effective implementation
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	The most important thing is to learn the language but If war stops, I would like to go back to Syria.	Language	Language	Right to education in terms of language Need is not formulated in human rights language

Interview 2

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #2

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Its what we hear about in movies. We never believe that it exists, it's like a fairy tale.	hear about fairy tale	Vague idea of human rights from movies, comparison to a fairy tale	Human rights as abstract perception of phantasy, basic knowledge gained from

				media
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Somewhere it is. Our government signed it but we are not in touch with any of the effect. It's like shoes, shiny from the outside but you never know what is inside.	somewhere	Small presence of knowledge	Very limited rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	Yes, stop beating children in schools, every child has to go to elementary school and the minimum age of marriage must be twelve years.	Yes Stop beating children in schools Every child has to go to elementary school Minimum age of marriage must be 12 years	Referring to children rights	Rights consciousness is mainly connected to children rights (even though interviewee has no children)
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No, but after we came here we heard more about it. But its more about what we expect what it is, not information. Its what we <i>think</i> it is.	No	Nearly no knowledge about treaty law	Very limited rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	There is a court in the Netherlands but its not sure. We don't believe in this court system, that it will bring judgement at all.	A court in the Netherlands	Nearly no knowledge of court system	Very limited awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The people who are in the prisons now of Assad. If they were animals, they would treat them better. I know that somebody could do something but nobody is trying to do so.	People who are in the prisons now of Assad	Referring to prisoners' rights in Syria	No specific nomination of rights but referring to prisoner's rights
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	It is. It will. Its different when you know that there is something to do and there is somewhere to go. Just the idea that there is something like human rights still gives hope. But you know, right now it is like that: we give our dogs names of people we don't like, for example Bush, the American president because dogs don't count so much in our culture. Here, people name their dogs after nice things,	Just the idea that there is something like human rights still gives hope	Human rights as an abstract concept gives hope but they are not fairly distributed	Human rights as an abstract concept on which hopes are pinned

	and they even bring their dogs to the psychologist if they don't feel good. If feel like here, a dog has more rights than we have back in Syria. Is this fair?			
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	In our culture it is the communication. Maybe we are not that honest than you but we are more close to each other. Here, you don't visit each other, you don't greet each other, not enough. This is what I am missing the most.	communication	To overcome cultural differences such as communication structures	Different communication structures as obstacle of integration Need is not formulated in human rights language

Interview 3

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Bosnia-Herzegovina (female)

Questionnaire Number: #3

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Bosnia-Herzegovina
2. How old are you?	33
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	From the economic-technical college
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	8 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	1 st December 2016

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	I have no idea.	no idea	Very limited knowledge of human rights	No rights consciousness
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't believe so.	No	No knowledge of treaty law	No rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to asylum	Right to asylum	Knowledge is related to asylum law	Very limited rights consciousness related to asylum law
6. Can you name an international human rights	No.	No	No knowledge of treaty law	No rights consciousness

treaty?				
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I don't know where to go. Where is the UN, where is UNICEF?	Don't know where to go UN, UNICEF	No knowledge of existence of courts but UN	No awareness of existence of courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	It's all about the rights of my child. My child must be protected. People don't listen to me, they just give me a number, they don't listen. I must help my son, where I come from, there is nothing to help my son. It's about my story, not about my country!	All about the rights of my child Help my son	Referring to children rights	Limited rights consciousness related to children rights and referring to her own son's situation
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes, I have rights, I can go there and there but because I am an asylum seeker, I don't have rights like the others. We don't have so many options, we don't have many rights.	Yes I am an asylum seeker, I don't have rights like others	Knowledge of the existence of certain rights but doesn't have the same rights as others as an asylum seeker	Very limited rights consciousness
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Just a normal life. A job, a normal school for my son, just to help my son.	A normal life A job To help my son	The wish for a normal life	The wish for a normal life in terms of fulfilment of right to work, protection of children rights but no rights language used

Interview 4

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #4

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	63
3. Do you have a school degree?	College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	December 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Human Rights is basically dignity. Nobody will touch me	dignity right to	Human rights are based on the concept of	Core of human rights consists of the concept

	as a person. It's my right to work, my right to life.		dignity and the right to do something	of dignity
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't think so.	No	No knowledge of international human rights law	No rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The right to work and the freedom of speech.	Right to work Freedom of speech	Referring to the right to do something and the freedom of something	Positive framing of human rights, emphasis on rights and freedoms
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I expect that in Europe, it may be useful. But in Syria, in the Middle East, we don't believe. We know from nice American movies that it exists but we are not in touch. Nobody knows anything about it. If you catch a thief in your home and bring him to the police station, there is a chance that they arrest you and not him.	In Europe, it may be useful In the Middle East, we don't believe Nice American movies We are not in touch Nobody knows anything about it	Discrepancy between human rights usefulness in Europe and the Middle East where it only exists in movies.	Human rights' usefulness is limited because of their unequal implementation and compliance
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	First of all, I want to learn the language. I am taking French courses. I cannot work anymore, I am too old. I am tired, I cannot work anymore.	language	Language	Right to education in terms of learning language Need is not formulated in rights language

Interview 5Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 5

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	25
3. Do you have a school degree?	Elementary School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	6 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	No, I can't. I only heard of it in some movies.	No Some movies	No knowledge of human rights	Very limited rights consciousness gained from media
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I know there is something like this but I don't know any details. I know that, as a woman, I have some rights, I believe as a woman I have more rights than a man.	Something like this Don't know any details	Limited knowledge but referring to women's rights	Very limited rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No, no idea.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Dignity, learning, going to school. I was forced to go out of school when I was 12. Not to be beaten, especially from the family. There is no dignity when you are beaten. Honestly, we lost all dignity after 6 years of war, I forgot what this means.	Dignity Learning Not to be beaten	Referring to the concept of dignity and the right to education as well as physical integrity	The concept of dignity, the right to education and the physical integrity are main concepts, nominated rights are related to personal

				situation
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I don't believe in Human Rights. Yes, people talk about it but I never witness anything. I expected to change anything since I am here and to be like a normal wife but there is no change. I heard about Human Rights but never felt it. In Luxembourg, I believe it exists and I will see.	I don't believe in human rights I never witness anything Never felt it	No believe in human rights because never witnessed anything but believes that human rights exist in Luxembourg	Human rights' usefulness is limited because of their unequal implementation and compliance
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	To learn the language, so I can communicate with people. I also miss clean toilets and I miss our food, I wished I could cook what we are used to and what we like.	Language Clean toilets I miss our food	Language Basic needs such as clean toilets and traditional food	Right to education in terms of learning language as well as right to adequate living standard in terms of fulfilment of basic needs

Interview 6

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 6

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes, High School.
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	9 years.
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In October 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	I heard about it in the news and TV. I know some of it but I have never seen it in practice.	heard about never seen in practice	Limited knowledge from Television	Very limited rights consciousness gained from TV
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes, there is a treaty. Syrian government signed it but they should not be in this system.	Yes, there is a treaty	Some knowledge of treaty law	Limited rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I know that people who work in Human Rights study something but I don't know what it is.	People who work in human rights study something	Limited knowledge of treaty law	Very limited rights consciousness

4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to life.	Right to life	Referring to the right to life	Limited rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No you can't go anywhere.	No you can't go anywhere	No knowledge of court system	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	It's to live in my country, my dignity being safed and no separation in the law between people because of religion, ethnic or skin colour or anything else. Also no separation between classes. In Syria, you have the first class and the second class population. Also here in Luxembourg I feel like second class person.	Live in my country Dignity being safed No separation in the law between people No separation between classes	Referring to the concept of dignity and equality between people and classes	Concepts of dignity as well as non-discrimination
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Honestly, we believed there are Human Rights. We believed in the promises of the US, France that Syria will get its freedom. But they cheated on us. My country is in a horrible situation for many years now. I am going to identify Human Rights as to protect the weak from the strong. But I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. At the same time, the Syrian government is negotiating for an end of the war and bombing Syrian cities. No, I don't believe in Human Rights anymore. Now, you have seen me angry. There is this beast in us who wants to revenge for all we have seen. Thinking of human rights awakes this beast because they remind me of all the injustices in the world. They are like any other lie we used to hear and believe. I am now	We believed there are human rights They cheated on us I don't believe in human rights anymore Human rights are like any other lie we used to hear and believe	Loss of belief in human rights because of feeling of mistrust and disappointment	Change of attitude towards human rights from belief and hope to mistrust and disappointment

	safe and most of the time happy but I wished that someday I could go back and see somebody alive.			
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I feel like European are scared of me. My wife used to cover her hair, people used to treat us like tourists or terrorists. I wish I don't have to feel this judgment anymore. So I uncovered her hair because I want to be part of this society and I don't want to feel judged. But now the other men in our camp judge me because she is not covered anymore and they don't like it. I wished there would not be this judgement everywhere.	I wished I don't have to feel this judgement anymore	Grievance for more tolerance and equality	Referring to non-discrimination but no rights language used

Interview 7

Date: 28th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #7

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	54
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	6 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In September 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's the right to life, the right to freedom, safety and food. Back in Syria, we don't have Human Rights. Anyone can violate them, we don't have them.	right to life, freedom, safety and food we don't have them	Referring to the rights to life, freedom, safety and food.	Presence of rights consciousness
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I know from TV and the news that there is something like that and our government signed something like this. But our government doesn't want us to know anything about it.	Something like that	Some knowledge of international human rights law	Very limited rights consciousness

3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I can recognize that people who work for the UN work with any documents but I have never heard the names.	Never heard the names	Limited knowledge	Very limited rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No, I have never heard of this.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	The right to life.	Right to life	Referring to the right to life	Limited rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I can imagine that there is some but I don't know what they can do for us. There is a court in the Netherlands but its not for normal people, you have to be famous to make a case there.	A court in the Netherlands Not for normal people To be famous to make a case there	Referring to a court in the Netherlands which is not for ordinary people	Limited presence of awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Safety. The right to live without bombing.	Safety	Referring to a life in safety	Referring to the right to life
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Human Rights exist. In some places, they are active, in some places not. People like you could make them more effective. People who work for these institutions could help us to know what our rights are.	In some places, they are active, in some places not	Discrepancy of human rights effectiveness in different countries as well as a need for a better rights education	Human rights' usefulness is limited because of their unequal implementation and compliance
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	The right to learn. In Luxembourg, the government is working on that very strongly, so I am hopeful that I can learn the language.	Right to learn	Referring to the right to education	Referring to the right to education in terms of the right to learn

Interview 8

Date: 29th of May 2017

Country: Eritrea

Questionnaire Number: # 8

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Eritrea
2. How old are you?	26
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes elementary school
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	For six years.
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In December 2016

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	No I can't, I am sorry. I don't know. It's something that should protect us from the bad and protect our dignity.	Protect from the bad Protect our dignity	Human rights as tool for protection	Human rights as tool for protection from the bad
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I can't imagine that they are.	No I can't imagine	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Back in my home country, I don't feel protected, especially not as woman. So, I think there is nothing to protect us.	Don't feel protected	Not enough protection, especially for women	Human rights' existence is mainly limited to theory because not enough protection, especially for women
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	No, I don't believe so. I don't know any system.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No, sorry.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	No, no.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No idea.	No	No knowledge	No awareness of existence of courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	It's my dignity. My dignity is very important. I lost it several times when I was beaten and other things and now I need to find it again but I don't know how to find it, I don't know if I can get my dignity back.	Dignity is very important Need to find it again	Dignity as most important "right"	Dignity as core concept of human rights
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I don't know, not in my home country, not for me. Maybe here, or at some places.	Not in my home country Maybe here	Human rights' usefulness is limited to some countries	Human rights' usefulness is limited because of their unequal implementation

10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to go to school, finish school. I want a life in dignity, not like here in the camp where I can't do anything except sitting around.	Finish school Life in dignity	Right to education Dignified life	Right to education and dignified life
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	I needed protection. Now I feel more protected.	protection		protection Right to life

Interview 9

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Iraq (female)

Questionnaire Number: #9

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Iraq
2. How old are you?	62
3. Do you have a school degree?	Elementary School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	November 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	To be protected and not to be manipulated from government and powerful people. It's about the right to live. Human Rights is also the right to be a refugee when in your country is war. I lost the faith of having food, its not important anymore. Important is to stay at home and live in your house without being kidnapped and beaten up.	be protected from the right to	The purpose of human rights is to protect people from governments and ruling people as well as giving the right to flee from a country in war	Presence of rights consciousness connected to the purpose of protection
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	No I don't believe so.	No	No knowledge of international human rights law	No rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	I have never heard of it.	Never heard of it	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that	No, I have no idea.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness

is written in an international human rights treaty?				
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I went to the Red Cross but they did not respond at all. They didn't show compassion. In Germany, Red Cross was better. Back in Iraq, I don't trust to deal with any institution that has an office.	Red Cross	Referring to the Red Cross	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	That would be the right to have a peaceful life. They tried three times to kidnap me and beat me up. When they beat me up I lost my dignity forever. My home country cannot give it back to me, I don't feel safe anymore back home. My own government is against my family.	Right to have a peaceful life	Referring to safety and the protection from governments as well as having a life in peace	Limited rights consciousness related to personal experiences
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I remember that there is an office of Human Rights in my town in Iraq. When my children were kidnapped, I went to this office. It was the only office that helped me or at least showed some compassion. I believe that Human Rights exist here but back in Iraq, they sound like a joke.	I believe that human rights exist here but back in Iraq they sound like a joke	Connecting human rights to an office, comparison of human rights to a joke Discrepancy of existence of human rights in Luxembourg and Iraq	Human rights are connected to the existence of an office and compared to a joke, their usefulness is limited because of their unequal effectiveness in different countries
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	That would be the right to have a house. The feeling to have the key of my own house is missing. In my age, I just need rest in my private house. I don't have any privacy here. I even don't have a clean toilet, not my private bathroom. Give me some privacy, that's all.	Have a house Privacy Clean toilet Private bathroom	Grievance for more privacy as well as basic needs such as a clean toilet and a private bathroom	Right to privacy as well as the right to an adequate living standard in terms of fulfilment of basic needs

Interview 10

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Iraq (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 10

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Iraq
2. How old are you?	27
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	Yes, 3 years of Sociology
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	15 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	November 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's the free speech, the freedom of the man himself. The easiest things should be available for everyone.	freedom easiest things should be available	Human rights consist of the freedom of man himself and free speech as well as the fulfilment of basic needs for everyone	Rights consciousness is connected to the concept of freedom and the main purpose of rights is to fulfil basic needs
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes they are. The treaty was signed in the US, the main office is there. They have regular meetings and a lot of countries signed the treaty. For example the US, European countries, Lebanon, some Arab Gulf countries.	Yes they are	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes it was made by the United Nations.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	To protect the children from violence inside the family. In Africa, to provide enough food.	Protect children from violence Provide enough food	Referring to children rights and right to food	Rights consciousness is connected to the importance of children rights and the right to food
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights	They are very important but we are not in touch	Very important	Acknowledging the importance	Human rights are useful but

useful/helpful?	with them.	We are not in touch with them	of human rights but underlying that she is not in touch with them	not for everyone
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	People look at us like we just came out of the stone age. They keep refusing us to give us a contract for a house and keep making excuses. We have the money but we are treated like second class people. I came from Aleppo, I got married and spent my honeymoon in camps. And now, since one year, I still live in a camp. My basic need is to have my own house, to have a normal life, just give me the right to cook food in our style, have a clean toilet, all these basic needs that form a normal life.	To have my own house Cook food in our own style Clean toilet	Referring to equality and grievance for a normal life including a clean toilet, the possibility to cook and a private place to live	Referring to non-discrimination and the right to privacy, the right to an adequate living standard in terms of fulfilment of basic needs

Interview 11

Date: 29th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 11

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	36
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes, College
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In November 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	To respect the Human.	respect	Human rights consist of the respect of the human	The concept of respect forms the core of human rights
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	If it does exist, I don't believe that Syrian government signed any treaty.	It does exist	Very limited knowledge	Very limited rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness

4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	I have heard of it when we came to Luxembourg.	Heard of it	Very limited knowledge	Very limited rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	No, sorry.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	I know the Red Cross.	Red Cross	Referring to the Red Cross	No awareness of the existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	The protection of children and the peace in the world	Protection of children Peace in the world	Referring to children rights and the notion of peace	Importance of the protection of children rights and peace
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I think Human Rights are not the same in different countries. The standards of Human Rights are not equal. There should be a famous person of Human Rights in every country, like an ambassador and it should be possible to talk to him. For the next generations, there should be better Human Rights education, so they know better than us what their rights are.	Human rights are not the same in different countries Standards of human rights are not equal For the next generations, there should be better human rights education	Discrepancy between human rights standards in different regions of the world and referring to the need of a better human rights education for future generations	Human rights' usefulness is dependent on different regions of the world and there is a need for better human rights education for future generations
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Europeans look at refugees as second class human beings. We don't feel welcomed. We can't rent a house. There is no equality between people. I don't know what my rights are, I only know that refugees have less rights than a human.	There is no equality between people	Referring to equality and the feeling of not being welcomed and treated in the same way than others	Non-discrimination

Interview 12

Date: 31th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Palestine/Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 12

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	I was born in Syria but my parents are Palestine and I never got the Syrian nationality.
2. How old are you?	31
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes

4. Do you have a university degree?	Yes, in Economics and Accounting
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	23 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	October 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's mostly about equality. I consider that very important because I never experienced it. I wasn't treated as a Syrian even though I was born there. It's about being recognized, for that people know that you exist. Here, I am considered as a stateless person.	equality	Human rights mainly consist of the concept of equality	Rights consciousness is connected to the concept of non-discrimination and personal situation
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Of course, I know it from TV and the news. I know there are human rights laws. I know that there is written that nobody should be stateless, its against Human Rights. But there is a difference between the law and its application. The law forbids being stateless. Where is the law in reality? Where is the law in practice? Its up to the government to give me a nationality.	Of course I know there are human rights laws	Presence of knowledge of international human rights laws gained from Television and news	Presence of human rights consciousness gained from television
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes, I have heard of it in TV, it's from the United Nations.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Limited presence of rights consciousness
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	Yes I heard about it when I came to Luxembourg.	Yes heard about it	Presence of knowledge	Limited presence of rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is written in an international human rights treaty?	Not to be stateless.	Not to be stateless	Referring to the right of having a nationality	Rights consciousness is connected to personal situation
6. Can you name an international human rights treaty?	No, I don't know the name of any treaty.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Yes I could go to the European Court of Human Rights and make a case against Luxembourg because they don't give me nationality.	European Court of Human Rights	Presence of knowledge	Awareness of presence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected?	Equality and recognition. And could you please add freedom. When I lived in Syria, it felt like a prison, I couldn't go out, I couldn't	Equality Recognition Freedom	Referring to equality, recognition and freedom	Referring to non-discrimination and the right to liberty

	move free.			
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	It's only useful if you apply it. It's useless, if you don't apply it. If it's only applied to a certain group of people, it's useless. It creates even more inequality. I don't have the same rights as a Luxembourg citizen for example but also not like a Syrian citizen. When I finished university, I was shocked by reality. I couldn't do anything. After all, my aim became to become a nationality. This became my highest priority.	It's only useful if you apply it. Its useless if you don't apply it. If it's only applied to a certain group of people, it's useless Creates even more inequality	Human rights are basically useful as long as they are equally applied in each country and on each person without differences.	Human rights' effectiveness is limited because of their unequal application and respect leading to even more inequality among people and nations
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	First of all, I want a nationality. And I want to feel home, I want the connection to people. And it should be one of your Human Rights that your family can live together.	Nationality Feel home Connection to people That your family can live together	A strong need to get a nationality as well as to integrate in Luxembourg and to live together with family	Referring to the right to acquire a nationality, family reunion and the need to integrate in society

Interview 13

Date: 31th of March 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (female)

Questionnaire Number: #13

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	55
3. Do you have a school degree?	College Degree
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	14 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In December 2015

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's about dignity, to have life with dignity. What is dignity? It's the right to give. You don't have human rights when you live on society rules. I never follow the rules of society. This is why also freedom of speech and freedom of thinking is very important. Dignity is	dignity	Human rights are based on dignity which is a vast concept and has a different meaning for everyone. Other important foundations of human rights	The core concept of human rights is dignity which can have different meanings

	a huge word, it does not have a real meaning. Or it has a different meaning for everyone. Everyone has to disobey the rules of society because in our society the rules are that the woman is in the kitchen, that you can beat the women. If you disobey the society rules, a woman can have a school degree and a profession and earn money and because of this, she is not losing her dignity.		are the freedom of speech and the freedom of expression	
2. What do you think, is there an international human rights treaty?	I don't know.	I don't know	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
3. Have you ever heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Yes I heard from the UN in News and TV.	Yes	Limited presence of knowledge	Limited rights consciousness gained from Television
4. Are you familiar with the European Convention on Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Can you name a specific human right that is enshrined in an international human rights treaty?	Maybe the freedom from physical violence.	Freedom from physical violence	Referring to the right to physical integrity	Rights consciousness is connected to physical integrity
6. In your opinion, what is your most important right?	The freedom from physical violence.	Freedom from physical violence	Physical integrity is the most important right	Physical integrity
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No I don't know anything like that.	No	No knowledge	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about Human Rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? Why?	The physical right. You should not beat your children and the men should not beat the women. In Syria, nobody can enter into the family rules and say you cannot beat your children. So nearly every man beats his children, his wife.	Physical right Not beat children Men should not beat the women	Physical integrity of children and women who are affected the most by physical violence	Referring to the physical integrity of women and children
9. In your opinion, do Human Rights exist in theory? In Practice?	There is nothing like Human Rights back in Syria but I only realised it when I came to Luxembourg. Back in Syria Human Rights are never respected, that never happened. But now, Assad is the problem,	Nothing like human rights back in Syria Back in Syria, human rights are never respected	Discrepancy between the existence of human rights in Luxembourg and their non-existence in Syria	Human rights' existence depends on the region/country

	nowadays girls in Syria have to search for boys without injuries.			
10. What is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Nothing. Nothing is missing, we have everything. Before, when we stayed in the foyer, I always wished to cook my own food. But now I can.	Nothing missing Cook my own food	Before moving to the own apartment, the wish to have the possibility to cook traditional food	Fulfilment of basic needs such as the right to cook

Interview 14

Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Ghana (female)

Questionnaire Number: # 14

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Ghana
2. How old are you?	21
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes a Bachelor.
4. Do you have a university degree?	I want to do my Master now.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	17 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In October 2016

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	The basic fundamental rights that entitle human beings for special protection.	fundamental rights special protection	Human rights consist of fundamental rights that entitle human beings for special protection	Presence of rights consciousness
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Yes they are but I forgot the names of the main UN treaties, I am sorry.	Yes they are	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Yes I think in most of the places it exists in practice but there are also a lot of places in the world where human rights only exist in theory.	In most of places it exists in practice	Discrepancy between existence of human rights in different regions of the world	Human rights' existence is dependent on different regions of the world
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	For the UN human rights are more a universal thing but it depends if the countries enforce them or not. But it's good that the UN try, at least.	Depends if the countries enforce them or not	Dependence of human rights' effectiveness on the governments willingness to implement and enforce them	Human rights' effectiveness is dependent on government's willingness to implementation and enforcement

5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Ah yes of course, this is one of the treaties I forgot the name of.	Yes	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	The right to life, the right to association, the right to education and fair wages.	Right to life Right to association Right to education and fair wages	Referring to the right to life, the freedom of association and the right to education as well as the right to have fair wages, therefore non-discrimination	Numeration of the rights to life, association, education and non-discrimination
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Yes I know the ICC in the Netherlands but I don't know how it works. But they do a lot with African dictators.	ICC in the Netherlands	Presence of knowledge, specifically the International Criminal Court	Awareness of existence of international court connected to International Criminal Court
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	The right to life I think.	Right to life	Referring to the right to life	Right to life as most important right
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes of course!	Yes	Agreement on the usefulness of human rights	Human rights are a meaningful concept
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to go to university.	university	Referring to the right to education	Right to education
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	It was also education because without education you can't move further, you can't do nothing especially as a woman.	education	Referring to the importance of education, especially as a woman	Right to education which is especially important for women

Interview 15

Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Nigeria (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 15

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Nigeria
2. How old are you?	22
3. Do you have a school degree?	No
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	9 years

6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In 2014
-------------------------------------	---------

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	They are basic rights like freedom of speech and freedom of movement and easy things like having a place to sleep and something to eat.	basic rights freedom of easy things	Human rights consist of basic rights and different freedoms	Limited rights consciousness
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I think human rights are supposed to be written, just like a list in different international documents.	Supposed to be written	Assumption that human rights are written, limited knowledge	Limited rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Human Rights exist in practice but not everywhere. For example freedom of religion is very limited in some places.	Human rights exist in practice but not everywhere	Discrepancy between existence of human rights in different regions of the world	Human rights' existence is dependent on different regions of the world
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	We have the United Nations but the system is seriously not working, human rights just become a case of politics, nothing more. The UN is supposed to protect the rights of civilians, they are trying but not fully successful.	System is seriously not working Human rights just become a case of politics	The UN human rights system is not successfully working	The protection of human rights is not effective and human rights decrease to a matter of politics
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	I know some human right laws, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of religion and stuff like that.	I know some human rights laws	Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Yes what I just said, freedom of religion for example.	Freedom of religion	Referring to the freedom of religion	Rights consciousness is connected to freedom of religion
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	When I arrived in Italy there was the International Organisation for Migration or something like that and I know the UNHCR and the ICC but the ICC is corrupt against Africans, they only go against Africans. It would be a good thing if it would be fair and not only focusing on Africans.	IOM UNHCR ICC	Referring to different international organisations as well as the International Criminal Court	Referring to international migration organisations as well as the International Criminal Court
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	For me, the most important is freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Freedom of speech is the most important because it gives us the chance to share opinions about things that	Freedom of speech Freedom of religion	Referring to the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion	Importance of freedoms

	matter and affect us. In few areas its protected but now even here it is called whistleblowing. This is the most important for me.			
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	I think human rights are useful if governments are bind by it, if everyone respects it, but not everybody does it. If the governments are not bind, they don't respect human rights.	Useful if governments are bind by it If governments are not bind, they don't respect human rights	Human rights are only useful if governments are obliged to implement and respect human rights because they don't respect human rights voluntarily	Human rights' usefulness is limited because governments don't implement them voluntarily and are not obliged to
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	It was finding a job because I wanted to have a normal life, pay taxes and live normally like everybody else.	A normal life Job	The grievance to have a normal life	The wish to have a normal life
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	In Nigeria, my strongest need was protection from death.	Protection from death	Referring to the right to life	Protection from death in terms of right to life

Interview 16

Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Senegal (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 16

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Senegal
2. How old are you?	24
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	2 month ago

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	They ensure that we can live a good life, that we respect the rights of others because we are all human beings.	good life respect	Human rights ensure the respect of the rights of others as well as the possibility to live a good life	The protection of the respect of the rights of others as main purpose of human rights as well as having the possibility to live a good life
2. Do you think that	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights

Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?				consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Yes they exist in talking but not in doing things.	They exist in talking but not in doing things	Discrepancy between theory in practice, human rights only exist in theory	The existence of human rights is limited to their theoretical existence
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	No I don't think so.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	The right to health	Right to health	Referring to the right to health	Rights consciousness is connected to the right to health
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	There is the police and I know there is a Court of Justice but I don't know where and I don't know how it could help me but there are also lawyers but I don't have money for them.	Police Court of Justice Lawyers	Referring to the police and lawyers as well as the International Court of Justice	Minimum awareness of existence of international courts and moreover referring to police and lawyers
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	The health and education, to be in a healthy condition. A good health, physically and mentally is the most important thing.	Health education	Referring to the right to health and education	Right to health and right to education
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Yes I think its good that there are people working for human rights and believing in it.	It's good that there are people working for human rights and believing in it	People working and believing in human rights gives hope	Human rights usefulness consists in their ability to give hope
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	I want to work, that's all for the moment.	work	The need to find a job	The right to work
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Health.	health	Referring to the right to health	The right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health

Interview 17Date: 27th of April 2017

Country of origin and sex: Democratic Republic of Congo (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 17

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Congo
2. How old are you?	52
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	Last year

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	La liberté d'expression, l'égalité et le respect de l'autre. C'est connaître le mal et le bien et surtout la reciprocité de respect entre deux personnes.	liberté d'expression l'égalité respect	Human rights consist of freedom of expression, equality and above all the respect between each other	The respect of the other builds the core of human rights
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Oui il y a des documents internationaux mais je ne sais pas les noms. S'ils n'existaient pas, on ne vivrait pas dans les normes des choses.	Oui il y a des documents internationaux	Presence of knowledge	Limited rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	A cent pour cent non, mais ils existent partiellement. Ca depend du pays ou bien du continent où on vit.	Ils existent partiellement Depend du pays ou bien du continent	Discrepancy between existence of human rights in different regions of the world	Existence of human rights depends on the region/country
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Non parce qu'ils y a des abus partout. Regarde par exemple la Syrie, où est le système de protection, je ne peux pas le voir. En Europe, on se chache de la responsabilité, c'est triste. A Ouganda, il y a des cons qui tuent au nom de je ne sais pas qui.	Non parce qu'ils y a des abus partout	The international human rights system is not effective because human rights are violated everywhere	The effectiveness of human rights is very limited because of universal violations
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.	Non	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	L'égalité de chacun et l'expression orale libre.	L'égalité L'expression orale libre	Referring to non-discrimination as well as freedom	Rights consciousness is connected to non-

			of expression	discrimination and the freedom of expression
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Je connais le UNHCR.	UNHCR	Referring to the UNHCR	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	Le respect de l'autre, c'est le plus important. Si on se respectait, on ne pourrai pas tuer, se discriminer, Il n'y aura pas le misère comme aujourd'hui. Où le respect de l'autre commence, moi je m'arrête.	Respect de l'autre	Referring to the crucial importance of respect between each other	Mutual respect forms the core of human rights
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Il n'y a pas de différence à cause des droits humains. Il y a au contraire plus d'inégalité sur le monde. 80 % de la population mondiale est très pauvre, ils sont où les droits humains?	Pas de différence à cause des droits humains Au contraire, plus de l'inégalité	Human rights even create more inequality instead of decreasing it	Human rights are not useful because their existence only leads to more inequality
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Avoir une maison. Avoir un travail. Pas d'adresse, pas travail, c'est un cercle vicieux. Maintenant je travaille dans un restaurant, ils font des très bons Steaks. Je travaille dans la cuisine, tous le soirs il y a beaucoup de steaks qui ne sont pas manger complètement, il y a même des steaks qui n'ont pas être vendu. Donc on les a cacher pour les prendre à la maison et pour qu'ils ne sont pas jetés dans la poubelle. Mais un de mes amis a été tiré parce qu'il a pris un steak à la maison. Ce n'est pas de respect, de nous traiter comme des animaux. En plus, j'aime bien faire la cuisine, ce pour ca que je travaille dans un restau parce que je n'ai pas la possibilité ici.	Avoir une maison Avoir un travail Faire la cuisine	The need to have a house, a job and to have the possibility to cook	Referring to the right to privacy, the right to work as well as the fulfilment of basic needs such as the possibility to cook
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Étudier. Papa me disait toujours, tu n'auras pas à manger pour composer une famille si tu n'études pas. Si on n'étude pas, on ne connaît pas la vie,	Étudier	Referring to the right to education and its importance for life	The right to education

	si on n'étude pas, on est un être-humain mort.			
--	--	--	--	--

Interview 18

Date: 4th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Tunisia (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 18

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Tunisia
2. How old are you?	27
3. Do you have a school degree?	Yes
4. Do you have a university degree?	No
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	2014

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Non, je ne sais pas. Travail, education, mais non je ne sais pas, c'est difficile pour moi.	je ne sais pas travail, education	Limited knowledge, referring to work and education	Very limited rights consciousness connected to the right to work and education
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Non je ne crois pas. Il faut penser de ca, faire mais pas écrire. Maintenant ca existe seulement dans les têtes.	Non je ne crois pas	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	Non, il n'existent pas dans la réalité. Il faut pratiquer les droits humains, mais c'est seulement théorie.	Non ils n'existent pas dans la réalité	Human rights only exist in theory but are not practiced	The existence of human rights is limited to their theoretical existence
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Oui je crois qu'il y a un système des Nations Unis mais je ne sais pas si c'est effective, je ne sais pas.	Oui il y a un système des Nations Unis Je ne sais pas si c'est effective	Limited knowledge	Limited rights consciousness
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.	Non	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Vivre.	Vivre	Referring to the right to life	Rights consciousness is related to the notion of life
7. Do you know any institution where you	Non, je ne sais pas.	Non	No knowledge	No awareness of the existence of

can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?				international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	C'est le travail.	Le travail	Referring to the importance of having a job	The right to work
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Oui c'est déjà quelque chose qu'on pense de ca.	C'est déjà quelque chose qu'on pense de ca	The existence of human rights in theory is already better than nothing	The existence of human rights in theory is perceived as a source of hope
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	Le travail et le logement.	Travail Lodgement	Work and housing	The right to work and an adequate living standard
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	Aussi le travail.	travail	Work	The right to work

Interview 19

Date: 4th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Mali (male)

Questionnaire Number: # 19

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Mali
2. How old are you?	39
3. Do you have a school degree?	Non
4. Do you have a university degree?	Non
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	8 années
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	En 2014

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	Non, je ne sais pas du tout ce que c'est.	je ne sais pas	No knowledge of human rights	No rights consciousness
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	Je ne sais pas.	Je ne sais pas	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in	Il y a des droits humains pour tout le monde, en	Droits humains pour tout le	Human rights exist	The universal existence of

theory or practice?	théorie mais pas dans la pratique. Mais pour moi, c'est seulement important de travailler et gagner ma vie et de ma famille.	monde en théorie Pas dans la pratique	theoretically for everyone but not in practice	human rights is limited to their theoretical existence
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	Je ne sais pas, je ne me suis pas sûr.	Je ne sais pas	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	Non.	Non	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Non je ne peux pas le reciter.	Non	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	Je ne sais pas.	Je ne sais pas	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	C'est ma femme, la protection de ma femme.	Protection de ma femme	Referring to women's rights	Importance of women's rights
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Non je ne pense pas que ça aide. Je ne le vois pas.	Non Je ne le vois pas	Human rights are not useful	The existence of human rights is not useful
10. Since you are here in Luxembourg, what is your strongest need? a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others	C'est trouver de travail dans un endroit. Trouver un appartement pour la famille, c'est compliqué sans travail.	Travail Appartement	Finding a job and a apartment	Right to work and adequate living standard
11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?	La protection de ma femme.	Protection de ma femme	Referring to women's rights	Women's rights

Interview 20

Date: 12th of May 2017

Country of origin and sex: Syria (male)

Questionnaire Number: #20

A. Personal Information

1. Where do you come from?	Syria
2. How old are you?	38
3. Do you have a school degree?	High School
4. Do you have a university degree?	No.
5. In total, for how many years did you go to school?	12 years
6. When did you come to Luxembourg?	In march 2017

B. General Questions

Questions	Answers	Indicator	Concept	Category
1. Could you describe in your own words what Human Rights are?	It's only cheating, only blablabla, there is a right law but we don't see anything of it. I heard of them, only speaking, nothing in reality. But I met a lot of people who try to help, from so many organisations, but they can't help. There is a lot of cheating, also from the UNHCR. They only do business, they let me only waiting. I don't have a problem with them but let me know, let me know about your plans. I don't know why they make it like this. They only make some business. Nobody told me the truth. If they told me, you have to stay two years there or there, then at least I know and can do something but like this I am only waiting.	cheating, only blablabla we don't see anything	Human rights law exists but in practice the concept of human rights consists of lies and business making	Human rights are perceived as lies and means of business making
2. Do you think that Human Rights are somewhere written down, for example in an international treaty or other document?	I learned some things about the rules of the Red Cross and the rules of war. I learned that there are international human rights rules. I know the UN and their work. But I only met people from UNHCR and Human Rights Watch. Also Save the Children, it's a good organisation. I met all kind of people from international human rights organisations. Some of them make it better.	Rules of the Red Cross and the rules of war There are international human rights rules	Referring to the rules of the Red Cross, rules of war and international human rights rules, Presence of knowledge	Presence of rights consciousness related to specific rules
3. Do you think that Human Rights exist in theory or practice?	I wanted to defence my family, bring them in safety. After that we went to Greece, we met a lot of different people. But a lot of those organisations only make business out of refugees. I don't trust people from governments, politics and military. In my religion, I don't run away from death, I want to keep my soul clean. I don't want to be a killer or a murderer of anybody.	Only make business Human rights only make rules It's all about politics	Human rights organisations only make business and human rights lead to good rules but however, it is all about politics	Human rights' effectiveness is limited because their purpose decreased to a matter of politics and business making

	I saw a man dying with his children in his arms. Then I decided to leave my city. But human rights only make rules, it's all about politics. But I met humans, really human who care about other human beings.			
4. Do you think that the international system for the protection of human rights is effective?	The system of human rights is something very good, I like it, I love it, I love the idea. But I only hear of them, I never see anything happening in practice. There are some good and helpful international rules, especially rules of war. But I don't see anything in reality. I want to be a good person, I must be clean, from the outside and the inside.	I never see anything happening in practice Some good and helpful international rules I don't see anything in reality	The international human rights system is not effective because nothing changes, except the rules of war	The protection of human rights is not effective because no changes are visible, only exception rules of war
5. Have you ever heard of an international human rights document such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?	No, no idea.	No	No knowledge	No rights consciousness
6. Can you name a specific human right, a right that only applies to a human being?	Rules of war, rights for , they are very good rules but where? Only when I am outside in a safety zone, when I can't see and hear anymore the bomb attacks from the airplanes, I can think of good things like human rights. There is also the protection of hostage people, also a good rule.	Rules of war Rights for Protection of hostage people	Referring to the rights of , the rules of war such as the protection of hostages	Rights consciousness is connected to personal situation and the rules of war
7. Do you know any institution where you can go in case of a human rights violation and make a complaint?	No, I don't know.	I don't know.	No knowledge	No awareness of existence of international courts
8. If you think about human rights, what is for you personally the most important right that should be protected? And why?	My children life. I want to give my children a good education, this is all I care about. I am happy that they will learn three languages here.	My children life Give my children a good education	Referring to children rights and the right to education	Importance of children rights
9. In your opinion, are Human Rights useful/helpful?	Human Rights only give good rules, in theory, but in real life, I don't see them. There is such a small team believing in human rights for a very big subject.	Human rights only give good rules in theory In real life, I don't see them	Human rights are helpful in theory but in practice, nothing changes	Human rights' usefulness is limited to theory but in reality, they do not provoke any changes
10. Since you are here in	Privacy and good health,	Privacy	Referring to	Referring to the

<p>Luxembourg, what is your strongest need?</p> <p>a. to work b. to learn a language c. to meet people d. to go to university e. others</p>	<p>therefore clean toilets and bathroom. And we would like to cook our own food, in our style. Just tell me the situation, how it is here, what can I expect. In Greece, I had a good contract with Red Cross, I was the only refugee. They chose me for resettlement program, Luxembourg chose me. Now we are sitting here, in this room and have nothing to do. I don't want a high life. I ask you for a human life. I ask you about a normal life, only. A bedroom, a toilet. I am not a god, I don't want to live like a god. Why do you help economical migrants? They are poor but at least they are safe in their home countries. If I had a place, I would go back. At least, I would die with my dignity. But I don't have a place, they destroyed everything.</p>	<p>Good health</p> <p>Clean toilets</p> <p>Cook our own food</p> <p>A normal life</p> <p>A human life</p>	<p>basic needs such as clean toilets, the possibility to cook, to have privacy and a normal human life</p>	<p>right to privacy as well as the fulfilment of basic needs such as the right to cook</p>
<p>11. Back in your home country, what was your strongest need?</p>	<p>I don't want to be a murderer but you know, if somebody hurts my family, I will become a killer because I want revenge. Then it is better to leave to protect my family and not to become a murderer.</p>	<p>I don't want to be a murderer</p>		<p>The need not to deprive of somebody's life</p>

Appendix 10: Observations

Observation Sheet 1

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 1
2. Age	23
3. Gender	male
4. Education	5 th semester of Bachelor

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	22th of March 2017, 2.00 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	University Campus Kirchberg, Cafeteria
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Roz Duman, she introduced me to the interviewee, it's a friend of her
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes. About the situation of refugees in general, about his luck that he is studying and lives in Luxembourg City Centre

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Old Cafeteria, not much light, windows were closed even though it was a warm day
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	No
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	A "typical" student, backpack, jeans, hooded sweatshirt, open minded, seemed to be happy and self-confident. Answered the questions in a very thoughtful way Seemed to be embarrassed when he didn't know an answer
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Relieved, self-confident, because it was the first interview and it went very well

Observation Sheet 2

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 2
2. Age	36
3. Gender	male
4. Education	College (12 years of school in total)

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March 2017, 11 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	One hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the room of the interviewee at a Foyer in Bertrange
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	No.
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, about the situation in the foyer, the costs of the room, the shared kitchen and the other inhabitants and

	their relationships
--	---------------------

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Big room, furnished with small bed, fridge and a closet, sous-terrain, only a small window Very cleared up
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	Yes, the interviewee was very self-confident because we were at his place. He offered me tea, coffee, cake and seemed to be happy to have a visitor in his own room
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Self-confident, thoughtful but also likes to make jokes, sometimes very funny and then suddenly extremely serious He is open-minded, politically educated and he is interested in thinking about topics he didn't think about before
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Relieved, self-confident but also thoughtful because of the information the interviewee gave me and the discussions we had

Observation Sheet 3

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 3
2. Age	33
3. Gender	female
4. Education	Degree from economic-technical college

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March 2017, 1 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	45 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the room of the interviewee in a Foyer in Bertrange
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes, the interviewee's son (8 years old) and husband
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, about her son's situation and illness, his education, the doctors and the problems with the other inhabitants of the Foyer

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Small room, big window, cleaned up, only one bed
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	Yes, it affected the interviewee's way of talking because she could point at things, give examples. They offered me chocolate and tea, the son came to me and wanted to play something Afterwards, the interviewee's husband left the room with the son, so we could talk
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Very angry about the government, the doctors, the schools who don't support her son, angry about the asylum system because it doesn't see her individual case but only her as a number out of many Also disappointed, because she was hoping to be able to help her son here in Luxembourg Strong voice, many gesticulations, sometimes loud

	because of anger
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Emotionally churned up, the fate of the small family moved me, especially the son's illness Difficult questions raised in my head, it is not possible to help everyone and the judges are overloaded, it is had to examine each single case in detail Bosnia-Herzegovina is considered as safe country

Observation Sheet 4

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 4
2. Age	63
3. Gender	male
4. Education	College (12 years in total)

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March 2017, 2 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the room of the interviewee's son I interviewed before (#2)
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	At some points, the interviewee's son but he spent most of the time in the kitchen to prepare Turkish coffee
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes but more between the son and his father

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Same as above, see # 2
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	No, I don't think so
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Silent, slow in all his movements, thoughtful, weak voice, seemed to be shy, ashamed
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Sad because of the father's appearance, he seemed to have lost his energy of life, his hopes

Observation Sheet 5

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 5
2. Age	25
3. Gender	female
4. Education	Elementary school, 6 years in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March, 3.30 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	On a bench in a park in Luxembourg City
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	The interviewee's husband was sitting next to her in the beginning but then I asked him if I can conduct the interview with her alone and then with him alone, so he left and made some phone calls
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, after I conducted the interview with both of them, we had a long discussion about possible solutions to end the war in Syria

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Park, warm and sunny day, it felt like a picnic
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	The environment of the park and the atmosphere of one of the first sunny and warm spring days took the seriousness out of the situation and the interviewee seemed relaxed and able to talk freely
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Happy, relaxed, open-minded but also subordinated to her husband
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Thoughtful, surprised about some very statements of the interviewee about being beaten, about having left school very early (because she had to marry her husband)

Observation Sheet 6A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 6
2. Age	36
3. Gender	male
4. Education	9 years of school in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March 2017, around 4.15 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	An hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Park in Luxembourg City
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	The husbands wife (but not all of the time)
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes about possible solutions to end the war in Syria, political discussions

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Park (see Observation Sheet 5)
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	Interviewee seemed to be relaxed, full of energy and thoughts

3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	More self-confidence than his wife, high interest in politics, thoughtful, caught in the traditional structures of his religion and society/culture
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Inspired, new ideas, but also thoughtful about the wife's situation because she was in the same age than me but in a totally different situation, she knew about the education she missed and was very reflective and aware of her situation but didn't seem to be jealous of my privileged situation at all

Observation Sheet 7

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 7
2. Age	54
3. Gender	male
4. Education	6 years of school in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	28 th of March 2017, 5.50 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	On a bench in front of the Foyer Don Bosco, Limpertsberg
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	No.
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No.

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Not many people were outside of the foyer even though it was one of the first sunny days since a long time, some children passed and on the bench next to us was a woman sitting together with some refugees teaching them French
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	No I didn't observe any impact
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Insecure, shy, silent voice, embarrassed smiles, seemed to be embarrassed when he didn't know an answer
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Exhausted after many interviews, thoughtful, with a feeling of compassion and pity for the man

Observation Sheet 8: no observations were noted

Observation Sheet 9

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 9
2. Age	62
3. Gender	female
4. Education	12 years of school

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	29 th of March 2017, 11 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	At the room of the interviewee in the Foyer in Bertrange
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes, the interviewee's son (around 35 years old)
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Not much

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Small room, big windows, big suitcases on the closet, only small bed, something looking like an urn on the table
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	As we were in the room of the interviewee, she seemed to feel comfortable and offered me tea and some cookies
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	“Wise” woman, experienced, she looked older than 62 (at least than people I know), her body seemed tired but her mind was awake She showed me several scars on her body and told me how they happened, she was kidnapped several times as well as her sons, she lost her two other sons
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Moved by her story, sad, but also impressed by her strength and courage, that she has still some hope after all that happened to her

Observation Sheet 10A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 10
2. Age	27
3. Gender	female
4. Education	Yes, bachelor in Sociology

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	29 th of March 12.30 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	45 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the room of the interviewee in the Foyer in Bertrange
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes the interviewee's husband
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes political discussions and about the their housing situation

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Small room, a lot of light, walls are decorated with pictures, MacBook Pro, a shisha in the middle of the room, music playing
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be	The interviewee felt comfortable because we were in her and her husband's room, she offered me shisha

described?	and special Arab coffee
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Educated woman but isn't aware of how much she knows, doesn't want to show her knowledge, I noted that she knows more than she pretends so I had to ask her several times and then she even surprised me with her knowledge (maybe she was also surprised herself), I could see that she enjoyed talking about political and human rights topics, she flourished during our conversation
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	A little bit confused about some of her attitudes towards the government, she seems to expect a lot, has very high demands, she and her husband come from a rich family and to me, they made the impression of being spoiled which affects their expectations towards the government's duties in relation to asylum seekers

Observation Sheet 11

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 11
2. Age	37
3. Gender	male
4. Education	14 years of school in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	29 th of March 2017, 1.30 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	1 hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the interviewee's room in the Foyer in Bertrange
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	The interviewee's wife
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, political discussion and about their housing situation

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Same than Observation Sheet # 10
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	Self- confidence of the interviewee because we were in his room
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Self-confident, less educated than his wife, respects her and treats her equally, she doesn't wear headscarf, laughs a lot, makes jokes, it is hard to ask all the questions because he always distracts
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Same than Observation Sheet # 10, confused, even a little bit angry because they expect so much without doing anything, they have higher expectations towards housing than me, they "just" want a house, a garden, a car, a television but in my opinion they can't expect having all of this, especially not after such a short time

Observation Sheet 12A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 12
2. Age	31
3. Gender	male
4. Education	Bachelor in Economics and Accounting

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	31th of March 2017, 7.30 pm
2. Duration of the interview	One hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In a restaurant in Luxembourg City, Paris Zitha
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes Roz Duman
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, he told us more about his situation, especially about the feeling of having no nationality

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Lively place, nice weather, we were sitting outside, good atmosphere
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	I can't say if he felt comfortable or not, he is a very serious person, thoughtful, he arrived directly after work, so maybe he enjoyed it to be a little bit outside
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Educated, financially independent and in a good situation, self-confident but disappointed of people in Luxembourg, feels lonely, it is hard to find friends, his main goal is to get a nationality, an exhausting fight with bureaucracy
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Touched by his story, thoughtful, how it must be without a nationality, I never thought about the importance of having a nationality, its just something that is written in my passport but it gives me so many possibilities and it is part of my identity even though I didn't think about it before but only because it is so evident for me

Observation Sheet 13A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 13
2. Age	55
3. Gender	female
4. Education	14 years of school in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	31th of March 2017, 2 pm
2. Duration of the interview	45 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the apartment of the interviewee and her husband
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	From time to time, her husband came into the living room
5. Did any more conversation take place after the	Yes, about the food we had for lunch, the role of

interview? What was said (in general)?	women and men in their society but she told me that her husband is different, he helps her in the kitchen
--	---

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Nice apartment, living room, kitchen, balcony and even a small garden where they cultivate fruits, herbs and vegetables, very cleaned up, the television was on the whole time but mute, it showed the news, pictures of war
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	Yes, she felt comfortable, it gave her self-confidence, she was smoking during the interview, offered me tea, cookies, coffee, more cookies and before, I had lunch with the family
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Strong woman, independent, she and her husband have a good relationship, she has strong opinions, says what she thinks, strong voice, many gesticulations, shows compassion and interest in my questions
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	On the one hand moved by the stories she told me on the other hand happy for them because they were so lucky and got a very nice apartment, seem to be integrated, have friends, their garden, different interests and occupations

Observation Sheet 14

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 14
2. Age	21
3. Gender	female
4. Education	Bachelor degree

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	27 th of April 2017, 10 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In the parsonage of a church in Limpertsberg where homeless people, asylum seekers and refugees can go to eat, get into contact with other people and to get help when they have questions concerning the asylum procedure, housing, work, language course etc.
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes other people were sitting in the room but we left the big table and sat on a smaller table aside of the trouble
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No.

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	The social workers and volunteers working there are doing a great job, there is food, coffee, people feel welcomed and can ask their questions
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	I didn't notice any impact.

3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	It is hard to say, the interviewee was very sick and tired, I was grateful that she although answered my questions.
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	I spent more than 3 hours in the church and observed the people coming and going, the sometimes difficult interaction between different cultures and languages, the very engaged and empathic social workers and volunteers, I admire what they are doing and their patience. People are attacking them with questions, they spent the whole morning answering questions but many people didn't seem thankful at all Some people just came to eat a lot and then left without any word Therefore, I was on the one hand hopeful because there are so many people who show compassion and are willing to help but on the other hand I was also disappointed by some ways of behaviour

Observation Sheet 15

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 15
2. Age	22
3. Gender	male
4. Education	9 years of school

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	27 th of April 2017, 11 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	½ an hour
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Same place than Interview # 14
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes, but we were sitting aside on a small table
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No.

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	See Interview # 14
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	No I don't think so.
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Intelligent, thoughtful, shy, scared of something, open-minded, experienced, silent voice
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Moved by his story and his behaviour and impressed of his thoughts and knowledge

Observation Sheet 16A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 16
2. Age	24
3. Gender	male
4. Education	12 years of school

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	27 th of April 2017, 12 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	45 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Same place than interviews # 14 and 15
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes but we were sitting aside on a small table
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	See interviews 14 and 15
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	No, there was nothing I could observe
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Shy, insecure but open-minded, tried to answer my questions in the best way he could
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Somehow optimistic and positively surprised by the willingness of thinking about my questions and finding answers The interviewee spoke French and Spanish, as it was hard for me to understand his French Accent, I tried to conduct the interview in Spanish. It took me a lot of time to translate the questions and luckily a man joined us who spoke Spanish and English fluently and who helped us out

Observation Sheet 17A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 17
2. Age	52
3. Gender	male
4. Education	12 years of school

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	27 th of April 2017, 1 p.m.
2. Duration of the interview	45 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Same place than interviews # 14,15 and 16
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	No, not anymore because everyone already left, only the volunteer but they were in the kitchen cleaning up

5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes about his two sons and his ex-wife
--	--

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	See interviews # 14,15 and 16 But now it was empty, the volunteers were cleaning up, the place is peaceful and calm
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	The interviewee spends a lot of time there, he seemed to feel like at his home, very comfortable and familiar with everything in the room
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Self-confident, made a lot of bad experiences but became strong, now it seems like nothing can bother or hurt him anymore, impressive that he still has a positive way of thinking, was very honest about his personal situation and his family, made some jokes but was also serious and thoughtful
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Moved by his stories and his behaviour and honesty

Observation Sheet 18

A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 18
2. Age	27
3. Gender	male
4. Education	12 years of school in total

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	4 th of May 2017, 11 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	30 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Parsonage of church in Limpertsberg (same than interviews 14 to 17)
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	Yes, other persons were sitting around the big table but they were all having their own conversations
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No.

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	Same than interviews 14 to 14
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	He seemed to be insecure because it was his first time in the parsonage, he didn't know anybody and he obviously didn't feel very comfortable
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Insecure, shy, not very interested in the topics but willing to answer
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Disappointed of the outcome of the interview and the interviewee's disinterest

Observation Sheet 19A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 19
2. Age	39
3. Gender	male
4. Education	8 years of school

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	4 th of May 2017, 12.30 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	20 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	In front of the foyer in the Old Logopédie next to the main hospital in Luxembourg City
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	No
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	No

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	It took me more than an hour to find the place, I knew it was in the building where the Logopédie Centre was before but I could only find the new Logopédie Centre. I walked around the area where all the different parts of the hospital are, I asked many people but most of them didn't know until I found a woman who explained me the way. At the end, I realised that I passed the entrance to the foyer several time and I even could see the building but it looked like a construction site, I didn't expect people living there and I even didn't think about the possibility that this could be the Foyer. When I finally arrived, too late of course, the responsible woman was in her lunch break and the security men didn't let me in until she was back and confirmed that I had a meeting with an asylum seeker. The security men were full of mistrust and unfriendly. The building is very old, shabby, the rooms are small and there is not much light
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	The interviewee didn't seem comfortable at this place
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Insecure, shy, reserved, afraid to give "wrong" answers, seemed embarrassed but still made the impression that he wanted to help me
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Moved by the insecurity of the interviewee

Observation Sheet 20A. Information on Interviewee

1. Number assigned to interviewee	# 20
2. Age	38

3. Gender	male
4. Education	High school (12 years of school in total)

B. Information on Interview

1. Date and time of the interview	12 th of May 2017, 11 a.m.
2. Duration of the interview	90 minutes
3. Place where the interview was conducted	Foyer Old Maternity Centre Luxembourg City
4. Where there other persons present besides the interviewee?	No
5. Did any more conversation take place after the interview? What was said (in general)?	Yes, the interviewee introduced me to his wife and his little daughter, we were talking about their housing situation in the foyer, they showed me their small room, the shared toilets and bathrooms

C. General observations and description of interview situation

1. What are the general observations regarding the place where the interview took place?	The security man gave us the key to the so called "study room". It consists of an out-of-service kitchen, a dirty, sticky table and some very old chairs The whole centre still smells like a hospital, it is very dirty, there is no nice room where people could sit and meet, nothing that makes one feel welcomed or at home
2. Did the place of the interview have any impact on the interview itself? If yes, how can this impact be described?	As we were in the foyer, the interviewee could show me what the housing problems exactly are, he gave me a tour and complained about the condition of the centre
3. What are the general observations regarding the interviewee? Include observations regarding non-verbal behaviour.	Self-confident, disappointed, educated and thoughtful but caught in the traditional structures and ways of thinking of his religion and society In some points, very progressive, in others extremely traditional and patriarchal
4. How did the interviewer leave the interview place? What were her experiences and feelings?	Moved by the story he told me and by the encounter with his wife and small daughter but also full of anger and the urgent need to help him

Appendix 11: Quality Control Interviews

Quality Control Interview # 1

General Information

1. Quality Control Interview Number	1
2. Place/ Date	Old Maternity Centre/ 08.06.2017
3. Interviewee	Responsible at Old Maternity Centre, working there since one year and a half, does not want her name to be mentioned

Main Questions

1. Please, could you tell me about your experiences you made since you are working here related to the asylum seekers and refugees, the asylum system in Luxembourg, problems, anything that comes into your mind.	
2. What would you say is working well, what is not?	The cooperation with other institutions can be very difficult sometimes. We have our possibilities but also our limitations, our borders in which we can act. We try to do the best, but for some it is not the best but only the least. We have to file applications for everything, even with evidences etc. When somebody wants to change room or centre, it has to have very good reasons such as medical reasons. But we need proves for everything. We try to fulfil all the needs but its not always possible.
3. In your opinion, what are the asylum seekers' and ' strongest needs?	<p>Firstly, an own bathroom. For most of them, this is very important. Here, in this centre, some of them have a private bathroom, others have not. This often leads to conflicts between the inhabitants of this centre. In other centres, it is not an issue because the option for a private bathroom does not exist at all.</p> <p>Secondly, the food. People want to cook themselves, they want to cook in their style or to cook for their children. Right now, the food is delivered, it is everywhere the same. Some children even refuse the food here. Until two months ago, we had a cooperation with an institution nearby. Who was interested could go there twice a week and cook. But unfortunately, the institution moved to another place and now it is too far away.</p> <p>Because of security standards, it is not allowed to cook here. This building is even not supposed to exist anymore. There are very high security standards, we cannot do anything against it.</p> <p>We always try to fulfil the needs of the refugees but its not always possible, also because of these security standards. This also affects the size of rooms. The rooms with bathroom are smaller. Some families say they would prefer their own bathroom instead of more space to sleep. But we cannot put a five member family with three children in a small room because of security standards. If anything happens to the children, it is our responsibility.</p> <p>Yes, I think the bathrooms and toilets are another important need. Especially women, and women with young children wished to have their private bathroom. If one of the children has to go to the toilet during the</p>

	<p>night, for example, the mother has to get dressed and to put her Hijab.</p> <p>What else is important to them...centrality. They don't want to live far away of the city. They are afraid of being alone somewhere in the nowhere.</p> <p>For many people it is also very important to have a room for themselves. Especially who come alone, don't want to share their room with anybody else.</p> <p>Another issue is the cleaning. We have cleaning ladies but even though each inhabitant of the centre has to clean twice a week. There are always conflicts about this issue. We are very flexible and spend hours to make a timetable for cleaning and to respect each person's appointments and daily routine, so they can clean when they have time, for example in the evening. But, honestly we have more important things to do.</p>
4. Would you say that the government would be able to fulfil those needs?	<p>It was easier before this refugee storm began. It was easier to be fair and to satisfy all people's needs. But now, I really don't want to be at the place of Holai (in der Haut stecken).</p> <p>It also has political reasons, the government is also bound by many borders. For example the communities who defend themselves against new built refugee camps. The government needs to negotiate with them over a long time and then try to find a compromise.</p>
5. Would you say that there is a discrepancy between what the government perceives as the asylum seekers' and ' most important needs and what their needs actually are?	<p>I think the government is aware of the basic needs of refugees but they were not prepared. It is easier to say, the could if they wanted to, its just a matter of money but I, personally, don't think so. There are many other factors that affect the government's decisions.</p>
6. About the right consciousness of asylum seekers and refugees: does it happen that asylum seekers or argue using the argument "it is my right that...?"	<p>No, not very often. And if yes, it's non-sense. Such as "I have the right to my own room". Their argumentation is more about injustice than justice (Unrecht vs. Recht). They feel treated unjustly.</p> <p>Still, I think most of the refugees know their rights very well, sole because of their experiences. Of course, there are many cultural differences. The rights of the child, for example, are not respected very well by many refugees. We have a lot of cases of violence against children. This is not acceptable. But this is more about the laws here. In general, if its about rights, it is more about that they don't feel treated equally to others.</p>

Quality Control Interview # 2

General Information

1. Quality Control Interview Number	2
2. Place/Date	Eglise Saint Joseph/1 st of June 2017
3. Interviewee	Volunteer, doesn't want to mention her name

Main Questions

1. Please, could you tell me about your experiences you made since you are working here related to the asylum seekers and refugees, the asylum system in Luxembourg, problems, anything that comes into your	<p>Oh, I work here since a long time, 5 years or no, even more. People come here and ask me for help, not only asylum seekers but also homeless people. We do our best but sometimes there is nothing to help, especially</p>
--	---

mind.	in the asylum process. I am not a lawyer.
2. What would you say is working well, what is not?	The housing and working situation is not good. It is very hard for to find employment but most of the landlords want someone with RMG. It's a vicious circle. And there are so many economical migrants coming here, from North Africa. They already spent time in Spain or Italy but there, it's nearly impossible for them to find work. Why nobody is helping economical migrants? I think you should also interview them, not only the people fleeing from war.
3. In your opinion, what are the asylum seekers' and ' strongest needs?	I would say it's finding work, then finding an apartment, move in with their families or unite the family if members are not yet in Luxembourg and then to live a normal life, they call it like this.
4. Would you say that the government would be able to fulfil those needs?	Yes I am sure it is not so difficult for them as they pretend. Luxembourg is one of the richest countries in the world, so why do refugees have to live in those old centres? They could invest more money and also break down some bureaucratic borders. Most of the people don't want the refugees in this country and this is why they make it so hard to stay. Of course, there are some things the government is doing well. For example, the language courses. But for people coming here in this church, the language is not important, most of them already speak French. For them, work and housing are the most important things.
5. Would you say that there is a discrepancy between what the government perceives as the asylum seekers' and ' most important needs and what their needs actually are?	No, I think the government knows very well what those people need. At first, they just have basic needs and then it's work and a place to live. It could be so easy to fulfil basic needs such as the toilets. It is impossible that the government don't manage to provide toilets in each centre that are in the house and not somewhere outside! Imagine, you as a woman, you know how it is and then you have to go outside during the night and some woman even have to put the hijab.
6. About the right consciousness of asylum seekers and refugees: does it happen that asylum seekers or argue using the argument "it is my right that..."?	Yes but not very often. They say, it's my right to have an apartment, for example, but in most of the cases they say, something is unfair or they feel treated differently, they feel they don't have the same rights as others, so they perceive it as unjust.

VI. Bibliography

Annan, Kofi (1997): 50th anniversary year of the human rights declaration. In: United Nations (2017). Meetings and Press Releases. Press Release SG/SM/6414 OBV/32. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/1997-12-10/universal-declaration-human-rights-enshrines-and-illuminates-global>.

An-Na`Im, Abdullahi (1990): Islam, Islamic Law and the Dilemma of Cultural Legitimacy for Universal Human Rights. In: Welch, Claude E./Virginia A. Leary (eds.): Asian Perspectives on Human Rights. Colorado, Westview Boulder, 37-50.

An-Na`im, Abdullahi (1995): Human rights in Cross-Cultural Perspectives. A Quest for Consensus. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

Asselborn, Jean (2015): Es ist nie genug. In: Luxembourger Wort (edt.) (2017): Syrische Flüchtlinge in Luxembourg angekommen. Retrieved from <https://www.wort.lu/de/politik/empfang-am-flughafen-findel-syrische-fluechtlinge-in-Luxembourg-angekommen-5548c0180c88b46a8ce58aa6>.

Asselborn, Jean (2017): Prioritäten setzen. In: Luxembourger Wort (edt.) (2017): Schumacher, Dani: Bereits 522 Asylwerber in 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.wort.lu/de/politik/fluechtlingspolitik-bereits-522-asylbewerber-in-2017-58ab30bca5e74263e13aae9c>.

Atkinson, Rowland/John Flint (2001): Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-Reach Populations. Snowball Research Strategies. In: Social Research Update, Issue 33, University of Surrey. Retrieved from <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU33.pdf>.

Baxi, Uprenda (2008): The Future of Human Rights. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Bayrischer Rundfunk (2017): Hanna und Ismail. In: Bayrischer Rundfunk: Hanna-und-Ismail 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.hanna-und-ismail.de>.

Bervard, Laurence (2017): Flüchtlinge in Luxembourg: Was klappt, was nicht? In: Luxemburger Wort Online (2017). Retrieved from <https://wortonline.atavist.com/fluechtlinge>.

Bielefeldt, Heiner (1998): Philosophie der Menschenrechte. Grundlagen eines weltweiten Freiheitsethos. Darmstadt, Primus Verlag.

Bilger, Veronika/Ilse van Liempt (2009): Methodological and ethical dilemmas in research among smuggled migrants. In: Van Liempt, Ilse/Veronika Bilger (eds): The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology. Dealing with Vulnerable Migrants. Sussex Academic Press, 118-140.

Bloch, Alice (1999): Carrying out a Survey of Refugees. Some Methodological Considerations and Guidelines. In: Journal of Refugee Studies, 12 (4): 367-383.

Bloch, Alice (2004): Survey Research with Refugees. A Methodological Perspective. In: Policy Studies, 25 (2): 139-151.

Brems, Eva (2001): *Human Rights: Universality and Diversity*. The Hague, Kluwer Law International.

Brems, Eva/Ellen Desmet (2014): Studying human rights law from the perspective of its users. In: *Human Rights and International Legal Discourse 2014*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 111-292.

Brems, Eva/Ellen Desmet/Wouter Vandenhole (2017): *Children's Rights Law in the Global Human Rights Landscape. Isolation, Inspiration, Integration?* Oxon, Routledge.

Brennan, Denise (2005): Methodological Challenges in Research with Trafficked Persons. *Tales from the Field*. In: *International Migration*, 43 (1-2): 35-54.

Brudholm, Thomas (2001): Conviction and Critique: Addressing the Sceptic. In: Hastrup, Kirsten (edt.): *Human Rights on Common Grounds. The Quest for Universality*. The Hague, Kluwer Law International 2001, 25-37.

Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2014): *Tri-Council Policy Statement. Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. Retrieved from www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2-2014/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf.

Chen, Jingrong/Ellen Desmet/Koen de Feyter (2016): The Right to Education of Rural-Urban Migrant Households in Chongqing, China. In: de Feyter, Koen/Desmet, Ellen (eds.): *Localizing Human Rights Working Paper Series No. 3*. Antwerp, University of Antwerp 2016 Retrieved from https://www.uantwerpen.be/images/uantwerpen/container2621/files/LHR%20series%20no%203_The%20Right%20to%20Education%20of%20Rural-Urban%20Migrant%20Households%20in%20Chongqing%20China.pdf.

Dahinden, Janine/Denise Efiionayi-Mäder (2009): Challenges and strategies in empirical fieldwork with asylum seekers and migrant sex workers. In: Van Liempt, Ilse/Veronika Bilger (eds): *The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology. Dealing with Vulnerable Migrants*. Sussex Academic Press, 98-118.

De Feyter, Koen (2006): *Localizing Human Rights*. In: University of Antwerp: Discussion Paper 2006.02. Retrieved from <https://repository.uantwerpen.be/desktop/irua/core/index.phtml?language=&euser=&session=&service=opacirua&robot=&deskservice=desktop&desktop=irua&workstation=&extra=loi=c:irua:97986>.

De Feyter, Koen (2007): *Localising Human Rights*. In: Benedek, Wolfgang/Koen de Feyter/Fabrizio Marrella (eds.): *Economic Globalisation and Human Rights*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 67- 92.

De Feyter, Koen/Stephan Paramentier (2011): Introduction: Reconsidering Human Rights from below. In: de Feyter, Koen/Stephan Paramentier/Christiane Timmerman/George Ulrich (eds.): *The Local Relevance of Human Rights*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1-10.

Desmet, Ellen (2014): Analysing user's trajectories in human rights: a conceptual exploration and research agenda. In: *Human Rights & International Legal Discourse*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 121-141.

Donnelly, Jack (1989): *Universal human rights in theory & practice*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Donnelly, Jack (1984): Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights. In *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 400-419. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/762182.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A9b41ad37e40c9fcb83a1292dd321b629>.

Eurostat (2016): *Statistics Explained*. Retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Main_Page.

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017): *Fundamental Rights Report 2017*. Retrieved from <http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2017/fundamental-rights-report-2017>.

Glaser, Barney G./Anselm L. Strauss (2006): *The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New Brunswick, Aldine Transaction Publishers.

Gearty, Conor (2006): *Can Human Rights survive?* In: *The Hamlyn Lectures*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Gómez Isa, Felipe (2011): Freedom from want revisited from a local perspective: evolutions and challenges ahead. In: de Feyter, Koen/Stephan Parmentier/Christiane Timmerman/George Ulrich (eds.): *The Local Relevance of Human Rights*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 40-82.

Habermas, Jürgen (2010): Das Konzept der Menschenwürde und die realistische Utopie der Menschenrechte. In: *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*. Jg. 58, H. 3, 343-357.

Hastrup, Kirsten (2001): The Quest for Universality. An Introduction. In: Hastrup, Kirsten (ed.): *Human Rights on Common Grounds. The Quest for Universality*. The Hague, Kluwer Law International, 5-23.

Hathaway, Oona A. (2002): Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference? In: *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 111, No. 8, 1935-2042.

Hunt, Lynn (2007): *Inventing Human Rights. A History*. New York, W.W. Norton & Company.

Hynes, Tricia (2003): The issue of trust or mistrust in research with refugees. Choices, caveats and considerations for researchers. In: UNCHR Working Paper No. 98. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3fcb5cee1/issue-trust-mistrust-research--choices-caveats-considerations-researchers.html>.

Ibhawoh, Bonny (2004): Restraining Universalism: Africanist Perspectives on Cultural Relativism in the Human Rights Discourse. In: Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe/Philip J. McConaughay (eds.): *Human Rights, the Rule of Law, and Development in Africa*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 21-29.

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969). In: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx>.

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). In: United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx>.

Jacobsen, Karen/Loren Landau (2003): The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research. Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration. In: *Disasters* 27 (3): 185-206.

Kant, Immanuel (1793): Die Methaphysik der Sitten. In: Bonner Kant-Korpus (eds.) (2007). Retrieved from <https://korpora.zim.uni-duisburg-essen.de/kant/aa06/Inhalt6.html>.

Kjoerum, Morten (2001): Universal Human Rights: Between the Local and the Global. In: Hastrup, Kirsten (ed.): *Human Rights on Common Grounds. The Quest for Universality*. The Hague, Kluwer Law International, 75-89.

Lauth, Hans-Joachim/Gert Pickel/Susanne Pickel (2009): *Methoden der vergleichenden Politikwissenschaft. Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Luxemburger Wort (2016): Flüchtlingszahlen 2015 stark gestiegen. Retrieved from <https://www.wort.lu/de/politik/Luxembourg-fluechtlingszahlen-2015-stark-gestiegen-56b329520da165c55dc52626>.

Markova, Eugenia (2009): The Insider Position: Ethical Dilemmas and Methodological Concerns in Researching Undocumented Migrants with the Same Ethnic Background. In: Van Liempt, Ilse/Veronika Bilger (eds.): *The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology. Dealing with Vulnerable Migrants*. Sussex Academic Press, 141-155.

McKenna, John (2014): Should cooking be a human right? In: *The Guardian Online* (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2014/aug/11/should-cooking-be-a-human-right>.

Merry, Sally Engle (2006): *Human Rights & Gender Violence. Translating International Law Into Local Justice*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Mutua, Makau (2002): *Human Rights. A Political and Cultural Critique*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Narayan, Deepa/Raj Patel/Kai Schafft/Anne Rademacher/Sarah Koch (2000): *Voices of the Poor. Can Anyone Hear us? Voices from 47 Countries*. In: The World Bank (2017). Retrieved from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/131441468779067441/pdf/multi0page.pdf>.

Nyamu-Musembi, Celestine/Andrea Cornwell (2004): What is the Rights Based Approach all about? Perspectives from International Development Agencies. In: Institute of Development Studies, Working Paper No. 234, Brighton (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.ids.ac.uk/publication/what-is-the-rights-based-approach-all-about-perspectives-from-international-development-agencies>.

Oomen, Barbara (2016): NOW Vici proposal. Retrieved from:
<http://www.ucr.nl/vici/Documents/Vici%20Project%20Proposal.pdf>.

Oré Aguilar, Gaby (2008): The Local Relevance of Human Rights: A Methodological Approach. In: University of Antwerp: Discussion Paper 2008.04. Retrieved from
<https://www.ua.ac.be/objs/00172205.pdf>.

Phillips, Derek L./ Kevin J. Clancy (1972): Some Effects of “Social Desirability“ in Survey Studies. In: Survey Studies. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 77 (5), 921-940. Retrieved from:
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2776929.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae921979d40684c8e3d9be9707075a9bd>.

Ray, Ranita/Bandana Purkayastha (2012): Challenges in Localizing Global Human Rights. In: Societies Without Borders Vol. 7 Issue 1, 29-51. Retrieved from
<http://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=swb>.

Przyborski, Aglaja/Monika Wohlrab-Sahr (2014): Qualitative Sozialforschung. Ein Arbeitsbuch. Oldenburg Wissenschafts Verlag.

Rosenberg, Alexandra (2008): The Integration of Dispersed Asylum Seekers in Glasgow. In: Edinburgh Research Archive (2017): Retrieved from:
<https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/3436/Rosenberg2008.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>.

Schaffer, Johan Karlsson/Andreas Follesdal/Geir Ulfstein (2014): International human rights and the challenge of legitimacy. In: Schaffer, Johan Karlsson/Andreas Follesdal/Geir Ulfstein (eds.): The Legitimacy of International Human Rights Regimes. Legal, Political and Philosophical Perspectives. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Skurbaty, Zelim (2001): Instant Paradigm Shifts: Globalising Human Rights? In: Hastrup, Kirsten (ed.): Human Rights on Common Grounds. The Quest for Universality. The Hague, Kluwer Law International, 91-116.

Staring, Richard (2009): Different methods to research irregular migration. In: Van Liempt, Ilse/Veronika Bilger (eds.): The Ethics of Migration Research Methodology. Dealing with Vulnerable Migrants. Sussex Academic Press, 83-98.

Statista (2017): Europäische Union: Anzahl der erstmaligen Asylbewerber in den Mitgliedstaaten in 2016. Retrieved from:
<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/459422/umfrage/asylbewerber-in-den-laendern-der-eu/>.

Tait, Kirsteen (2011): Refugee voices as evidence in policy and practice. In Temple, Bogusia/Rhett Moran (eds.): Doing Research with Refugees. Issues and Guidelines. Bristol, The Policy Press, 133- 153.

Ulrich, George (2001): Universal Human Rights: An Unfinished Project. In: Hastrup, Kirsten (ed.): Human Rights on Common Grounds. The Quest for Universality. The Hague, Kluwer Law International, 195-223.

Ulrich, George (2011): Epilogue: widening the perspective on the local relevance of human rights. In: de Feyter, Koen/Stephan Paramentier/Christiane Timmerman/George Ulrich (eds.): *The Local Relevance of Human Rights*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 337- 361.

UNHCR Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>.

UNHCR (2017): Operational Portal. Refugee Situations. Retrieved from: http://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean?id=248#_ga=2.28931833.457986289.1498813694-100483209.1477225853.

Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization International Conference Report (1993): *Self-Determination in Relation to Individual Human Rights, Democracy and the Protection of the Environment*. In: Unrepresented Nations Organization (2017). Retrieved from: <http://unpo.org/downloads/Self-determination%20conference%201993.pdf>.

Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe (2004): *The Struggle for Human Rights in Africa*. In: Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe/Philip J. McConaughay (eds.): *Human Rights, the Rule of Law, and Development in Africa*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1-18.