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THE CASE OF RHINELAND-PALATINATE AND KAISERSLAUTERN

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Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Lutz Eichholz and Annette Spellerberg

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AND KAISERSLAUTERN

Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Lutz Eichholz
and Annette Spellerberg

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1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the Federal Republic of Germany has been the most significant destination for asylum-related migration in the European Union (EU). Asylum-related migrants are those who left their country of origin to search for better life in a country that is safe and usually provides better economic opportunities. Most of these migrants sought asylum; however, not all needed international protection. There is a continuum between forced and voluntary migration and the categorization and categories of migrants are very context-dependent.

During 2015, almost 1.3 million asylum-related migrants came to the EU, and Germany received hundreds of thousands of them. Later, the number of new asylum-related migrants in Germany declined, and became rather regular from 2017 onward, in particular because it became increasingly difficult to reach Europe. However, the number of new asylum seekers number is still considerable annually in Germany, with well over 100,000 people in the country. Recently, most new asylum seekers in Germany originate from Syria, Iraq and Nigeria, followed by Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan (BAMF 2019a).

Asylum-related migration became very complex in the EU during the 2010s. The sudden rapid growth in the number of migrants led to situations in which countries could not regulate the entrance and departure of migrants. Soon, many countries started to tighten their migration and asylum policies (e.g. Hungary, Italy and Germany; see Burmann & Valeyatheepillay 2017) and prevent irregular migration. For example, in 2018, Germany introduced biometric language analysis, facial recognition and other tools to clarify aspects regarding the identity of the asylum applicants and their country of origin (European Migration Network 2019: 28).

In addition, the EU negotiated with the main transit countries, such as Turkey and Libya, to prevent the arrival of migrants to the EU. This resulted continuing decrease in the arrivals of irregular migrants (European Migration Network, 2019: 8). Some scholars argue that the EU wants to partially externalize the asylum-seeker and refugee issues and costs to countries outside the EU, as implied by the 2016 EU–Turkey agreement (Bialasiewicz & Maessen 2018; Faist 2018).

Many asylum-related migrants are escaping conflicts and war in their home region, for example, in Syria and Afghanistan. Others are fleeing challenging political situations in their home country, such as Turkey or Iran. Therefore, many migrants have reasons to be afraid to reside in their home country. In Germany in 2018–2019, approximately one third of the asylum applications led to refugee status or subsidiary protection, thus accepting that the applicant had faced individual danger and threat to live, and to the applicant was given usually a permanent residence permit (BAMF 2019a).

However, after 2016, it became more challenging for an asylum-related migrant to travel through Europe to Germany to ask for asylum there. Usually asy-

lum-related migrants arrive at the European fringes (such as Greece, Spain or Italy) and are registered there as asylum seekers according to the EU migration and asylum policies. However, some of them continue their travel to Germany to ask for asylum there. Such activity (asking for asylum in many countries) is prevented in the EU asylum policy with the Dublin Regulation. According to this regulation, the asylum application is processed only in one member state and that is the applicant's first state of arrival inside the EU in which s/he asks for asylum (European Parliament 2013). In fact, in 2018–2019, approximately one third of the asylum applications in Germany were 'Dublin cases', i.e. from people whose asylum applications needed to be processed in an EU member state other than Germany (BAMF 2019a). Therefore, such applications were disapproved, and, in principle, these people should have been returned to the country in which their application should have been processed. However, in practice, it is difficult or impossible to transfer these people back, so many remain in Germany as tolerated migrants or without the authorities' consent as irregular or undocumented migrants. These are people who do not have a proper right to reside in the territory of a given state (in this case Germany) and whose presence the authorities do not accept.

Many people try to reach Europe and Germany to find better livelihoods and economic situations compared with their country of origin. They might try first as asylum seekers, and if they fail, they then try to legalize their presence through other means that vary in different EU member states. In 2018–2019, approximately one third of the asylum applications in Germany were rejected, i.e. the persons did not meet the criteria for international protection (BAMF 2019b). Therefore, these people – in principle – had to either leave Germany or find other ways to remain in the country legally, or to reside in Germany as undocumented migrants with only limited rights. Some national authorities call these illegal migrants.

In all, some migrants in Germany have thus gained a residence permit (of different temporal length from a few months to permanent right of residence), others are in the asylum process (that lasts from a few months to a few years) and some are undocumented (irregular) migrants who should leave Germany but still remain in the country. In addition, Germany received hundreds of thousands of labour-related immigrants in the 2010s who did not go through the asylum processes. All these migrants have an important effect on the social and economic development of many cities, towns and rural areas in Germany. In addition, their integration into Germany is of local, national and international interest.

1.1 Research project

This research report focuses on refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in Germany, Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern. It was conduct-

ed as part of the activities of the research consortium Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration (URMI, see www.urmi.fi). The research was funded by the Strategic Research Council at the Academy of Finland and led by Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, from the Geography Section at the University of Turku, Finland.

The broader migration-related research project of URMI is about the asylum processes and everyday life in and near the countries of origin of the asylum seekers, refugees and migrants; during their asylum journeys toward destination countries; and in the destination countries.

One scope of this broader URMI research project has been to study the everyday lives of the refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in and near the countries of origin and in the transit/host countries. Our research focused on Iran, Turkey and Jordan. Iran is a major site hosting one million Afghan refugees and about 1.5 million regular and undocumented Afghan migrants (see Jauhiainen & Eyvazlu 2018). Turkey is a major site for almost 4 million Syrian refugees and undocumented migrants, as well as a source of asylum seekers (see Jauhiainen 2018). Jordan is a major site for almost 700,000 Syrian refugees and half a million Syrian migrants and undocumented migrants (see Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2018).

The distinction between a transit country and a host country has become blurred as many scholars have argued and as our studies in Turkey and Iran empirically illustrate. Earlier, the definition of a transit country was a country between the country of origin and the country of destination in which migrants stayed temporarily, up to one year (see Düvell 2006). However, nowadays, the intention to travel farther or to return from such a country is also considered, which makes the concept of transit flexible. Asylum-related migration can also consist of different stages. When deep political, economic or environmental challenges occur in one country, many residents of that country seek immediate safety in neighbouring countries (Abela et al. 2019). Despite many initially thinking they will return soon, their stays become longer, from a few months to even decades, and some never return. Some start to integrate into the host society, while others try to move farther, as our research shows, for example, regarding Syrian refugees and migrants in Jordan (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2018) and Turkey (Jauhiainen 2018). The initial transit country might gradually become a host country and the country of permanent residence, as indicated by our study of Afghans in Iran (Jauhiainen & Eyvazlu 2018). In general, the protracted refugee crises have become longer, extending even up to decades (Culbertson et al. 2016).

Another aspect of the URMI research project has been to conduct research in asylum-seeker hotspots at the external borders of the EU. The two cases for the empirical field research were the islands of Lesbos (Greece) and Lampedusa (Italy). In the 2010s, especially in 2015–2016, Lesbos and Lampedusa were key entry points to the EU for hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers (Jauhiainen

2017c; Jauhiainen 2017d). Since the spring of 2016, the border control along the EU external borders has become stricter. Accordingly, asylum-related migrants changed their routes toward Europe. The eastern route between Turkey and Greece changed to the central route between Libya and Italy. When the government of Italy started to strongly prevent the arrival of asylum seekers and rescue boats, in 2018, the migrants moved in farther to the western route, from Algeria and Morocco to Spain. In general, the number of arrivals across the Mediterranean has declined substantially, i.e. in 2018 it was 13.8% of the peak number in the year of 2015 (1,027,594). The decline continued later: arrivals across the Mediterranean in January–June 2019 were 36,290, 63% of the number in the same period one year earlier (UNHCR 2019b). The decline in the passages through the Central Mediterranean route was 80–90% (European Migration Network, 2019: 8).

After 2015, it soon became evident that the administrative asylum processes in the EU were not adept to absorb the large number of asylum seekers. The result was that the asylum processes became slower. The asylum-seeker hot-spots initially meant for a short stay changed into sites where asylum seekers remain for long periods of time; in the reception camps in Lesbos, some even stay for years (Jauhiainen 2017c). Moreover, many migrants remain stuck in transit for years, even decades, as they search for the legal right to stay in a safe place that can provide a livelihood for them (see Picozza 2017). In addition, the asylum-seeking journeys have become cyclical and circular, going back and forth between the origin and destination (Erdal & Oeppen 2018).

A further scope of the URMI research project has been to study the asylum-related migrants in their destination countries, in particular Finland (see Jauhiainen 2017a; 2017b; Jauhiainen 2018; Jauhiainen et al. 2018; Jauhiainen & Tedeschi, 2019) and Germany (see this report). Compared with Germany, in Finland, the absolute number of asylum-related migrants has been small. In 2015, Finland received 32,477 asylum applications, whereas Germany received 476,649 (BAMF 2016). One particularity was that by number of Iraqi asylum seekers, Germany was the first and Finland was the second country in the EU. In 2018, the amount of new asylum applications was 2,409 in Finland (8% of the number in 2015) and 185,853 in Germany (39% of the number in 2015) (BAMF 2019a; Finnish Migration Service 2019). Despite the large differences in the absolute numbers, the proportional amount of asylum applications per total population of the country illustrates smaller differences. In 2015, the number of asylum applications constituted 0.6% that of Finland's population and 0.6% that of Germany's population; in 2018, these numbers declined to 0.1% in Finland and 0.2% in Germany (BAMF 2019a; Finnish Migration Service 2019). In 2015–2018, Finland made 51,471 decisions regarding asylum, of which 16,143 (31.4%) granted the applicant international or subsidiary protection in Finland. In the same years, Germany

made 1,798,760 decisions regarding asylum, of which 916,958 (51.0%) granted the applicant international or subsidiary protection in Germany (Bundeszentrale... 2019). In both countries, the number of undocumented migrants grew after 2015. However, the legislation on undocumented migrants is stricter in Finland than in Germany. This creates particular challenges for undocumented migrants to legalize their position (for example, through employment) in Finland (Jauhiainen et al., 2018; Spencer 2018; Jauhiainen & Tedeschi, 2019).

This research report about refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants in Germany (with a specific focus on Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern) briefly illustrates the general background of the research project (see above), key concepts related to asylum-related migration (see Chapter 2), the recent development of asylum-related migration and processes in Germany (see Chapter 3) and the empirical findings from the fieldwork in 2019 (see Chapter 4), as well as the conclusions of the research (see Chapter 5). We also provide a summary of the research in several languages used by the asylum-related migrants.

We are grateful to all people who took part in the research. In addition, a number of research assistants provided invaluable help in the collection, translation and analysis of the material. In particular, we thank Petteri Savolainen and Olli Haapanen. In the report, Jussi S. Jauhiainen was the main author of Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5, and Lutz Eichholz and Annette Spellerberg were the main authors of Chapter 3. All authors commented the whole text and are solely responsible for the interpretation of the results.

1.2 Research questions

The main research questions in this research report are the following:

1. What kinds of asylum-related migrants (refugees, people with a temporary residence permit, asylum seekers, non-deportable former asylum seekers and undocumented migrants) live in Germany, in particular in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern?
2. What are the everyday lives of asylum-related migrants like in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern?
3. What are the migration wishes and plans of asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern?
4. How and for what reasons do asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern use the Internet and social media?

The research questions are answered based on the empirical material collected during the field research in the spring and summer of 2019 (see Section 1.3

below). In addition, earlier research and statistics on migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in Germany are utilized. Asylum-related migrants responded according to their own views; the results indicate both their perspectives and our interpretation of them.

1.3 Research material and methods

The design of this research was supported by many earlier studies that provided information about refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in Germany; in particular, an earlier study in Kaiserslautern, Kusel and Mainz consisted of 36 qualitative interviews with refugees and experts working with refugees (see Eichholz & Spellerberg 2019). To select specific sites, the authors of this report visited the potential research sites in Kaiserslautern and the reception camp in Kusel in August 2018. Prior to the survey, they also organized one workshop at the Technical University of Kaiserslautern in August 2018. Nine stakeholders related to asylum seekers, six scientists working in the field of migration and two refugees took part.

The original empirical field material – a semi-structured survey among asylum-related migrants – for this report was collected in Rhineland-Palatinate at single accommodations and shared accommodation units in Kaiserslautern and the reception camp in Kusel in April–June, 2019. In total, 290 respondents were included in the sample. To conduct the survey and the study, the heads of the shared accommodations, the city of Kaiserslautern and the manager of Camp Kusel provided invaluable assistance, as did respondents who took part in the research by providing their answers. We are thankful to all those who responded to the survey and assisted in the conduct of the study.

In March 2019, around 390 asylum seekers were registered in Kaiserslautern's shared accommodations, including The Post, a large former post office building in the city's downtown. The number above includes minors, who did not take part in the survey. The field study was conducted at these sites (see Figure 1.1) on 6–11 April, 2019, by Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Lutz Eichholz, Annette Spellerberg and an Arabic interpreter. In total, 80 respondents from shared accommodations were included in the final sample.

In addition, there are asylum-related migrants living in apartments in Kaiserslautern. These are mostly asylum seekers, but some of them came to Germany without seeking asylum. In total, we conducted the survey in Kaiserslautern neighbourhoods (53 of 292 streets), in which 53% of people from Syria, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Somalia and Eritrea live. Migrants and asylum seekers residing elsewhere in Kaiserslautern were not included in our sample. The field study was conducted at these sites (see Figure 1.1) on 6 May–6 June, 2019, by Lutz Eichholz with the help of eight local assistants. In total, 135 respondents living in apartments were included in the final sample.

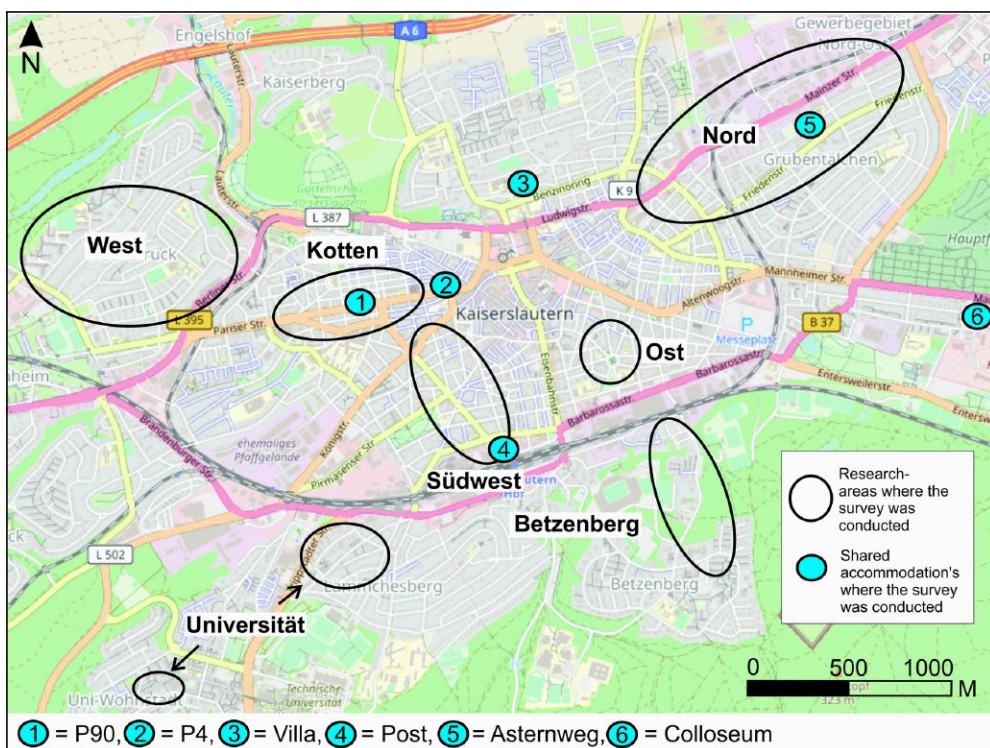


Figure 1.1. Study areas in Kaiserslautern, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany. Map modified from OpenStreetMaps.

The reception camp in Kusel is located 2 km away from the municipality centre, at 40 kilometers from Kaiserslautern. The camp encompasses 630 places. At the time of our survey in April 2019, approximately 400 asylum seekers were registered there. This number includes minors, who did not take part in the survey. The study was conducted at that site (see Figure 1.2) on 6–11 April, 2019, by Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Lutz Eichholz, Annette Spellerberg and an Arabic interpreter. In total, 75 respondents living in the reception camp were included in the final sample.

Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Lutz Eichholz and Annette Spellerberg organized the survey in practice. The structure of the questionnaire followed the earlier surveys conducted in the URMI research project (see Section 1.1). The survey comprised 98 questions, of which 65 were structural, eight were semi-open and 25 were open questions. There were questions about the demographic and educational backgrounds of the respondents, about their migration to Germany and migration wishes and plans, about their employment in the country of origin and Germany, various issues about their everyday life and about their Internet and social media use. The questionnaires were translated into Arabic, English, Farsi, French, German, Somali, Turkish, Sorani Kurdish and Tigrinya.

lated migrants were living, we also left some empty questionnaires in case those migrants who were not there when we visited wanted to fill them in or if someone wanted to fill them in without our presence nearby. The majority of respondents had a positive view of the survey, and many felt that answering was an empowering experience. Therefore, very few migrants denied to answer, and in these cases, the most common reasons were that they were busy with important activities, they had appointments with other people or they did not believe that such surveys would help them to reach their own goals (such as receiving a permanent residence permit).

Our intention was to gather a diverse group of asylum-related migrants who had migrated from the country of origin to Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany. The sample included former asylum seekers with permanent residence permits (i.e. refugees with international protection status in Germany and those who had received permanent residence based on subsidiary protection), who made up 129 persons (45% of the sample). We also included people who had received a temporary (1–3 years) residence permit (often Syrians), who made up 6% of the sample (16 persons). Asylum seekers were those who had asked for asylum in Germany and were in the asylum process. They made 21% of the sample (59 persons). People with a renewable short fixed-term residence or stay permit (including so-called *Duldung*, up to 6 months) were also involved, and they constituted 19% of the sample (53 persons). Furthermore, we included undocumented migrants who failed in the asylum process in Germany, were not processed in Germany or never tried the asylum process but entered and/or stayed in Germany without the necessary permit. They made up 10% of the sample (27 persons). Of the respondents, 215 (74%) lived in Kaiserslautern and 75 (26%) lived in Camp Kusel.

We knew the exact number of asylum-related migrants in Camp Kusel and basic information about their demographic and ethnic backgrounds. Our sample (75 persons) included about one out of five (19%) of all migrants at Camp Kusel (about 21% of the adult population) and is representative of the camp's context in April 2019. However, the situation in the camp changes continuously; new migrants are taken in and other migrants leave the camp as distributed to the municipalities. Therefore, for example, their ethnic composition changes all the time depending on the asylum-related migrants' arrival in Germany.

It was difficult to determine the precise number of asylum-related migrants who were in Kaiserslautern in the spring and summer of 2019. We were aware of the amount of refugees who had received a permanent residence permit (in the past 5 years) and who had registered their residence in Kaiserslautern. In addition, we knew the amount of people who were in the asylum process in the city. However, both refugees and asylum seekers can also live (at least temporarily) elsewhere than in the municipality in which they are formally

registered. The same applies to those asylum-related migrants who have the deportation ban and cannot be expelled from the country (so-called *Duldung* migrants) because of the unsafety of their country of origin or the difficulty of organizing the return. They receive a short-term renewable card of ban of deportation that they need to extend every 6 months. They must then register their presence in Kaiserslautern despite in practice they might be living actually elsewhere. Furthermore, in Kaiserslautern, there are people who do not have the right to live in Germany, but the authorities do not have exact information about the number of these undocumented migrants, and that amount changes continuously.

Of the asylum-related migrants living in shared accommodations in Kaiserslautern, approximately one out of four (26%) were included in our sample (76 respondents). Of the migrants living in destined single apartments, approximately 47% were included (137 respondents). Our estimation is that the number of asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern was 3,300 (if we count only those who had been in Germany 5 years or less). Our sample in Kaiserslautern (215 persons) included one out of fifteen (6.5%) of all asylum-related migrants (refugees, temporary residence permit holders, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants) there. However, not all asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate live in Kaiserslautern or at Camp Kusel. There is not a very accurate number available, so it was challenging to conduct a representative survey and to know how representative the survey was. Our sample does not necessarily describe all details of the situation of asylum-related migrants in the whole *Bundesland* of Rhineland-Palatinate. Nevertheless, it contains a good variety of asylum-related migrants in various circumstances (see Section 4.1 for the representativeness of the sample).

During the survey process, we had the opportunity to meet hundreds of migrants in Kaiserslautern and at Camp Kusel. We grasped this opportunity to talk with them and observe relevant issues in their everyday lives. We met people who wanted to share their experiences on the survey topics, and we had shorter talks with many migrants during our fieldwork. Some of these people spoke in English or German, others in Arabic. In general, these conversations were one on one, but sometimes they took place in a group of migrants who knew each other. Written notes on these conversations were made later the same day.

After receiving the questionnaires back, all survey responses were inserted into a database to be processed with the SPSS program. Before that, the answers to the semi-open and open questions were translated into English, coded in the N-Vivo program and then inserted into the database. The main analytical methods included descriptive statistics and cross tables. The interviews were analysed with thematic content analysis. We thank the research assistants for helping with the analysis.

1.4 Research highlights

- Among asylum-related migrants in Germany (people who left their country of origin to search for safety and a better life in Germany) are many kinds of people. These include former asylum seekers with a permanent residence permit in Germany because they received international protection (refugee) or subsidiary protection; asylum seekers who are in the asylum process (which usually takes from 6 months to a few years) in Germany; former asylum seekers whose application was rejected in Germany but who have a short-term renewable ban of deportation because they cannot be expelled (including so-called *Duldung* migrants) from Germany; asylum seekers who did not get a residence permit in Germany but who went into hiding (thus becoming undocumented migrants) in Germany; irregular immigrants who came to Germany without permission or who continue to live in Germany even though their residence permit has expired. In total, there are millions of asylum-related migrants in Germany, and they are also a significant community of continued local, national and international interest.
- The Federal Republic of Germany started implementing a systematic plan to distribute the asylum seekers in the country. Those arrived were registered, then they were sent to reception sites (usually larger camps) in the states (*Bundesland* in German) according to a detailed proportional scheme, and consequently they were distributed to all regions and localities of Germany to wait for the decision over their asylum and residence permit. However, different states implement slightly different regulations.
- According to the national statistics, in January 2015–June 2019, 1,715,596 people asked for asylum in Germany (Bundeszentrale... 2019). Their main countries of origin were Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Eritrea, Iran and Turkey in different proportions and ranks. The diverse group “others” took places one to three in the respective years since 2015.
- During the same period (January 2015–June 2019), of the asylum applicants in Germany, 858,800 persons (50%) obtained refugee status or subsidiary protection; about 20% of applications were not processed because they needed to be processed in another EU member state (the Dublin Regulation) and more than 600,000 asylum applications were rejected (about one third).
- It is difficult to know or even estimate the number of people – undocumented migrants, irregular migrants, paperless people, etc. as they are defined – who reside in Germany without the required permits, especially because they do not want to be exposed to authorities.

- Recognized, tolerated and subsidiary protected asylum seekers' rights to reside and work vary between the states in Germany.
- The sample for this research consisted of 290 adult asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate in the spring and summer of 2019. The respondents lived in apartments and shared accommodations in Kaiserslautern and the reception centre Camp Kusel in Kusel. The respondents represent a wide demographic of asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate, ranging from youth to the elderly, from those who are unable to read to those with a university degree, from the employed to the unemployed and from housewives to students.
- The asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate have many countries of origin, the most common being Syria, Afghanistan and Iran. A third (32%) of asylum seekers are less than 18 years old, two thirds (67%) are of working age (18–64 years old) and the older generation (65 years or older) is a very small population (less than 1%). Of the survey respondents, a third (31%) had stayed in Germany for over 4 years and a fifth (21%) for less than 6 months.
- Of the respondents, three out of four (74%) were satisfied with their current accommodations (38% fully and 36% partly), and four out of five (80%) were at least partly satisfied with their current neighbourhood.
- The everyday lives of the asylum-related migrants vary; some have integrated rather well into German society through language, friends and work, but others struggle with day-to-day survival. In general, those working and with a good understanding of the German language were more satisfied with their lives in Germany.
- Of the male respondents, 38% were employed (15% full time) as were 8% of the female respondents (3% full time). The best part of work was psychological comfort and the feeling of recognition gained through it, and the worst was the working conditions. Half (53%) of the respondents had German friends. In addition, 21% argued that they had a good command of the German language, and 86% knew the language at least a little.
- The migration wishes and plans of asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate vary. Of the respondents with a permanent residence permit, 98% believed that they might (51% yes; 47% maybe) live the rest of their lives in Germany, as did 93% of asylum seekers and 96% of undocumented migrants. However, of those respondents with a permanent residence permit in Germany, only 56% were not planning to move back to their country of origin. Of the respondents with university-level education, half (48%) believed they would definitely remain in Germany for the rest of their lives, as did three out of four (77%) of those with elementary or uncompleted elementary ed-

ucation. The most preferred places to live in Germany were Kaiserslautern, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne and Hamburg.

- All (over 99%) asylum-related respondents use the Internet in Germany, most of them more often than in their country of origin. It is very common to have a smartphone with Internet access (86%).
- Of asylum-related migrants, two out of three (69%) agreed that the Internet and social media made their lives easier in Germany, and only 8% disagreed. Two out of three (66%) followed the developments in their country of origin via the Internet. Of the active Internet users, 89% used it to find employment and 77% to learn more about their rights in Germany.

2. KEY CONCEPTS

More people are on move. The global distribution of wealth, resources and security is uneven, so many people are leaving their homes to search for a better life in safety. Some people flee because of immediate life-threatening circumstances such as war or violent conflicts. Others search for opportunities to be employed in a wealthier country. Demographic pressures and economic structuration mean that many young adults in less developed countries have few opportunities for proper employment. People also follow the Internet and social media, and some want to escape the social and cultural traditions of their country of origin that they feel oppressing – whether about religion, the position of women in society, sexual orientation or individuals' political viewpoints. We call this movement of people asylum-related migration and these people asylum-related migrants. Our viewpoint refers to both the scholarly observations (for a review of asylum-related migration, see EASO 2016) and the fieldwork among asylum-related migrants showing that in reality, many real and perceived issues on political, economic and social questions (at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels) are mixed in the current asylum-related migration.

Asylum-related migrants have something in common: they are seeking a better life in a more promising country than their country of origin. By asylum, we are not only referring to its strict definition deriving from law (international protection outside one's country of origin or of habitual residence). Instead, we use the term 'asylum' in a more flexible way to describe these migrants' wishes for a safe place where they can (try to) fulfil their goals – even the basic goals to have family, work, friends and a meaningful life – without denying the danger and fear for one's life in many asylum-seekers' cases.

We refer to these people as asylum-related migrants, i.e. people who have left their country of origin due to political, economic and/or social (such as religious, cultural and ethnic aspects) insecurity to seek safety in another country. Not all these people need international protection because of a fear of (immediate) death or discrimination (in the sense of international convention of refugees; see Section 2.1; United Nations 1951; Bohmer & Shuman 2018:8). However, many of these migrants have reached the EU and asked for asylum in one of the EU member states. Therefore, they have gone through (at least part of) the asylum process, which in most cases results in rejection of the asylum application.

2.1 Asylum-related migrants

The categories of refugee, asylum seeker and migrant are blurred in the everyday lives of people who have escaped from their country of origin and are managing everyday life in another country. Crawley & Skleparis (2018) argue that the current definitions of migrants, irregular migrants, asylum seekers and refu-

gees are dichotomized and reinforce the problematic foundations of these categories. Therefore, the main category of this research (asylum-related migrant) is discussed below, and the main aspects regarding the conventional categories of refugee, asylum seeker and undocumented (irregular) migrant used in this report are mentioned.

As discussed above, we define asylum-related migrants as individuals seeking better life opportunities outside their country of origin. They are fleeing their country of origin due to unsafety and insecurity; (usually) utilize asylum-seeking as an opportunity to enter the destination country; try to obtain residence permits through international protection, subsidiary protection, employment or other activities to reside legally in the country; and if they fail, hide from the authorities as an undocumented (irregular, paperless, *sans papiers*) migrant.

The categorization of refugee-like people is malleable from both above and below, as FitzGerald & Arar (2018) note. An 'asylum seeker' in Germany could be called a 'migrant worker' in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), an 'irregular arrival' in Canada, a 'temporarily protected person' in Turkey, a 'guest' in Jordan and a 'refugee' in Kenya. Therefore, the ways in which states define and categorize these persons are not transferable. Crawley & Skleparis (2018) claim that even authorities and scholars are not always clear on these definitions.

Furthermore, the self-definitions among these people vary. It is common for many people in (perceived) need of protection to not know their own legal status in a foreign country. Not all authorities and specialists understand the complex and sometimes controversial differences between the notions of refugee, asylum seeker, migrant, temporary resident and so on. These terms are even more unclear among the asylum-related migrants themselves. Asylum-related migration is a complex process that may take a long time and contain various changing circumstances. It is difficult, if not impossible, for a person to know what his/her actual situation and definition are. As mentioned above, a person can be in the same situation but be defined with very different categories in different countries (see FitzGerald & Arar 2018). Furthermore, the same category (for example, refugee or asylum seeker) can mean very different rights, duties and opportunities in different countries.

Some asylum-related migrants call themselves refugees. Others in exactly the same conditions define themselves as asylum seekers. Their peers might prefer to be defined as 'migrants' or something else, including as 'a human being'. In everyday practice, legal bureaucratic definitions, local colloquial terms and the person's peers and interests influence the term used (Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2019). Some prefer to be called refugees and, by doing so, hope that such a self-identification will enhance their chances of being officially recognized as a person needing international protection and thus will enhance their chances of obtaining a residence permit in that country. Others prefer to identify them-

selves as asylum seekers because the term better describes their situation, in that they are still in the process of searching for a place to stay. There are also people who do not like the potentially stigmatizing tone of 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker'. Similarly, such term in a rather problematic way groups together people with different backgrounds, ranging from employed university professors to unemployed people with low education levels conducting criminal offences in the country.

Instead of being defined and called by profession, activity or ethnicity, for some people, being called a refugee or asylum seeker means that everything they are or achieve is first covered by them being a refugee or asylum seeker. However, refugees, as other asylum-related migrants do, make decisions, influence their own trajectories and mobilize various kinds of resources. They are active agents in their everyday life, even if they are in precarious conditions during several stages of their journeys (see Ehrkamp 2017; Triandafyllidou 2017). Therefore, a person might have settled down in a host country and gained a good societal position there (even citizenship in the hosting country) but it is nevertheless always remembered that s/he is a refugee or migrant. Such universal stigmatization can also be part of the notion of 'asylum-related migrant', which actually extends to people who have all rights (even a citizenship) in the given country as well as to those who are in the country without the authorities' consent and even against the will of (some of) the titular nation's members. Nevertheless, as in mixed migration (see van Hear 2014), the current categories (such as refugee, asylum seeker and undocumented migrant) are blurred and have become increasingly meaningless for the migrants, the authorities and the wider population.

To discuss these asylum-related categories more precisely, we inspect them and illustrate their challenges. A major challenge is that the legal, social and personal perspectives on asylum-related migrants usually differ. The legal definitions are crucial because law defines who has the right to reside in a country and under which circumstances. Legal status is also important for these persons' possibilities to pursue livelihoods (Jacobsen 2014: 105–106). Here, international, national and local perspectives often collide. In addition, because the contexts are very different around the world, it is very difficult to utilize terms that would have exactly the same meaning everywhere (see FitzGerald & Arar 2018).

In practice, national migration and asylum laws and policies overrule the international laws, agreements and definitions, even if the given country has agreed to these international laws. This became particularly evident in post-2015 Europe, with many countries starting to 'renationalize' their migration and asylum policies (Brekke & Staver 2018). For example, the commonly agreed upon rights of asylum seekers are not evenly applied similarly in all EU member states. Some countries, such as Hungary and Italy, have made their legislation stricter

against asylum seekers and people helping them to enter the country (Human Rights Watch 2019). Furthermore, the EU member states are no longer (if they ever did) sharing the economic, administrative and political burdens arising from asylum-related migration and asylum seekers. Faist (2018) points out how the terms 'migrant' and 'refugee' are used to delimit the legal, political and moral rights and responsibilities, both of these people and the states hosting them.

A commonly agreed upon principle is that everyone has the right to exist. For this reason, it does not matter if one is a citizen of a particular country or what his/her background is. A highly debated exception is people with a penal sentence, i.e. the negation of the right to live due to their offences against other people and/or society. Nevertheless, asylum-related migrants have the right to exist. The question is where and how these people can exist, i.e. what kinds of rights they have, for example, regarding residence, working or taking part in societal and political life.

Humanitarian and legalist administrative viewpoints clash regarding the rights of asylum-related migrants (Linde 2011). The humanitarian viewpoint sees that everyone has right to exist, so nobody can be an illegal person. According to this, claiming someone is 'illegal' would mean denying one's right to exist, which is a major offence against human rights (Benhabib 2008). Therefore, asylum-related migrants should have basic rights to live and work everywhere, or these rights should be amended easily and efficiently for them. The main idea is that these general human rights are valid everywhere in every country and that no national (or international) legislation can overrule them. This is related to emergency humanitarianism in which the aim is to alleviate the suffering of strangers (Barnett 2014: 243). Usually these live in other countries but asylum-related migrants in destination came to search for safety from us. However, according to Linde (2011), some humanitarian-based organizations tend to categorize migrants through their official status rather than by their needs.

On the other hand, the legalist viewpoint on asylum-related migrants argues that human rights must be followed but that migrants also need to have right to reside in the country in question. In Germany, this has been studied by Schulz (2019), who investigate the state integration policies regarding asylum seekers – whether the state's (moral) commitments are toward its citizens or everyone under its jurisdiction. A principle of international law is that the state is entitled to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, including which noncitizens can remain and under which conditions (Goodwin-Gill 2014). If the person does not have the right to reside in the country, then that person will be issued with a decision that s/he must leave the state. If s/he does not leave voluntarily, then the person will be expelled by force, obviously following the law and respecting human rights. So from this perspective, not everyone can enter the country, live there and have the right to work and access state-given services (Lewis et al. 2015).

A major challenge is knowing a person's exact situation in his/her country of origin, i.e. whether s/he has a concrete fear of death, discrimination, persecution, etc. (see United Nations 1951). In addition, the situations continuously change geographically (if and which areas or countries can be defined as safe) and temporally (if and when these areas and countries are safe now and will be in the future), and such places frequently change. Security and insecurity are increasingly mixed, so permanent safety is impossible in areas and countries with political, economic and social instability. In addition, digitalization with cyber offences has increased insecurity in conflict-laden areas.

In this report, we also use the term 'refugee'. In principle, we use it to refer to the status of a person who has gained international protection in Germany. In some cases, we also discuss the notion of 'refugee' in a subjective sense of how specific asylum-related migrants call themselves. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 protocol formally define the meaning of 'refugee'. Convention Article 1(A)(2) states that a refugee is any person who:

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (United Nations 1951)

In 2019, there were 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. Of them, 41.3 million were internally displaced people. Following the internationally agreed-upon definition, all refugees need to be outside of their country of nationality or their former habitual residence, so these internally displaced people are not refugees in the legal sense. Globally, there were 25.9 million refugees, of whom 20.4 million were under the UNHCR's mandate and the remaining 5.5 million were Palestinian refugees under the UNRWA's mandate. Over half of them were under the age of 18. Syrian refugees numbered 6.7 million (i.e., over one out of four refugees in the world is Syrian), and they were the largest nationality among refugees. The second largest number of refugees originated from Afghanistan (2.7 million persons), followed by South Sudan (2.3 million persons). Germany is globally the fifth largest refugee-hosting country, with 1.1 million refugees (UNHCR 2019a).

As mentioned, becoming a refugee with such a legal status requires the authorities' decision. Usually, a person asks for asylum (i.e. international protection status) in one country, and if that country's authorities grant it, the person is a refugee (for the definition of asylum seeker, see below). Refugees can also be directly defined by the national authorities. In some cases, such proclaimed ref-

ugees are under temporary protection, usually under that state and the UNHCR. Such a proclamation of that refugees exist usually takes place in specific circumstances. For example, following the war in Syria in the 2010s, the majority of fleeing Syrians escaped to their neighbouring countries Jordan and Turkey. Jordan has not signed the 1951 convention, and Turkey enacts temporal, geographical or other restrictions in implementing the convention and protocol. Strictly defining, these Syrians are not refugees in Jordan and Turkey, even though the UNHCR, the media and even the national authorities use this term (Jauhiainen 2018).

The legal position of refugees varies by countries as well as by the temporal length of their residence permits in a given country. Many countries hosting refugees limit refugees' political and economic organization and geographical concentration. Refugees might not be entitled to have certain jobs, or their location may be restricted to certain areas of the state. These are usual situations in countries with many refugees but less democracy and general wealth. However, democratic countries often give rights to refugees that are almost the same as those of that country's citizens. Also, they tend to gain permanent residence permits, at least after spending a certain amount of time in the host country. Furthermore, refugees can also gain citizenship in the country after following the country's procedures.

Another key category is *asylum seeker*, for a person who is officially seeking asylum, safety and protection from authorities of a country other than that of his/her nationality or habitual residence. During the asylum process, the applicant presents the grounds for his/her asylum application, and specific national authorities inspect these grounds. After this, a decision is made about the application. In some countries, the migration authorities make this decision, and in other countries, it is a court. If the person is not satisfied with this decision, s/he can appeal it with the upper-level court(s). Finally, a legally valid decision is made, and then the person is no longer an asylum seeker. The decisions can lead to many kinds of results. For example, the person can be granted international protection status and become a recognized refugee. Another person can be given protection in the state due to other reasons, such as subsidiary protection based on humanitarian reasons. A negative decision on the asylum application means that the person will not be protected in that country. If there is no other legally valid reason, s/he must leave the country (usually within a month).

The abovementioned process (usually implemented in such a way in the EU) is a very simplified description of reality. The asylum process, from asking for asylum to receiving the final decision, takes from several months to several years. Meanwhile, the asylum seekers need to sustain their lives. In many countries, asylum seekers receive help and subsidies for accommodations and a monthly subsidy for running costs (the amount varies amongst the EU member

states). In some but not all countries, asylum seekers are also provided with integration services that are increasingly having reciprocal aspects. For example, in Germany, the authorities support asylum-related immigrant but also require effort in return (“fördern und fordern”). In other countries, such as in Finland, the integration services start if the asylum seeker receives a residence permit at the end of the asylum process. In addition, receiving asylum requires a logical narration and consistent evidence from each asylum seeker (see Bohmer & Shuman 2018: 15–48). Many of them have trauma that (partly) impedes them from being logical and consistent in their reasons for asking for asylum and in the details of their asylum-related migration. Furthermore, there can be also language-related challenges, as the interviews with the authorities usually require interpreters and translators. In all, the tightening asylum policies are based on culture of suspicion by the authorities (Bohmer & Shuman 2018).

In the EU, the member states have agreed on similar procedures during the asylum process and that the asylum application be received and processed in only one of the member states, i.e. in the state in which the applicant asks for asylum for the first time (Brekke & Brochmann 2015; Picozza 2017). The Dublin Regulation impedes asylum seekers from travelling from one member state to another and asking for asylum many times to legally remain in the EU, even for the rest of their lives. Despite this regulation, asylum seekers still move from one member state to another. They are identified through the common Eurodac database, which contains their fingerprints (European Migration Network 2017), and in principle, they should be returned to the first country where they asked for asylum and were registered as asylum seekers.

The asylum processes have varied considerably within the EU during the 2010s. The EU had 627,000 asylum applications in 2014; 1,322,800 in 2015; and 1,260,900 in 2016, which declined to 638,200 in 2018. Of the applications, 185,000 led to asylum in 2014, compared to 333,350 in 2015 and 710,400 in 2016, which declined to 333,400 in 2018 (Eurostat 2015; Eurostat 2016; Eurostat 2017; Eurostat 2018a; Eurostat 2019a; Eurostat 2019b). The large number of new asylum seekers between the summer of 2015 and the spring of 2016 resulted in the failed implementation of the Dublin Regulation. For geographical reasons, Greece or Italy was the first EU country that most asylum seekers reached, and many presented asylum applications there. However, others continued to travel further to their planned destination countries, such as Germany. Later, Italy, Greece and some other member states were reluctant to take these asylum seekers back. Some countries also agreed not to send asylum seekers back to the over-crowded asylum facilities in Greece. Furthermore, the EU member states did not want to share the burden arising from the unequal distribution of asylum seekers, despite the agreed EU principles (Altemeyer-Bartscher et al. 2016). Many asylum seekers should be sent back to the initial EU member state where

they arrived. Among the asylum seekers in the EU, the number of so-called out-going Dublin cases was 111,430 in 2015 and 157,805 in 2017, or about 16% of all applications (Eurostat 2018b).

Many European countries reacted quickly to the large number of asylum seekers in the mid-2010s by renationalizing their migration and asylum policies (Brekke & Staver 2018). The acceptance rates for asylum in many EU member states have fallen. However, the large mobility of people to the EU has made asylum-related migration more popular, even if many people do not have proper grounds for seeking asylum. Their unwillingness to return has increased the amount of people who do not have the proper legal right to reside in the EU or some of its member states. This has happened despite many EU member state governments taking stronger measures against irregular migrants after 2015 (Brekke & Staver 2018). Some EU member states have implemented internal flight by claiming that certain parts of the otherwise dangerous asylum seeker's country of origin can be deemed safe so s/he can be deported there in case his or her asylum application is refused (see Orchard 2018).

An additional complexity has arisen from the changing situations in the countries to which the rejected asylum seekers should be returned. If they do not want to voluntarily return (the IOM and the EU member states financially support such returns), then their ban from entry or deportation should be put in place by expelling them (Residence Act 2017, part II). However, not all of these people have been identified, not everyone can be issued with identification documents valid for international travel and not all countries of origin will take them back. In these cases, the authorities of an EU member state (such as Germany) have to tolerate people without residence permits in the state's territory, even though such people should have one (BAMF 2019b). Nevertheless, the authorities cannot send them anywhere due to international law. The number of such people living in limbo is increasing. In some EU member states, they have right to work, and one can try to legalize his/her presence in the country through employment like in Germany (Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs 2015). In other EU member states, they do not have right to work and will be imprisoned if caught by authorities, so their situation has become very difficult.

An *undocumented migrant* – or irregular migrant, paperless person, sans papiers or illegal migrant – is a person who resides in a country without the full legal right to and whose presence that country's authorities do not accept. There are many ways to become an undocumented migrant. One can enter the country without a required permit or reside in the country after the required permit has expired. These migrants hide from authorities and illegally move from one country to another, so their numbers are hardly known in any country (Vogel et al. 2011). Nevertheless, they number in the millions in the EU, and their numbers have grown in the 2010s (Lulle & King 2016).

The EU member states have many kinds of undocumented migrants. Even EU citizens can become “undocumented” (i.e. irregular) migrants, e.g. when a citizen of a member state does not register his/her presence with the authorities of another member state in which s/he resides (an obligation to register usually exists three months after arrival). However, such status is due to the negligence of the person and s/he can become easily a regular migrant. However, Cyrus & Kovacheva (2016: 130) argue that EU citizens cannot be irregular residents in Germany due to free movement of EU citizens within the EU. There are also former (or current) students and employed persons whose residence permit has expired. However, most undocumented migrants in the EU have asylum-seeker backgrounds. They might have failed in the asylum process and not received a residence permit on other grounds but still remain in the country after they should have left it. In addition, among them are asylum seekers who should be in another EU member state, whether as Dublin Regulation cases (due to presenting a second application in another member state) or because they travelled to another country without permission. Other asylum-related migrants may have never entered the actual asylum process but arrived to the country without the right to enter.

The situation of undocumented migrants varies within the EU. In some member states, they can become legalized if they enter the labour market and can show that they can sustain themselves. In other countries, they are not allowed to work legally, and the public services provided to them are very limited (see Triandafyllidou 2016; Kraler 2019). According to Kraler (2019), being able to work is the second most important aspect for formerly undocumented and now regularized migrants regarding their regularization, after access to the social rights associated with regularization. Access to related welfare entitlements is perceived as the third most important aspect regarding their regularization.

2.2 Asylum-related migration

Asylum-related migrants comprise many kinds of people, and their statuses vary along with their journeys and in the destination countries, as discussed in Section 2.1 above. They may leave from the same country of origin and end up in the same country of destination, but rarely are asylum journeys linear or similar. Commonalities exist in migrants' motivations (such as to migrate to a safer place), but there are also differences, for example, in the principal reason why they leave (from life-threatening situations due to political conflicts to seeking more economic security and a culturally more open life), and their journeys differ, at least in the details. Several scholars have tried to identify the factors of and their weights behind migration. For example, Crawley (2010) have suggested that conflicts are a stronger determinant of irregular migration than economic hardships. In addition, challenging demographic and environmental issues

increasingly matter as well (EASO 2016). Many scholars talk about mixed migration along the continuum of the varied voluntary and involuntary elements comprising current migrations (Linde 2011; van Hear 2014). Nevertheless, some migrants only have reasons for leaving that will result in international protection at the destination country. Therefore, mixed migration cannot be an overarching term covering all migrants searching for a safer place (Faist 2018).

Instead, we prefer to use the term ‘asylum-related migration’. By asylum-related migration, we mean the asylum-related migrant’s planning and actualization of migration from his/her country of origin towards the destination country as well as the time until the migrant’s situation is settled in the destination.

In this definition, the first aspect is that the subject of migration is an asylum-related migrant. Considering that the individuals aim to initiate an asylum procedure, this kind of migration can be classified as forced migration, e.g. due to risk of death, sexual violence, religious persecution, civil war, etc. As discussed in Section 2.1 above, in a broader sense, they are individuals seeking better life opportunities outside their country of origin. They flee from their country of origin due to political, economic and/or social insecurity there (see Bohmer & Shuman 2018; 8). They (usually) use asylum seeking as an opportunity to enter the destination country and try to gain a residence permit through international protection, subsidiary protection or other activities, to be able to reside legally in the country. Some manage to do so, but others need to hide from the authorities as undocumented (irregular, paperless, *sans papiers*) migrants.

The second aspect is the intention to travel. From this perspective, the migration starts before the person gathers his/her necessary belongings and crosses the first international border. As our study indicates (see Sections 4.5 and 4.6), many people use the Internet and social media for planning their journeys before actually starting them (see Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2019). Such planning (in a flexible sense, instead of making a concrete plan; it can also be chatting with friends, looking at Facebook posts or Instagram pictures or speculating about social media rumours) is common amongst many who later initiate the journeys. One can ponder such an intention for a long time, even for years, but others make up their minds within a few days, especially when in conflict-loaded situations.

The third aspect in the definition is the actualization of migration, i.e. leaving one’s country of origin. The definition uses ‘toward’ to signify that the migrant might have a concrete country as a goal but can also have a vague idea of something better. The migration involved move towards something, both physically and mentally. However, after crossing the border, most migrants do not know their destinies, including if they will be able to reach their destination and if they will ever return to their country of origin. In practice, it is quite common that the migrants’ initial destinations will change during their journeys (Barthel &

Neymauer 2014). There are internal reasons (becoming interested in something else, knowing one's goals better, having asked for asylum in a country, finding a job, etc.) and/or external reasons (friction and constraints from travel further, such as border controls; human trafficking; a lack of resources to continue the journey; being captured at some point; being provided with some protective status, etc.).

We use the word 'journeys' (or 'asylum-related journeys') in the plural to indicate that for many migrants, the movement between the origin and destination consists of many smaller journeys, stays, movements back and forth, etc. This connects to the recent academic discussion about the terms 'transit', 'transit country' and 'host country' in asylum-related migration. The traditional migration models have mostly focused on two points, i.e., the origin A and the destination B, and explained the actualization of migration through the push and pull factors of A and B. Obviously, there are push factors in the asylum-related migrants' countries of origin and pull factors in the destination countries. These include, among other, living standards, wage differentials and employment opportunities as well as conflicts, violence, political instability, human rights abuses and real and perceived threats on personal security (see EASO 2016). Some events can be triggers (such as a major conflict or an unpleasant family issue) without the migrant properly analysing the push and pull factors. In addition, except for those who are able to take a plane for their journeys (and in this case, temporally short ones), the pull factors are rather non-concrete because the migrant rarely comprehensively knows about the target destination country and the targets may change many times during the journeys; in the end, the destination can be almost any country along the journey.

The 'journeys' also refer to the many voluntary or involuntary stops and stays during the journeys, which are different stages whose lengths these people cannot know or precisely decide upon in advance. Migrants become voluntarily or involuntarily stuck in one or more countries during their journeys but might still intend to continue their journeys and be able to do so after weeks or years. However, some will never move on to another country, even if they think and dream about continuing their journeys to their intended destination country, however, needing to returning to their country of origin (see Section 4.5). The impossibility of predicting one's mobility forward also blurs the concepts of 'transit country' and 'host country' (see Collyer & de Haas 2010). Some scholars define transit countries (a posteriori) when the migrant has reached the (apparent) destination, so the countries between the origin and (the apparent) destination could be called transit countries (Papadopoulou-Kourkula 2008). Other scholars agree on the necessary temporal limit in defining a transit country, such as that the migrant's stay there must be at most for one year. Transit can also be a state of mind, e.g. the migrant intends to migrate further or return (see Collyer

et al. 2014). From this perspective, it is unnecessary to move further, but if a migrant intends to move, then that country could be called a transit country even if in practice, it becomes the destination where the migration (involuntarily) ends.

The fourth aspect in the definition is the temporal length. As stated, asylum-related migration starts when a future migrant starts to think about leaving and then follows through with the actual physical journeys (consisting of stops and stays). It continues until the migrant settles in the country of destination (which can also initially be thought of as a transit country). By 'settled', it is meant that the migrant's situation has become more or less stable, such as if s/he has gone through the asylum process, received a residence permit and started the integration process and to achieve the goals s/he left for. As discussed (see Section 3.1), the asylum processes usually take several months or even several years.

In addition, when one enters the category of undocumented migrant, it may take a while (months at least) before s/he can live a more settled life, or s/he may need to leave the destination country. An asylum-related migrant might voluntarily return or be forcefully deported back to his or her country of origin by the authorities (see Erdal & Oeppen 2018). Some remain in the country of origin, but others depart again, voluntarily or involuntarily. For many, it is difficult to remain in one's former home region because both the person and the home area have changed. Furthermore, some local people can be suspicious, if not hostile, towards the person who left them earlier. Sometimes, the migrants' destination is again the country they had to leave, but many aim to try their luck in another country. This might create a circular migration between the origin, transit and destination countries (personal information of the manager of the Kusel camp; Jeffery & Murison 2011). The patterns of leaving and returns can also be cyclical (of different lengths), tied to agricultural seasons, political cycles (of elections) or even generations. Some asylum-related journeys never end, leaving such migrants in asylum-related migration for the rest of their lives. Asylum-related journeys and migration have become increasingly complex and diverse.

3. ASYLUM-RELATED MIGRANTS IN GERMANY, RHINELAND-PALATINATE AND KAISERSLAUTERN

3.1 Asylum-related migration and processes in Germany

Germany hosts many kinds of asylum-related migrants: asylum seekers who have right to reside while in the asylum process; former asylum seekers who received refugee status with a permanent residence permit; former asylum seekers who have subsidiary protection status with a temporary residence permit; former asylum seekers who are not deportable and whose presence is tolerated by the authorities; and undocumented migrants (some of them former asylum seekers) who reside in Germany without the necessary permits and consent of the authorities. The asylum process is the key to understanding the current situations of asylum-related migrants, as discussed in this section. In 2014–2019, about one million asylum seekers received refugee status or subsidiary protection in Germany (BAMF 2019a: 11).

The asylum process itself is tough for asylum-seeking individuals, as after a costly and risky flight (Leistner-Rocca & Rother 2016), they are confronted with complex German bureaucracy (VFR 2019b). In Germany, to determine the status of an asylum seeker, a court investigates to what degree this person is considered to be at risk of persecution for reasons of ethnic background, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. This follows in principle the international Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (United Nations 1951; see Section 2.1). Based on Germany's experience with the Nazi terror regime, the Constitution determines that every politically persecuted person can be granted asylum in Germany under certain conditions. Political refugees always enjoy the right to asylum (Grundgesetz §16a). However, there are exceptions: if asylum seekers enter Germany from another EU member state or from a safe third country, they fall outside the scope of this law. The German government (Bundesrat and Bundestag) decides which countries are considered safe. These decisions can also be controversial and contested in society, such as claiming that Afghanistan is a safe country (Mesovic & Pichl 2017).

After the arrival of a person to Germany and his/her request for asylum lodged with government authorities (police, border guards, etc.), the following steps can be differentiated. Asylum seekers are distributed according to the EASY system (*Erstverteilung der ASYLbegehrenden*), their identity is checked, their personal and biometric data is processed, they present an application, the application is processed, a hearing of the asylum seeker is held, the asylum decision is made and there are possibly appeals against the decision. Despite the logical steps, the procedures are complex and overlapping. This makes it difficult to understand the different statuses of asylum seekers and the duration of resident

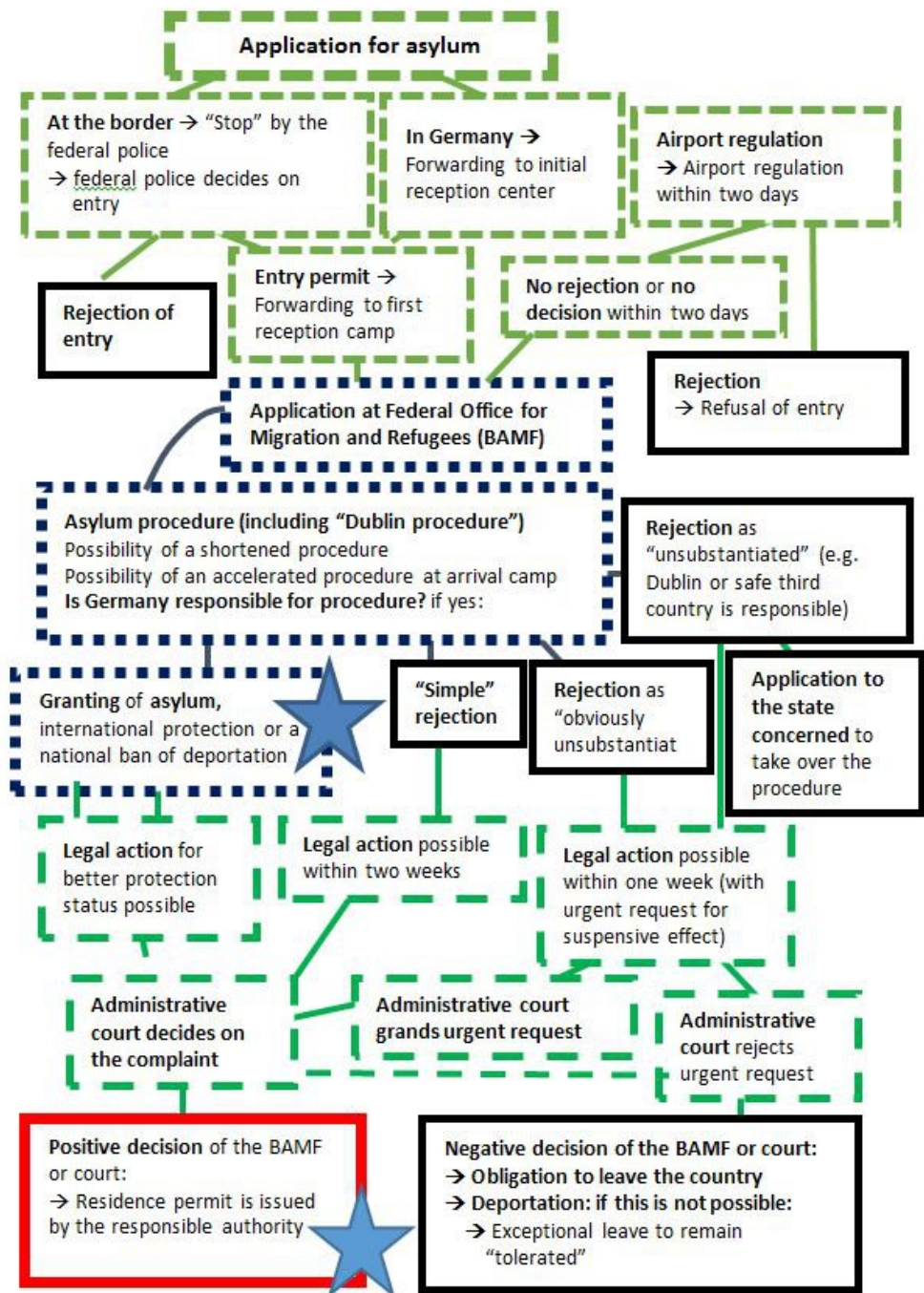


Figure 3.1. Asylum process in Germany. Source: VFR (2019b), own translation.

permits (Figure 3.1). The overall situation is that many current or former asylum seekers do not understand which stage of the asylum process they are in and

what they should do next. Such a situation is common not only in Germany but in many EU member states (Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2019).

Firstly, the asylum seeker is registered and gets the document “approval of arrival”. According to the law on asylum, asylum seekers without a valid identity document or passport have to hand over to the authorities all data carriers which prove their identity and nationality (§ 15 para. 2 no. 6 and § 15a AsylG). Except for the airport regulation (there were only 253 positive entries, 229 were denied entry within two days, and 207 legal actions were taken, with 21 positive decisions; see BAMF 2019a: 42), following the EASY regulation, asylum seekers are transported or get a train ticket to travel to a determined arrival reception centre in the state (*Bundesland*) concerned.

The distribution of asylum seekers follows the famous formula (Königsteiner Schlüssel) based on a municipality’s tax revenue (two-thirds weight) and population share (one-third weight; exceptions exist) to ensure that asylum seekers are distributed evenly throughout Germany (Figure 3.2). When the asylum application is turned in, another appointment for a hearing at the BAMF is made. In the meantime, an asylum seeker visits a doctor, gets vaccinations and is examined for tuberculosis. Later s/he goes to the collection point for cash benefits and public transport tickets.

However, before the asylum process is continued in Germany, whether or not the Dublin Regulation applies is verified, i.e. whether Germany or another EU member state is responsible for the asylum process. The fingerprints of asylum seekers are taken and transferred to the European database Eurodac to inspect the applicants’ status. If Germany proclaims the application as inadmissible, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) orders deportation to the EU member state concerned. In 2018, 34% of all asylum applications were classified as ‘Dublin cases’, which is the highest proportion in the 2010s (BAMF 2019a: 26). A third of the asylum applications in Germany should have been processed in another EU member state. For example, Italy could be the arrival country in the EU, and the authorities contact the Italian authorities for this. When such a case is found, a ‘transfer request’ is addressed to the country responsible for the asylum process, which can be denied or approved by default (see Figure 3.3). If another EU member state accepts its responsibility of the asylum process, the deportation has to take place within 6 months, but if the person is a fugitive, the period is prolonged to 18 months. However, many member states are slow to respond to the requests by another EU member state. Due to systematic irregularities, no deportation from Germany to Greece has taken place since 2011.

Local immigration offices and the Federal Police are responsible for the organization of deportation. They have to verify the ability of the asylum seeker to travel. If the 6 months are exceeded, the responsibility of processing the asylum application falls back to Germany. This also explains why certain EU member



Figure 3.2. Distribution of asylum seekers according to the “Königsteiner Schlüssel” 2018. The share of asylum seekers by state varies from over 20% to less than 2.5% of the whole national number. Source: BAMF (2019a): 15.

states are reluctant to respond to the German authorities in due time. An asylum seeker who is about to be expelled is not deported yet as asylum seekers are notified that their residence permit is expiring or that their case has been declined. Asylum seekers can bring their case to court and apply for suspensive effect. During this period, deportation is not possible.

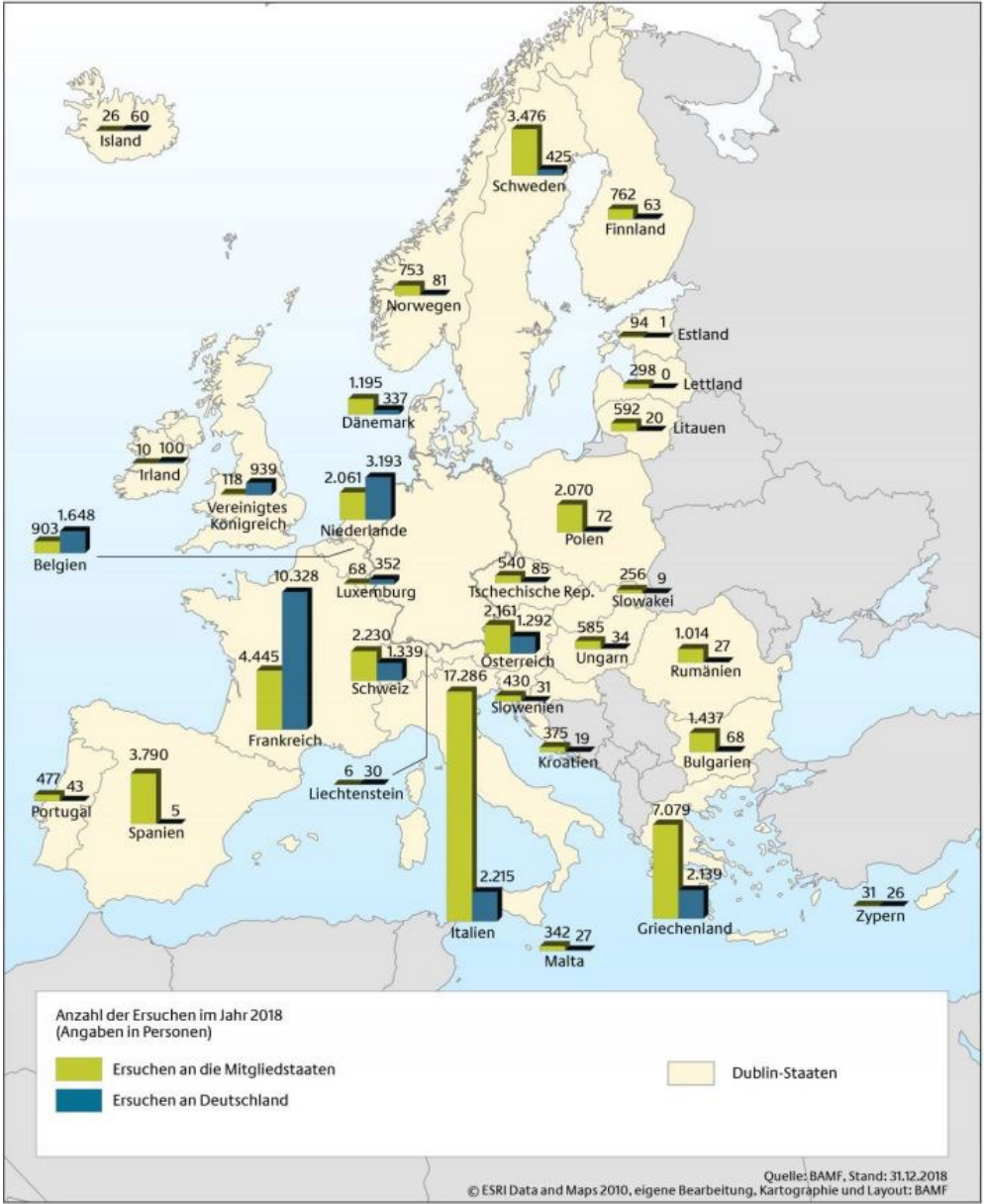


Figure 3.3. Asylum process requests from Germany (marked in blue) to the EU member states (marked in green) in 2018. Source: BAMF (2019a): 28.

If the asylum process is continued in Germany, then it is turned over to the local branch of the BAMF. The BAMF often arranges an appointment in the initial reception facility and gathers information with the help of an interpreter. Again, an identity check takes place and an electronic file in which all data and decisions are stored is created. The role of the interpreter cannot be underestimated in this process. In the meantime, all applicants wait for their hearing and decisions. As Figure 3.4 shows, for two thirds of the asylum seekers, the asylum process takes more than 6 months, and for almost a third (30%) of asylum seekers, the waiting time is more than 2 years.

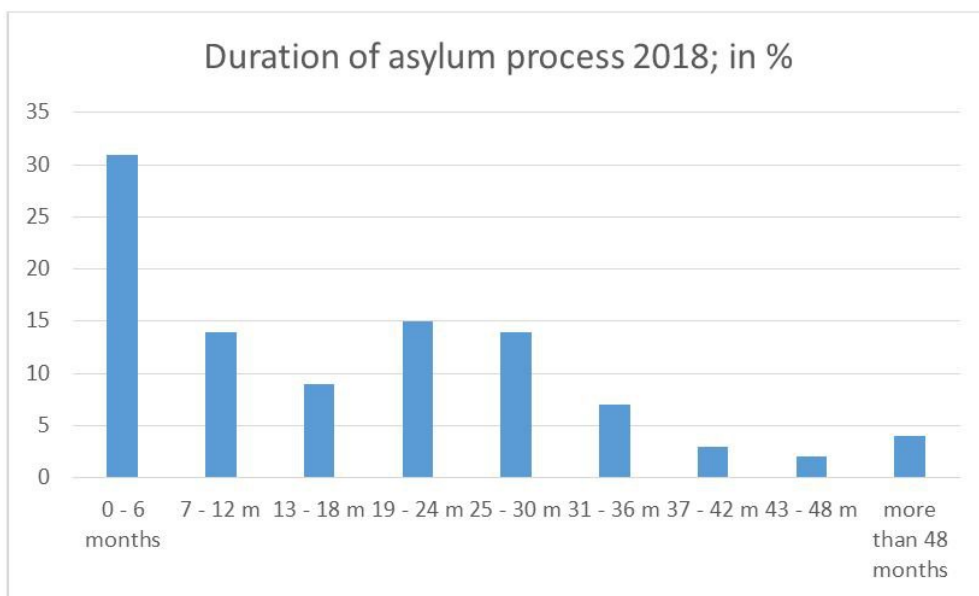


Figure 3.4. Duration of asylum process in cases closed incontestably before the Federal Office or the courts in 2018 (first and subsequent applications). Source: BAMF (2019a): 43.

Asylum seekers should stay in the initial reception centre during the asylum process, for at least 6 weeks and 6 months at the longest (those arriving from ‘safe countries’ need to stay there during the asylum process, even longer than 6 months). The “Asylum Seekers’ Benefit Act” guarantees a minimum standard of living for asylum seekers during the procedure. During the asylum process, asylum seekers get a temporary residence permit (*Aufenthaltsgestattung* in German). Even though most of these asylum seekers will get a minor residence permit status in the end or be expelled, they need shelter and support during the asylum process and beyond it. In 2013–2015, most asylum seekers were provisionally accommodated in hostels, camps, hotels, tents or abandoned barracks (Lübking 2015). These accommodations were contested and resulted in protests from asy-

lum seekers and human rights activists (e.g. refugee camps in Berlin-Kreuzberg, an occupied church in Hamburg in 2013) (Hinger et al. 2016). Due to the drop in arrivals, most of these provisional shelters were closed later, and those that were left were improved.

The personal interview with the migration authorities is of the highest importance in the asylum procedure. An asylum seeker describes the reasons for his/her flight, the route chosen and his/her personal situation. These statements are translated, documented and examined in detail. Again, the translator plays a key role here (Idler & Mantel 2016). In the end of the hearing, a protocol is made of it and it is signed by the asylum seeker. As a result, the following outcomes are possible as a result of the asylum process (BAMF 2019a; Beihorn et al. 2019):

1) *Asylum* in Germany under certain circumstances implies the recognition of refugee status according to the international definition of refugee (Burmahn & Valeyatheepillay 2017). This gives the asylum seeker a residence permit usually for three years, which might result later in an unlimited residence permit. There can be also an entitlement to asylum in accordance with Article 16a of the Basic Law, however, this is very seldom applied. 2) *Subsidiary protection* means that refugee status and entitlement to asylum are refused. However, this gives the asylum seeker the right to a restricted resident status and residence permit (usually for 6–12 months, renewable). 3) *Deportation ban* means that the refugee status, the entitlement to asylum and the subsidiary protection are refused. This results in giving a refused asylum seeker a suspension of deportation that can be temporary or exceptional “tolerated” stay (Duldung) in Germany. This gives the asylum seeker the right to remain in Germany and such certificate of suspension of deportation needs to be renewed with certain frequency (usually after each six months). 4) *Rejection* means that if none of the earlier mentioned categories apply, the asylum application is rejected completely resulting in exit order, and deportation is ordered, i.e. the asylum seeker is obligated to leave the country (see also Fig 3.1).

While the statuses of asylum and subsidiary protection express a certain protection, “Duldung” is not recognition of a protected person. Such a person’s stay is tolerated in Germany, but s/he does not have a residence permit; however, s/he is not expelled from the country. The ban on deportation prevents these persons from having to leave Germany. If a person has to leave Germany, s/he is obliged to do so within 30 days of the asylum decision. However, if the asylum application was “obviously unfounded” (e.g. asylum seeker comes from a safe country of origin and is not subject to persecution), the obligation to leave Germany is reduced to one week (§§ 30 Abs. 2, Abs. 3 AsylG.).

Of the applications for asylum in 2018, about one third of the decisions were pending in the summer of 2019 (Table 3.1). The decisions were as follows: 20%

refugee status, 12% subsidiary protection, 4% humanitarian protection, 35% rejection and 30% Dublin cases or the safe third state regulation. In total, 36% of the asylum seekers' applications were approved. This differs significantly regarding the countries of origin, e.g. Syria, 84%; Iraq, 36% and Nigeria, 7 % (BAMF 2019c: 6). In 2018, nearly 200,000 revocation review procedures were registered. About 85,000 were decided, and of them, 1.2% were permitted (BAMF 2019c: 14).

Table 3.1. Protection status decisions. Source: BAMF (2019a): 11

	ins- gesamt	Refugee status				Subsidiary protection		Deportat- ion ban		Rejection		Formal decision	
	Total			darunter Anerkennungen als Asylberechtigte (Art. 16 a GG und Familienasyl)		gem. § 4 Abs. 1 AsylG*		gem. § 60 Abs. 5 o. 7 AufenthG*				(Dublin)	
2010	48.187	7.704	15,8%	643	1,3%	548	1,1%	2.143	4,4%	27.255	56,6%	10.537	21,9%
2011	43.362	7.098	16,1%	652	1,5%	666	1,5%	1.911	4,4%	23.717	54,7%	9.970	23,0%
2012	61.826	8.764	14,0%	740	1,2%	6.974	11,3%	1.402	2,3%	30.700	49,7%	13.986	22,6%
2013	80.978	10.915	13,3%	919	1,1%	7.005	8,7%	2.208	2,7%	31.145	38,5%	29.705	36,7%
2014	128.911	33.310	25,8%	2.285	1,8%	5.174	4,0%	2.079	1,6%	43.018	33,4%	45.330	35,2%
2015	282.726	137.136	48,5%	2.029	0,7%	1.707	0,6%	2.072	0,7%	91.514	32,4%	50.297	17,8%
2016	695.733	256.136	36,8%	2.120	0,3%	153.700	22,1%	24.084	3,5%	173.846	25,0%	87.967	12,6%
2017	603.428	123.909	20,5%	4.359	0,7%	98.074	16,3%	39.659	6,6%	232.307	38,5%	109.479	18,1%
2018	216.873	41.368	19,1%	2.841	1,3%	25.055	11,6%	9.548	4,4%	75.395	34,8%	65.507	30,2%
Jan-Jun 2019	102.489	24.497	23,9%	1.185	1,2%	9.254	9,0%	3.490	3,4%	31.421	30,7%	33.827	33,0%

* Rechtsgrundlage für Entscheidungen zu Flüchtlingsschutz, subsidiärem Schutz und Abschiebungsverboten, die bis zum 30.11.2013 getroffen wurden, war § 60 Abs. 1, § 60 Abs. 2, 3 oder 7 S. 2 bzw. § 60 Abs. 5 oder 7 S. 1 AufenthG. Entsprechende Entscheidungen, die ab dem 01.12.2013 getroffen werden, gründen auf § 3 Abs. 1 AsylG, § 4 Abs. 1 AsylG bzw. § 60 Abs. 5 oder 7 AufenthG.

After the arrival centres, the asylum seekers are distributed to municipalities within the German federal states, where they live in shared accommodations or in single flats, depending on the state laws, ordinances and policies. After decisions and as long as refugees do not work, they get social benefits ("Hartz IV"; §12 SGB), and costs for rent and electricity as well as subsistence are granted.

Until the BAMF has made a decision, asylum seekers may not leave their assigned district (Bezirk; administrative region) without a permit. The obligation to reside in this area does not apply 3 months after the decision, but if the outcome is negative or inadmissible, the residential obligation remains in force until departure. Figure 3.5 (map 3: those with asylum, refugee status, subsidiary protection or "tolerated" status) shows that individuals recognized as refugees do not stay in the eastern part of Germany. This explains the high shares of rejected asylum seekers and those still in the process.

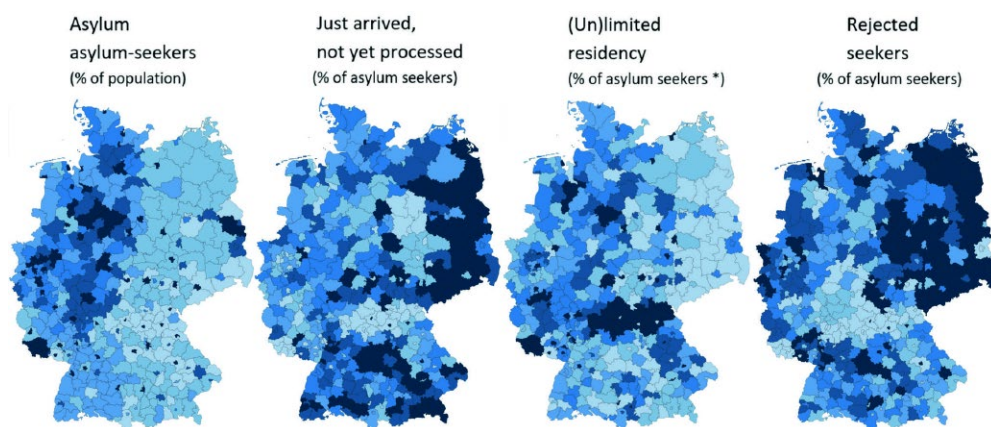


Figure 3.5. Status of asylum seekers in Germany in December 2018. Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2018).

In 2016, the new integration law was passed, including a residence regulation, which obliges refugees with a residence permit to stay in the state in which the asylum process took place. It is possible to move to another state if the refugee has proof of employment for at least 15 hours per week, gross monthly earnings of at least 712 euro and paying social security taxes, starting an apprenticeship, professional training or attending university (§ 12a Abs. 5 Satz 1 Nr. 1 AufenthG). The stronger obligations are child welfare, care requirements, menaces, etc. In the municipality, asylum seekers may apply for social benefits from the employment centre (*Jobcenter*). They also help with integration courses, language courses and searching for work. In general, to take up employment, asylum seekers and tolerated migrants require a permit from the foreigners' authority and an approval from the Federal Employment Agency and such permit can be given after three months of their arrival (Beihorn 2019: 28).

3.2 Asylum-related migrant situations in Rhineland-Palatinate

Each state in Germany provides at least one reception camp where asylum seekers stay for a maximum of 6 months after their arrival in Germany (Gliemann & Szypulski 2018: 109). Their main task is to accommodate and care for asylum seekers according to the asylum law (*Asylgesetz* in German) and to distribute them to the municipalities within each state (ADD 2019).

In Rhineland-Palatinate, there were 12 reception camps (Figure 3.6) in the autumn of 2015, when a high number of asylum seekers arrived there (MfFJIV 2016; Rheinpfalz 2016). Before the summer of 2015, there was only one reception camp in Trier, which had existed since 1992 and as designed for 700 asylum seekers (ADD 2019).

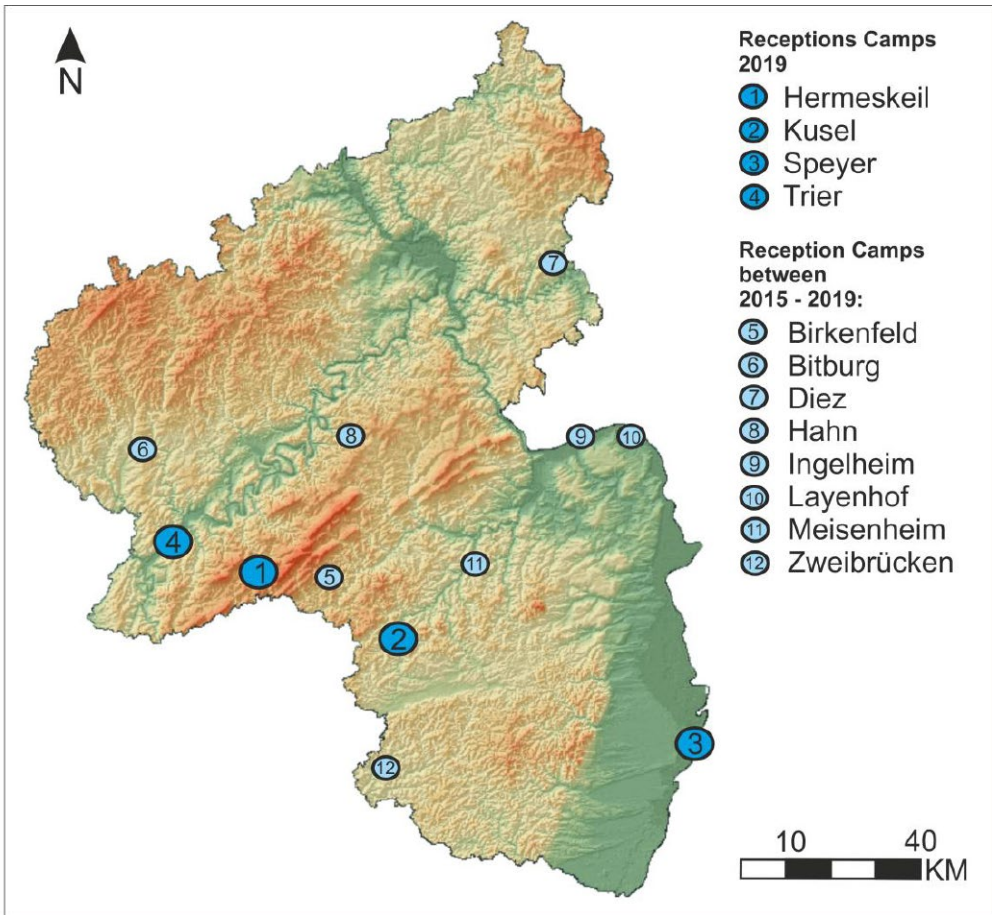


Figure 3.6. Reception Camps in Rhineland-Palatinate in 2015–2019. Source: Rheinpfalz (2016); MfFJIV (2016). Map modified from ©GeoBasis-DE / LVermGeoRP (2019), dl-de/by-2-0, <http://www.lvermgeo.rlp.de>.

The maximum capacity of all reception camps was reached in 2015, with about 9,500 spaces for asylum seekers (Rheinpfalz 2016). There are no statistical information regarding whether all these places were used. As the number of asylum seekers decreased significantly since 2016, the state closed the first reception facilities, except in Hermeskeil, Kusel, Speyer and Trier. These four reception camps have 3,355 spaces and an additional capacity of 1,835 spaces (in total, 5,190 spaces) that can be made available quickly (MfFJIV 2017; MfFJIV 2019b). In total, the number of asylum seekers living in reception camps in Rhineland-Palatinate is not higher than 3,355 (no more than 4.1% of the current asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate; MfFJIV 2019a).

The regulations and organization for the accommodation of asylum seekers vary in each state and each municipality of Germany. Depending on the housing market and the general policy of each municipality, the asylum seekers move

from the reception camp to a single or shared accommodation (Gliemann & Szypulski 2018: 109–110). The quotas of asylum seekers in single accommodations differ from state to state. According to the SOEP survey, in 2016, in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland, nearly 80% of asylum seekers lived in private accommodations, whereas in Bavaria and Brandenburg, only 30% did so (Baier & Siegert 2018: 4).

In Rhineland-Palatinate, the quota of asylum seekers in single accommodations depends on the type of settlement and the housing market, and it differs significantly between cities and rural areas. In larger cities, a substantial number of asylum seekers live in shared accommodations (Mainz, 25%; Kaiserslautern, 13%), but in rural areas, very few if any do: in Kusel, every asylum seeker gets a single accommodation. In Kusel, the asylum seekers in the reception camp are not officially registered as inhabitants of Kusel (Eichholz & Spellerberg 2019). The characteristics of neighbourhoods of asylum seekers living in shared accommodations (23% in industrial areas) and in single accommodations (1% in industrial areas) differ a lot (Figure 3.7).

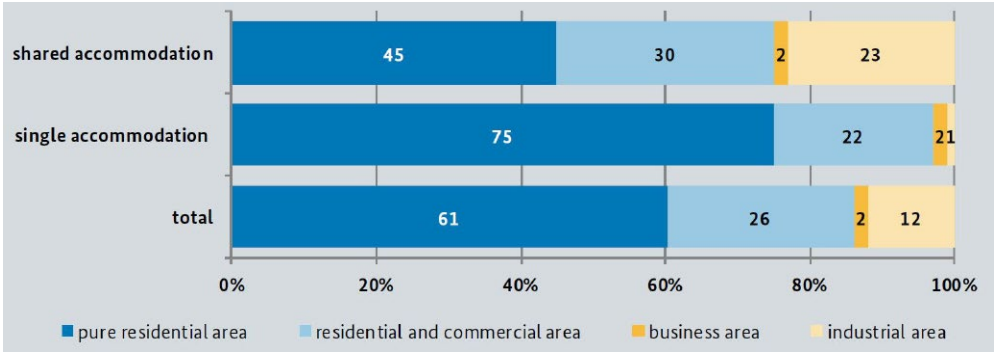


Figure 3.7. Distribution of city districts of asylum seekers by type of accommodation (in percent). Source: Baier & Siegert (2018: 8).

Besides the high amount of asylum seekers in these untypical neighbourhoods, asylum seekers in single accommodations have significant characteristics. Asylum seekers spend more than half (58%) of their income on rent, which is an indicator of a deprived standard of living. Other households in Germany spend less than a third (29%) of their net household income on rent. At the same time, the homes of asylum seekers and refugees are smaller, have more inhabitants and are more expensive per square meter (Eichholz & Spellerberg 2019).

According to the “Königsteiner Schlüssel”, Rhineland-Palatinate has to take 4.8% of the asylum seekers in Germany (BAMF 2019). In Rhineland-Palatinate, from January 2015 to June 2019, 86,762 asylum applications were submitted via

the EASY system. The number of people asking for asylum has been declining since 2015, and in 2018, it was 13% of what it was in 2015 (Fig. 3.8).

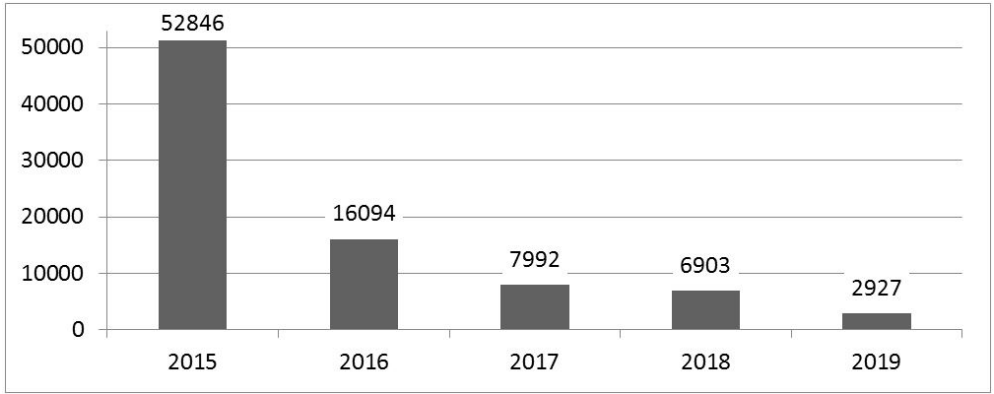


Figure 3.8. Asylum entrances via EASY in Rhineland-Palatinate from 2015 to June 2019. Source: MfFJIV (2019a).

In total, 17% of foreigners living in Rhineland-Palatinate are asylum seekers, and they make up 2% of the total population (Sueddeutsche 2019). The asylum seekers’ countries of origin in Rhineland-Palatinate differ. In 2016, the most common were Syria (43%) and Afghanistan (18%), and in 2019, Nigeria (23%), Syria (14%) and Turkey (12%) (see Figure 3.9). In total, between 2015 and October 2017, 46% (34,624) of asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate came from Syria and 17% (12,462) from Afghanistan (INI 2017: 23).

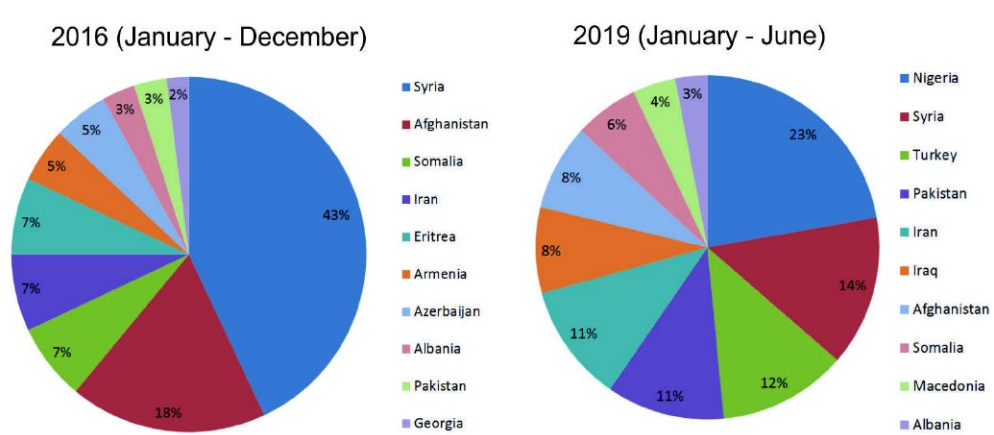


Figure 3.9. Asylum seekers’ main countries of origin. Modified from MfFJIV (2019a).

In July 2019, 81,185 (former) asylum seekers lived in Rhineland-Palatinate. Of them, 76% received protection status, 14% were in the asylum process and 10% were rejected as asylum seekers.

In June 2018, 6,520 asylum seekers living in Rhineland-Palatinate were obligated to leave Germany (Rheinpfalz 2018). According to the regional broadcaster SWR, 3,000 asylum seekers whose asylum applications had been rejected were listed as having gone underground and become undocumented migrants, 1,900 voluntarily left the state and Germany and 1,456 were deported. In previous years, these numbers were much lower (SWR 2019). This indicates that a few thousand former asylum seekers could have lived and might still live in Rhineland-Palatinate as undocumented migrants.

3.3 Asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern

In the official statistics of the city of Kaiserslautern, there is no information on whether a person who came to the city was a refugee or an asylum seeker. According to the city authorities, in the beginning of 2018, 2,437 persons with a legal refugee status and 540 asylum seekers lived in Kaiserslautern. In all, about 3% of the city's population, 20% of the population with a foreign background and 9% of those who migrated to Kaiserslautern have an asylum-seeker background. There is no statistical information about undocumented migrants living in Kaiserslautern, i.e. those who do not have a formal residence permit and whose presence in the city is not accepted by the city authorities. However, from a general estimation of the share of undocumented migrants among asylum seekers, there might be around 100–200 undocumented migrants in Kaiserslautern.

To get further information on asylum seekers in Kaiserslautern, we analysed the residence statistics regarding the most common countries of origin (Syria, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Cameroon, Eritrea, Morocco, Somalia, Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq and Georgia) of asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern (Fig. 3.10). In total, 3,491 inhabitants from these countries were registered in Kaiserslautern, and 95% of them came to Kaiserslautern in the last 6 years. Not all of them are refugees or asylum seekers. Considering the low number of inhabitants of these countries (listed as “others” before 2013), it is reasonable to regard most of them as refugees (Spellerberg & Eichholz 2018). Almost 50% are from Syria (48%), and fewer are from other countries of origin (Fig. 3.10).

The demographic background of these foreign background inhabitants differs from the rest of Kaiserslautern inhabitants. They are much younger, with a median of 26 years (in Kaiserslautern, it is 42 years), their average household size of 3.2 persons is large (in Kaiserslautern, it is 2.0) and two-thirds (65%) of them are men (in Kaiserslautern, men constitute 51%) (City Council Kaiserslautern 2018).

The asylum seekers in shared accommodations in Kaiserslautern are spread among nine facilities. Their maximum capacity varies between 20 and 200 per-

sons, with space for 485 persons in total. The living conditions at each accommodation site vary. Some are comparable to private apartments, whereas others do not have private bathrooms or kitchens (see Table 3.2). Of the population with a refugee or asylum seeker background, 390 (12%) lived in shared accommodations in Kaiserslautern (City Council Kaiserslautern 2018).

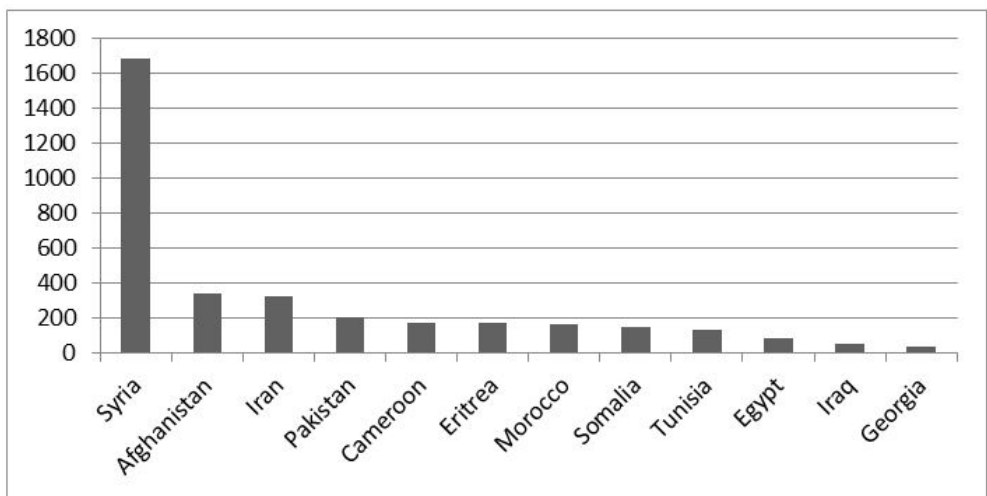


Figure 3.10. Inhabitants in Kaiserslautern from typical countries of origin of asylum seekers. Source: Modified from City Council Kaiserslautern (2018).

Table 3.2. Accommodation for asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern.

Name	Residents (estimation)	Type of room	Kitchen	Bathroom	Occupancy	Location
Post	200	Double room	On each floor	Floor by floor	1–2 years	City center
P4	36	Single room	Floor by floor	Single	Long-term	City center
P90	40	Apartments	Single	Single	Long-term	City center
<u>Colloseum</u>	40	Single room	Floor by floor	Floor by floor	Long-term	Urban fringe
<u>Asternweg</u>	109	Apartments	Single	Single	Long-term	Urban fringe
<u>Villa Jähnich</u>	20	Apartments	Single	Single	Long-term	Urban fringe
THW	40	Apartments	Single	Single	Long-term	Urban fringe

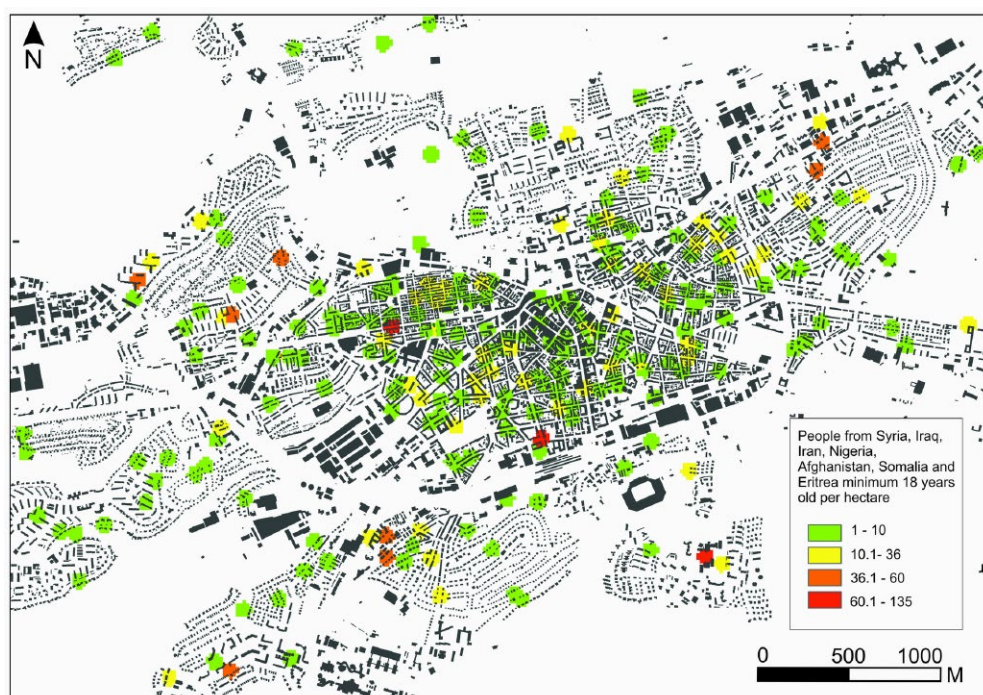


Figure 3.11. Density of adult inhabitants originating from typical countries of asylum seekers (Syria, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Somalia and Eritrea) in Kaiserslautern in 2018. Source: Modified from City Council Kaiserslautern (2019).

Asylum seekers living in private apartments in Kaiserslautern are spread over all 18 neighbourhoods (districts). Of adult citizens from specific countries of origin (Syria, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Somalia and Eritrea), 27% live in 11 neighbourhoods. This indicates a small-scale segregation related to individual blocks and houses (see Figure 3.11). The specific parts of Kaiserslautern where many asylum seekers live are characterized by an above-average rate of unemployment and multi-story buildings (Spellerberg & Eichholz 2018). In addition, there, the German inhabitants' acceptance of refugees is lower (Friedrichs et al. 2018).

The locations of asylum seekers are also a source of potential discussion locally. The arrival of many asylum seekers to Germany in 2015 led to the rapid growth of their number in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern. In such conditions, it was necessary but difficult to find appropriate solutions to accommodate asylum seekers. As mentioned, many early-stage reception centers were established (see Fig. 3.5), as well as other accommodation sites. In Kaiserslautern, three forms of social embedding of shared accommodations in their respective neighborhoods can be distinguished: (partial) invisibility (former post office), no infrastructure but high neighbor commitment (village-like situation in the north-west of town) and an overburdened neighborhood in a neglected area with marginalized local people (Asterweg) (Spellerberg & Schlauch 2017).

4. MAIN RESULTS

4.1 Background of the respondents

The survey respondents comprised 290 asylum-related migrants living in Rhineland-Palatinate, specifically 215 persons living in various locations in the city of Kaiserslautern and 75 persons living in the reception camp in Kusel (see Section 1.3 and Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The respondents were divided into five groups: those with refugee status and/or permanent residence permits, those with temporary (1–3 years) resident permits, those who were in the asylum process, those who had short residence permits (less than a year) and those without right to stay or resident permits (see Section 1.3).

Each of these five groups consisted of people whose presence in Germany – and accordingly, their opportunities to plan and realize their everyday lives – were structurally constrained by the length of their residence permits. In principle, everyone had an accommodation in Rhineland-Palatinate, but its type and quality vary. Some are employed while others are not. Some speak German and others do not understand it, and so on. Nevertheless, everyone lived in Rhineland-Palatinate in the spring and summer of 2019 (for a general situation of refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany in 2017, see Brücker et al., 2019).

In the analysis of these asylum-related migrants, we utilize the five categories above when suitable, but we also study them as one group. The respondents' share of all asylum-related migrants in the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, Kaiserslautern and the reception camp in Kusel is discussed in Section 1.3. We also asked how the respondents self-identified: 57% considered themselves to be refugees, 35% asylum seekers and 9% considered themselves something other than those two categories (such as a person united to a family or a migrant worker). As discussed in Sections 2.1 and 5.1, many asylum-related migrants do not know exactly what their formal legal and administrative categories are. Even if someone claims to be a refugee, s/he might only wish to have such a category to gain a residence permit. On the other hand, someone with the official status of refugee (i.e. having international protection in Germany) might want to be identified by other categories. Therefore, such self-identification is only subjective.

On the respondents, seven out of ten (70%) were male, and three out of ten (30%) were female. As mentioned in Section 3.3, of the asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate, almost two-thirds (63%) are male and over one-third (37%) are female. However, among the Duldung migrants and undocumented migrants more were males, so the gender proportion in the survey is close to the actual situation in Rhineland-Palatinate. Cyrus & Kovacheva (2016: 132) have

estimated that two out of three irregular migrants in Germany are men. Brückner et al. (2019) illustrate how of the refugee, asylum seeker and rejected asylum seeker respondents to a survey in Germany in 2017 (about 5,500 respondents), 73% were men and 27% were women. Statistical weighting was utilized by them but there might be a slight gender bias among these respondents.

Our survey was directed at adult respondents, and the age distribution was as follows: young adults (18–29 years, 45%); middle-aged (30–49 years, 52%); and the older generation (50–59 years, 2%; and 60 years or older, 1%; see Table 4.1). Among the respondents are thus very few representatives of older generations. However, of the asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate, the share of people 65 years or older was 0.4% (MfFJIV 2019a). In general, the sample resonates well with the actual gender and age distributions of the asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate. Cyrus & Kovacheva (2016: 131) have argued that most irregular migrants in Germany are 20–40 years old.

Table 4.1. Demographic backgrounds of respondents.

Respondent	Refugee and permanent			Temporary resident				Asylum seeker				Duldung migrant				Undocumented migrant				Total respondents				
	man	woman	all	N	man	woman	all	N	man	woman	all	N	man	woman	all	N	man	woman	all	N	man	woman	all	N
18–29 yrs old	69	31	36	39	88	12	7	8	75	25	22	24	90	10	19	21	71	29	16	17	0	0	100	109
30–49 yrs old	60	40	49	62	33	67	2	3	52	48	23	29	84	16	20	25	71	29	6	7	63	37	100	126
50–59 yrs old	50	50	67	4	100	0	17	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	17	1	0	0	0	0	67	33	100	6
60+ yrs old	100	0	67	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	33	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	100	3
Total	64	36	44	107	75	25	5	12	62	38	22	53	88	12	20	48	71	29	10	24	69	31	100	244

The respondents came from many countries. In total, 20 countries of origin were mentioned. The largest groups were those from Syria (51%), Iran (8%), Nigeria (7%), Afghanistan (7%) and Turkey (6%). Among the non-European population, the largest groups in Rhineland-Palatinate were from Syria (42%), Afghanistan (15%), Iran (6%), Pakistan (5%), Somalia (3%) and Eritrea (3%; numbers based on personal calculations from INI 2017:23 and MfFJIV 2019a). In Kaiserslautern, the largest groups in 2018 were from Syria (48%), Afghanistan (10%), Iran (9%), Pakistan (6%) and Cameroon (5%; City Council of Kaiserslautern 2018).

The variety of ethnic backgrounds is also reflected in the mother tongues of the respondents. In total, 18 languages were mentioned as mother tongues. The most common were Arabic (51%) and Dari/Farsi (14%), but languages also included English (2%) and French (1%). However, the respondents need command of German to handle everyday issues, especially with the administration but also

in shops. English can be used as an auxiliary language for basic issues, but command of the German language is very important.

Of the respondents, six out of seven (87%) knew at least some German and one out of five claimed to have a good command of it. Of women, almost one out of five (18%) did not know any German, whereas that share among men (11%) was lower, thus indicating a gender-based difference ($p=.005$). Those who knew German well were usually those with refugee status or with permanent residence permits. Participants less fluent in German were more often asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Except for asylum seekers, all other respondent groups knew German better than English (see Table 4.2). German language is not the mother tongue of any of the respondents, and almost no one had command of it before coming to Germany. The rather high share of people knowing German is an indication of interest for integrating at least to a certain extent into German society. Regarding a broad survey among refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany in 2017, Brücker et al. (2019: 52) note how only a small share of their survey respondents had a strong command of German at the time they arrived in Germany, and the large linguistic distance between German and the native languages of many refugees makes learning the language difficult.

Lengths of stay in Germany correlated with knowledge of the German language. This has been noted also by Brücker et al. (2019: 52) regarding the whole asylum-related population in Germany. Of our survey respondents, who had been in Germany for less than one year, two out of three (68%) knew at least a little German, and almost none (1%) knew it well. Of those who had been in Germany for over three years, almost all (96%) knew at least a little German, and over one out of three (35%) knew it well. Those who knew the least German were respondents who had stayed in Germany for less than half a year (i.e. mostly asylum seekers who were in the reception camp in Kusel). However, German lessons are organized regularly in the camp for the asylum-related migrants. They usually stay in the camp from a few weeks to a few months, so they have an opportunity to learn German there. Those who remained there a bit longer complained that they could not advance their German skills further because the language courses are for beginners.

English is a foreign language in Germany, but also an international language the people need for communicating with people outside of Germany (other than the person's own language group). In general, the longer a respondent's formal schooling, the more English s/he knew. Of those who had attended universities, everyone (99%) knew at least some English, and a majority (55%) said that their knowledge of the English language was good. Of those who had only elementary or incomplete elementary education, less than half (46%) knew some English, and one out of seven (14%) had a solid understanding of English.

Table 4.2. German and English language skills of respondents.

	Refugee and permanent		Temporary resident		Asylum seeker		Duldung migrant		Undocumented migrant		Total respondents	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
German												
Good	28	36	19	3	2	1	23	12	12	3	20	55
Moderate	43	56	63	10	28	16	29	15	24	6	37	103
Little	25	32	13	2	43	25	35	18	36	9	31	86
Nothing	4	5	6	1	28	16	14	7	28	7	13	36
English												
Good	33	42	13	2	50	29	27	14	31	8	34	95
Moderate	19	25	38	6	14	8	29	15	12	3	21	57
Little	26	34	31	5	21	12	29	15	23	6	26	72
Nothing	22	28	19	3	16	9	15	8	35	9	20	57

The education level of the respondents varied (see Table 4.3). Some persons were without the ability to read and write (in fact, they were assisted to fill out their questionnaire), and some had university degrees. The gender and age differences were visible in education: of the young adults (18–29 years old), one out of five (19%) had attended only elementary or lower education levels, and two out of five (40%) had attended a university. Thus the share of respondents having attended a university is substantially higher than found out in a national survey (in which it is 17%, see Brücker et al. 2019: 54). The respondents with the highest education levels (i.e. those who had attended universities) were predominantly males (67%) and originated from cities (88%); in addition, all (99%) university-educated respondents had at least some knowledge of English. The largest group of respondents with a higher education consisted of male adults (30–49 years old). Asylum-related migrants in Camp Kusel were a divided group: among them were both university-level education holders (26%) and those with elementary or unfinished elementary education (19%). This reflects the common situation that asylum-related migrants are internally a very heterogeneous group (see Section 2.1).

Of the older respondents (50 years or older), every second person (50%) had an elementary or lower education level (however, the sample is small). Of young adults (18–29 years old), one out of five (19%) had the lowest education level (elementary or uncompleted elementary education), and half (50%) of young adults originating from rural areas had the lowest education level. In general, four out of five (79%) had lived most of their lives in towns or urban areas. The amount of respondents originating from rural areas was highest among young adults (18–29 years old), who lived in Kusel and had no command of English or German.

Table 4.3. Education level of respondents.

Respondent	Elementary and uncompleted				Middle school				High school				University				Total			
	man		woman		man		woman		man		woman		man		woman		man		woman	
	%	%	%	N	%	%	%	N	%	%	%	N	%	%	%	N	%	%	%	N
18–29 yrs old	95	5	42	20	81	18	46	16	69	31	47	26	71	29	45	42	77	23	100	104
30–49 yrs old	75	25	50	24	66	33	51	18	43	57	51	28	66	34	53	50	63	38	100	120
50–59 yrs old	33	66	6	3	100	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	1	1	60	40	100	5
60+ yrs old	100	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	100	0	2	1	100	0	1	1	100	0	100	3
Total	81	19	21	48	74	26	15	35	56	44	24	55	69	31	41	94	70	31	100	232

The length of stay in Germany varied substantially among the respondents. Some had arrived in Germany only a few days earlier and were placed in Camp Kusel after being registered as asylum seekers in Germany. On the other extreme were some refugees and permanent residence holders who have resided in Germany already for years. Of the respondents, by spring-summer 2019, over two out of three (69%) had arrived more than one year ago, and one out of five (22%) had arrived just a few months prior (Table 4.4). The majority (59%) of the respondents had stayed in Germany for over two years, but there were differences among subgroups. Of the refugees and permanent residence permit holders, six out of seven (86%) had stayed in Germany for over two years, and this number was smaller among the remaining subgroups: temporary residents (84%), asylum seekers (10%), Duldung migrants (56%) and undocumented migrants (38%).

Table 4.4. Length of respondents' residence in Germany.

Respondent	Refugee and permanent		Temporary resident		Asylum seeker		Duldung migrant		Undocumented migrant		Total respondents	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0-5 months	1	1	0	0	67	35	14	7	38	8	22	51
6-11 months	4	4	0	0	17	9	12	6	14	3	9	22
12-23 months	8	9	17	1	6	3	18	9	9	2	10	24
24-35 months	11	12	17	1	4	2	12	6	24	5	11	26
36-47 months	57	60	50	3	4	2	36	18	14	3	37	86
48+ months	18	19	17	1	2	1	8	4	0	0	11	25
Total	100	105	100	6	22	52	100	50	100	21	100	234

Every respondent was now living in a foreign country. Some had become better established in Germany and others were still in an initial phase. Therefore, it is important to have family, relatives and/or friends near-by to have social networks. Of the respondents, slightly over half (53%) said they were single; two out

of five (41%) said they were married; and very few said they were divorced (4%) or widows (1%). Of the male respondents, half (51%) were single, and substantially fewer women – only one out of five (18%) – were single, so there is a clear gender-based difference ($p=.000$). (Such results are similar than in the broad German survey in 2017 in which 50% of men and 74% of women had a partner, see Brücker et al. 2019: 50). The share of single males was the highest among undocumented migrants (66%) and Duldung migrants (66%) and the lowest among refugees and permanent residence permit holders (40%). Being undocumented usually means living a rather precarious life, and one cannot officially get married in Germany because that would mean an exposure to the authorities. On the contrary, those with permanent residence permits can settle down in Germany.

Of the respondents, almost three out of four (73%) had family or relatives in Germany (see Table 4.5). Fewer men (55%) than women (87%) had family in Germany ($p=.000$). In general, often asylum-related migrants are single men who left their country of origin without a family. There was considerable variation among the different migrant subgroups, and the longer one had stayed in Germany, more often one had family in Germany ($p=.000$). Among refugees and permanent residence permit holders, only one out of nine (11%) was in the country without family or relatives, whereas that amount was several times higher among undocumented migrants (56%) and asylum seekers (39%). Therefore, the respondents had a varied share of children in Germany. Of refugees and permanent residence permit holders, a majority (53%) had children in Germany, but that amount was substantially smaller among asylum seekers (29%) and undocumented migrants (16%). Some of the latter had children in their countries of origin, which does not make these respondents' stay in Germany easy. They often psychologically miss their families and need to support them economically by sending money to them. Of the respondents, nine out of ten (90%) mentioned in the spring-summer 2019 season that they had family or relatives in their countries of origin (see Table 4.6). This share was lowest (81%) among Duldung migrants and highest among refugees and permanent residence permit holders (94%). Having family members or friends outside Europe and the respondent's country of origin varied significantly among migrant subgroups. 81% of refugees and permanent residence permit holders, 93% of temporary residence permit holders, 49% of asylum seekers, 71% of Duldung migrants and 48% of undocumented migrants had friends or family outside Europe and their countries of origin.

Table 4.5. Respondents' family and relatives in Germany.

	Refugee and permanent		Temporary resident		Asylum seeker		Duldung migrant		Undocumented migrant		Total respondents	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Spouse	12	9	33	2	18	5	20	2	33	2	16	20
Children	7	5	16	1	18	5	20	2	16	1	11	14
Spouse and children	38	28	16	1	39	11	40	4	50	3	38	47
Spouse, children and relatives	43	32	33	2	25	7	20	2	0	0	35	43
Spouse and relatives	5	2	0	0	33	2	0	0	20	1	07	05
Children and relatives	8	3	25	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	07	05
Relatives	88	35	75	6	66	4	100	17	80	4	87	66
Yes family or relatives	89	114	88	14	61	34	53	27	44	11	73	200
No family or relatives	11	14	13	2	39	22	47	24	56	14	28	76
Total	100	129	100	16	100	59	100	53	100	27	100	284

Table 4.6. Respondents' relatives or family members in the country of origin.

	Refugee and permanent		Temporary resident		Asylum seeker		Duldung migrant		Undocumented migrant		Total respondents	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes family or relatives	48	121	5	13	20	51	17	43	9	22	100	250
No family or relatives	28	8	7	2	24	7	35	10	7	2	100	29
Total	46	129	5	15	21	58	19	53	9	24	100	279

Besides family and relatives, having friends is significant for asylum-related migrants' social life, ties and networks. There are many asylum-related migrants from certain nations, so it is easier to find friends among these larger groups. From some countries, there are only a few people in Rhineland-Palatinate. Having friends among Germans indicates at least an initial integration into the German society.

Of the respondents, slightly over every second person (53%) had German friends (see Table 4.7). However, there was a substantial difference of having German friends according to the respondents' backgrounds. Of refugees and permanent residence permit holders, two out of three (68%) had German friends, whereas the subgroups had the lowest share among undocumented migrants, of whom one out of three (35%) had German friends. In general, men (59%) had slightly more German friends than women (54%). Men are more of-

ten exposed to society through work and hobbies than women. In addition, of the older (more than 50 years old) respondents, substantially fewer (44% – four out of nine respondents) had German friends compared with the young (under 30 years old) adults (67%). Being engaged with working life increases the probability of having German friends; that is, of the respondents who were employed, 63% had German friends as did 54% of unemployed respondents. The respondents in Camp Kusel have been in Germany only a short time and are more isolated from German society; nevertheless, one out of four (27%) of them had German friends. Very few (4%) had many of them. Those who had many German friends were generally respondents with temporary residence permits and/or young adults who knew the German language well. Those who had German friends had often also friends from his/her country of origin in the current neighbourhood ($p=.000$). Those who did not have any German friends were most often undocumented migrants or lived in Camp Kusel, came recently (2019) to Germany and rarely knew more than a little German. The respondents living in Kaiserslautern typically had more German friends than those living in Camp Kusel ($p=.000$), as the former have lived longer in Germany and have met more Germans. In addition, those living in Kaiserslautern also had more friends from their country of origin in their neighbourhood than those placed in Camp Kusel ($p=.000$).

Table 4.7. Respondents' having German friends.

	Many	Some	No	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	12	56	32	125
Temporary resident	29	21	50	14
Asylum seeker	4	40	57	51
Duldung migrant	16	45	39	49
Undocumented migrant	4	31	65	26
Man	13	46	41	178
Woman	7	47	46	83
18–29 years old	17	50	33	104
30–49 years old	8	46	46	122
50–59 years old	0	17	83	6
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	16	47	37	68
Inactive	8	46	45	180
Urban background	10	47	42	205
Rural background	13	44	43	54
Kaiserslautern	13	55	32	121
Camp Kusel	4	23	74	57
Total	11	46	43	267

In addition, the respondents listed the best and worst aspects of their lives in Germany. This is a subjective statement that is related to each respondent's individual character, structural conditions related to the living permit and experiences in Germany. This all refers to their reasons for coming to Germany: some fled life-threatening situations, whereas others came to seek economically better lives. Of the respondents, two out of three (66%) mentioned the best aspect(s) of their life in Germany. Among all respondents, safety was mentioned as the most important aspect by almost half (46%) of the respondents. This was followed by family and social life (16%) and living, services and structures (15%) as the best aspects of life in Germany (see Table 4.8). Safety was mentioned as the first best aspect by all asylum-related migrant subgroups. One out of eight (12%) Duldung migrants mentioned “nothing” to the question as their best aspect of life in Germany.

Table 4.8. Best aspects of respondents' lives in Germany (%).

Refugee and permanent	Temporary resident	Asylum seeker	Duldung migrant	Undocumented migrant	Total respondents
Safety 49	Safety 50	Safety 44	Safety 39	Safety 44	Safety 46
Family 19	Living 50	Family 18	Living 18	Living 38	Family 16
Integration 12	Other 0	Living 13	Family 15	Family 6	Living 15
Living 8		Integration 8	Nothing 12	Integration 6	Integration 8
Other 12		Other 17	Other 16	Other 6	Other 15
N 89	8	39	39	16	191

Of the respondents, fewer (61%; i.e. 5 percent units less) mentioned the worst rather than the best aspects of their lives in Germany. In addition, their answers (see Table 4.9) were more diverse than the positive ones. However, one out of six (17%) mentioned “nothing” as the worst aspect of life in Germany. Such answer can be partly deriving from the respondents' wishes or expected behavior as well. In general, the answers differed regarding the backgrounds of the respondents. Of all respondents, as the worst aspect in Germany, one out of five mentioned culture (20%) and family and personal social life related issues (19%), and almost one out of three (29%) mentioned various other issues. For example, refugees and permanent residence permit holders mentioned culture most often (28%), temporary residence permit holders culture (50%), asylum seekers immigration status and residence (27%), Duldung migrants family-related issues (29%), and undocumented migrants, curiously, nothing (40%). The latter is an indication that many of them are satisfied with their lives in Germany besides the permanent risk of eviction and deportation. However, their second-most often mentioned issue was prejudice and discrimination (20%). It seems that the life situations and experiences of undocumented migrants differ in Germany.

The financial situations of the respondents varied. Of all respondents, three out of four (77%) agreed that they needed necessarily more money to improve their situations (11% did not know; 12% disagreed). This number was higher among temporary residence permit holders (100% agreed on this statement), and among respondent 50 years of age or older (88%) as well as among refugees and permanent residence permit holders (82%). This number was lowest among people from rural backgrounds (62%), asylum seekers (64%) and those living in Camp Kusel (66%).

Table 4.9. Worst aspects of respondents' lives in Germany (%).

Refugee and permanent	Temporary resident	Asylum seeker	Duldung migrant	Undocumented migrant	Total respondents
Culture 28	Culture 50	Status 27	Family 29	Nothing 40	Culture 20
Family 18	Prejudice 17	Culture 21	Status 24	Prejudice 20	Family 19
Nothing 17	Everything 17	Nothing 18	Nothing 8	Status 13	Nothing 17
Labour 7	Other 16	Family 17	Labour 5	Family 13	Status 15
Other 40		Other 17	Other 34	Other 14	Other 29
N 83	6	34	38	15	176

One's presence in Germany is a sign of sustained interest in the country, or at least that the person considers it better than other options. Of the respondents, three out of five (61%) regarded their futures in a positive light (see Table 4.10). There was only a little difference in seeing the future positively among men (60%) and women (63%). The age of the respondent was related to the vision of future. Of the respondents under 50 years old, about two out of three saw the future positively, but of those aged 50 years or more, only one out of three saw the future positively (however, the sample of the older generation is very small).

There was one group among which particularly many people saw their futures in a positive light. The group comprised asylum seekers, mostly in Camp Kusel. Of them, nearly four out of five (78%) regarded the future positively. They had finally arrived in Germany, which had been the destination goal for many, and they were beginning the asylum process. This means that the challenging journey to Germany was over, so many looked toward the future positively. On the other hand, there were also those who did not see the future so positively, namely those with longer temporary residence permits and the oldest respondents. However, among these groups, there were also many who could not answer this question (Table 4.11). Those with family in Germany more often saw the future in a positive light than those without family.

Table 4.10. Respondents with a positive view of the future.

	Agree %	Don't know %	Disagree %	N
Refugee and permanent	56	40	5	124
Temporary resident	33	67	0	12
Asylum seeker	78	20	2	45
Duldung migrant	64	28	8	47
Undocumented migrant	65	35	0	23
Man	60	36	4	164
Woman	63	33	4	82
18–29 years old	63	35	2	94
30–49 years old	68	27	5	119
50–59 years old	33	33	33	6
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	64	33	3	63
Inactive	58	37	5	173
Urban background	59	36	5	202
Rural background	71	27	2	44
Kaiserslautern	63	31	6	118
Camp Kusel	78	18	4	50
Total	61	35	4	252

In addition, the respondents' sense of the future was linked to their life goals (see Table 4.11). Of all respondents, three out of four (77%) identified the most important goals in their lives. The most commonly expressed goals were related to education (24%), family (23%) and other issues (23%) such as living in peace and personal hopes and dreams. However, there were differences in the goals among people with different demographic backgrounds, such as between men and women, younger and older people and people with and without children. In general, for one out of five men (21%), the most important goal was family. For nearly one out of three women (32%), the most important goal was related to education. However, for those respondents with children in Germany, the most important goals in life were about their children, both for men (43%) and women (33%). For young adults (18–29 years old), the most important goal was family and the second most important was education. There were also differences in the life goals among the respondent subgroups: among refugees and permanent residence permit holders, family was mentioned most often and the remainder of asylum-related migrants mentioned education as their most important goal in life.

Table 4.11. Most important goals in life for respondents (%).

Refugee and permanent	Temporary resident	Asylum seeker	Duldung migrant	Undocumented migrant	Total respondents
Family 28	Education 38	Education 30	Education 23	Education 29	Education 24
Labour 20	Labour 25	Family 21	Family 19	Family 19	Family 23
Education 19	Germany 13	Labour 19	Labour 15	Good future 14	Labour 18
Good future 10	Good future 12	Freedom 9	Freedom 11	Labour 10	Good future 9
Other 23	Other 12	Other 21	Other 22	Other 28	Other 0
N 104	8	43	47	21	223

Last, the respondents estimated whether their lives would become better in Germany in the future. This is a relative question: if one's life is very unsatisfactory, even a small improvement means that life becomes better, and if one has almost everything going well, it can be difficult to have an improvement in life. Therefore, this answer also indirectly indicated the current quality of life. Of the respondents, two out of three (68%) stated that their lives would become better in the future; however, slightly more women (71%) than men (66%, see Table 4.12) believed this. However, there was a substantial difference among the respondent subgroups regarding this issue. A very particular result was that all (100%) undocumented migrants thought that their lives would be better in the future. This could be a sign that their lives are not very well at the moment. However, this result can also indicate an optimistic expectation toward the future. Many (81%) asylum seekers agreed they would have better lives in the future in Germany. Of temporary residence permit holders, almost two out of three (64%) could not answer this statement, so fewer were as positive about the improvement of their life in the future as the undocumented migrants. Of refugees and permanent residence permit holders, only a slight majority (58%) stated affirmatively that their lives would be better in the future. Their lives of refugees and permanent resident permit holders have most likely already improved. In fact, two out of five (40%) did not know how to answer to this statement. Those few (2%) who did not foresee their lives improving were single young adults (18–29 years old) who had spent most of their lives in rural areas who had no command of English, many of whom wanted to return to their countries of origin.

Table 4.12. Respondents stating that their lives in Germany would become better in the future.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	58	40	2	121
Temporary resident	36	64	0	14
Asylum seeker	81	17	2	47
Duldung migrant	70	28	2	46
Undocumented migrant	100	0	0	27
Man	66	32	2	170
Woman	71	28	1	82
18–29 years old	67	30	3	100
30–49 years old	77	22	1	120
50–59 years old	60	40	0	5
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	65	32	3	63
Inactive	68	31	1	175
Urban background	64	35	1	199
Rural background	76	18	6	49
Kaiserslautern	65	33	2	115
Camp Kusel	83	15	2	54
Total	68	30	2	256

4.2 Journey from the country of origin to Germany

The respondents originated from many countries and came to Germany due to many different reasons, so it is challenging to find clear commonalities in their asylum-related migration except that they reached Germany. Circumstances are different in various countries, so the pushing factors vary, especially as regards their temporal dimension. The journeys as such were challenging for the asylum-related migrants. Of the respondents, almost one out of three (29%) mentioned they being smuggled to Europe the greatest challenge during the journey, over one out of five (22%) the sea voyage and two out of five (20%) fear. Only one out of twelve (8%) mentioned that there was nothing challenging in their journey, and these were people over 50 years old with low education levels who identified themselves as statuses other than asylum seekers or refugees. In a broader survey among refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany in 2017, majority (56%) of respondents who provide such information reported experiencing shipwrecks, violence, sexual abuse, arbitrary imprisonment, and similar traumatic events during their forced migration to Germany (Brücker et al. 2019: 51).

Information and interaction in social media had an impact for over two out of five (43%) respondents' decisions to come to Germany (Table 4.13). Such share was greater among the currently employed (51%) than among those who were currently unemployed (39%). Of undocumented migrants, one out of four (26%)

agreed that information and interaction in social media helped his or her decision to come to Germany and one out of three (35%) disagreed on this. Such a critical answer may hint that these respondents did not get accurate information through social media because they are now undocumented in Germany. Of those who used the Internet daily in their countries of origin, every second person (51%) agreed that information and interaction in social media helped his or her decision to come to Germany. Those who did not use the Internet at all or used it only once a week disagreed in large part (48%) on the helpfulness of social media on making a migration decision. Of those, to whom information and interaction in social media helped his or her decision to come to Germany, three out of four (77%) agree that in Germany, information and interaction in social media makes his/her life easier, while very few (5%) disagreed on this ($p=.003$). For many of the former the use of social media was important also during the journey to Germany ($p=.001$).

Table 4.13. Information and interaction in social media helped respondents' decisions to come to Germany.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	42	22	36	119
Temporary resident	54	38	8	13
Asylum seeker	54	17	28	46
Duldung migrant	39	22	39	46
Undocumented migrant	26	39	35	23
Man	43	21	35	164
Woman	42	28	30	78
18–29 years old	39	30	31	96
30–49 years old	45	18	37	113
50–59 years old	33	16	50	6
60+ years old	50	0	50	2
Employed	53	22	25	64
Inactive	39	25	36	168
Urban background	43	23	34	200
Rural background	42	19	39	43
Kaiserslautern	44	26	30	114
Camp Kusel	44	26	30	52
Total	43	23	34	248

Of the respondents, very few (4%) came to Germany before 2015; that is, before the current large-scale migration to Europe began. Almost two out of four (37%) came in 2015, the year during which almost 1.3 million asylum-related migrants reached the EU (Eurostat 2016). The share of the respondents arriving later was smaller: 12% in 2016, 11% in 2017, 14% in 2018 and 22% in 2019 (Table 4.14). The larger number of recent arrivals is because one sample site was a reception camp. There are also particularities among specific nations whose arrivals relate to the push-

ing events occurring in their countries of origin. Many Syrians came rather early (of them, 65% came in 2015 or before that) because war had started there already before the large European immigration year. Turkish respondents came later. Of them, none came in or before 2015, meaning that most came to Germany after a state of emergency was declared in Turkey. Among Turkish respondents, over two out of three (71%) have university-level educations. These highly-educated people were most likely victims of political repressions that intensified from 2016 onward.

Table 4.14. Respondents' dates of arrival to Germany.

Respondent	Refugee and permanent		Temporary resident		Asylum seeker		Duldung migrant		Undocumented migrant		Total respondents	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
0–5 months ago (2019)	1	1	0	0	70	35	15	7	33	7	22	50
6–17 months ago (2018)	10	10	0	0	22	11	12	6	19	4	14	31
18–29 months ago (2017)	5	5	67	2	2	1	25	12	19	4	11	24
30–41 months ago (2016)	17	18	0	0	0	0	15	7	10	2	12	27
42–59 months ago (2015)	61	63	23	1	4	2	29	14	19	4	37	84
60+ months ago (–2014)	6	6	0	0	2	1	4	2	0	0	4	9
Total	100	103	100	3	100	44	100	5	100	20	100	212

Every second respondent (51%) came to Germany within a month of reaching Europe. There was no major difference in temporally reaching Germany as regards gender or age. For almost one out of five people (18%), the journey to reach Germany after arriving in Europe took over one year. In general, the longest time between arrival in Europe and reaching Germany was reported among the current asylum seekers, of whom one out of five (21%) arrived in Germany within one month. However, over two out of five (44%) spent over one year making this journey. Those who spent several months elsewhere in Europe before reaching Germany did not usually have family or relatives in Germany, were from rural backgrounds and were without university-level educations.

Germany is in the middle of the EU, so the respondents could have chosen other more or less similarly wealthy countries. In addition, many had to travel through several European countries before reaching Germany. Therefore, it is expected that the respondents have some particular reasons on why they selected Germany instead of other countries. The most commonly expressed reason of all respondents was human rights and refugee policy (24%), followed by characteristics of Germany as a country (17%) and family reasons (11%). There were differences among respondents, though. For example, people with higher

education levels and those currently employed mentioned human rights and politics more often as their main reason for coming to Germany. Furthermore, married people and those with relatives in Germany mentioned family more often as their main reason for coming to Germany. For those who remain in Germany as undocumented migrants, the most common reason to come to Germany was a personal one, and they do not mention human rights among the most common reasons. This suggests that they were not very interested in the asylum process. For the currently employed respondents, labour-related reasons were the most commonly expressed reason for coming to Germany (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15. Respondents' reasons for coming to Germany instead of other countries.

	Most common (%)	Second most common (%)	Third most common (%)
Refugee	Human rights and refugee policy 19	General characteristic of Germany 16	Family related reasons 15
Temporary	Family related reasons 29	Safety and security 29	Standard of living 6
Asylum seeker	Human rights and refugee policy 35	General characteristics of Germany 17	Safety and security 15
Duldung	Human rights and refugee policy 29	General characteristics of Germany 18	Education 11
Undocumented	Personal reasons 24	General characteristics of Germany 19	Safety and security 14
Man	Human rights and refugee policy 23	General characteristics of Germany 15	Education 11
Woman	Human rights and refugee policy 26	General characteristics of Germany 22	Family related reasons 14
18–29 yrs old	Safety and security 15	Human rights and refugee policy 15	General characteristics of Germany 15
30–49 yrs old	Human rights and refugee policy 31	General characteristics of Germany 17	Family related reasons 13
50–59 yrs old	Human rights and refugee policy 33	Family related reasons 33	Safety and security 16
60+ yrs old	Family related reasons 33	Education 33	Personal reasons 33
Employed	Labour related reasons 16	Education 14	General characteristics of Germany 12
Inactive	Human rights and refugee policy 30	General characteristics of Germany 16	Family related reasons 13
Urban	Human rights and refugee policy 26	General characteristics of Germany 18	Family related reasons 13
Rural	Human rights and refugee policy 20	Safety and security 17	Family related reasons 13
Kaiserlautern	Human rights and refugee policy 30	Education 15	General characteristics of Germany 13
Camp Kusel	Human rights and refugee policy 36	General characteristics of Germany 15	Safety and security 14
Total	Human rights and refugee policy 24	General characteristics of Germany 17	Family related reasons 13

% of respondents mentioning the aspect

Germany is distant from all countries of origin of the respondents, who all originate from outside of Europe. The nearest countries of origin to visit are over 1,000 kilometres away and many are several thousand kilometres away from their current place of residence. Therefore, only a few respondents (6%) have visited their countries of origin after having left them for Germany. None of the asylum seekers or those having a longer temporary residence permit had made such a visit.

4.3 Current living place

As mentioned, the location of asylum-related migrants in Germany and within the state of Rhineland-Palatinate is strongly influenced by authorities. The respondents also answered why they decided to come to their current place of residence in Germany. Transferred by the state was in general the most frequently given answer for coming to their current place. They also mentioned social and family reasons (Table 4.16). As discussed in Section 3.1, there is a very precise system for the distribution of asylum-related migrants in Germany, and the mobility of asylum seekers is constrained by this system. There were only a few other reasons mentioned, including labour- or education-related or personal reasons.

Table 4.16. Respondents' reasons for coming to their current place in Germany.

	Most common (%)	Second most common (%)	Third most common (%)
Refugee	Transferred by the state 30	Social and family reasons 27	Education 12
Temporary	Social and family reasons 66	Transferred by the state 16	Personal reasons 16
Asylum seeker	Transferred by the state 65	Other illegible reasons 10	Doesn't know 8
Duldung	Transferred by the state 59	Education 11	Other illegible reasons 11
Undocumented	Transferred by the state 71	Other illegible reasons 12	Education 6
Man	Transferred by the state 49	Social and family reasons 12	Other illegible reasons 11
Woman	Transferred by the state 45	Social and family reasons 24	Residence reasons 12
18–29 yrs old	Transferred by the state 41	Education 16	Social and family reasons 13
30–49 yrs old	Transferred by the state 49	Social and family reasons 16	Other illegible reasons 13
50–59 yrs old	Transferred by the state 66	Social and family reasons 33	-
60+ yrs old	Transferred by the state 100	-	-
Employed	Transferred by the state 32	Education 17	Other illegible reasons 15
Inactive	Transferred by the state 53	Social and family reasons 19	Residence reasons 7
Urban	Transferred by the state 45	Social and family reasons 19	Education 9
Rural	Transferred by the state 55	Other illegible reasons 14	Labour reasons 7
Kaiserlautern	Transferred by the state 41	Education 13	Other illegible reasons 13
Camp Kusel	Transferred by the state 74	Doesn't know 13	Personal reasons 8
Total	Transferred by the state 47	Social and family reasons 16	Other reasons 10

% of respondents mentioning the aspect

Many respondents went through the asylum process or are in it, meaning that the public authorities support their accommodations by providing options on where to stay. As discussed in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, depending on the municipality, they can be more or less constrained to live in shared accommodations in which they share a kitchen, shower and toilets. So the immediate room and the building are the nearest environments to the respondent. Then the environment extends to the neighbourhood, village, town or city. Then they reach the state, Germany, the EU and finally their country of origin. There is a hierarchy in these geographical settings in which the migrants are allowed to live.

The face-to-face social relationships are usually the most intensive among the family and relatives in the immediate vicinity and stretch to the neighbourhood and beyond. Three out of five (60%) respondents had family in their current living place (Table 4.17). This amount varied substantially between the subgroups and between men and women. Of the female respondents, four out of five (80%) and three out of four (75%) refugees and permanent residence permit holders had family in their current living place, but this share was substantially smaller among male respondents (50%), those in Camp Kusel (40%) and Duldung migrants (38%). Typically, those who did not have any family in their current living place were employed men younger than 30 years old. Four out of five (80%) respondents had at least some friends from their country of origin in the current neighbourhood s/he was living (Table 4.18).

Table 4.17. Respondents living in current place with some of their family.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	74	2	24	119
Temporary resident	61	8	31	13
Asylum seeker	48	15	37	46
Duldung migrant	37	7	56	46
Undocumented migrant	54	21	25	24
Man	49	9	42	164
Women	80	4	16	80
18–29 years old	46	12	42	94
30–49 years old	69	4	27	117
50–59 years old	67	0	33	6
60+ years old	67	0	33	3
Employed	49	11	40	62
Inactive	64	5	31	169
Urban background	59	7	34	196
Rural background	56	11	33	45
Kaiserslautern	58	5	37	113
Camp Kusel	40	14	46	50
Total	60	7	33	248

Table 4.18. Respondents having friends from their country in their current neighbourhood.

	Many %	Some %	No %	N
Refugee and permanent	20	68	12	125
Temporary resident	22	64	14	14
Asylum seeker	4	62	34	47
Duldung migrant	18	57	25	49
Undocumented migrant	19	48	33	27
Man	18	61	21	175
Woman	14	65	21	81
18–29 years old	21	55	24	101
30–49 years old	17	62	21	120
50–59 years old	0	83	17	6
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	19	62	19	68
Inactive	15	63	22	177
Urban background	16	65	19	205
Rural background	18	57	25	49
Kaiserslautern	18	68	14	121
Camp Kusel	4	55	21	51
Total	17	63	20	262

Satisfaction towards one's place, as discussed, consisted of the person's feelings regarding his/her social and physical environment. There, satisfaction towards the town, neighbourhood and accommodations is important. In general, five out of six (87%) were at least partly satisfied with their current town (Table 4.19). Those respondents who had German friends were more often satisfied with the town in which s/he lived ($p=.002$). Of those who were fully satisfied with their current town, the largest share was among respondents from a rural background (57%), refugees and permanent residence permit holders (49%) and young adults (18–29 years old) (49%). A German town provides full satisfaction to those who have lived most of their lives in rural areas in their country of origin or who have gained a more solid position in the German society in terms of a residence permit. Of those respondents living in Camp Kusel, one-third (34%) were not at all satisfied with their current town (however, 29%, i.e., almost the same amount, were fully satisfied with it), including almost one-third of Duldung migrants (31%). Both have limited possibilities in selecting a town in which to live. In Camp Kusel, single middle-aged men (30–49 years old), usually with low education levels, were the least satisfied with it. Of the asylum-related migrants living in Kaiserslautern, one out of seven (14%) was not satisfied with Kaiserslautern. They were most often without family and employment in Germany and/or had high education levels.

Table 4.19. Respondents' satisfaction with their current town.

	Fully %	Partly %	No %	N
Refugee and permanent	49	42	9	121
Temporary resident	31	46	23	13
Asylum seeker	44	38	18	50
Duldung migrant	29	40	31	48
Undocumented migrant	46	27	27	22
Man	41	39	20	171
Woman	45	42	13	78
18–29 years old	49	35	16	95
30–49 years old	45	39	16	122
50–59 years old	17	83	0	6
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	46	39	15	67
Inactive	39	41	20	170
Urban background	39	44	17	199
Rural background	57	22	21	49
Kaiserslautern	43	43	14	116
Camp Kusel	29	37	34	56
Total	43	40	17	256

Regarding satisfaction with their current neighbourhood, four out of five (80%) respondents were at least partly satisfied – the same amount as those satisfied with their current town (Table 4.20). In general, of the women, every second (50%) was fully satisfied; the number was higher compared to the men (43%). However, almost equal shares (women 81%; men 80%) were at least partly satisfied with their current neighbourhood.

Of the respondents at least 50 years old, all (100%; however, a small sample) were at least partly satisfied with their neighbourhood. Those not satisfied with their current neighbourhood had longer temporary residence permits and lived in Camp Kusel. The reception camp is isolated from the rest of the municipality, so the respondents' neighbourhood consisted of a former military garrison that has been converted into a site in which all inhabitants are asylum-related migrants, and the remaining persons are the camp administrators and volunteers. Having a friend from respondents' country of origin was positively correlated with satisfaction towards his/her neighbourhood ($p=.000$). The lack of such friends thus partly explains the respondents' lesser satisfaction in Camp Kusel.

Table 4.20. Respondents' satisfaction with their current neighbourhood.

	Fully %	Partly %	No %	N
Refugee and permanent	52	36	12	124
Temporary resident	14	50	36	14
Asylum seeker	48	26	26	46
Duldung migrant	33	41	26	46
Undocumented migrant	46	29	25	24
Man	43	37	20	171
Woman	50	31	19	78
18–29 years old	51	33	16	99
30–49 years old	47	32	21	117
50–59 years old	50	50	0	6
60+ years old	33	67	0	3
Employed	51	35	14	66
Inactive	40	37	23	170
Urban background	42	39	19	198
Rural background	52	22	26	50
Kaiserslautern	51	30	19	118
Camp Kusel	26	35	39	49
Total	45	35	20	255

Every respondent must spend a lot of time in their current accommodations, so that is an important part of their life quality. Of the respondents, over one out of four (28%) were not satisfied with their current accommodations (Table 4.21). The reasons for this include structural problems in the accommodation, its location and the respondent's general situation. In fact, of those who did not think there were enough showers and toilets, half (51%) were also dissatisfied with their accommodations. Every second (49%) respondent in Camp Kusel was not satisfied with his/her current accommodations. The reception camp is, however, meant for temporary accommodations. Therefore, the respondents live in shared accommodations and need to sleep in rooms with other people. Some of them are or have become their friends, but others are not known very well. The next largest share of those unsatisfied with their current accommodations is Duldung migrants (43%) and undocumented migrants (36%), who indicated precarious situations concerning their accommodations.

Close to a majority (45%) of refugees and permanent residence permit holders were fully satisfied with their accommodations. Of those living in Kaiserslautern, almost two out of five (38%) were fully satisfied with their accommodations. They were usually at least 30 years old, married, had family in Germany and had spent more time in the country. Of the respondents living in Kaiserslautern, slightly over one out of four (28%) respondents were unsatisfied with their current accommodations (Table 4.21). Those who were not satisfied were usually planning to move from Germany to another country in-

stead of one of their origin. In addition, many of them were men from urban backgrounds.

Table 4.21. Respondents' satisfaction with their current accommodations.

	Fully %	Partly %	No %	N
Refugee and permanent	45	36	19	123
Temporary resident	36	36	28	14
Asylum seeker	30	38	32	50
Duldung migrant	24	33	43	49
Undocumented migrant	28	36	36	25
Man	37	32	31	174
Woman	32	44	24	80
18–29 years old	37	40	23	98
30–49 years old	37	34	29	123
50–59 years old	50	33	17	6
60+ years old	67	0	33	3
Employed	39	35	26	66
Inactive	32	37	31	175
Urban background	34	37	29	202
Rural background	37	35	28	51
Kaiserslautern	38	34	28	118
Camp Kusel	15	36	49	53
Total	36	36	28	261

As mentioned, dissatisfaction in current accommodations is often related to the inadequate provision of basic services such as toilets or showers (but not only on that). In general, almost three out of four (71%) were fully satisfied with their provisions, and one out of seven (15%) claimed not to have enough showers, toilets and other facilities for their use (Table 4.22). Men (71% agree; 15% disagree) and women (69% agree; 16% disagree) were almost equally satisfied with the toilets, showers and so on for their personal use. This is more of an exception because usually men are more satisfied, especially when asylum-related migrants live in precarious situations (Jauhiainen 2018; Jauhiainen & Eyvazlu 2018). The result indicates that, from such a structural perspective, the accommodation of asylum-related migrants is at a good level. The share of those who did not think they had sufficient facilities was highest among the Camp Kusel (24%) and Duldung migrants (21%); however, the majority was satisfied with the quantity of these facilities. Those who did not think they had enough toilets, showers and other facilities in use were typically not satisfied with their current town or neighbourhood and/or did not view their future positively.

Table 4.22. Enough toilets, showers and other facilities in use for respondents.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	76	12	12	121
Temporary resident	85	0	15	13
Asylum seeker	53	28	9	47
Duldung migrant	68	11	21	44
Undocumented migrant	78	9	13	23
Man	71	14	15	162
Woman	69	15	16	81
18–29 years old	69	17	14	93
30–49 years old	67	14	19	119
50–59 years old	80	0	20	5
60+ years old	100	0	0	3
Employed	77	10	13	60
Inactive	67	16	17	172
Urban background	76	10	14	198
Rural background	51	28	21	43
Kaiserslautern	76	11	13	114
Camp Kusel	62	14	24	50
Total	71	14	15	248

In all, some respondents were fully satisfied with their current town, neighbourhood and accommodations. In general, refugees and those with permanent residence permits who had stayed in Germany for over four years thought they were treated well in Germany and did not think about returning to their country of origin. On the other hand, a few respondents were not satisfied with any of them (i.e. town, neighbourhood or accommodations). In general, they thought they were not treated well in Germany, they did not think their lives would improve if they stayed in Germany, they were unemployed and they needed more money to improve their current situations. There was not much difference in the plans to migrate away from Germany among those who were and who were not satisfied in these three aspects. Of those not satisfied with the town, neighbourhood and accommodations, no one (0%) planned to return to their country of origin, and one out of eight (16%) planned to move outside Germany as well as someplace other than his/her country of origin. Of those who were at least partly satisfied with their town, neighbourhood and accommodations, 11% wanted to return to their country of origin, and 3% wanted to move elsewhere outside of Germany. The chances to act according to one's desires differ between both groups.

We also asked the respondents if they feel like they are treated well in their current place in Germany (Table 4.23). Place can mean different things for different respondents. As discussed above, someone may consider it the whole town in which s/he lives, it may be the neighbourhood for another and

it can be an immediate accommodation for another, especially if s/he lives in a shared accommodation. In general, three out of four (75%) agreed they are treated well by Germans in their current place, one out of six (17%) did not know how to answer and one out of twelve (8%) disagreed on this. Regardless of the basic demographic backgrounds, approximately 70–80% of respondents felt they are treated well in their current place in Germany. A particularity is the high share of undocumented migrants (92%) who feel as much. Some of the Duldung migrants (18%) and those living in Camp Kusel (17%) claimed they are not treated well. In more detail, they are young adult men (18–29 years old) and/or those who do not have friends from their country of origin, as well as those who do not see their future positively. Of the older respondents (more than 50 years old; however, the sample is small) and of those living in Kaiserslautern, very few disagreed with the statement that they are treated well in their current place in Germany.

Table 4.23. Respondents feeling treated well in Germany in their current place.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	70	24	6	124
Temporary resident	77	23	0	13
Asylum seeker	79	15	6	47
Duldung migrant	78	4	18	45
Undocumented migrant	92	4	4	23
Man	77	15	8	166
Woman	74	21	5	81
18–29 years old	77	14	9	95
30–49 years old	77	15	8	120
50–59 years old	83	17	0	6
60+ years old	67	33	0	3
Employed	77	18	5	62
Inactive	74	17	9	174
Urban background	77	17	6	202
Rural background	70	16	14	43
Kaiserslautern	78	19	3	116
Camp Kusel	69	14	17	51
Total	75	17	8	252

The respondents replied if they felt the people from their country of origin are treated better in Germany than in other European countries (Table 4.24). This is a difficult question because probably none of the respondents have knowledge of such a situation and have not experienced it based on all European countries. Also, not all respondents know how their fellow citizens are treated in Germany. However, many have travelled to Germany through several countries and have remained in Germany for some time, so they could have at least some experi-

ence of it. In general, a high amount of people were unable to answer this (i.e. two out of five (40%) of all respondents). The least able to answer were those living in the Camp Kusel (47%) and those with temporary residence permits (50%). However, also among them were respondents who had an opinion (either positive or negative) of their fellow citizens' treatment. Those who thought that people of their country of origin are treated better in Germany than in other European countries usually originated from Pakistan, Palestine, Afghanistan or Somalia. Those who disagreed were often from Egypt or Nigeria.

Table 4.24. Respondents arguing that people of their country of origin are treated better in Germany than in other European countries.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	44	42	14	119
Temporary resident	42	50	8	12
Asylum seeker	39	45	16	44
Duldung migrant	46	28	28	46
Undocumented migrant	54	42	4	24
Man	42	39	19	165
Woman	46	45	9	76
18–29 years old	47	38	15	93
30–49 years old	38	43	19	117
50–59 years old	60	20	20	5
60+ years old	67	33	0	3
Employed	49	38	13	61
Inactive	44	41	15	168
Urban background	43	42	15	193
Rural background	46	35	19	46
Kaiserslautern	45	40	15	116
Camp Kusel	35	47	18	49
Total	44	40	16	245

The respondents had an opportunity to express if they were of the opinion that Germans are friendly towards them (Table 4.25). Only very few (4%) disagreed that Germans are friendly towards them, and those who had a higher share were Duldung migrants (11%) and young adults (18–29 years old) (7%). One out of five (25%) respondents did not know how to answer such a statement. The highest share of those without knowledge on this was temporary residence permit holders (36%), as well as refugees and permanent residence permit holders (30%). Asylum seekers (89%), undocumented migrants (83%) and middle-aged (30–49 years old) respondents (82%) were the largest share of respondents arguing that Germans are friendly towards them. It is not possible to distinguish if such viewpoints come from contacts with people, private sector, public authorities, NGOs or from a combination of them.

Table 4.25. Respondents arguing that Germans are friendly towards them.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	68	30	3	120
Temporary resident	57	36	7	14
Asylum seeker	89	11	0	46
Duldung migrant	64	26	11	47
Undocumented migrant	83	17	0	23
Man	69	26	5	168
Woman	77	22	1	79
18–29 years old	66	27	7	94
30–49 years old	82	18	1	119
50–59 years old	67	33	0	6
60+ years old	67	33	0	3
Urban background	71	25	4	198
Rural background	71	24	4	45
Kaiserslautern	72	23	4	116
Camp Kusel	78	18	4	51
Total	72	25	4	251

4.4 Employment

Employment is an important issue in the life of asylum-related migrants in Germany. Over two out of three (71%) migrants receive social benefits and/or financial help in Germany, and they are subsidized with their accommodations, so one may survive in Germany without being employed. However, for most people, being employed is more than a financial issue. It is part of a meaningful life. However, being an asylum-related migrant means that, to get a job, the person should not only compete with Germans but also legal immigrants in Germany, as well as with other asylum-related migrants, including those from the same country of origin. Furthermore, depending on the migrant's administrative status, becoming employed might require rather heavy paperwork, even if one has the formal right to be employed in Germany. In particular, being employed is important for undocumented migrants due to financial reasons. Of the undocumented migrant respondents, four out of five (80%) did not receive benefits or financial help in Germany, and only one out of eight (12%) received it regularly.

Employment varies greatly among respondents regarding their demographic backgrounds, employment experience backgrounds and status as asylum-related migrants. Of all respondents, more than one out of four (28%), at the time of the survey (in the spring and summer of 2019), were employed (12% fulltime; 10% part time; 6% irregularly); thus, 72% were not employed (Table 4.25). The share of employed respondents is slightly higher than found out in research regarding related migrants in Germany (21%), however, these studies (see Brücker et al. 2019: 55) also indicate how the employment rate among these migrants is enhancing year after

year – and it was estimated to be 35% in the end of 2018. Therefore, the respondents' mentioned 28% is probably close to the national situation in 2019, taking into account that in our sample are also undocumented migrants.

Of the respondents' spouses or children, one out of seven (15%) worked full time in Germany, a few (5%) worked part time or irregularly and four out of five (80%) did not work. Of the employed respondents, one out of seven (14%) had a spouse or children who worked in Germany (11% full time; 3% part time).

As in all contexts among asylum-related migrants along their asylum-related journeys, there is a huge gender bias in the active labour force participation among these migrants (see Jauhiainen 2016; Jauhiainen & Vorobeva 2017; Jauhiainen 2018; Jauhiainen & Eyvazlu 2018; Jauhiainen & Tedeschi 2019). Of the male respondents, nearly two out of five (38%) were employed in Germany (15% full time), whereas one out of twelve (8%) of the female respondents was employed (3% full time). Likewise, 62% of the men and 92% of the women did not work at all ($p=.000$). These numbers resonate well with the broader survey among refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany in 2017 (27% of male respondent employed; 6% of female respondents employed (Brücker et al. 2019: 57). There are many reasons for such gender-based differences in employment. Among many respondents with children, it is the wives' task to take care of their children on a daily basis. There are also cultural reasons – that is, in certain cases, it is not appropriate for women to be employed in a place where there are men who are not their relatives. There are also differences in former work experiences. Of the female respondents, nearly one out of four (23%) worked in her country of origin, whereas that amount was over two out of five (44%) among male respondents.

In general, there were differences among the respondents' subgroups. Of the male respondents, one half (51%) with refugee status or a permanent residence permit, three out of five (60%) with a temporary residence permit, over two out of five (44%) of the asylum seekers, nearly two out of five (37%) of the Duldung migrants and less than one out of three (29%) of the undocumented migrants were employed. Cyrus & Kovacheva (2016: 131–132) state that undocumented migrants' employment is relatively low compared to all undeclared work in Germany. They suspect that these migrants work mostly in private sector and often in jobs in which informal working conditions prevail. Undocumented migrants are mostly outside the official social welfare provision and need money to pay for accommodations, food, clothing and even healthcare.

As regards healthcare, it is possible to receive urgent medical care for free, but many undocumented migrants are afraid to use it because public health authorities should report undocumented migrants to immigration authorities. The United Nations has presented criticism on such requirement. On the contrary, asylum seekers receive the necessary medical and dental treatment, including medicines and dressings for acute diseases and pain conditions (United Nations Economic

and Social Council 2018). However, many undocumented migrants usually need to work to cover the everyday costs of living, including that of healthcare.

Of the respondents, almost two out of five (37%) were employed in their country of origin prior to leaving for Germany, a few (8%) were job seekers, one out of five (18%) were at home as a housewife (an equivalent male position was, in practice, rare) and one out of four (26%) were students. However, there was a substantial gender difference ($p=.000$) in the activities. Of the men, 44% were employed (23% of women), 10% were searching for a job (5%), 4% were home keepers or housewives (42%), 29% were students (22%) and 13% of men (8% of women) were engaged in other activities.

Having been employed in the country of origin did not substantially increase the likelihood of being employed in Germany. Of those who were employed in their country of origin before leaving for Germany, one out of four (26%) was employed at the time of the survey in 2019. Of those respondents who were inactive in their country of origin, that amount was smaller (21%). However, of those who were students in their country of origin, over one out of three (36%) worked in Germany at the time of the survey. Besides gender, being employed is specifically related to the respondents' age and education. One out of three (34%) young adults (18–29 years old) and two out of five (42%) of the young male adults were employed. Also, one out of four (24%) middle-aged (30–49 years old) respondents and one out of three (35%) men were employed. None of the employed respondents were at least 50 years old. Similarly, one out of three (33%) of respondents with university education levels were employed. The share of employed was smaller among people with lower education levels. Being employed full time also seems to be comparatively common for specific groups, but the amount of respondents is too small for analysis (Table 4.26).

The respondents' command of the German language is associated with the respondents' active engagement in their working lives. Over one out of three (36%) respondents who knew German well or moderately worked full time, whereas so did one out of six (16%) respondents who did not know German at all. However, knowing German is often related to the respondent's asylum-related status, which in turn structurally facilitates or impedes his/her possibility to work in Germany. Those who have been in Germany longer usually have better command of German and have easier institutional access to the labour market (due to the type of residence permit) and vice versa.

Another impact on employment is respondents' education levels and previous work experiences. When the education level is higher, the respondent more often works full time. Likewise, when the education level is lower, more respondents are not working at all in Germany. However, this is influenced by respondents' institutional status. Regarding the university-level educational background for refugees and permanent residence permit holders, over two out of

five (44%) were employed, whereas employment in Germany was less common among those asylum seekers with university-level education (24%).

Table 4.26. Respondents' employment in the spring and summer of 2019.

	Full-time	Part-time	Irregularly	No	N
	%	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	13	13	7	67	119
Temporary resident	8	0	8	85	13
Asylum seeker	6	6	10	78	51
Duldung migrant	12	10	4	74	50
Undocumented migrant	17	17	0	67	24
Man	15	13	9	62	175
Woman	3	5	0	92	79
18–29 years old	12	16	6	66	101
30–49 years old	12	8	4	75	122
50–59 years old	0	0	0	100	5
60+ years old	0	0	0	100	3
Elementary or lower school	14	14	0	71	49
Middle or high school	14	3	5	78	89
University	11	15	7	66	105
Urban	11	10	7	71	203
Rural	11	13	2	75	47
Family in Germany	14	9	6	73	182
No family in Germany	7	15	6	72	71
Good or moderate German	15	14	7	63	144
No command of German	7	4	5	83	112
Good or moderate English	13	16	8	64	140
No command of English	9	4	4	82	116
Student in country of origin	16	15	5	64	61
Employed in country of origin	10	9	7	74	87
Inactive in country of origin	10	8	1	80	63
Living in Kaiserslautern	13	9	4	74	59
Living in Camp Kusel	5	8	7	80	117
Total	12	10	6	72	258

Of all the respondents employed in Germany, over two out of five (44%) were employed in enterprises, one out of ten (10%) were self-employed with their own businesses, one out of seven (15%) had a combination of mixed employment and self-employment and one out of three (32%) had other types of employment. This resonates well with the national survey on asylum-related migrants in Germany (see Brücker et al. 2019). The asylum-related migrant respondents' current occupations varied. One out of four (24%) worked in various services, over one out of five (22%) worked in the food and restoration sector, one out of five (20%) worked in the social sector (as a social, cultural, health or legal professional), one out of eight (12%) worked in industry and the remaining 22% worked in

various types of employment. The typical self-employed person was married, had a good level of knowledge of the German language and was devoted to living in Germany, usually working in food and trade or crafts. Those working in enterprises (often without relatives in Germany) typically had high education levels and good English skills, usually working in social, legal, health and cultural professional fields. In general, the earlier study among refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany has found that their employment in unskilled and semi-skilled activities has grown substantially in Germany compared with their country of origin (Brücker et al. 2019: 56).

The respondents mentioned their general satisfaction towards their employment and the best and worst aspects of their current employment (Table 4.27; Table 4.28). Of the employed respondents, over half (55%) were fully satisfied with their employment, almost two out of five (38%) were partly satisfied and a few (7%) were not satisfied; however, almost all (93%) were at least partly satisfied with their work. Among the respondents, very few women were employed, but equally among them, almost all (93%) were at least partly satisfied with their employment. Of the employed respondents among the subgroups, the share of those fully satisfied with their employment was slightly lower (47%) among refugees and permanent residence permit holders; was higher (50%) among Duldung migrants; and was clearly higher among undocumented migrants (71%). The latter may be explained by the fact that undocumented migrants need employment to fulfil their major goal to remain in Germany, so they are less likely to complain about a job they are dependent on.

Table 4.27. Respondents' satisfaction in their current work.

	Fully %	Partly %	No %	N
Refugee and permanent	47	44	9	34
Temporary resident	100	0	0	1
Asylum seeker	60	30	10	10
Duldung migrant	50	42	8	12
Undocumented migrant	71	29	0	14
Man	55	38	7	60
Woman	45	44	11	9
18–29 years old	59	38	3	34
30–49 years old	55	35	10	31
50–59 years old	0	100	0	1
60+ years old	-	-	-	-
Urban background	54	39	7	54
Rural background	53	40	7	15
Kaiserslautern	61	36	3	33
Camp Kusel	69	16	15	13
Total	55	38	7	71

Table 4.28. Best and worst aspects in respondents' current work.

Best in current work % (all employed, N=42)	Worst in current work % (all employed, N=28)
Psychological comfort and recognition 24	Working conditions 39
Social relations 19	Nothing 21
Learning new experiences 10	Financial instability 14
Working conditions 7	Certain duties 11
Work matches education 7	Commute 7
Salary 5	Language 4
Best in current work % (refugee and temporary, N=27)	Worst in current work % (refugee and temporary, N=20)
Social relations 27	Working conditions 50
Psychological comfort and recognition 23	Financial instability 15
Work matches education 12	Nothing 15
Learning new language and integration to society 8	Certain duties 10
Nothing 8	Commute 5
Salary 4	Language 5
Best in current work % (asylum seeker, N=7)	Worst in current work % (asylum seeker, N=4)
Salary 29	Social problems 50
Learning new experiences 29	Nothing 50
Certain duties 14	
Psychological comfort and recognition 14	
Unclear answers 14	
Best in current work % (Duldung and undocumented, N=18)	Worst in current work % (Duldung and undocumented, N=11)
Unclear answers 39	Nothing 36
Psychological comfort and recognition 22	Working conditions 18
Social relations 11	Commute 9
Working conditions 11	Financial instability 9
Freedom of working hours 11	Language 9
Everything 6	Social problems 9

Among all employed respondents, one out of five (20%) responded to the question about the positive aspects of their employment, and one out of six (17%) responded to the negative aspects. One out of four (24%) said the main positive aspect of work is the psychological comfort it offers him/her, and one out of five (19%) said the social relationships were the best aspects of work. The respondents also experienced negative aspects in their employment. However, these were mentioned with less frequency than the positive aspects. With regards to the worst aspects in their current employment, two out of five (39%) respondents complained about the difficult working conditions. In general, asylum-related migrants form a group of people who can be exploited by being paid less than other workers. This forces them to work for longer hours without social security or healthcare, which are part of the employment contracts in the formal

labour sector. Many asylum-related migrants must be satisfied with any kind of job available to them and must accept the available salary and conditions if they want to work at all. For this reason, different types of jobs emerge: those that are for Germans, those that are for immigrants, those that are for better qualified asylum-related migrants (or those with particular ethnic backgrounds) and those that are for the remaining asylum-related migrants. Also, the institutional status is of importance. Earlier studies (see Sigona 2012) suggest that undocumented migrants who have difficulty being officially present in the labour market are often paid less and are offered worse working conditions. Fewer (14%) mentioned salary or financial relations as negative aspect of their employment. However, one out of five (21%) mentioned that there is nothing negative in their current employment. Typically, these respondents were married, had at least a little knowledge of the German language (some living in the Camp Kusel) and were employed in other service fields of employment.

Among the employed respondents, the median income in the spring and summer of 2019 was 800 EUR per month (this included also very little paid 'training jobs' in the Camp Kusel). Although it is not much, it is more than is required to change one's place of residence in Germany (if such salary is gained in the place one is moving to). Among full-time workers, the median salary was 1,250 EUR per month. That is below the minimum wage in Germany for the full-time employed (i.e. around 1,400–1,600 EUR a month), depending on the working hours (i.e. 9.19 EUR/hour). It is difficult to know the salaries because many of works are informal. In an earlier small survey (see Brücker et al. 2019: 55–56), it was suggested that the average salary of employed refugees, asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers would be 800 EUR, and for those with full time employment, it would be 1,600 EUR (the former exactly the same than among respondents to our survey and the latter 350 EUR higher than with our respondents). Of the employed respondents, about half (47%) were able, and another half (53%) were unable to save money in Germany. Of the full-time employed, nearly half (48%) were able to save money, and of the remaining workers, two out of five could save money (42%).

The respondents answered a semi-structured question about their main goal as to whether they worked in or planned to look for a job in Germany. Of the respondents, very few (3%) mentioned that it is merely to earn money. Slightly over half (53%) wanted to do or learn something new, one out of four (24%) wanted to continue the career s/he had in the country of origin, one out of seven (14%) wanted to get a residence permit based on work and only a few expressed the main purpose to earn money (3%) or to do other things (5%). Of the 192 respondents to this question, only two persons (1%) mentioned they would not look for a job in Germany. Of the respondents, undocumented migrants (25%), Duldung migrants (12%) and asylum seekers (9%) mentioned that they would work or look for a job to get a residence permit (however, the sample is too small to make generalizations).

Employment can also be a tool for the asylum-related migrant to become more integrated into German society (Table 4.29). Of the employed respondents, almost all (96%) mentioned that the work helps them integrate into Germany (63% fully; 33% partly). Those of the opinion that work fully helps them integrate into Germany had been to Germany for a shorter time and had at least a decent command of English and/or German. Their employment was in various fields (i.e. social, legal, health and cultural professions; industry and construction; and other services), and their median monthly salary was 800 EUR. Of the (eight) female respondents who were employed, all fully or partly agreed that work fully helps them integrate into Germany (however, the sample is small). In general, work is an important element in the respondents' integration processes.

Table 4.29. Respondents' work helps them integrate into Germany.

	Fully	Partly	No	
	%	%	%	N
Refugee and permanent	59	41	0	34
Temporary resident	100	0	0	1
Asylum seeker	63	25	13	8
Duldung migrant	63	31	6	16
Undocumented migrant	71	21	7	14
Man	62	33	5	63
Woman	63	38	0	8
18–29 years old	63	31	6	35
30–49 years old	59	38	3	32
50–59 years old	100	0	0	1
60+ years old	-	-	-	0
Urban background	65	32	4	57
Rural background	54	39	8	13
Kaiserslautern	71	29	0	34
Camp Kusel	71	7	21	14
Total	63	33	4	73

We also asked an open question to determine if and what kinds of respondents had learned something useful for their future in Germany (Table 4.30). Over two out of five (43%) answered yes, one out of five (22%) answered no and one out of three (35%) did not answer this question. Such a question specifies the skills that are of particular importance in Germany and not just any skills. Therefore, it is understandable why, of those who had learned something useful for their future, one out of three (32%) mentioned learning the German language. The German language is needed every day in Germany, and the respondents generally did not know that before coming to Germany. This answer was common among many people with different backgrounds. The next most common factors (among fewer respondents) were related to learning new skills or ideas

(21%), which were expressed by one out of three women (34%). The third most common new skill was adopting a new mind-set, which was the response from almost one out of five (18%) respondents. In Camp Kusel, due to the short time in Germany, it is obvious that many (27%) mentioned they had learned nothing. However, more than a third (36%) of the respondents there mentioned that the German language was a useful skill they had learned in Germany. Language courses are provided in the Camp Kusel.

Table 4.30. Respondents' learning useful skills in Germany for the future.

	Yes	Most common	Second most common	Third most common
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Refugee	72	Language 30	New skills or ideas 25	New mind sets 20
Temporary	100	Language 66	New skills or ideas 33	-
Asylum seeker	71	Language 41	New skills or ideas 17	Nothing 14
Duldung	56	Language 20	New skills or ideas 20	Nothing 20
Undocumented	59	Language 39	New mind sets 31	Nothing 15
Man	64	Language 35	New mind sets 20	New skills or ideas 20
Woman	69	New skills or ideas 34	Language 22	New mind sets 15
18–29 yrs old	62	Language 30	New mind sets 26	New skills or ideas 16
30–49 yrs old	67	Language 32	New skills or ideas 20	Job application 13
50–59 yrs old	33	New skills or ideas 100	-	-
60+ yrs old	100	Language 33	New mind sets 33	Nothing 33
Employed	82	Language 44	New skills or ideas 16	New mind sets 16
Inactive	58	Language 29	New skills or ideas 21	New mind sets 19
Urban	66	Language 33	New skills or ideas 21	New mind sets 19
Rural	68	Language 28	Nothing 20	New skills or ideas 20
Kaiserslautern	69	Language 42	New skills or ideas 27	New mind sets 12
Camp Kusel	57	Language 36	Nothing 27	New mind sets 18
Total	66	Language 32	New skills or ideas 21	New mind sets 18

% of respondents mentioning the aspect

The employed respondents in the spring and summer of 2019 had many kinds of fellow workers. Slightly over half (55%) of the respondents had fellow co-workers (Table 4.31). Having fellow co-workers from one's country of origin is less common than having fellow German co-workers. Of the employed respondents, two out of three (65%) had German co-workers, slightly over half (55%) had co-workers from his/her country of origin and 39% had both German co-workers and co-workers from their country of origin. Those with fellow co-workers from their country of origin often were middle-aged (30–49 years old), had family in Germany, had higher education levels and worked in the food and trade fields. Respondents often had only fellow German co-workers if they worked in industry, construction or crafts; in social, legal, health and cultural professions; or in other services. The subgroups had small differences: employed refugees and permanent residence permit holders more often (70%) had fellow co-work-

ers from their country of origin than other employed asylum-related migrants. Furthermore, a gender difference existed: compared with employed women, employed men more often had either German co-workers (68% vs. 42%) or co-workers from their own nation (58% vs. 38%). There are also cultural backgrounds for this – that is, not all women are expected to work with men, especially not with those from different nations. Furthermore, the language skills of the employed respondents were connected to the types of co-workers they had. Of the respondents who did not know German, much fewer (30%) had German co-workers than did those who knew German (86%), and these respondents more often had co-workers from their own country of origin (33%).

Table 4.31. Respondents with German workers and workers from their own nation (ON) in their current work.

	Many (%)		Some (%)		No (%)		N	
	ON German		ON German		ON German		ON German	
Refugee and permanent	11	46	59	30	30	24	37	37
Temporary resident	0	100	100	0	0	0	1	1
Asylum seeker	29	8	14	31	57	61	14	13
Duldung migrant	22	50	14	29	64	21	14	14
Undocumented migrant	22	23	22	24	56	53	18	17
Man	20	37	38	31	42	32	69	68
Woman	0	25	38	17	62	58	13	12
18–29 years old	17	40	33	21	50	39	42	43
30–49 years old	18	29	42	36	39	35	33	31
50–59 years old	0	0	100	100	0	0	1	1
60+ years old	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Employed	19	39	39	34	42	27	59	59
Inactive	11	20	22	7	67	73	18	15
Urban background	17	41	40	31	43	28	60	58
Rural background	23	27	32	18	45	59	22	22
Kaiserslautern	11	40	42	34	47	26	36	35
Camp Kusel	33	19	11	19	56	62	18	16
Total	18	37	37	28	45	35	206	208

4.5 Migration plans

Asylum-related migrants have by definition travelled to a foreign country – in this case, to Germany. For some, this movement from the country of origin to Germany took a short time, even only day(s), if one took an airplane directly from his or her country of origin. For others, the journeys have taken months or years, and some have passed through several countries to reach Germany. In the spring/summer of 2019, all of the respondents were in Rhineland-Palatinate, in Germany. Some of them were thinking about whether to continue their migration inside Germany, stay where they were, continue travelling to other countries or return to their country of origin.

4.5.3 Migration inside Germany

Almost all (96%) of the respondents affirmed that they think most likely to live the rest of their lives in Germany (Table 4.32). Three out of five (59%) were sure about it, more than one out of three (37%) answered “maybe” to this and a few (4%) answered “no”. In general, the vast majority thus at least considered remaining in Germany, and very few actively thought about leaving Germany. Regardless of the respondents’ backgrounds, only 0–6% of them did not answer affirmatively to remaining in Germany for the rest of their lives. Having a family in Germany seems to increase the likelihood that the respondent thinks to stay in Germany for the rest of his/her life.

The subgroups had some differences. Among the undocumented migrants, nine out of ten (89%) confirmed (“yes”) that they would stay in Germany for the rest of their lives, but only slight majority (56%) did among those with refugee status or a permanent residence permit. In addition, among those with longer temporary residence permits, more than two out of three (71%) answered “maybe” to this. Undocumented migrants were thus very consistent in their wishes to remain in Germany, especially temporary residence permit holders, and almost half (47%) of the refugees and permanent residence permit holders were unsure about this. Of respondents living in Kaiserslautern, more than half (58%) clearly affirmed that they wanted to live in Germany for the rest of their lives, and almost three out of four (72%) of those who (recently) arrived at Camp Kusel did.

Table 4.32. Respondents most likely live in Germany for the rest of their life.

	Yes	Maybe	No	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	51	47	2	120
Temporary residents	29	71	0	14
Asylum seeker	68	25	6	47
Duldung migrant	63	30	6	46
Undocumented migrant	89	7	4	27
Man	58	38	5	170
Woman	62	37	1	81
18–29 years old	59	35	6	101
30–49 years old	68	30	3	117
50–59 years old	50	50	0	6
60+ years old	66	33	0	3
Employed	52	43	5	63
Inactive	61	36	3	173
Urban background	54	43	3	198
Rural background	78	16	6	49
Kaiserslautern	58	40	4	115
Camp Kusel	72	22	6	54
Total	59	37	4	255

Family and the future lives of children are important for most people who will get married and have children. This is also a factor influencing people's mobility and migration. We asked whether the respondents' children can have a good life in the future in Germany (Table 4.33). Only 2% of the respondents disagreed with this, and none of the women, asylum seekers or undocumented migrants who responded did. Looking towards the children's (hopefully) promising futures in Germany is a pull factor for asylum seekers and undocumented migrants to remain in Germany. One out of four (25%) respondents did not know how to answer the statement, and almost three out of four (73%) agreed that their children can have good future lives in Germany. Among the refugees and permanent residence permit holders, almost one of three (31%) did not know how to answer this, and 4% disagreed with the statement.

Table 4.33. Respondents stating that their children can have a good life in the future in Germany.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	65	31	4	122
Temporary resident	57	43	0	14
Asylum seeker	79	21	0	48
Duldung migrant	84	14	2	44
Undocumented migrant	85	15	0	27
Man	72	25	3	170
Woman	74	26	0	82
18–29 years old	70	27	3	100
30–49 years old	82	17	1	119
50–59 years old	83	17	0	6
60+ years old	100	0	0	3
Urban background	69	30	1	199
Rural background	84	10	6	49
Kaiserslautern	70	27	3	114
Camp Kusel	80	20	0	55
Total	73	25	2	256

The vast majority of respondents thus considered remaining in Germany, so the next important issue is where they will stay in Germany. As discussed in Section 3.1, Germany regulates the mobility of asylum-related migrants, especially that of asylum seekers and those with limited residence permits or only “tolerated” stays in Germany. They are indicated the state and the location where they must live; therefore, they are not free to select any place in Germany, and they also do not have much experience with living in many places in Germany. Five out of six respondents (83%) mentioned they wanted to stay somewhere other than their current residence in Germany. These people most often had higher education levels and/or were unemployed and saw their future positively. The

places that some of the respondents mentioned were Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg and Berlin.

In an open question, we asked where the respondents wanted to live in Germany (Table 4.34). As mentioned, many of the respondents did not have any other experience than of where they lived at the time of the survey (after having been in a refugee camp somewhere). Some of the respondents lived in Kaiserslautern, where they could live if they wanted to in the future. Other respondents were in the refugee camp in Kusel, where they cannot live, but they could move to the small municipality of Kusel in the later phases of their migration trajectory. Few of the current asylum seekers in Camp Kusel would likely be destined to live in Kusel because they are located in Rhineland-Palatinate, in any of the municipalities the formula for the location of asylum seekers indicates.

In general, the respondents' current location clearly influenced the locations they preferred. Among of all respondents who indicated a preference as to where to live in Germany, almost one out of five (18%) mentioned Kaiserslautern or Frankfurt am Main (18%), and one out of seven (14%) mentioned Cologne. However, as mentioned, not all of the respondents had experience of these places, so it unclear if they all would move to these places if they had a chance to or if they would remain there after moving there. Nevertheless, out of 115 respondents, who answered to this question (40% of the sample), one out of five (21%) mentioned a preferred location (in this case a town or a city) inside Rhineland-Palatinate (18% Kaiserslautern and 3% Mainz) and the remaining four out of five (79%) a location in Germany outside Rhineland-Palatinate.

Of those living in Kaiserslautern, one out of four (25%) mentioned Kaiserslautern as their preferred place to live in Germany. Among those who lived in Kaiserslautern and indicated it as a place where they would like to live, many were men from rural backgrounds and Duldung migrants. On the contrary, those who lived in Kaiserslautern but indicated another place where they would like to live were typically from urban backgrounds, saw their future positively or planned to return to their country of origin. Therefore, these are the people with higher potential for outmigration among asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern. If their life circumstances change – such as being or becoming employed, getting a family or having a better housing conditions – these potential out-migrants might remain in Kaiserslautern, especially if they do not have permission or the resources to migrate further in Germany.

The subgroups of particular interest are asylum seekers, Duldung migrants and undocumented migrants. The sample is small, so the information below is only indicative. The largest group of Duldung migrants (28% of them) want to live in Kaiserslautern (as do the largest group of respondent refugees and permanent resident holders). However, Kaiserslautern does not appear among the most preferred locations among asylum seekers, many of whom having just ar-

rived in Germany. Instead, they prefer Frankfurt am Main, Cologne and Hamburg. Among the responding undocumented migrants, the most preferred locations were Mainz and Munich. Among female respondents, Stuttgart was the most often mentioned place they preferred. Among those who lived in Camp Kusel, the most preferred places were Cologne, Hamburg and Berlin, i.e. places outside Rhineland-Palatinate. In particular, those who preferred Frankfurt am Main were middle-aged (30–49 years old) and/or unemployed, and/or they had family in Germany; those who preferred Cologne were young adults (18–29 years old), did not have family in Germany and/or were employed; and those who preferred Berlin had high education levels, did not feel well treated in their current place and were unsure if they would stay in Germany for the rest of their lives.

Table 4.34. Respondents' most preferred places to live in Germany (of those who responded to the question).

	Most preferred (%)	Second most preferred (%)	Third most preferred (%)	N
Refugee	Kaiserslautern 20	Frankfurt am Main 19	Cologne 13	54
Temporary	Frankfurt am Main 29	Berlin 29	Hamburg 14	7
Asylum seeker	Frankfurt am Main 23	Cologne 18	Hamburg 18	22
Duldung	Kaiserslautern 28	Berlin 16	Cologne 16	25
Undocumented	Mainz 29	Munich 29	Frankfurt am Main 14	7
Man	Kaiserslautern 18	Frankfurt am Main 18	Hamburg 15	82
Woman	Stuttgart 21	Kaiserslautern 18	Frankfurt am Main 18	33
18–29 yrs old	Köln 19	Kaiserslautern 17	Frankfurt am Main 17	47
30–49 yrs old	Frankfurt am Main 20	Kaiserslautern 18	Hamburg 14	59
50–59 yrs old	Frankfurt am Main 50	Kaiserslautern 25	Munich 25	4
60+ yrs old	Berlin 100	-	-	1
Employed	Kaiserslautern 17	Cologne 17	Hamburg 17	30
Inactive	Frankfurt am Main 22	Kaiserslautern 18	Cologne 14	79
Urban	Frankfurt am Main 19	Kaiserslautern 17	Cologne 13	97
Rural	Kaiserslautern 29	Frankfurt am Main 14	Berlin 14	14
Kaiserslautern	Kaiserslautern 25	Frankfurt am Main 23	Berlin 11	53
Camp Kusel	Cologne 22	Hamburg 22	Berlin 17	23
Total	Kaiserslautern 18	Frankfurt am Main 18	Cologne 14	115

% of respondents mentioning the aspect

In a more structured way, we listed a number of large German cities and those relatively close to the respondents and asked in which of them the respondent would wish to live, which would be considered as options and which cities the respondent would definitely not want to live (Table 4.35). Also for this question, the most preferred place was Kaiserslautern, where six out of seven (86%) could live (“yes” or “maybe”). This was followed by Frankfurt am Main (79%), Mainz (77%) and, by fewer respondents, Berlin (60%), Munich (58%) and Saarbrücken (54%).

Table 4.35. Respondents' wishes to live in selected cities in Germany (%).

	Kaiserslautern						Berlin						Munich						Frankfurt						Saarbrücken						Mainz						
	y	m	n	d	N		y	m	n	d	N		y	m	n	d	N		y	m	n	d	N		y	m	n	d	N		y	m	n	d	N		
Refugee	56	34	4	7	77	36	27	25	13	64	48	16	23	13	75	53	26	11	11	76	33	28	25	14	57	36	44	5	15	59							
Temporary	100	0	0	0	3	67	33	0	0	3	75	25	0	0	4	80	20	0	0	5	100	0	0	0	3	67	33	0	0	3							
Asylum seeker	44	30	4	22	23	36	16	28	20	25	22	22	26	30	23	56	22	7	15	27	6	17	28	50	18	46	29	0	25	24							
Duldung	70	15	11	4	27	43	19	33	5	21	33	17	39	11	18	74	4	17	4	23	25	38	25	13	16	53	16	21	11	19							
Undocumented	71	29	0	0	14	46	9	36	9	11	42	8	33	17	12	57	21	21	0	14	18	27	27	11	50	33	17	0	12								
Man	60	26	6	8	98	44	17	28	10	88	48	14	24	14	87	61	18	13	7	98	29	26	24	20	69	42	35	9	14	78							
Woman	55	36	2	7	44	26	34	23	17	35	30	23	27	21	44	52	28	7	13	46	24	29	24	24	34	45	37	3	16	8							
18–29 yrs old	66	23	7	4	57	46	21	23	11	57	29	25	33	14	49	65	15	13	7	60	28	30	28	13	46	47	29	10	14	51							
30–49 yrs old	53	35	4	8	75	31	24	36	9	55	43	15	28	15	61	52	28	12	9	68	26	26	26	22	50	43	41	5	11	56							
50–59 yrs old	50	50	0	0	2	0	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	2	50	50	0	0	2	0	100	0	0	1	0	100	0	0	1							
60+ yrs old	50	50	0	0	2	50	0	50	0	2	0	50	50	0	2	50	0	50	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50	0	2							
Employed	59	28	8	5	39	44	21	29	6	34	49	12	33	6	33	56	21	18	5	29	24	31	35	10	29	35	41	10	14	29							
Inactive	56	31	4	8	96	35	22	28	14	85	38	18	25	19	94	59	22	10	10	104	27	26	22	25	73	46	33	7	14	85							
Urban	58	30	5	7	119	36	24	29	11	100	44	18	24	15	114	56	23	12	9	117	28	28	23	22	87	45	36	6	13	98							
Rural	62	24	5	10	21	55	15	15	15	20	29	14	36	21	14	70	17	4	9	23	33	27	27	13	15	33	40	7	20	15							
Kaiserslautern	58	28	6	8	72	33	30	19	18	57	43	18	18	22	63	57	17	13	13	69	31	31	16	22	51	39	35	4	22	54							
Camp Kusel	32	44	4	20	25	45	10	35	10	29	35	15	31	19	26	68	19	7	7	31	5	19	29	48	21	54	23	8	15	26							
Total	59	28	5	8	145	39	22	27	12	124	42	17	26	16	132	58	21	12	9	145	28	27	25	21	105	43	35	8	15	117							

y = yes; m = maybe; n = no; d = don't know; N = amount of respondents

To consider one more aspect of the respondents' migration wishes, we asked in an open question about where the respondents would like to be three years from now (i.e. in 2022). This was a question about their near-term futures. Approximately one out of seven (15%) of those who responded mentioned a locality in Germany. One of twelve (8%) mentioned the same locality in Germany as where they wanted to live in Germany (see above). They were thus convinced about their preferred location in Germany and that they would like to be there in three years. This also indicates their wish to migrate to that location in the near future (i.e. in three years). Of the respondents in Kaiserslautern, four out of five (82%) mentioned a location elsewhere in Germany; of them, nearly half (45%) stated the same location they would be in three years as their preferred location in Germany. Additionally, one out of five (18%) Kaiserslautern respondents mentioned that they would like to be there in three years (i.e. in 2022), and one out of six (16%) of those mentioned a place in Germany. Therefore, a majority of asylum-related migrants would prefer to migrate from Kaiserslautern. The most likely to migrate within Germany were undocumented migrants, people who searched for information about different places in Germany from the Internet, single respondents and/or those with middle-level educational backgrounds.

4.5.1 Return migration from Germany to the country of origin

In general, only one out of ten (10%) of the respondents planned to return to their country of origin, one out of four (25%) did not know how to answer the question and two out of three (65%) did not plan to return (Table 4.36). In general, among the asylum-related migrant subgroups, very few participants (0–7%) planned to return to their country of origin except for refugees and permanent residence permit holders, of whom one out of seven (15%) planned such a return. Those with a less guaranteed stay in Germany were the least willing to return to their country of origin. Those who were willing or forced to leave have probably already left, and the remaining undocumented and Duldung migrants do not want to return, even if their situation may be very challenging in Germany. On the other hand, those having 'secured' their presence in Germany through refugee status or a permanent residence permit can speculate about their return. In addition, some had specific push factors (such as war or political situation) from their country of origin that might be changing by now. The pull factors of Germany would then not be enough to make them stay in Germany. In addition, those who had remained for longer in Germany had been able to experience whether Germany was the place where they wanted to be. Furthermore, an expression of planning to return can be a nostalgic wish to still maintain a connection to the respondents' former home.

Table 4.36. Respondents with plans to return to their country of origin (COO).

	Planning to return to COO			N
	Yes	Maybe	No	
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	15	28	56	119
Temporary residence	0	66	33	12
Asylum seeker	6	18	76	50
Duldung migrant	7	24	70	46
Undocumented migrant	4	4	92	25
Man	12	26	62	164
Woman	5	22	73	82
18–29 years old	11	22	66	99
30–49 years old	7	23	69	117
50–59 years old	0	17	83	6
60+ years old	33	0	66	3
Employed	16	33	49	63
Inactive	8	23	69	174
Urban background	10	28	60	196
Rural background	6	14	80	51
University education	6	39	54	63
No university education	11	19	70	173
Family in Germany	11	25	64	182
No family in Germany	8	26	66	66
Family in COO	10	26	63	227
No family in COO	8	8	84	25
Living in Kaiserslautern	10	31	58	115
Living in Camp Kusel	3	8	44	55
Total	10	25	65	254

Of those who planned to return to their country of origin, three out of four (75%) missed the landscape of their former home regions (48% of those who did not plan to return); almost all (92%) had family in their country of origin (87% of those who did not plan to return); almost three out of five (57%) of them argued that Germans treated them well (80% of those who did not plan to return); and 42% argued that their children can have a better future in Germany (84% of those who did not plan to return). In particular, of Turks (20%), Syrians (13%) and Iranians (5%) planned to return to their country of origin. Of Afghans, Nigerians, Somalis and Egyptians, very few planned to return to their country of origin. The data on respondents from different nations is little, so it is difficult to verify these broader generalizations regarding the respondents' national backgrounds and plans to return. Indications of potentially making the return happen or of migrating away from Germany can be traced from where the respondents wished to be three years from now (i.e. in 2022). Nobody (0%) mentioned wanting to be in their country of origin or a location there in three years.

For many, returning to their country of origin does not mean returning to a country they liked the most. It would be about returning to their country of origin or that of their parents, relatives and friends. Among the young adult (18–29 years old) respondents, one out of five (21%) preferred countries other than Germany or their country of origin. Of these respondents, nobody (0%) planned to return to their country of origin, one out of five would move to another country (20%) from Germany and nobody (0%) disagreed with the notion that they would stay in Germany for the rest of their lives.

4.5.2 Migration abroad from Germany to somewhere other than one's country of origin

Of the respondents, very few (4%) planned to migrate from Germany to somewhere other than their country of origin (4% yes; 14% maybe; 82% no). Those who were most keen to migrate abroad from Germany other than their country of origin were refugees and permanent residence permit holders who had stayed in Germany for over four years or had high education level backgrounds with good knowledge of English. Of the migrant subgroups, a few (8%) refugees and permanent residence permit holders planned such migrations, whereas none of the rest of the asylum-related migrants did (Table 4.37).

Table 4.37. Respondents' plans to migrate outside Germany but not to their country of origin.

	Yes	Maybe	No	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	8	16	76	110
Temporary residents	0	33	67	12
Asylum seeker	0	13	87	47
Duldung migrant	0	11	89	46
Undocumented migrant	0	5	41	27
Man	5	14	81	160
Woman	2	16	82	73
18–29 years old	3	11	86	92
30–49 years old	3	12	85	113
50–59 years old	0	0	100	6
60+ years old	0	0	100	3
Employed	7	14	80	58
Inactive	3	14	83	167
Urban background	4	16	80	191
Rural background	2	7	91	42
Kaiserslautern	5	17	78	110
Camp Kusel	0	9	91	54
Total	4	14	82	240

When asked an open question about which country the respondents preferred the most, regardless of the background variables or asylum-related sub-groups, the majority chose Germany (Table 4.38). However, in reality, a majority (60%) of asylum seekers did not know or care about the country where they would most prefer to live. It seems that they have pushing factors from their country of origin but not so much pulling factors from any country. Among all of the respondents, three out of five (58%) preferred Germany the most, and one out of seven mentioned their country of origin (14%) or another country (15%).

Table 4.38. Respondents' most preferred countries to live.

	Most preferred (%)	Second most preferred (%)	Third most preferred (%)
Refugee	Germany 57	Don't know/care 13	Iran 6
Temporary	-	-	-
Asylum seeker	Don't know/care 60	Germany 20	Syria 20
Duldung	Germany 59	Doesn't know/care 9	United States of America 6
Undocumented	Germany 93	United States of America 7	-
Man	Germany 54	Syria 7	Canada 6
Woman	Germany 68	Canada 8	Iran 5
18–29 years old	Germany 57	Doesn't know/care 10	Canada 8
30–49 years old	Germany 60	Doesn't know/care 13	Syria 6
50–59 years old	Germany 33	Syria 33	Doesn't know/care 33
60+ years old	Germany 100	-	-
Employed	Germany 56	Iran 9	United States of America 6
Inactive	Germany 55	Don't know/care 17	Canada 9
Urban	Germany 51	Don't know/care 15	Canada 7
Rural	Germany 75	Don't know/care 7	Iran 4
Kaiserslautern	Germany 59	Don't know/care 14	Iran 7
Camp Kusel	Germany 63	Canada 9	Doesn't know/care 9
Total	Germany 58	Don't know/care 13	Canada 6

% of respondents mentioning the aspect

A separate question was asked about whether the respondent would seek a residence permit in Finland (Table 4.39). One out of nine (11%) respondents agreed with this, one out of three (34%) did not know, two out of five (38%) disagreed and one out of six (17%) did not answer. Germany was the destination country for most of the respondents, so Finland would be a rather similar destination and an alternative for very few of them. Thus, very few of the respondents in general were interested in Finland. Of those who had been university students their country of origin and thus were young adults (18–29 years old), one out of six (17–18%) agreed that Finland could be a country to seek a residence permit, and about one out of five (19%) Duldung migrants answered so. Those who agreed least were women (6%), asylum seekers (7%) and refugees and those with permanent residence permits in Germany (9%).

Table 4.39. Finland is a country where the respondent might seek a residence permit

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	No answer	
	%	%	%	%	N
Refugee and permanent	9	40	38	13	129
Temporary resident	12	44	31	13	16
Asylum seeker	7	27	41	25	59
Duldung migrant	19	23	43	15	53
Undocumented migrant	15	44	26	15	27
Man	14	33	36	17	195
Woman	6	37	45	12	85
18–29 years old	17	33	32	18	113
30–49 years old	8	32	46	14	131
50–59 years old	17	17	50	16	6
60+ years old	33	0	67	0	3
Family in Germany	10	35	39	16	203
No family in Germany	13	36	34	17	78
Good or moderate English	12	39	32	17	154
Little English	8	31	49	12	74
No command of English	12	28	38	22	58
Elementary or lower school	11	25	45	19	56
Middle or high school	11	33	37	19	103
University	12	40	39	9	110
Student in country of origin	18	33	28	21	64
Employed in country of origin	7	39	42	12	111
Inactive in country of origin	8	30	45	17	64
Employed	11	36	36	18	73
Inactive	11	36	42	11	185
Urban background	11	37	38	14	220
Rural background	10	29	36	25	59
Living in Kaiserslautern	11	34	46	9	123
Living in Camp Kusel	11	29	38	22	63
Total	11	34	38	17	290

4.6 Internet and social media

The Internet and social media have become important everyday tools for asylum-related migrants in various circumstances (Dekker & Engbersen 2014; Alan & Imran 2015). They need these tools for many purposes, such as to stay in contact in with their families and friends in their current location and in their country of origin. In addition, they can use these tools for functional purposes, including to search for information about their current location and possible other places in which to migrate and live (Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2019). Very few can properly manage in their everyday lives without access to the Internet and social media.

Among asylum-related migrants in Germany (and in this case, among the respondents in Rhineland-Palatinate), it was very common to own a mobile phone with Internet access; six out of seven (86%) respondents agreed to own such a phone (Table 4.40). Almost all of the women (94%) had such devices, and five out of six (83%) of the men did. Another group with almost all affirmative responses (94%) were those living in Kaiserslautern. The lowest numbers were among those originating from rural areas (72%) and those living in Camp Kusel (74%). A smartphone with Internet access is becoming a prerequisite for crossing over the first-level digital divide (i.e. to have Internet access).

Table 4.40. Respondents owning a mobile phone with Internet access.

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	91	7	2	120
Temporary resident	85	15	0	13
Asylum seeker	84	9	7	45
Duldung migrant	81	4	15	47
Undocumented migrant	79	13	8	24
Man	83	10	7	167
Woman	94	4	2	79
18–29 years old	82	13	5	96
30–49 years old	91	3	6	116
50–59 years old	83	0	17	6
60+ years old	100	0	0	3
Employed	91	6	3	64
Inactive	86	8	6	168
Urban background	90	6	4	197
Rural background	72	17	11	46
Kaiserslautern	94	3	3	116
Camp Kusel	74	12	14	51
Total	86	8	6	250

In practice, all (over 99%) of the respondents used the Internet. Three out of four (75%) used the Internet daily; one out of eight (13%) used it many times a week; and a few used it weekly (4%), less often (7%) or never (1%) (Table 4.41). The most frequent Internet users (i.e. daily) were respondents with university-level educations (89%), employed respondents (87%), refugee respondents and those with permanent residence permits (87%). The frequency of Internet use was very similar between men and women. Very active (i.e. daily) Internet usage was lower among people with rural backgrounds (53%), older respondents (50 years of age or more, but this was a small sample) (56%), respondents living in Camp Kusel (56%), asylum seekers (58%), undocumented migrants (60%) and those with low (elementary) education levels (60%).

Table 4.41. Respondents' frequency of Internet use in Germany.

	Every day	Many times a week	Once a week	Less frequently	Never	N
	%	%	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	87	6	2	3	2	126
Temporary resident	72	14	14	0	0	14
Asylum seeker	58	24	7	11	0	54
Duldung migrant	74	14	14	0	0	49
Undocumented migrant	60	16	8	16	0	25
Man	74	13	5	7	1	179
Woman	76	14	4	5	1	84
18–29 years old	72	17	4	7	0	105
30–49 years old	80	9	3	6	2	123
50–59 years old	67	17	0	16	0	6
60+ years old	33	33	0	0	33	3
Elementary school	60	15	6	15	4	52
Middle or high school	70	17	7	6	0	93
University	89	6	1	4	0	107
Employed	87	8	0	6	0	67
Inactive	72	15	5	7	1	182
Urban background	82	10	2	6	0	207
Rural background	53	23	11	9	4	56
Kaiserlautern	84	7	3	4	2	121
Camp Kusel	56	21	7	16	0	61
Total	75	13	4	7	1	270

These results indicate that the Internet has become ubiquitous among asylum-related migrants and that a majority of them use it daily. In addition, in comparing the respondents' Internet usage frequency between their country of origin and in Rhineland-Palatinate, the number of daily users has grown, and the highest growth took place among women as well as among refugees and permanent residence permit holders. The amount of those who had never used the Internet decreased in each background group and migrant subgroup (Table 4.42). This indicates that both the number of Internet users and the number of frequent Internet users had grown along the respondents' asylum-related journeys from their country of origin to the destination country. This means that at least the first-level digital divide (Internet access) has decreased among asylum-related migrants (see Merisalo & Jauhiainen 2019).

However, the frequency of Internet use also decreased in some specific situations. Some Duldung and undocumented migrants as well as some of those in Camp Kusel have become less frequent users. This is mostly related to structural conditions, such as challenges in possessing a device with which to use the Internet, poorer access to (free) networks and no possibility of obtaining a suitable phone contract. In more detail, among those who had used the Internet daily in their country of origin, 56% used it daily in Rhineland-Palatinate, and 44% use it

less frequently than before (10% did not use the Internet at all). Of those who had used the Internet many times a week in their country of origin, 24% used it more frequently than before, 41% with similar frequency and 37% less frequently (9% did not use the Internet at all). Of those who had used the Internet weekly in their country of origin, 54% used it more frequently than before, 27% did with similar frequency and 18% did less frequently (18% did not use the Internet at all). Among the respondents were two people (under 1%) who never used the Internet in their country of origin and who did not use it in Rhineland-Palatinate. In general, not all active Internet users could continue the Internet use with the same frequency in Germany. However, very many of those who did not use the Internet so often in the country of origin had now become more active Internet users.

Table 4.42. Change in the frequency of Internet use between country of origin and Germany (%).

Internet use	Every day	Many times a week	Once a week	Less frequently	Never	N
Refugee and permanent	+37	-8	-4	-16	-9	126
Temporary resident	+18	-13	+14	-7	-13	15
Asylum seeker	+9	11	-11	-1	-9	54
Duldung migrant	+28	-6	-10	+2	-14	49
Undocumented migrant	+27	-21	+4	+8	-17	28
Man	+25	-6	-5	-4	-11	185
Woman	+35	-4	-3	-16	-11	81
18–29 years old	+18	-2	-3	-2	-11	105
30–49 years old	+35	-5	-7	-12	-11	123
50–59 years old	+16	+17	0	0	-33	6
60+ years old	+33	0	-3	0	0	3
Employed	+34	-9	-16	-3	-6	68
Inactive	+26	-5	-1	-8	-13	182
Urban background	+30	-8	-5	-6	-10	213
Rural background	+26	+8	-4	-11	-1	56
Kaiserslautern	+31	-13	-6	-7	-9	121
Camp Kusel	+2	+1	-3	+6	-6	61
Total	+28	-5	-5	-6	-12	274

+ = growth in percentage units; - = decline in percentage units

The respondents used the Internet for various purposes. In a structured question, we asked about the respondents' functional uses of the Internet (Table 4.43). It was most commonly used to search for work opportunities in Germany, by five of six (83%) respondents. In particular, many temporary residence permit holders (100%), employed (95%), women (89%) and asylum seekers (89%) used the Internet for this purpose.

Almost three of four (71%) used the Internet to learn about their rights in Germany. Also, the most active users for this were temporary residence permit holders (84%), asylum seekers (75%) and women (74%). Of those respondents,

who had university level educations, five out of six (83%) used the Internet to search information about his/her rights in Germany whereas so did two out of three (66%) of those without university level educations.

Using the Internet to search for information about places to live in Europe outside Germany was less common and was done by one of four (25%) respondents, and such use varied substantially among the respondents. The largest group of such users were among temporary residence permit holders (64%), and the lowest was among middle-aged (30–49 years) respondents (9%) and undocumented migrants (17%). Of those, who thought to live for the rest of their life in Germany, one out of nine (11%) searched from the Internet information to live in Europe outside Germany whereas two out of three (66%) did not use the Internet for it ($p=.000$).

Of the respondents, almost three out of five (58%) searched from the Internet about places where s/he could live in Germany (21% did not know how to answer on this; 21% disagreed to search such information). This was slightly higher among temporary residence permit holders (78%) and among young adults (18–29 years old) (63%). Those who thought that information and interaction in social media makes his/her life easier in Germany searched more often information about the places where s/he could live in Germany ($p=.000$).

Two out of three (66%) agreed that they used the Internet to follow the current situation in their country of origin (19% did not know; 15% disagreed). These users varied significantly among migrant subgroups: almost all (92%) temporary residence permit holders followed the current situations in their country of origin, whereas three out of ten (29%) of undocumented migrants did so. Of those respondents, who thought to live for the rest of their lives in Germany, a slight majority (55%) searched from the Internet information about his/her country of origin. Of those, who disagreed with the statement to live for the rest of their lives in Germany, eight out of nine (89%) searched from the Internet information about his/her country of origin. The following in the Internet the developments regarding one's country of origin is connected to the respondent's wishes of not remain for sure in Germany ($p=.001$).

Among daily Internet users in both in their country of origin and in Germany (Rhineland-Palatinate), nine out of ten (90%) used the Internet to search for work opportunities in Germany, five out of six (83%) did to learn about their rights in Germany, two out of three (64%) did to obtain information about places where they could live in Germany and four out of five (78%) did so to follow the current situation in their country of origin. Of those who had never used the Internet in their country of origin but were now using the Internet (in whatever frequency), fewer of them than active Internet users used the Internet to search for work opportunities (66%), to learn about their rights in Germany (52%), to get information about places where they could live in Germany (42%) and to fol-

low the current situation in their country of origin (46%). Of those who were not active Internet users (weekly or less frequently in Germany), even fewer used the Internet to search for work opportunities (44%), learn about their rights in Germany (50%) and get information about places where they could live in Germany (33%), and slightly more used it to follow the current situation in their country of origin (50%).

Table 4.43. Respondents using the Internet and searching the Internet for information about...

	1			2			3			4			5			N
	A	DK	D	A	DK	D	A	DK	D	A	DK	D	A	DK	D	
Refugee and permanent	53	20	27	70	16	14	79	11	10	26	17	57	73	17	10	116–119
Temporary resident	77	15	8	86	7	7	100	0	0	64	29	7	92	8	0	13–14
Asylum seeker	62	25	13	75	18	7	89	9	2	14	26	60	61	23	16	42–45
Duldung migrant	62	21	17	67	12	21	84	9	7	27	24	49	61	18	21	37–43
Undocumented migrant	46	33	21	68	32	0	78	21	0	17	42	41	29	33	38	21–24
Man	55	23	22	69	15	16	79	12	9	26	25	49	61	21	18	153–161
Woman	61	21	18	74	20	6	89	9	2	23	20	57	73	16	11	77–81
18–29 years	63	17	20	69	19	12	83	12	5	32	27	41	62	22	16	88–93
30–49 years	48	29	23	69	19	12	84	10	6	9	22	69	65	19	16	108–114
50–59 years	50	0	50	67	17	16	67	17	16	17	33	50	50	16	33	4–6
60+ years	0	50	50	100	0	0	33	33	34	33	0	66	100	0	0	2–3
Employed	76	9	16	76	9	16	95	2	3	32	20	48	68	19	12	57–61
Inactive	70	19	11	70	19	11	78	14	8	22	41	81	63	20	17	157–167
Urban background	57	22	20	73	15	12	85	10	4	27	24	49	70	18	13	186–192
Rural background	54	20	26	67	17	15	72	13	15	22	17	61	54	28	19	41–46
Living in Kaiserslautern	51	22	27	74	12	14	84	8	8	25	17	59	67	17	16	106–113
Living in Camp Kusel	60	25	15	78	14	8	78	18	4	33	33	49	50	30	20	45–51
Total	57	22	21	71	16	12	83	11	7	25	23	52	66	19	15	151–243

1 = places where s/he could live in Germany; 2 = his/her rights in Germany; 3 = work opportunities in Germany; 4 = places where s/he could live in Europe outside Germany; 5 = current situation in county of origin; A = agree; DK = don't know; D = disagree

Of those who used the Internet, ten out of eleven (91%) also used social media. The respondents used social media at different frequencies, with different purposes and through different applications (Table 4.44). The most common applications used by the respondents who used social media were WhatsApp (80%; used most often by refugees and permanent residence permit holders), Facebook (69%; employed respondents) and YouTube (66%; employed and temporary residence permit holders). Less frequent but still quite common was Instagram (37%; temporary residence permit holders). Fewer respondents used Viber (16%; temporary residence permit holders), Twitter (15%; young adults and temporary residence permit holders), Snapchat (13%; women), LinkedIn (11%; temporary residence permit holders) and Skype (11%; refugees and permanent residence permit holders).

Table 4.44. Respondents' usage of social media applications in Germany (%).

	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	N
	%	%	%	
Refugee and permanent	70	20	10	119
Temporary resident	71	22	7	14
Asylum seeker	70	21	9	47
Duldung migrant	78	18	4	45
Undocumented migrant	46	46	8	24
Man	69	22	9	165
Woman	69	25	6	80
18–29 years old	62	28	10	95
30–49 years old	68	22	10	117
50–59 years old	100	0	0	6
60+ years old	100	0	0	0
Employed	68	26	6	62
Inactive	70	23	7	168
Urban background	71	21	8	195
Rural background	58	29	13	48
Kaiserslautern	71	22	7	114
Camp Kusel	67	21	12	51
Total	69	23	8	249

The respondents used social media for various purposes. Social media has an important function in developing and maintaining social networks as well as, in particular, in keeping in touch with relatives and friends in Germany, in Europe outside Germany, in their country of origin and outside Europe and their country of origin (Table 4.45).

Table 4.45. Respondents using social media to stay in contact with family and friends (%) who are in ...

	Germany					Europe outside Germany					Country of origin					Outside Europe and country of origin					N
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
Refugee and permanent	38	41	7	11	3	9	27	13	38	13	38	38	7	12	4	15	30	14	33	8	118-122
Temporary resident	33	50	0	8	8	16	25	8	33	17	38	38	8	8	8	15	23	31	31	0	12-13
Asylum seeker	14	33	12	17	24	3	8	32	30	27	22	16	32	32	16	7	26	12	23	33	42-50
Duldung migrant	14	34	14	27	11	7	19	9	37	28	29	25	16	16	15	15	15	21	23	26	43-48
Undocumented migrant	23	14	18	23	23	4	9	26	26	26	20	12	28	28	20	14	10	14	38	24	21-25
Man	24	37	9	20	10	9	18	15	41	17	31	26	12	20	11	13	21	18	33	16	157-172
Woman	35	36	10	8	10	4	27	18	24	27	35	35	9	14	9	12	33	12	25	18	71-81
18-29 years old	28	32	9	23	9	9	20	14	38	19	33	24	12	20	11	13	21	17	30	18	90-100
30-49 years old	27	40	9	12	12	8	17	18	34	23	27	38	9	18	9	16	23	12	32	1	104-117
50-59 years old	50	0	16	33	0	17	0	17	50	17	16	0	16	66	0	40	0	0	40	2	5-6
60+ years old	33	66	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	33	33	33	33	0	0	0	0	66	33	0	3-3
Employed	35	33	6	12	13	9	29	14	32	17	39	30	9	13	9	16	30	11	28	16	59-67
Inactive	24	39	10	19	9	7	18	15	37	23	29	30	10	20	10	13	23	16	31	17	158-174
Urban background	29	36	9	17	10	8	22	14	35	21	34	29	10	19	8	14	25	17	31	14	190-203
Rural background	23	41	13	13	10	8	16	27	38	11	26	33	13	15	13	14	26	12	23	26	37-46
Kaiserslautern	32	39	8	14	6	9	22	19	33	18	33	36	9	15	8	6	23	15	29	27	107-116
Camp Kusel	11	30	15	17	26	2	10	20	37	32	16	18	16	32	16	16	24	20	26	14	41-54
Total	28	36	10	16	10	8	21	16	35	20	32	29	11	18	10	14	24	16	30	16	151-243

1 = Every day; 2 = Many times a week; 3 = Weekly; 4 = Less frequently; 5 = Never.

Among all of the respondents, about two out of three (69%) agreed that Internet and/or social media use made their lives in Germany easier (Table 4.46). In general, people with different backgrounds tended to respond similarly to this issue. One slightly larger difference in this issue regarded the respondents' language skills. More of those who knew good or moderate English (72%) or German (73%), as compared to those who did not know any English (63%) or German (55%), agreed that social media made their lives easier in Germany. Those one out of twelve (8%) who disagreed with this were typically unhappier in general; two out of five (40%) was not satisfied with their accommodations, and almost two out of five (38%) believed that their lives would become better if they stayed in Germany and half (50%) saw their future positively.

All in all, regardless of the background variables, social media made life easier in Germany for the majority of the respondents except for undocumented migrants, of whom almost half (46%) did not know how to answer this statement. Those, who agreed that information and interaction in social media makes his/her life easier more often argued that information and interaction in social media helps him/her in making his/her decisions ($p=.002$).

5. CONCLUSIONS

In the 2010s, the Federal Republic of Germany became the most significant destination country in the EU for asylum-related migrants, i.e. people who left their country of origin due to political, economic and/or social (including religious and ethnic) insecurity to search for safe, better lives. In 2015, many asylum seekers arrived, and in 2016 alone, almost 750,000 asylum seekers were in the asylum process in Germany (BAMF 2019a: 11). In later years, new asylum-related migrants continued to arrive, though in smaller numbers. By 2019, these people had received different statuses and rights to reside (or not to reside) in Germany. In all, there are more than 1.7 million such people in Germany (see Bundeszentrale... 2019), representing a significant issue of continued local, national and international interest.

Asylum-related migration has become a complex phenomenon in the 2010s. People flee from their country of origin for various reasons. Safety is a key concern, but it is not always due to war or persecution that migrants flee. Insecurity in the economy and social relations are among many other pushing factors for many migrants (EASO 2016; FitzGerald & Arar 2018; Abela et al. 2019). In reality, many reasons intertwine, which makes it difficult to define these people on the move (Crawley & Skleparis 2018). Migration is about asylum-related aspects, but the majority of migrants are not those defined as refugees by the international conventions (see United Nations, 1951).

Asylum-related migration is seldom a straightforward short trip from the country of origin to the country of destination. Many spend months or even years during asylum-related journeys. Their destinations might change several times. Such journeys also blur the definition between host and transit countries – some countries initially thought to be transit countries become host countries (Collyer & de Haas 2010). In addition, because of legal constraints and economic hardships, some of these people travel back and forth, creating circular and cyclical asylum-related journeys (Erdal & Oeppen 2018).

In the end, very few asylum-related migrants are legally defined refugees. In addition, these migrants can seldom remain for long (usually 1–2 years) in the administrative status of asylum seeker. Nevertheless, such a person can feel like a refugee or asylum seeker (because s/he is fleeing the country of origin, whatever the reason might be). The personal and institutional aspects of becoming and being refugee, asylum seeker or migrant mix into a complex web resulting in no one being sure how these people should be defined, including the people themselves. They are categorized differently during the asylum-related journeys, and when such journey becomes more stable, in a destination, their categorization continues to change. The person is the same, but the definitions of him/her are different (Crawley & Skleparis 2018; Jauhainen & Tedeschi 2019).

This research report analyses asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate in western Germany and in particular the city of Kaiserslautern and the reception camp in Kusel. The empirical results derive mostly from our fieldwork conducted in Rhineland-Palatinate on April 6–June 6, 2019. During the field research, 290 asylum-related migrants responded anonymously to a semi-structured survey at various sites in Kaiserslautern and the reception camp in Kusel. We had also short conversations with some of them and related experts.

The 1–2 million asylum-related migrants in Germany and over 100,000 such persons in Rhineland-Palatinate are of many kinds. They range from youth to the older generation, from people who are unable to read to those with university degrees and from unemployed to employed. In 2019, according to our estimation, there were about 90,000 asylum-related migrants (i.e. asylum seekers, former asylum seekers with a residence permit or tolerated presence and undocumented migrants of various backgrounds) in Rhineland-Palatinate, making up 2.2% of its population and 20% of foreigners living in the state. They thus constitute a substantial share of the population.

Of asylum-related migrants, the majority (81,000) were asylum seekers. Almost a third (31%) of asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate were less than 18 years old, two thirds (67%) were of working age (18–64 years old) and very few (less than 1%) were of the older generation (at least 65 years old). Men were over-represented (63%) (MfFJIV 2019a). There are also undocumented migrants in Germany and in Rhineland-Palatinate, as in all countries, because it is never possible to expel all of them from any country (Triandafyllidou & Vogel 2010). However, their number is difficult to estimate. There are, most likely, a few thousand of them, mostly residing in larger cities and towns.

To conclude our research, we discuss two major issues regarding asylum-related migrants in Germany and, in particular, in Rhineland-Palatinate and its cities, towns and rural municipalities. These issues regard the types of asylum-related migrants and their legal statuses, as well as their everyday lives (accommodation, employment, social networks) and integration into neighbourhoods, localities and, more broadly, German society.

5.1 Types of asylum-related migrants and the legalization of their presence

To remain legally present in Germany is a complex process for asylum-related migrants. The system of screening asylum-related migrants, distributing them all over Germany and making legal decisions on their right to reside in Germany is clear, at least from the procedural perspective. However, the system is far less clear for people dealing with asylum-related migrants in daily practices. Unfortunately, the system in its details is unclear for most asylum-related migrants. They know fragments of it but do not have a comprehensive picture of it.

Asylum-related migrants consist of a variety of people with different official statuses in Germany and its states. As mentioned, nationwide, they account for around 1–3% of the population, but locally, such as in Kaiserslautern, the share of these people can be manifold compared with the national situation. Also, vice versa, there are places with very few of them, although the national system distributes them to all states in Germany, from where they are allocated to municipalities. In the following, we discuss different types of asylum-related migrants. These categories are structural elements that influence the possibilities and ways asylum-related migrants can live their everyday lives in Germany. As mentioned above, these people are usually not entirely aware of their legal status, what duties and opportunities it brings to them and how their status might change over time.

Among asylum-related migrants are asylum seekers, i.e. persons who have asked for asylum in Germany and are in the asylum process. This process usually takes from half a year to a few years (including the individual's possible appeals and subsequent applications) in Germany (BAMF 2019a). Meanwhile, asylum seekers have a right to reside in locations within the state in Germany in which they have been placed in the asylum process. However, the rights for accommodation and the types of accommodation available vary between and inside the states. There are states in which many asylum seekers have to live in a shared accommodation and other states in which such accommodations are rare. Also, in some localities (often in rural areas), all asylum seekers have an opportunity to have a private apartment if they wish, whereas in larger cities, thousands of them need to share their accommodations with peers. Usually, asylum seekers have the right to work in the state in which they legally reside during the asylum process. However, they need to follow a specific administrative process to get employment. Also, real possibilities to be engaged with work vary a lot, as will be discussed below (see also Section 4.4).

The largest and a diverse group among asylum-related migrants consists of former asylum seekers. Some of them have received a permanent residence permit in Germany. They usually received international protection, i.e. refugee status in Germany. Having such a status opens up many possibilities for social welfare and integration supporting services. Over years, they can become citizens of Germany by fulfilling several criteria successfully. Others have gained such a permanent residence permit through family reunification programs or by being a pro quota refugee selected directly from abroad (BAMF 2019a). Nevertheless, these people's position in Germany and its states is rather secure. Such security to be able to reside in Germany does not prevent them from thinking about migrating farther (especially related to pushing factors in Germany and pulling factors in another EU member state or their country of origin) or at least keeping this opportunity open in their minds, as discussed below (see also Section 4.5).

There are also former asylum seekers who were denied refugee status but received subsidiary protection in Germany due to verified reasons that were not sufficient to be internationally protected (mostly Syrian people; BAMF 2019a). Their residence permit is usually temporal and fixed-term. There used to be very few of them before 2015, but since then, annually, about 25–40% of asylum seekers have gained a residence permit in Germany (BAMF 2019a). Also, in the end, they can obtain a permanent residence permit by following an administrative process.

Furthermore, there are former asylum seekers (so-called *Duldung* “tolerated” migrants) whose applications were rejected and who did not get subsidiary protection in Germany but who can stay in Germany because they cannot be expelled. Usually, their country of origin does not take them back, they do not have sufficient international travel documents, the German authorities consider their country of origin (or parts of it) unsafe at the moment or it is difficult to organize their return journey (i.e. deportation). Such an exceptional possibility to remain in Germany means that they do not need to leave and will not leave Germany (see Section 4.5), so they remain stuck in a particular legal limbo, the length of which they cannot know. They might have the right to work, but this varies depending on the individuals’ backgrounds and the state. They need to register themselves with certain frequency by the authorities to continue to have the right to remain in Germany; however, technically, they are not protected and do not possess a residence permit there. Their number has been rather small, i.e. annually, they constitute approximately 3–4% of the asylum decisions (BAMF 2019a). Such a person might try to legalize his/her status by accomplishing other duties in Germany, for example, by being employed and gaining a residence permit through work (see below and Section 4.4).

There are also asylum seekers who can be deported after they do not get international or subsidiary protection or another residence permit in Germany. Many of them do not want to return to their country of origin or leave Germany for another EU member state and instead go into hiding to evade deportation. They become undocumented (irregular) migrants in Germany. Hiding might mean that the person goes into proper hiding when s/he knows that the enforcement authorities are coming to look for him/her. Remaining in Germany without a proper right to do so is not a major offence, so the authorities and enforcement units do not very thoroughly chase these undocumented migrants. Nevertheless, the authorities usually do not accept their presence in Germany, although locally, some might be accepted, especially by NGOs and select local residents. They are often very motivated to remain in Germany and not to return to their country of origin (see Section 4.5). However, because they are mostly outside of official social security and welfare benefits, they need to work to get sufficient income to remain in the country (see below and Section 4.4). Depend-

ing on the societal tolerance and receptivity, they might be able to legalize their presence with various opportunities mentioned in related laws and policies.

Finally, there are immigrants who came to Germany without a permit of entry or who continue to live in Germany even though their residence permit expired. This includes a variety of people, from EU citizens who forgot to register their long-term stay in Germany to those who came to Germany for asylum-related reasons but do not want to spend time in the asylum process. Sometimes they came to visit family members, relatives or friends who are asylum seekers in Germany and who know that the asylum process usually ends in the applicant's failure, especially if the person does not have a legitimate reason to ask for international or subsidiary protection. Instead of spending years in the process and being constrained to live in specific places, some of these non-asylum-seeking irregular migrants are employed in various kinds of jobs, and others spend time with their family, relatives or friends in Germany (see below and Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

5.2 Everyday life and integration of asylum-related migrants

The everyday life of asylum-related migrants consists, in principle, of similar issues to those of the majority of the ordinary population. To put it simply, they need a place to stay (accommodation), a decent source of living (work) and meaningful free time (friends and social networks). The following observations are mostly based on our survey among 290 asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate in the spring and summer of 2019.

Housing of asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate is a significant everyday issue. A specific share of these migrants arriving in Germany are distributed to Rhineland-Palatinate. After their registration, they are placed for a few weeks or months in specific reception camps such as the one in Kusel (see Section 1.3). From there, they are directed to municipalities within the state.

Asylum seekers are assisted in receiving accommodation. In general, the majority of them live in private accommodations, but this depends on the municipality in which they are placed. In smaller towns and rural areas, it is more common that accommodation is available in apartments. For example, in Kusel, all asylum seekers have private accommodations (those in the refugee camp in Kusel are not regarded as residents of the municipality). On the contrary, in larger towns, many asylum-related migrants live in shared accommodations in former offices, hotels and villas converted to accommodate them (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3).

In general, the clear majority of asylum-related migrants are satisfied with their accommodations, neighbourhood and the town in which they live in Rhineland-Palatinate (in our case research, most lived in Kaiserslautern). Of the respondents, three out of four (74%) were satisfied with their current ac-

accommodations (38% fully; 36% partly), four out of five (80%) were at least partly satisfied with their current neighbourhoods and five out of six (83%) were satisfied with the current town in which they were living (86% in Kaiserslautern). Those who were the most satisfied with their accommodations were refugees and those with a permanent residence permit, as well as older respondents. The least satisfied with their accommodations were those living in the refugee camp in Kusel and the *Duldung* 'tolerated' migrants. Of them, almost one out of four (21–24%) argued that they do not have enough showers and toilets and one out of six (17–18%) claimed that they are not treated well. Those who were not (yet) settled in German society were less satisfied, and those who had a permanent residence permit were able to organize better accommodations for themselves (see Section 4.3).

A prerequisite to integrating into Germany and its communities is that a person remains in Germany. Of the asylum-related migrants with a permanent residence permit, one in two (51%) definitely believed that s/he would live the rest of his/her life in Germany. In addition, almost half (47%) answered maybe, i.e. almost all (98%) of them are considering staying in Germany for the rest of their lives. Such (yes or maybe) a consideration to remain in Germany was also voiced by almost all undocumented migrants (96%) and asylum seekers (93%). Very few respondents were sure that they would not remain in Germany in the future. In fact, almost all (92%) undocumented migrants were not planning to return to their country of origin. They prefer even a precarious life in Germany rather than returning to their country of origin. However, of those with refugee status and a permanent residence permit, one out of seven (15%) planned to move back to their country of origin, and, in total, over two out of five (43%) considered it definitely or maybe. They still consider a potential return migration, but only a few will realize it. Of those who are considering moving out of Germany (yes or maybe) to somewhere other than their country of origin, many are Syrians. Actively following the developments in one's country of origin (through the Internet in most cases) is an indication of potential return migration. Of those who followed the developments in their country of origin through the Internet, almost half (46%) planned (yes or maybe) to return, but only a few (12%) who did not follow the developments had such a plan (see Sections 4.5 and 4.6).

Having family or friends in Germany reduces the wish to move elsewhere. Of the refugees and permanent residence permit holders, only one out of nine (11%) said that they do not have family or relatives in Germany. However, every second (52%) undocumented migrant made the same statement. Likewise, of refugees and permanent residence permit holders, one out of three (32%) said that they do not have German friends, but two out of three (65%) undocumented migrants said the same. However, despite not having (so many) family members

and German friends in Germany, undocumented migrants still do not want to leave the country (see above and Section 4.5).

Some asylum-related migrants have started to integrate into German society through work and language. However, a strong gender division exists in employment. Of the respondents, almost two out of five (38%) men were working (15% full time), as were only one out of twelve (8%) women (3% full time). Female asylum-related migrants were mostly engaged with the family, especially if they had children, as many did. Another actively working group was undocumented migrants (34% employed), and some were also employed full time. They are mostly outside the official social welfare systems and need money for everyday survival. For asylum-related migrants, the working conditions varied: work was available with and without contracts in the formal and informal sectors. For the employed respondents, the median monthly salary in the summer of 2019 was 800 EUR (1,250 EUR for employed full time). Financial issues are important, but most employed respondents mentioned that the best part of work was the psychological comfort and social recognition the work provided for them. Because many had to work in precarious jobs, the worst part of employment was the working conditions. Almost all (96%) employed respondents mentioned that their work helps to integrate them into German society (63% agreed fully and 33% agreed partly) (see Section 4.4).

Being able to speak German is crucial for integration into German society and communities. In general, aside from asylum seekers, all respondents knew German better than English. Of the respondents, one out of five (21%) argued that they had a good command of the German language. These were often refugees and respondents with a permanent residence permit. They were more prepared for institutional integration processes due to their language skills. Among those who knew little or no German were many asylum seekers (71%) and undocumented migrants (64%). They are not (yet) in the integration processes, at least in terms of their language skills (see Section 4.1). In general, those employed and with good German language skills were more satisfied with their lives in Germany. The lack of German language skills among adults means more often staying outside the labour market. Of those who knew German well or moderately, many more (36%) were employed compared with those (16%) who did not know German.

The reduction of the digital divide (access, use and impact of the Internet and social media on respondents) provides another opportunity for integration and for asylum-related migrants to develop and maintain social networks. All respondents (over 99%) used the Internet in Germany, usually more often than in their country of origin. It was very common to have a smartphone with Internet access (86% of respondents). Two out of three (69%) agreed that the Internet and social media made their lives easier in Germany. The share was rather similar

among all respondents, except undocumented migrants, of whom less than half (46%) thought so. The most frequent Internet users were those with a university education, those who were employed and those with refugee and/or permanent resident status (of them, 87–89% used the Internet daily). The Internet can also be a tool to support integration. Of active users of the Internet, nine out of ten (89%) used it to find employment in Germany, and three out of four (77%) used it to learn more about their rights in Germany (see Section 4.6). Furthermore, information and communication technologies are ways to remain in contact with friends and relatives in Germany, in their country of origin and anywhere they are found.

To conclude, among asylum-related migrants, there are different kinds of people who have some common features in their everyday lives, but also differences. The structural impact of the type of residence permit and related opportunities and duties in society influences their everyday lives by facilitating or constraining access to accommodation, employment and integration. It is important to conduct academic research about asylum-related migrants in Germany, Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern. The research-based results help with designing evidence-based policies that are efficient and that have planned impacts on individuals, communities and society as a whole in Germany, its states and its localities.

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REFUGEES, ASYLUM SEEKERS AND UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS IN GERMANY, 2019. THE CASE OF RHINELAND-PALATINATE AND KAISERSLAUTERN.

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Germany hosts one of the largest number of refugees and asylum seekers in the European Union (EU). During the year of 2015, about 1.3 million asylum-related migrants came to the EU, and Germany became the major destination country for hundreds of thousands of asylum-related migrants, and Rhineland-Palatinate for tens of thousands asylum-related migrants. Later, the number of new asylum-related migrants declined but it is annually still considerable (in Germany well over 100,000 and in Rhineland-Palatinate less than 10,000). In 2018–2019, approximately one third of the applications led to refugee status or subsidiary protection, another third to rejection and another third were “Dublin cases” (asylum application needs to be processed in another EU member state than Germany). Recently, most new asylum seekers in Germany originate from Syria, Iraq and Nigeria, followed by Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Some have thus gained longer or shorter residence permits in Germany, others are in the asylum process, some became “tolerated” migrants who should leave Germany but cannot be deported, and some are undocumented migrants. In addition, there are many labor-related immigrants. Migrants have an important effect on the social and economic development of many cities, towns and rural areas in Germany. In addition, their integration to Germany is of international interest.

Asylum-related migration is a key current phenomenon in Germany and its federal states, including Rhineland-Palatinate. Following the arrival of many asylum-related migrants, the Federal Republic of Germany started to implement a systematic plan. Those arrived were registered, then sent to reception sites (usually larger camps) and then distributed according to a detailed proportional scheme to states (*Bundesland* in German) that distribute them further to all regions and localities of Germany to wait the decision over their asylum and residence permit. However, different states may implement slightly different regulations on how to accommodate asylum-related migrants, how to deal with asylum seekers who in the end of the process do not receive long-term residence permit and what rights the registered but not recognized migrants and undocumented migrants have. Approximately one third of asylum applications are decided within 6 months and a tenth take more than 3 years.

This research report, “Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Germany, 2019. The Case of Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern.” focuses on the everyday life, migration patterns and wishes as well as the Internet and social media use of asylum-related migrants in Rhineland-Palatinate

(4.1 million inhabitants), and in particular, in the city of Kaiserslautern (100,000 inhabitants). In 2015–2016, were established several sites (such as former hotels, offices and villas as well as a former post office building in the downtown Kaiserslautern) to accommodate asylum seekers and other asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern and elsewhere in Rhineland-Palatinate. In addition, in small municipality of Kusel (5,000 inhabitants) at 40 km from Kaiserslautern, the former military garrison (Camp Kusel) was in use to host asylum-related migrants.

This report bases predominantly on the fieldwork conducted in Kaiserslautern and in Rhineland-Palatinate in Germany in the spring and summer of 2019. In total, 290 asylum-related migrants (including those with the status of refugee and the permanent residence permit; those in the asylum process; those with temporary resident permits, and tolerated and irregular migrants without residence permits) with different countries of origin responded anonymously to the survey in various locations in Kaiserslautern as well as in the asylum-related migrant camp in Kusel. In addition, we conducted short interviews with some of the respondents and local experts. The researchers responsible for this report are Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Professor Annette Spellerberg and Researcher Lutz Eichholz. Besides the writers of this report, also research assistants collected and analyzed the research material. We are grateful to everyone who participated in the research. This report is part of a broader research project about the asylum processes in and near the countries of origin of the migrants, the asylum seekers and refugees, their asylum journeys toward their destination countries and their lives in those countries. This research belongs to the activities of the research consortium Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration (URMI, see www.urmi.fi), and it was funded by the Strategic Research Council at the Academy of Finland and led by Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, from the Geography Section at the University of Turku, Finland.

The first research question is, “What kinds of asylum-related migrants live in Kaiserslautern and in Rhineland-Palatinate?” As in many countries and regions, asylum-related migrants vary in their demographic backgrounds from the youths to elderly, from people not being able to read to those with university degrees, from the employed to the unemployed and from housewives to students. Also, asylum-related migrants have many countries of origin, the most common being Syria, Afghanistan and Iran. A third (32%) of asylum seekers in Rhineland-Palatinate are less than 18 years old; two-thirds (67%) are of working age (18–64 years old) and the older generation (65 years or older) are very few (1%). Of the asylum-related respondents to our survey, a third (31%) had stayed in Germany for over 4 years and a fifth (21%) for less than six months. Most respondents with refugee status are from Syria and Iran. Those with limited temporary residence permit are often from Syria and Iran (subsidiary). Among asylum seekers are people from many countries, mostly from Nigeria and Turkey.

Some people, often from Syria and Iran, did not receive asylum but a renewable short-term residence permit because they cannot be deported from Germany. Finally, there are irregular migrants from many countries of origin without right to reside in Germany. Their entry is refused and they would be expelled if caught by the enforcement authorities.

The second research question is, “What are the everyday lives of asylum-related migrants like in Kaiserslautern and in Rhineland-Palatinate?” The everyday lives of asylum-related migrants are diverse. Housing is a significant everyday issue for asylum-related migrants. In general, majority of them live in private accommodations. Many asylum-related migrants live in former offices, hotels and villas converted to accommodate them. However, those arriving at Germany are placed after their registration in specific reception camps such as that in Kusel according to the national redistribution system. From there, they are directed to municipalities in the respective state (Bundesland). Of our respondents, 38% were fully and 36% partly satisfied with their current accommodations and 80% at least partly satisfied with their current neighborhoods.

Some asylum-related migrants had started to integrate themselves into German society through work, language and friends. Of the respondents, 38% of men were working (15% full-time), as well as 8% of women (3% full-time). Female asylum-related migrants with children were mostly engaged with the family. For asylum-related migrants, the working conditions varied; work was available with and without contracts in the formal and informal sectors. For the employed respondents, the median monthly salary in the summer of 2019 was 800 EUR (1,250 EUR for full time employed). The best thing in work was psychological comfort and feeling of recognition and the worst thing was the working conditions. A half (53%) of the respondents had German friends (11% many; 42% some). In addition, 21% argued to have had a good command of the German language, and 86% knew the language at least a little. In general, those working and with a strong understanding of the German language were more satisfied with their lives in Germany.

The third research question is, “What are the migration wishes and plans of asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern and in Rhineland-Palatinate?” In 2019, different asylum-related migrants, especially related to their residence permit status in Germany, had different migration wishes and plans. Curiously, of those with refugee status and permanent residence permit, only 56% were not planning to move back to the country of origin, whereas that number was 76% among asylum seekers and 92% among undocumented migrants. Of respondents without permanent residence permit, no one planned to migrate to somewhere else than their country of origin and 13% considered it maybe.

Of respondents with university-level education, a half (48%) wished to remain in Germany for the rest of their life and three out of four (77%) of those with

elementary or uncompleted elementary education. Having family or friends in Germany reduced the wish to move elsewhere. Of the asylum-related migrants with permanent residence permit, 98% believed that they might (51% yes; 47% maybe) live the rest of their lives in Germany; 93% of the asylum seekers and 96% of irregular migrants. The most preferred places to live in Germany were Kaiserslautern (30% of respondents), Frankfurt a/M (29%) and Hamburg (23%). In particular, the younger adults wanted to move to Berlin. Of those, who consider to move out of Germany (yes or maybe) to elsewhere than to the country of origin, the largest share was among those (23%) who have a refugee status or permanent residence in Germany, in particular Syrians.

The fourth research question is, “How and for what do asylum-related migrants in Kaiserslautern and in Rhineland-Palatinate use the Internet and social media?” All (over 99%) asylum-related migrants were using the Internet in Germany and more often than they had in their country of origin. It was very common to have a smartphone with Internet access (86% of respondents), though it was slightly less common among the non-deportable migrants with short residence permits and those residing in Kusel. Of asylum-related migrants, two out of three (69%) agreed that the Internet and social media made their lives easier in Germany (23% did not know; 8% disagreed). Of the active users of the Internet, 89% used it to find employment and 77% to learn more about their rights in Germany. Of all respondents, two out of three (66%) followed the developments in their country of origin via the Internet. Of them, almost a half (46%) planned (yes or maybe) to return to there whereas so planned only a few (12%) of those, who did not follow the developments in their country of origin via the Internet.

The arrival of many asylum seekers to Germany in 2015 and new asylum-related migrants in the recent years make such migration an important topic on which research needs to be conducted in Germany in general and in Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern in particular. The results based on such scientific research help to design evidence-based policies on asylum-related migration that have a planned and efficient effect on individuals, communities and society as a whole in Germany.

FLÜCHTLINGE, ASYLSUCHENDE UND IRREGULÄRE MIGRANTEN IN DEUTSCHLAND, RHEINLAND-PFALZ UND KAISERLAUTERN, 2019.

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Deutschland ist eines der EU-Länder, in dem die meisten Flüchtlinge und Asylbewerber leben. Im Jahr 2015 kamen ca. 1,3 Millionen Asylbewerber in die EU. Deutschland wurde zum wichtigsten Ziel für hunderttausende Asylbewerber, nach Rheinland-Pfalz kamen zehntausenden. Ab 2015 sank die Zahl der Neuzuwanderer mit Asylbezug wieder, allerdings sind die Zahlen noch immer beträchtlich: Jährlich erreichen noch immer weit über 100.000 Asylsuchende Deutschland, in Rheinland-Pfalz kommen davon jährlich fast 10.000 Menschen an.

In den Jahren 2018 und 2019 führte ungefähr ein Drittel der Asylanträge zum Flüchtlingsstatus oder zum subsidiären Schutz, ein weiteres Drittel zur Ablehnung, ein anderes Drittel zu „Dublin-Fällen“ (Asylanträge müssen in einem anderen EU-Mitgliedstaat, nicht in Deutschland, bearbeitet werden). Derzeit stammen die meisten neuen Asylbewerber in Deutschland aus Syrien, dem Irak und Nigeria, gefolgt von der Türkei, dem Iran und Afghanistan. Einige von ihnen haben längere, einige kürzere Aufenthaltsgenehmigungen in Deutschland erhalten, andere wiederum befinden sich im Asylverfahren. Manche der geflüchteten Menschen sind irreguläre Migranten, die das Land verlassen sollten. Darüber hinaus gibt es viele Arbeitsmigranten. Migration hat einen wichtigen Einfluss auf die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung vieler Städte und ländlicher Gebiete in Deutschland, die Integration der Geflüchteten ist aus diesem Grund von großem lokalen, nationalen und internationalen Interesse.

Asylmigration ist aktuell ein Schlüsselphänomen, welches in ganz Deutschland und in den Bundesländern, einschließlich Rheinland-Pfalz, beobachtet werden kann. Nach der Ankunft vieler Asylbewerber hat die Bundesrepublik nach einem proportionalen Plan, dem Königsteiner Schlüssel, begonnen, die Asylsuchenden auf die Länder zu verteilen. Die Angekommenen werden registriert und zu den Aufnahmestellen (in der Regel größere Unterkünfte) in den jeweiligen Ländern geschickt. Die Bundesländer verteilen die Asylbewerber wiederum auf ihre Regionen und Ortschaften. Im Erstaufnahmелager und in den Gemeinschaftsunterkünften der Kommunen warten die Bewerber*innen auf die Entscheidung über ihren Asylantrag und eine Aufenthaltsgenehmigung. Die verschiedenen Bundesländer haben unterschiedliche Regelungen über die Unterbringung von und den Umgang mit Asylbewerbern erlassen. Ein erheblicher Teil erhält am Ende des Prozesses keine langfristige Aufenthaltserlaubnis, sondern einen subsidiären Schutz oder eine Duldung – oder aber hält sich illegal

im Land auf. Über etwa ein Drittel der Asylanträge wird innerhalb von sechs Monaten entschieden, bei einem Zehntel der Asylanträge liegt die Bearbeitungszeit bei über drei Jahren.

Der Forschungsbericht „Flüchtlinge, Asylsuchende und irreguläre Migranten in Deutschland, 2019. Der Fall Rheinland-Pfalz und Kaiserslautern.“ befasst sich mit dem Alltag, Migrationsmustern und -Wünschen sowie der Internet- und Social-Media-Nutzung von Asylsuchenden in Rheinland-Pfalz (4,1 Millionen Einwohner) und insbesondere in Kaiserslautern (100.000 Einwohner). In den Jahren 2015 bis 2016 wurden mehrere Standorte (wie z. B. ehemalige Hotels, Büros und Villen sowie ein ehemaliges Postgebäude in der Innenstadt von Kaiserslautern) für Asylsuchende und andere Asylbewerber in Kaiserslautern und anderswo in Rheinland-Pfalz hergerichtet. Darüber hinaus wurde in der kleinen Gemeinde Kusel (5.000 Einwohner) ca. 40 km von Kaiserslautern entfernt eine ehemalige Kaserne (Camp Kusel) zur Aufnahme von Asylsuchenden eingesetzt.

Dieser Bericht stützt sich in erster Linie auf die im Frühjahr und Sommer 2019 in Kaiserslautern und in Rheinland-Pfalz durchgeführten Befragungen. Insgesamt beantworteten 290 Asylbewerber (einschließlich Flüchtlinge mit unbefristeter Aufenthaltserlaubnis), Asylbewerber im Asylverfahren (Personen mit vorübergehender Aufenthaltserlaubnis) und irreguläre Migranten (ohne Aufenthaltserlaubnis) aus unterschiedlichen Herkunftsländern die Umfrage anonym an verschiedenen Orten in Kaiserslautern sowie in der Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung in Kusel. Darüber hinaus wurden kurze Interviews mit einigen Befragten und lokalen Experten geführt. Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Professorin Annette Spellerberg und der Forscher Lutz Eichholz sind die Verantwortlichen für den Bericht, zusätzliche Mitarbeiter haben das Forschungsmaterial gesammelt und analysiert. Wir danken allen, die an der Untersuchung teilgenommen haben. Dieser Bericht ist Teil eines umfassenderen Forschungsprojekts über die Asylprozesse in und nahe den Herkunftsländern der Migranten, der Asylsuchenden und Flüchtlinge, über ihre Asylreisen in die Zielländer und ihr Leben in diesen Ländern. Diese Forschung gehört zu den Forschungen des Forschungskonsortiums Urbanisation, Mobilities and Immigration (URMI, siehe www.urmi.fi), sie wurde vom Strategic Research Council an der Academy of Finland finanziert und durch Professor Jussi S. Jauhiainen von der Geographieabteilung der Universität Turku, Finnland, geleitet.

Die erste Forschungsfrage lautet folgendermaßen: „Welche Gruppen von Asylsuchenden leben in Kaiserslautern und in Rheinland-Pfalz?“ Wie in vielen Ländern und Regionen unterscheiden sich die demografischen Hintergründe von Asylsuchenden: Es gibt Jugendliche und ältere Menschen, Menschen, die nicht lesen können und Hochschulabsolventen, Angestellte, Arbeitslose, Hausfrauen und Studenten.

Des Weiteren stammen die Asylsuchenden aus vielen unterschiedlichen Herkunftsländern. Die meisten Menschen stammen aus Syrien, Afghanistan und dem Iran. Ein Drittel (32%) der rheinland-pfälzischen Asylbewerber ist jünger als 18 Jahre, zwei Drittel (67%) sind im erwerbsfähigen Alter (18 bis 64 Jahre). Der älteren Generation (65 Jahre oder älter) sind nur sehr wenige Menschen zuzuordnen (1%). Von den asylorientierten Befragten, die an unserer Umfrage teilnahmen, ist ein Drittel (31%) seit über vier Jahren in Deutschland, bei einem Fünftel (21%) sind es weniger als sechs Monate. Die meisten Befragten mit Flüchtlingsstatus kommen aus Syrien und dem Iran. Personen mit befristeter Aufenthaltserlaubnis (subsidiärer Schutz) kommen ebenfalls häufig aus Syrien und dem Iran. Unter den Asylbewerbern (im Verfahren) befinden sich Menschen aus vielen Ländern, hauptsächlich aus Nigeria und der Türkei. Einige Menschen, oft aus Syrien und dem Iran, erhielten kein Asyl, sondern eine verlängerbare, kurzfristige Aufenthaltserlaubnis, da sie nicht aus Deutschland abgeschoben werden können. Des Weiteren gibt es irreguläre Migranten aus vielen Herkunftsländern, die kein Aufenthaltsrecht in Deutschland haben. Ihre Einreise wird verweigert und sie würden ausgewiesen, wenn sie von den Vollstreckungsbehörden aufgegriffen würden.

Die zweite Forschungsfrage lautet: "Wie sieht der Alltag von Asylbewerbern in Kaiserslautern und in Rheinland-Pfalz aus?" Der Alltag von asylbezogenen Migranten ist vielfältig. Wohnen ist ein wichtiges Alltagsproblem für Migranten mit Asylbezug. In der Regel leben die meisten von ihnen in privaten Unterkünften, andere in ehemaligen Büros, Hotels und Villen, die für sie umgebaut wurden. Nach Deutschland kommende Personen werden jedoch nach ihrer Anmeldung in bestimmten Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen, wie auch in Kusel, untergebracht. Von dort aus werden sie an die Kommunen in dem jeweiligen Land weitergeleitet. Von unseren Befragten sind 38% voll und 36% teilweise mit ihrer aktuellen Unterkunft und 80% zumindest teilweise mit ihrer aktuellen Nachbarschaft zufrieden.

Einige der Migranten mit Asylbezug haben begonnen, sich durch Arbeit, Sprache und Freunde in die deutsche Gesellschaft zu integrieren. Von den Befragten sind 38% der Männer (15% Vollzeit), sowie 8% der Frauen (3% Vollzeit) erwerbstätig. Asylbewerberinnen mit Kindern beschäftigen sich überwiegend mit der Familie. Arbeitsbedingungen für Asylsuchende sind verschieden, es gibt Arbeit mit und ohne Verträge im formellen und informellen Bereich. Für die beschäftigten Befragten betrug das durchschnittliche Monatsgehalt im Sommer 2019 800 EUR ((1,250 EUR für Vollzeitbeschäftigte). Das Beste an der Arbeit ist den Befragten zufolge das psychologische Wohlbefinden und das Gefühl der Anerkennung; das Schlimmste sind die Arbeitsbedingungen. Die Hälfte (53%) der Befragten haben deutsche Freunde (11% viele; 42% einige). Darüber hinaus geben 21% an, die deutsche Sprache gut beherrschen zu können und 86% be-

herrschen die Sprache zumindest ein wenig. Im Allgemeinen sind die Befragten mit guten Sprachkenntnissen zufriedener mit ihrem Leben in Deutschland als diejenigen mit geringerem Sprachniveau.

Die dritte Forschungsfrage lautet: "Was sind die Migrationswünsche und -pläne von Asylbewerbern in Kaiserslautern und in Rheinland-Pfalz?" Im Jahr 2019 hatten Menschen insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit ihrem Aufenthaltsstatus in Deutschland unterschiedliche Migrationswünsche und -pläne. Von denjenigen mit Flüchtlingsstatus und Daueraufenthaltsgenehmigung haben nur 56 % nicht vor, in ihr Herkunftsland zurückzukehren, während diese Zahl bei den Asylbewerbern 76 % und bei den irregulären Migranten 92 % beträgt. Von den Befragten ohne Daueraufenthaltsgenehmigung plant niemand, in ein anderes als sein Herkunftsland zu migrieren, jedoch halten dies 13% für möglich. Von den Befragten mit Hochschulbildung wollen die Hälfte (48%) für den Rest ihres Lebens in Deutschland bleiben. Drei Viertel der Befragten (77%) mit grundlegender oder unvollständiger Grundbildung äußern ebenfalls diesen Wunsch. Familie oder Freunde in Deutschland zu haben vermindert den Wunsch, sich anderswo niederzulassen. Von den Asyl-Migranten mit unbefristeter Aufenthaltserlaubnis glauben 98%, dass sie den Rest ihres Lebens in Deutschland verbringen könnten (51% ja; 47% vielleicht); 93% der Asylbewerber und 96% der illegalen Migranten. Die bevorzugten Wohnorte in Deutschland sind Kaiserslautern (30% der Befragten), Frankfurt a/M (29%) und Hamburg (23%). Vor allem die jüngeren Erwachsenen wollen nach Berlin ziehen. Von denjenigen, die erwägen aus Deutschland („ja“ oder „vielleicht“) in ein anderes als das Herkunftsland zu ziehen, ist der größte Anteil (23%) unter denen, die in Deutschland einen Flüchtlingsstatus oder ständigen Wohnsitz haben, insbesondere Syrer.

Die vierte Forschungsfrage lautet: "Wie und wofür nutzen asylrelevante Migranten in Kaiserslautern und in Rheinland-Pfalz das Internet und Social Media?" Alle (über 99%) asylbezogenen Migranten nutzen in Deutschland das Internet und dies häufiger als in ihrem Herkunftsland. Ein Smartphone mit Internetzugang ist sehr verbreitet (86% der Befragten). Bei den nicht abschiebbaren Migranten mit kurzer Aufenthaltserlaubnis und den in Kusel ansässigen Personen sind Smartphones etwas weniger verbreitet. Von den asylrelevanten Migranten stimmen zwei Drittel (69%) zu, dass das Internet und Social Media ihr Leben in Deutschland erleichtern (23% wissen es nicht; 8% sind anderer Meinung). Von den aktiven Internetnutzern nutzen 89% es, um eine Beschäftigung zu finden, und 77%, um mehr über ihre Rechte in Deutschland zu erfahren. Von allen Befragten verfolgen zwei Drittel (66%) die Entwicklungen in ihrem Herkunftsland über das Internet. Von ihnen plant fast die Hälfte (46%), dorthin zurückzukehren (ja oder vielleicht), während nur wenige (12%) derjenigen, die die Entwicklungen in ihrem Herkunftsland nicht über das Internet verfolgen, andere Pläne äußern.

Die Zuwanderung vieler Asylbewerber nach Deutschland im Jahr 2015 und neuer Migranten mit Asylbezug in den letzten Jahren machen diese Migration zu einem wichtigen Thema, zu dem in Deutschland generell, und in Rheinland-Pfalz und Kaiserslautern geforscht werden muss. Die auf diesen wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen basierenden Ergebnisse helfen, eine evidenzbasierte Politik zur asylrelevanten Migration zu entwerfen, die sich planmäßig und effizient auf Einzelpersonen, Gemeinschaften und die Gesellschaft als Ganzes in Deutschland auswirkt.

اللاجئون وطالبو اللجوء والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين في ألمانيا، 2019. حالة راينلاند بالاتينات وكايزرسلاوترن.

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تعد ألمانيا واحدة من أكبر الدول المستضيفة للاجئين وطالبي اللجوء في الاتحاد الأوروبي. خلال عام 2015، قدم حوالي 1.3 مليون مهاجر وطالب لجوء إلى الاتحاد الأوروبي، وكانت ألمانيا الوجهة الرئيسية لمئات الآلاف من المهاجرين وطالبي اللجوء، ولعشرات الآلاف بالنسبة لولاية راينلاند بالاتينات. لاحقًا، انخفض عدد اللاجئين لكن لم تنزل الأعداد كبيرة سنويًا (في ألمانيا وحدها أكثر من 100.000 وفي راينلاند بالاتينات أقل من 10.000). في عام 2018-2019، ما يقارب ثلث طلبات اللجوء تم قبولها كحالات لجوء أو حماية ثانوية، وثلث آخر قد تم رفضه، والثلث الأخير كان ضمن "حالات دبلن" (يجب مراجعة طلبات اللجوء في دول أخرى ضمن الاتحاد الأوروبي). في الآونة الأخيرة، يصل معظم طالبي اللجوء الجدد إلى ألمانيا من سوريا والعراق ونيجيريا، ويليهم من تركيا وإيران وأفغانستان. وهكذا حصل البعض على تصاريح إقامة طويلة أو قصيرة الأجل، وبعضهم مازال ضمن عملية طلب اللجوء، والبعض الآخر أصبحوا لاجئين غير شرعيين وتجب مغادرتهم من ألمانيا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، هناك العديد من المهاجرين المرتبطين بعمل. للمهاجرين تأثير مهم على التنمية الاجتماعية والاقتصادية في العديد من المدن والبلدات والمناطق الريفية في ألمانيا. علاوة على ذلك أن اندماجهم في ألمانيا هو من مصلحة دولية.

الهجرة المتعلقة باللجوء تعد حاليًا ظاهرة رئيسية في ألمانيا وفي ولاياتها الاتحادية، بما في ذلك ولاية راينلاند بالاتينات. بعد وصول العديد من طالبي اللجوء، بدأت جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية بتنفيذ خطة منهجية. إذ إن أولئك الوافدون يتم تسجيلهم في البداية، ثم يتم إرسالهم إلى مواقع الاستقبال (عادةً مخيمات أكبر) وبعد ذلك يتم توزيعهم وفق برنامج نسبي مفصل على الولايات، التي بدورها تقوم بإعادة توزيعهم مجددًا على المناطق والمحليات إلى حين يتم صدور قرار بحقهم بشأن طلبات اللجوء وتصاريح الإقامة. ومع ذلك، قد تقوم عدة ولايات بتنفيذ قرارات مختلفة قليلًا بما يخص مسألة استيعاب المهاجرين طالبي اللجوء، وكيفية التعامل مع طالبي اللجوء الذي لا يحصلون على تصاريح إقامة طويلة الأجل في نهاية المطاف، وما هي الحقوق التي يتمتع بها المهاجرون المسجلون لكن غير معترف بهم، والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين. تقريبًا يتم الإجابة على ثلث طلبات اللجوء في غضون 6 أشهر، وعُشر طلبات اللجوء قد تستغرق أكثر من 3 سنوات.

يهتم هذا التقرير البحثي "اللاجئون وطالبو اللجوء والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين في ألمانيا، 2019. حالة راينلاند بالاتينات وكايزرسلاوترن." على الحياة اليومية، وأشكال الهجرة، والرغبات، بالإضافة إلى استخدام الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعية بالنسبة للمهاجرون وطالبي اللجوء في ولاية راينلاند بالاتين (4.1 مليون نسمة)، وعلى وجه الخصوص في مدينة كايزرسلاوترن (100,000).

نسمة). في فترة 2015-2016، تم تأسيس العديد من المواقع (مثل فنادق سابقة ومكاتب وفيلات، وكذلك مبنى مكتب بريد سابق في وسط مدينة كايزرسلاوترن) لاستضافة طالبي اللجوء والمهاجرين الآخرين في كايزرسلاوترن وأماكن أخرى في راينلاند بالاتينات. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، في بلدية كوسيل الصغيرة (5000 نسمة) على بعد 40 كم من كايزرسلاوترن، كانت الحامية العسكرية السابقة (كامب كوسيل) تستخدم لاستضافة المهاجرين طالبي اللجوء.

يعتمد هذا التقرير في غالبه على العمل الميداني الذي أجري في كايزرسلاوترن وفي راينلاند بالاتينات في ألمانيا في فصلي الربيع والصيف من عام 2019. في المجموع، استجاب على نحو مجهول 290 مهاجرًا طالب لجوء (بما في ذلك المهاجرون ذوو وضع اللاجئ والحاصلين على تصريح الإقامة الدائمة؛ المهاجرون أثناء مرحلة عملية اللجوء؛ المهاجرون الذين يحملون تصاريح إقامة مؤقتة، والمهاجرون غير الشرعيين الذين ليس لديهم تصاريح إقامة) إلى الاستبيان، من مواقع مختلفة في كايزرسلاوترن وكذلك في مخيم المهاجرين لطالبي اللجوء في كوسيل. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، أجرينا مقابلات قصيرة مع بعض المشاركين والخبراء المحليين. الباحثون المسؤولون عن هذا التقرير هم البروفيسور جوسي س. جواهينين والبروفيسور أنيت سبيليرج والباحث لوتز إيتشولز. إلى جانب كاتبتي هذا التقرير، قام أيضًا مساعدتي البحوث بجمع وتحليل المواد البحثية. نحن ممتنون لكل من شارك في البحث. هذا التقرير جزء من مشروع بحثي أوسع حول عمليات اللجوء في أو بالقرب من موطن المهاجرين وطالبي اللجوء واللاجئين، وأيضًا حول رحلاتهم إلى البلدان المنشودة وعن حياتهم في تلك البلدان. ينسب هذا البحث إلى أنشطة (URMI، انظر www.urmi.fi)، وقد تم تمويله من قبل مجلس البحوث الإستراتيجية في أكاديمية فنلندا وبقيادة البروفيسور جوسي إس. قسم الجغرافيا في جامعة توركو، فنلندا.

السؤال البحثي الأول هو: "ما نوع المهاجرين طالبي اللجوء الذين يعيشون في كايزرسلاوترن وفي راينلاند بالاتينات؟" كما هو الحال في العديد من البلدان والمناطق، يختلف المهاجرون طالبو اللجوء في خلفياتهم الديموغرافية من شباب إلى كبار السن، ومن أشخاص أميين إلى حملة شهادات جامعية، من عاملين إلى عاطلين عن العمل، ومن ربات بيوت إلى طلاب. كما أن المهاجرين طالبي اللجوء ينحدرون من بلدان مختلفة، وأغلبهم من سوريا وأفغانستان والعراق. يبلغ ثلث طالبي اللجوء في راينلاند بالاتينات (32٪) إلى الفئة الشبابية أقل من 18 عامًا؛ ثلثان (67٪) هم في سن العمل (18-64 سنة) وأما الجيل الأكبر (65 سنة أو أكبر) فهم قليلون جدًا (1٪). من بين المستجوبين لاستبياننا، (31٪) منهم قد بقي في ألمانيا لأكثر من 4 سنوات و(21٪) منهم بقي لمدة تقل عن ستة أشهر. معظم المستجوبين الذين يحملون صفة لاجئ هم من سوريا وإيران. وأيضًا معظم أولئك الذين لديهم تصريح إقامة مؤقتة هم من سوريا وإيران. من بين طالبي اللجوء العديد من الأشخاص من بلدان مختلفة، معظمهم من نيجيريا وتركيا. بعض الأشخاص، أغلبهم من سوريا وإيران، لم يحصلوا على حق اللجوء بل حصلوا على تصريح إقامة قصيرة الأجل قابلة للتجديد لأنه لا يمكن ترحيلهم من ألمانيا. أخيرًا، هناك مهاجرون غير شرعيين من العديد من البلدان لا يمتلكون حق الإقامة في ألمانيا. تم رفض دخولهم وسيتم طردهم إذا ضبطتهم السلطات.

السؤال البحثي الثاني هو: "ما هي الحياة اليومية للمهاجرين طالبي اللجوء في كايزرسلاوترن وفي راينلاند بالاتينات؟" الحياة اليومية بالنسبة للمهاجرين متنوعة. يعد السكن قضية يومية مهمة للمهاجرين. بشكل عام، يعيش معظمهم في أماكن إقامة خاصة. ويعيش العديد منهم في مكاتب وفنادق وفيلات سابقة التي تم تحويلها لاستقبالهم. ومع ذلك، يتم وضع أولئك الذين يصلون إلى ألمانيا بعد تسجيلهم في مخيمات استقبال محددة مثل مخيم كوزل. ومن هناك، يتم إرسالهم إلى البلديات في ألمانيا وفقاً لنظام إعادة التوزيع الوطني. من بين المشاركين، 38٪ كانوا راضين تماماً و 36٪ راضين جزئياً عن أماكن إقامتهم الحالية و 80٪ على الأقل راضون جزئياً عن أحيائهم الحالية.

بدأ بعض المهاجرين طالبي اللجوء في الاندماج في المجتمع الألماني من خلال العمل واللغة والأصدقاء. من بين المشاركين، كان 38٪ من الرجال يعملون (15٪ بدوام كامل)، وكذلك 8٪ من النساء يعملن (3٪ بدوام كامل). المهاجرات اللاتي لديهن أطفال، معظمهن يبقين مع العائلة. تختلف ظروف العمل بالنسبة للمهاجرين؛ فالعمل متاح مع وبدون عقود في القطاعين الرسمي وغير الرسمي. بالنسبة إلى المشاركين العاملين، كان متوسط الراتب الشهري في صيف 2019 يساوي 800 يورو. يعد أفضل شيء في العمل هو الراحة النفسية والشعور بالتقدير وأسهل شيء هو ظروف العمل. نصف المشاركين (53٪) لديهم أصدقاء ألمان (11٪ كثيرون، 42٪ بعضهم). بالإضافة إلى ذلك، قال 21٪ أنهم يجيدون اللغة الألمانية، و 86٪ يعرفون القليل من اللغة على الأقل. بشكل عام، أولئك الذين يعملون ويمتلكون لغة ألمانية جيدة أكثر ارتياحاً لحياتهم في ألمانيا.

السؤال البحثي الثالث هو: "ما هي رغبات وخطط الهجرة للمهاجرين طالبي اللجوء في كايزرسلاوترن وفي راينلاند بالاتينات؟" في عام 2019، كان للعديد من المهاجرين اختلاف في الرغبات والخطط، خاصة فيما يتعلق بوضع تصاريح الإقامة في ألمانيا. ومن الغريب أن أولئك الحاصلون على وضع اللاجئ وتصريح إقامة دائمة، 56٪ منهم فقط لم يخطط للعودة إلى بلده الأصلي، في حين كانت هذه النسبة تساوي 76٪ من بين طالبي اللجوء و 92٪ من بين المهاجرين غير الشرعيين. من بين المشاركين الذين ليس لديهم تصاريح إقامة دائمة، لم يخطط أحد الهجرة إلى أي مكان آخر بعيداً عن خيار العودة إلى وطنهم و 13٪ اعتبروا الهجرة مجدداً أمراً ممكناً. من بين المشاركين الحاصلين على تعليم جامعي، نصفهم أرادوا (48٪) البقاء في ألمانيا لبقية حياتهم و (77٪) أراد البقاء من بين من حصلوا على تعليم ابتدائي أو غير مكتمل. وجود أسرة أو أصدقاء في ألمانيا قلل من الرغبة في الانتقال إلى مكان آخر. من بين المهاجرين الذين يحملون تصريح إقامة دائمة، اعتقد 98٪ منهم (51٪ نعم؛ 47٪ ربما) أنهم قد يعيشون بقية حياتهم في ألمانيا؛ 93٪ من طالبي اللجوء و 96٪ من المهاجرين غير الشرعيين. أشهر أماكن الإقامة في ألمانيا هي كايزرسلاوترن (30٪ من المشاركين) وفرانكفورت (29٪) وهامبورغ (23٪). على وجه الخصوص، يود الشباب الأصغر سناً الانتقال إلى برلين. من بين أولئك الذين يفكرون في الانتقال من ألمانيا (نعم أو ربما) إلى مكان آخر بعيداً عن خيار العودة إلى الوطن، كانت الحصة الأكبر من بين هؤلاء (23٪) ممن لهم وضع لاجئ أو إقامة دائمة في ألمانيا، ولا سيما السوريون.

السؤال البحثي الرابع هو "كيف ولماذا يستخدم المهاجرون طالبو اللجوء في كايزرسلاوترن وفي راينلاند بالاتينات الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي؟" أكثر من (99٪) من المشاركين يستخدمون الإنترنت في ألمانيا ومعظمهم يستخدمه أكثر مما كانوا يستخدمونه في بلادهم سابقًا. من المنتشر جدًا امتلاك المهاجرين هاتف ذكي به إمكانية الوصول إلى الإنترنت (86٪ من المشاركين)، على الرغم من أنه أقل شيوعًا بين المهاجرين غير المرحّلين الذين يحملون تصاريح إقامة قصيرة وأولئك المقيمين في كوسيل. من المهاجرين، اتفق اثنان من كل ثلاثة (69٪) على أن الإنترنت ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي قد سهّلت حياتهم في ألمانيا (23٪ لم يعرفوا، و 8٪ عارضوا). من بين المستخدمين النشطين للإنترنت، 89٪ منهم يستخدم الإنترنت للعثور على عمل و 77٪ لمعرفة المزيد عن حقوقهم في ألمانيا. من بين جميع المشاركين، اثنان من كل ثلاثة (66٪) يتابع آخر التطورات في أوطانهم عبر الإنترنت. من بين هؤلاء، ما يقرب نصفهم (46 ٪) خطط (نعم أو ربما) للعودة إلى بلدهم، في حين خطط (12 ٪) فقط للعودة من الذين لم يكونوا يتابعون التطورات في أوطانهم عبر الإنترنت.

إن وصول الكثير من طالبي اللجوء إلى ألمانيا في عام 2015 والمهاجرين طالبي اللجوء الجدد في السنوات الأخيرة يجعل مسألة الهجرة موضوعًا هامًا تحتاج إلى إجراء الأبحاث في ألمانيا بشكل عام وفي راينلاند بالاتينات وكايزرسلاوترن على وجه التحديد. تساعد النتائج المستندة إلى مثل هذا البحث العلمي في اتخاذ سياسات وقرارات قائمة على أدلة حول الهجرة المتعلقة باللجوء، والتي لها تأثير مخطط وفعال على الأفراد والجماعات والمجتمع ككل في ألمانيا.

پناهندگان، پناهجویان و مهاجران نامتعارف در آلمان، 2019. مطالعه راین لاند- پالاتینات و کایزرسلاترن

یوسی اس. یاهویاینن (jusaja@utu.fi)؛ لوتز ایشهولز (lutz.eichholz@ru.uni-kl.de)؛ پروفیسور آنت اسپلبرگ (spellerberg@ru.uni-kl.de)

کشور آلمان میزبان تعداد زیادی از پناهجویان و پناهندگان در اتحادیه اروپا است. در سال 2015 در حدود 1.3 میلیون مهاجر مرتبط با پناهجویی وارد اتحادیه اروپا شد و کشور آلمان به اصلی‌ترین مقصد صدها هزار نفر از این مهاجران پناهجو تبدیل گردید. منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات (Rhineland-Palatinate) نیز میزبان هزاران نفر از مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی است. پس از سال 2015 تعداد مهاجران پناهجویی کاهش یافت اما همچنان تعداد این مهاجران در سال‌های پس از آن قابل توجه بوده است (در آلمان در حدود 100 هزار و در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات کمتر از 10 هزار نفر). در سال‌های 2018-2019 نزدیک به یک سوم درخواست پناهجویان مورد موافقت قرار گرفته و وضعیت پناهندگی یا حمایت جایگزین (subsidiary protection) را دریافت کرده‌اند و درخواست یک سوم دیگر نیز مورد موافقت قرار نگرفته و یک سوم دیگر نیز مهاجرانی هستند که شامل مقررات دویلین شده‌اند (پناهجویانی که درخواست آنها باید در کشور دیگری در اتحادیه اروپا بجز آلمان مورد بررسی قرار گیرد). اغلب پناهجویان وارد شده به آلمان در ماه‌های گذشته از کشورهای سوریه، عراق و نیجریه بوده‌اند که پس از آنها پناهجویان کشورهای ترکیه، ایران و افغانستان قرار دارند. بخشی از آنها توانسته‌اند که مجوزهای اقامت بلند و کوتاه مدت در آلمان را دریافت کنند، بخشی از آنها نیز در فرایند بررسی پناهجویی و بخشی نیز تبدیل به مهاجران نامتعارف شده‌اند که باید کشور آلمان را ترک کنند. بعلاوه، تعداد زیادی از مهاجران مرتبط با کار در آلمان وجود دارند. مهاجران تأثیر بسیار مهمی بر روی توسعه اقتصادی و اجتماعی بسیاری از شهرها و روستاهای آلمان داشته‌اند. همچنین، ادغام آنها در آلمان موضوعی است که مورد توجه در سطح بین‌الملل است.

مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی یک پدیده‌ی کلیدی در آلمان و دولت‌های فدرال آن و ایالت راین لاند- پالاتینات است. پس از ورود تعداد زیادی از مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی دولت فدرال آلمان شروع به اجرای برنامه‌ای سیستماتیک کرد. مهاجران وارد شده ثبت نام شدند و سپس به مراکز پذیرش مهاجران (عموماً کمپ‌های بزرگ) فرستاده شده و با توجه به طرح برنامه‌ریزی شده متناسب، بین ایالت‌ها (در آلمانی *Bundesland*) توزیع شدند که در آنجا نیز بین تمام مناطق و نواحی آلمان توزیع گردیدند تا منتظر دریافت نتیجه درخواست پناهجویی و مجوز اقامت خود باشند. در هر صورت، ایالت‌های مختلف ممکن است که تا حدودی مقررات متفاوتی را در خصوص چگونگی اسکان، نحوه برخورد با پناهجویانی که نتوانسته‌اند مجوز اقامت بلندمدت دریافت کنند و یا حقوق مهاجران ثبت شده اما به رسمیت شناخته نشده و نامتعارف اتخاذ نمایند. تقریباً یک سوم درخواست-کنندگان پناهندگی پاسخ خود را در شش ماه دریافت کرده‌اند و تنها یک دهم آنها بیش از سه سال منتظر دریافت پاسخ درخواست خود هستند.

گزارش تحقیق "پناهندگان، پناهجویان و مهاجران نامتعارف در آلمان، 2019. مطالعه راین لاند- پالاتینات و کایزرسلاترن" بر روی زندگی روزمره، الگوها و آرزوهای مهاجرتی، و بعلاوه استفاده از اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی توسط مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات (با 4.1 میلیون نفر جمعیت) و بطور خاص در شهر کایزرسلاترن (با 100 هزار نفر جمعیت) تمرکز دارد. در سال‌های 2015-2016 چندین مرکز در این منطقه احداث گردید (از قبیل هتل‌ها، دفاتر و

ویلاهای سابق و قدیمی و بعلاوه ساختمان قبلی اداره پست در مرکز شهر کایزرسلاترن) تا پناهجویان و دیگر مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در کایزرسلاترن و دیگر مناطق راین لاند- پالاتینات در آنها سکونت پیدا کنند. بعلاوه، در شهر کوچک کوزل (Kusel) (با 5 هزار نفر جمعیت) که در فاصله 40 کیلومتری شهر کایزرسلاترن قرار دارد، پادگان نظامی سابق (کمپ کوزل) برای استفاده مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در نظر گرفته شده است.

این گزارش عمدتاً بر مبنای کار میدانی در کایزرسلاترن و منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات در آلمان که در پاییز و تابستان 2019 انجام شده، تهیه شده است. در مجموع 290 مهاجر مرتبط با پناهجویی (شامل مهاجرانی که وضعیت پناهندگی گرفته‌اند و دارای مجوز اقامت بلندمدت هستند، پناهجویانی که درخواست آنها در دست بررسی است، پناهجویان دارای مجوز اقامت موقت و مهاجران نامتعارف بدون مجوز اقامت) از چندین کشور مختلف به سوالات تحقیق بصورت بی‌نام در مناطق مختلف کایزرسلاترن و همچنین در کمپ‌های پناهجویان در کوزل پاسخ دادند. همچنین ما در این تحقیق مصاحبه‌های کوتاهی را با برخی از پاسخگویان و همچنین متخصصان محلی انجام دادیم. پژوهشگران مسئول این گزارش پروفسور یوسی اس. یاهویاین (Professor Annette Spellerberg) و لوتر ایشهولز (Lutz Eichholz) هستند. بجز نویسندگان این گزارش دستیاران تحقیق نیز داده‌ها را جمع‌آوری و مورد تحلیل قرار دادند. ما از تمام این افراد که در این تحقیق نقش داشته‌اند تشکر می‌کنیم. این تحقیق بخشی از یک پروژه تحقیقاتی بزرگتر در ارتباط با فرایندهای پناهجویی در کشورهای مبدأ مهاجران، پناهجویان و پناهندگان و کشورهای نزدیک به آنها، سفر پناهجویان به سمت کشورهای مقصد و زندگی آنها در کشورهای مقصد است. این تحقیق متعلق است به فعالیت‌های کنسرسیوم تحقیقاتی "شهرنشینی، جابجایی و مهاجرت (URMI؛ برای اطلاعات بیشتر مراجعه کنید به www.urmi.fi). این پروژه تحقیقاتی توسط شورای تحقیقات استراتژیک در آکادمی فنلاند و مدیریت پروفسور یوسی اس. یاهویاین از گروه جغرافیای دانشگاه تورکو فنلاند انجام می‌گیرد.

سوال اول تحقیق این است که "چه نوعی از مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در کایزرسلاترن و منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات زندگی می‌کنند؟" همچون بسیاری دیگر از کشورها و مناطق، مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی از نظر زمینه‌های جمعیتی همچون سالمند و جوان بودن، افراد ناتوان در خواندن تا افراد دارای تحصیلات دانشگاهی، شاغل تا بیکار و از افراد خانه‌دار تا دانش‌آموزان -دانشجویان تفاوت دارند. همچنین مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی از کشورهای مختلفی هستند که اغلب آنها از کشورهای سوریه، افغانستان و عراق هستند. یک سوم پناهجویان (32 درصد) در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات کمتر از 18 سال سن دارند، دو سوم (67 درصد) آنها در سن کار (18-64 ساله) بوده و افراد مسن (65 ساله و بیشتر) کمتر از 1 درصد از پناهجویان را شامل می‌شوند. از مجموع پناهجویانی که به سوالات پرسشنامه ما پاسخ دادند، یک سوم (31 درصد) بیش از چهار سال است که در کشور آلمان زندگی می‌کنند و یک پنجم (21 درصد) آنها کمتر از شش ماه است که در آلمان حضور دارند. اغلب پاسخگویان با وضعیت پناهندگی از کشورهای سوریه و ایران هستند. آن دسته از مهاجران دارای مجوزهای اقامت موقتی محدود اغلب از کشورهای سوریه و ایران بوده‌اند. در میان پناهجویان، افراد از کشورهای مختلفی حضور دارند که اغلب از کشورهای نیجریه و ترکیه هستند. برخی از افراد، اغلب از کشورهای سوریه و ایران، پناهندگی دریافت نکرده و دارای مجوزهای اقامت کوتاه‌مدت قابل تجدید هستند زیرا که آنها نمی‌توانند از کشور آلمان اخراج (دییورت) گردند. در نهایت، مهاجران نامتعارف

که از کشورهای مختلفی هستند که حق اقامت در آلمان را ندارند که در صورت دستگیر شدن توسط مقامات اجرایی، از ورود آنها به آلمان جلوگیری شده یا از کشور اخراج خواهند شد.

دومین سوال تحقیق این است که "زندگی روزمره مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در کایزرسلاترن و راین لاند- پالاتینات به چه صورت است؟" زندگی روزمره مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی متنوع است. مسکن یک مسئله روزمره کلیدی برای مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی است. بطور کلی اغلب آنها در خانه‌های شخصی زندگی می‌کنند. بسیاری از مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در ادارات، هتل‌ها و ویلاهای سابق زندگی می‌کنند که بمنظور اسکان آنها تغییر کاربری داده شده‌اند. در هر صورت، آن دسته از مهاجرانی که وارد آلمان می‌شوند پس از ثبت نام، در کمپ‌های پذیرش مخصوص همچون نمونه آن در کوزل اسکان داده می‌شوند. این مهاجران از کمپ‌های پذیرش براساس سیستم توزیع مجدد ملی بین شهرداری‌های آلمان توزیع می‌شوند. از مجموع پاسخگویان در تحقیق ما 38 درصد به صورت کامل و 36 درصد تا حدودی از وضعیت مسکن فعلی خود رضایت داشته‌اند و 80 درصد آنها، حداقل تا حدودی از همسایگان خود رضایت داشته‌اند.

بخشی از مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی از طریق کار کردن، یادگیری زبان و یافتن دوستان شروع به ادغام خود در جامعه آلمان کردند. از مجموع پاسخگویان، 38 درصد مردان شاغل بوده‌اند (15 درصد آنها به صورت تمام وقت) و 8 درصد زنان (3 درصد به صورت تمام وقت) شاغل هستند. مهاجران زن مرتبط با پناهجویی که دارای فرزند هستند اغلب مشغول به کارهای خانواده می‌باشند. برای مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی- شرایط اشتغال متفاوت است، کار همراه با قرارداد یا بدون قرارداد در بخش‌های رسمی و غیررسمی در دسترس بوده است. میانگین درآمد ماهانه پاسخگویان شاغل در تابستان 2019 برابر با 800 یورو بوده است. بهترین جنبه کار برای آنها آسودگی خاطر روحی و احساس شناخته شدن در جامعه بوده و بدترین جنبه کار مربوط به شرایط کار آنها است. نصف (53 درصد) پاسخگویان دارای دوستان آلمانی (11 درصد آنها دارای تعداد زیادی از دوستان آلمانی و 42 درصد دارای تعدادی دوستان آلمانی) بوده‌اند. بعلاوه، 21 درصد پاسخگویان اظهار داشته‌اند که زبان آلمانی را در حد خوبی می‌دانند و 86 درصد آنها حداقل زبان آلمانی را تا حدودی می‌دانند. بطور کلی آن بخش از مهاجرانی که شاغل هستند و یا زبان آلمانی را می‌دانند از زندگی خود در آلمان رضایت بیشتری دارند.

سوال سوم تحقیق این است که "آرزوها و برنامه‌های مهاجرتی مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در کایزرسلاترن و در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات چیست؟" در سال 2019 مهاجران متعدد مرتبط با پناهجویی و بطور خاص مرتبط با شرایط مجوز اقامت آنها در آلمان، دارای آرزوها و برنامه‌های مهاجرتی متفاوتی بوده‌اند. بطور جالب توجهی، افراد دارای وضعیت پناهندگی و مجوز اقامت بلندمدت تنها 56 درصد به دنبال برنامه‌ریزی برای بازگشت به کشور خودشان نبوده‌اند که این موضوع در میان پناهجویان 76 درصد و در میان مهاجران نامتعارف 92 درصد بوده است. از مجموع پاسخگویان بدون مجوز اقامت بلندمدت، هیچ کدام برنامه‌ای برای مهاجرت به یک کشور دیگر بجز کشور مبدأ آنها نداشته‌اند و 13 درصد آنها اعلام کرده‌اند که شاید به کشور دیگری به غیر از کشور مبدأ خود مهاجرت کنند. از مجموع پاسخگویان دارای تحصیلات دانشگاهی، نصف (48 درصد) آنها تمایل دارند تا در کشور آلمان تا پایان زندگی خود باقی بمانند و سه چهارم (77 درصد) پاسخگویانی که دارای تحصیلات ابتدایی یا ابتدایی ناتمام بوده‌اند اظهار کرده‌اند که تا آخر زندگی در آلمان زندگی خواهند کرد. داشتن خانواده یا دوستان در آلمان از میزان تمایل مهاجران برای مهاجرت به کشورهای دیگر می‌کاهد. از مجموع مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی که دارای مجوز اقامت دائم هستند، 98 درصد معتقد هستند که ممکن است (51 درصد بله و 47 درصد شاید) تا آخر عمر خود در آلمان زندگی

کنند و در حدود 93 درصد پناهجویان و 96 درصد مهاجران نامتعارف تمایل به زندگی در آلمان تا آخر عمر خود را دارند. مهمترین مکان ترجیح داده شده توسط آنها برای زندگی در آلمان، کایزرسلاترن (30 درصد پاسخگویان)، فرانکفورت (29 درصد) و هامبورگ (23 درصد) بوده است. بطور خاص، افراد بالغ جوان تمایل دارند تا به برلین جابجا شوند. آن دسته از پاسخگویانی که در نظر دارند تا به خارج از آلمان به غیر از کشور مبدأ خود مهاجرت کنند (پاسخ‌های بله یا شاید)، بیشترین سهم (23 درصد) مربوط است به پناهندگان یا افراد دارای مجوز اقامت دائم کشور آلمان؛ و بطور خاص پناهندگان سوریه‌ای.

سوال چهارم تحقیق این است که "مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در کایزرسلاترن و در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات چگونه و به چه منظوری از اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی استفاده می‌کنند؟" تمام (99 درصد) مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی (پاسخگویان تحقیق) در حال استفاده از اینترنت در آلمان هستند و اغلب آنها در کشور مبدأ خود نیز از اینترنت استفاده می‌کردند. داشتن تلفن همراه هوشمند با دسترسی به اینترنت (86 درصد پاسخگویان) بسیار متداول است اما میزان آن در میان مهاجرانی که امکان اخراج آنها وجود ندارد و دارای مجوز اقامت کوتاه مدت بوده و یا مهاجرانی که در کوزل ساکن هستند کمتر است. از مجموع مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی دو سوم (69 درصد) موافقت کردند که اینترنت و رسانه‌های اجتماعی زندگی آنها را در آلمان آسان‌تر کرده است (23 درصد پاسخ داده‌اند که نمی‌دانند و 8 درصد مخالف این موضوع بوده‌اند). از میان کاربران فعال اینترنت، 89 درصد از آن به منظور یافتن شغل و 77 درصد برای یادگیری در مورد حق و حقوق خود در آلمان استفاده می‌کنند. از مجموع پاسخگویان دو سوم آنها (66 درصد) در حال جستجوی وضعیت کشور مبدأ خود از طریق اینترنت بوده‌اند. از میان این افراد تقریباً نصف آنها (46 درصد) در حال برنامه‌ریزی (پاسخ بله و شاید) برای بازگشت هستند در حالیکه تنها تعداد اندکی (12 درصد) از مهاجرانی که در مورد وضعیت کشور مبدأ خود جستجو نمی‌کنند به صورت جدی برای بازگشت به کشورشان برنامه‌ریزی کرده‌اند.

ورود تعداد زیاد پناهجویان به آلمان در سال 2015 و دیگر مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی در سال‌های اخیر، این مسأله را به یک موضوع مهم تبدیل کرده است که نیازمند انجام تحقیقات در کشور آلمان به صورت عمومی و بطور خاص در منطقه راین لاند- پالاتینات و کایزرسلاترن است. نتایج چنین تحقیقات علمی می‌تواند در طراحی و اتخاذ سیاست‌های مبتنی بر شواهد در ارتباط با مهاجران مرتبط با پناهجویی مفید باشد که این موضوع تأثیرات موثری را بر روی افراد، اجتماعات و بطور کلی جامعه آلمان خواهد داشت.

ALMANYA'DAKİ MÜLTECİLER, SİĞINMACILAR VE DÜZENSİZ GÖÇMENLER, 2019. RHINELAND-PALATINATE VE KAISERSLAUTERN VAKASI.

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Almanya, Avrupa Birliği (AB) içerisindeki en kalabalık mülteci ve sığınmacı sayısına ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. 2015 yılı içerisinde AB'ye 1,3 milyon civarında sığınma ile ilişkili göçmen geldi ve Almanya yüzbinlerce, Rhineland on binlerce sığınma ile ilişkili göçmen için başlıca hedef ülke haline geldi. İlerleyen süreçte yeni gelen sığınma ile ilişkili göçmen sayısı azalmış olsa bile yıllık rakamlar hala kayda değerdir (Almanya genelinde 100,000 rakamının üzerinde, Rhineland-Palatinate bölgesinde 10,000 rakamından azdır). 2018-2019 yıllarında, yaklaşık olarak başvuru yapanların üçte biri mülteci ve ikincil koruma hakkına kavuşurken, üçte birinin başvuruları reddedilmiş ve diğer üçte bir ise “Dublin vakası” olmuştur (sığınma başvurusu yapanların Almanya dışında başka bir AB üye ülkesi tarafından işlenmesi gerekmektedir). Yakın zamanda Almanya'ya yeni sığınma başvurusu yapanların büyük çoğunluğu Suriye, Irak, Nijerya, daha sonra Türkiye, İran ve Afganistan ülkelerinden çıkmaktadırlar. Sonuç olarak bu insanlardan bazıları Almanya'da uzun veya kısa dönemli oturma izni alırken, bazıları sığınma sürecine yönlendirilirken ve diğerleri de Almanya'yı terk etmesi gereken düzensiz göçmen olarak tanımlanmışlardır. Bu duruma ek olarak, çok sayıda göçmen işçi vakası da mevcuttur. Göçmenlerin Almanya'daki birçok şehir, kasaba ve kırsal bölge üzerinde sosyal ve ekonomik gelişiminde önemli etkileri vardır. Buna ek olarak, bu göçmenlerin Almanya'ya entegrasyonu uluslararası önem arz etmektedir. Sığınma ile ilişkili göç Almanya ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgesini de içeren federal bölgelerini güncel olarak etkileyen önemli bir olaydır. Çok sayıda sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenin Almanya'ya varmasının ardından Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti sistematik bir planın uygulanmasına başlamıştır. Almanya'ya gelen göçmenler, kayıt altına alındıktan sonra kayıt merkezlerine (genelde büyük kamplar) gönderilmekte ve) daha sonra detaylı nispi planlar uyarınca Almanya'daki federal devletlere (Almancada Bundesland) sığınma ve oturma başvurularının sonuçlarını beklemek üzere dağıtılmaktadırlar. Fakat, farklı federal devletler sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenleri nasıl yerleştirecekleri, sığınma başvurusu süreci sonunda uzun süreli oturma izni alamayanlarla nasıl baş edileceği ve kayıt altına alınmış ama onaylanmamış ve belgesiz göçmenlerin hangi haklara sahip oldukları konularında kısmi olarak farklı uygulamalar gerçekleştirilmektedirler. Sığınma başvurularının yaklaşık olarak üçte biri 6 ay içerisinde karar verilmekte ve onda biri 3 yıldan uzun sürmektedir.

Bu araştırma raporu, “Almanya'daki Mülteciler, Sığınmacılar ve Düzensiz Göçmenler, 2019: Rhineland-Palatinate ve Kaiserslautern Vakası”, Rhineland-Palatinate (4,1 milyon nüfus) ve özellikle Kaiserslautern (100,000 nüfus) şehrinde yaşayan sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin göç modellerine, arzularına ve İnternet ve sosyal medya

kullanımlarına odaklanmaktadır. 2015-2016 yıllarında sığınmacıların konaklayabilmesi için Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgelerinde çok sayıda tesis kurulmuştur (eski oteller, ofis ve villalar ve hatta Kaiserslautern şehir merkezinde bulunan eski posta ofisi gibi). Buna ek olarak, Kaiserslautern'e 40km uzaklıktaki küçük Kusel beldesinde (5,000 nüfus), eski bir askeri garnizon (Kamp Kusel) sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler için yerleşke haline getirilmiştir. Bu rapor çoğunlukla Almanya'da bulunan Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgelerinde 2019 bahar ve yaz aylarında yapılmış olan saha çalışmasına dayanmaktadır. Toplamda farklı ülkelerden gelen ve Kaiserslautern bölgesinde çeşitli mekanlarda ve Kusel'de bulunan sığınmacı kampında bulunan 290 adet sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenle (mülteci statüsünde ve daimi oturum iznine sahip olanlar; sığınma sürecinde olanlar; geçici oturum iznine sahip olanlar ve herhangi bir oturum izni olmayan düzensiz göçmenler) kimlikleri anonim kalacak şekilde anket çalışması uygulanmıştır. Buna ek olarak, yerel uzmanlar ve ankete katılanlardan bazıları ile kısa mülakatlar yaptık. Bu rapordan sorumlu araştırmacılar Profesör Jussi S. Jauhiainen, Profesör Annette Spellerberg ve Araştırmacı Lutz Eichholz'dur. Bunun dışında araştırma için data toplayan ve araştırma materyalinin analizinde çalışan araştırma asistanları mevcuttur. Bu araştırmaya katkıda bulunan herkese çok müteşekkirimiz. Bu araştırma, göçmenlerin menşei ülkede ve yakınlarındaki ülkelerdeki sığınma süreçlerine ek olarak, mülteciler ve sığınmacıların, sığınma hedefi ile çıktıkları yolculuk ve hedef ülkedeki yaşamlarını da analiz eden kapsamlı bir araştırma projesinin bir parçasıdır. Bu araştırma, Finlandiya Akademisi Stratejik Araştırmalar Konseyi tarafından fonlanan ve Turku Üniversitesi Coğrafya bölümünden Profesör Jussi S. Jauhiainen tarafından yönetilen URMI (Kentleşme, Hareketlilik ve Göç, bkz. www.urmi.fi) araştırma konsorsiyumunun aktivitelerine aittir.

İlk araştırma sorusu, "Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgesinde hangi tür sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler yaşamaktadır?". Birçok ülke ve bölgede olduğu gibi, sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler gençten yaşlıya, okuma yazması olmayanlardan üniversite mezunu olanlara, iş sahibi olanlardan işsizlere ve öğrencilerden ev hanımlarına çok farklı demografik arka planlardan gelmektedirler. Buna ek olarak sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler, çoğunlukla Suriye, Afganistan ve İran olmak üzere çok farklı ülkelerden gelmektedirler. Rhineland-Palatinate bölgesindeki göçmenlerin üçte biri (32%) 18 yaşından küçük, üçte-ikisi (67%) çalışma çağında (18-64) ve yaşlı nesil (65 yaş ve üzeri) çok düşüktür (1%). Anket çalışmamıza katılan mülteci ile ilişkili katılımcıların üçte-biri (31%) Almanya'da 4 yıldan fazla kalmaktayken, beşte-biri (21%) altı aydan daha az bir süredir Almanya'da bulunmaktadır. Mülteci statüsünde olan katılımcıların büyük çoğunluğu Suriye ve İran'dan gelmiştir. Geçici oturum izni sahibi olanlar genel olarak Suriye ve İran'dan gelmiştir. Sığınma başvurusu yapanlar arasında başta Nijerya ve Türkiye olmak üzere birçok ülke bulunmaktadır. Başta Suriye ve İran olmak üzere bazı insanlar sığınma talebi alamamakta, fakat Almanya'dan sınır dışı edilmeleri imkân dahilinde olmadığı için yenilebilir kısa süreli oturum izni almaktadırlar. Son olarak Almanya'da bulunma hakkı olmayan ve çok farklı menşei ülkeden olan

çok sayıda düzensiz göçmen vardır. Bunların Almanya içine girmesi reddedilmiştir ve otoriteler tarafından yakalandıkları takdirde sınır dışı edileceklerdir.

İkinci araştırma sorusu, “Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgelerinde yaşayan sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin günlük yaşamları neye benzemektedir?” Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin günlük yaşantıları çok çeşitlidir. Barınma, sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin en önemli günlük sorunlarının başında gelmektedir. Genel olarak büyük çoğunluğu kişisel müstakil konaklamayı tercih etmektedirler. Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin birçoğu kendilerinin konaklayabilecekleri şekilde dönüştürülen eski otel, devlet daireleri ve villalarda yaşamaktadırlar. Fakat, Almanya’ya yeni varanlar kayıtları alındıktan sonra Kusel’deki gibi karşılama kamplarına yerleştirilmektedir. Göçmenler daha sonra bu kamplardan ulusal dağıtım sistemine göre Almanya içindeki belediyelere yönlendirilmektedirler. Katılımcılarımızdan yüzde 38’i tamamen ve yüzde 36’sı kısmen şu anki kalacak yerlerinden memnunken yüzde 80’i kısmen yaşadıkları çevreden memnun olduklarını belirtmiştir. Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin bazıları iş, dil ve arkadaşları vasıtası ile kendilerini Alman topluma entegre etmeye başlamışlardır. Erkek katılımcılardan yüzde 38’i (yüzde 15’i tam zamanlı) çalışmaktayken, kadınların yüzde 8’i (yüzde 3’ü tam zamanlı) çalışmaktadır. Çocuk sahibi olan kadın göçmenler çoğunlukla aile işleri ile uğraşmaktadırlar. Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler için çalışma koşulları sözleşmeli veya sözleşmesiz ve resmi ve gayri resmi olarak farklılık göstermektedir. Çalışanların ortalama kazandıkları aylık ücret 2019 yaz dönemi için ortalama 800 Euro civarındadır (1,250 Euro full-time). İş yerindeki en iyi şey psikolojik rahatlık ve onaylanma hissi olurken, en kötü şey ise çalışma şartlarıdır. Katılımcıların yarısının (53%) Alman arkadaşı vardır (11% çok sayıda; 42% biraz). Buna ek olarak, katılımcıların yüzde 21’i Almancaya iyi derecede hakimken, yüzde 86’sı Almancayı hiç değilse biraz konuşabildiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Genel olarak katılımcılardan Almancaya iyi derece hâkim olanlar ve çalışanlar Almanya’daki hayatlarından daha hoşnutlardır.

Üçüncü araştırma sorusu “Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgelerinde yaşayan sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin göç ile alakalı planları ve arzuları nelerdir?” 2019 yılında farklı sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler, oturma izinlerinin statüsüne bağlı olarak farklı göç plan ve arzularına sahiptir. İlginç bir biçimde, mülteci statüsünde ve sürekli oturma iznine sahip olanların sadece yüzde 56’sı geldikleri ülkeye geri dönmeyi planlamazken, bu rakam iltica talebinde bulunanlarda yüzde 76 ve düzensiz göçmenlerde yüzde 92 olarak ölçülmüştür. Katılımcılardan sürekli oturma iznine sahip olmayanlardan hiçbirisi kendi ülkeleri dışında bir yere gitmeyi planlamamaktadır ve sadece yüzde 13’ü belki değerlendirebileceğini söylemiştir. Üniversite eğitimi almış katılımcıların yarısı (48%) hayatlarının kalanı boyunca Almanya’da kalmaya devam etmek isterken, ilköğretim eğitimi tamamlayamayan katılımcıların dörtte üçü (%77) hayatlarının sonuna kadar Almanya’da yaşamak istemektedir. Almanya’da arkadaş ve aile bireylerinin olması başka yerde yaşama isteğini azaltmaktadır. Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerden sürekli oturma iznine sahip olanlardan yüzde 98’i (51% evet; 47%

belki) hayatlarının kalanını Almanya'da geçireceklerine inanırken; bu rakam sığınmacılarda yüzde 93 ve düzensiz göçmenlerde yüzde 96'dır. Almanya'da yaşamak için en çok tercih edilen yerler Kaiserslautern (katılımcıların yüzde 30'u), Frankfurt (29%) ve Hamburg (23%) olmuştur. Bilhassa genç yetişkinler Berlin'e taşınmak istemektedir. Almanya'dan kendi ülkesi dışında başka yere taşınmayı düşünenler arasında (evet veya belki) en büyük pay (23%) mülteci statüsü veya sürekli oturum izni olan Suriyelilerdedir.

Dördüncü soru, "Kaiserslautern ve Rhineland-Palatinate bölgesinde yaşayan sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenler sosyal medya ve interneti neden ve nasıl kullanmaktadır?" Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin tamamı (yüzde 99'dan fazlası) Almanya'da geldikleri ülkeden daha fazla internet kullanmaktadır. Her ne kadar Kusel'de kalan ve sınır dışı edilemeyen kısa süreli oturum izni sahibi olan göçmenlerde oran daha düşük olsa da internet bağlantısı olan bir akıllı telefona sahip olmak çok yaygın (katılımcıların 86%) bir durumdur. Sığınma ile ilişkili göçmenlerin üçte ikisi (69%) internet ve sosyal medyanın Almanya'daki hayatlarını kolaylaştırdığını kabul etmişlerdir (23% bilmiyorum; 8% katılmıyorum). Aktif internet kullanıcılarından yüzde 89'u interneti iş bulmak için kullanmışken, yüzde 77'si Almanya'daki hakları hakkında daha çok bilgi edinmiştir. Bütün katılımcıların üçte ikisi (66%) geldikleri ülkelerdeki gelişmeleri internet üzerinden takip etmektedirler. Bunların neredeyse yarısı (46%) geri dönmeyi planlamışken (evet veya belki), ülkelerindeki gelişmeleri internet üzerinden takip etmeyenlerin çok az bir kısmı (12%) geri dönmeyi planlamaktadır. 2015 yılında Almanya'ya gelen çok sayıda sığınmacı ve geçtiğimiz yıllarda devam eden sığınma ile ilişkili göçler bu tip göç hareketini genel olarak Almanya'da, özelde ise Rhineland-Palatinate ve Kaiserslautern bölgelerinde araştırılması gereken önemli bir konu haline getirmiştir. Bu tür bilimsel araştırmaya dayanan sonuçlar, sığınma ile ilişkili göç üzerine kanıt odaklı politikaların planlanması ve Almanya'daki bireyler, topluluklar ve toplum üzerinde etkili olmasına yardımcı olacaktır.

پەنابەرەن، داواکارانی پەنابەری و کۆچبەرە بى كاغەزەكان له ئەلمانیا سالى ٢٠١٩. حالەتەكانى رەينلاند- فالز RHEINLAND-PFALZ و كايسەرسلاولتيرن .KAISERSLAUTERN

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زۆرترين ژمارەى پەنابەرەن و داواکارانی پەنابەری و لاتانی يەكيتى ئەوروپا له ئەلمانىادايە. له سالى ٢٠١٥دا نزىكەى ١،٣ مليون داواكارى پەنابەرى گەيشتنە يەكيتى ئەوروپا. ئەلمانىا شونى گەيشتنى سەدان ھەزار پەنابەر بوو، ھەروەھا دەیان ھەزاريش ھاتن بۆ ھەريەى رينلاند – فالز (بە ئەلمانىا بوندیسلاند). دواتر ژمارەى داواکارانی پەنابەرى دابەزى، بەلام تاكو ئىستاش ھەر زۆرە (له ئەلمانىادا سالانە زياتر له ١٠٠،٠٠٠ و له رينلاند – فالزيش كەمتر له ١٠،٠٠٠ داواكارى پەنابەرى ھەيە). له ماوەكانى رابوردودا زۆرترينى داواکارانی پەنابەرى كە گەيشتونەتە ئەلمانىا له سوريا و عىراق و نايجىرياو ھاتوون كە لەو ولاتانەو ھوایى له رینگای تورکيا و ئيران و ئەفغانستانەو بەرىكەتوون. بەشێك لەوانە مۆلەتى مانەو (ئىقامە) ى ھەميشەىيان كاتى له ئەلمانىا وەرگرتووە، بەشێك داواى پەنابەرى له ئەلمانىا پيشكەش کردووە و بەشێكىشان بوونە بە کۆچبەرى بى كاغەز، كە دەبوايە له ئەلمانىا دەرچوونايە. ھەروەھا ژمارەى زۆریش كۆچبەرى كارکردن ھاتوون بۆ فينلەندا. له ئەلمانىا كۆچبەرەن گرینگەى زۆریان ھەيە بۆ گەشەکردنى بواری كۆمەلایەتى و ئابوورى چەندین شار و ناوچە لادىيەكانى ئەلمانىا.

ئەو جوولەى گوزانەو ھەيە كە پەيوەندى بە پەنابەریەو ھەيە ديار دەيەكى ھەنووكەى گرینگە له ئەلمانىا و له ھەريەكانىدا، له ناو ئەوانەشدا ھەريەى رينلاند- فالز. ئەوساى كە ژمارەى ئىجگار زۆر له داواکارانی پەنابەرى گەيشتنە ئەلمانىا، دەوڵەتى فیدرالى ئەلمانىا دەستى كرد بەو ھەيە كە پلانێكى سىستەماتىكىان لەگەڵدا بگونجینن. ھەموو ئەوانەى كە گەيشتن توماركران و ھوایى رەوانەى ناوئەكەنى پيشواى کران (زیاتریشیان بۆ كامپە گەورەكان). دوابەدواى تومارکردن بەشێو ھەيەكى ورد دابەش کران بەسەر ھەريەكاندا، كە ئەوانیش بەرەو شارەوانیەكان ئاراستەیان كردن بۆ چاوەروانکردنى بریاری مافى پەنابەرى و ئىحتمالى وەرگرتنى ئىقامە. ھەر يەك ھەريەكان بۆ ئەو كۆچبەرەنى داواى پەنابەرییان پيشكەش کردووە چۆن و له كوێ دابنرێن بۆ مانەو كەمێك بەشێو ھەيە جیاواز ريساكانى خویان دەگونجین، چۆن لەگەڵ ئەو كەسانەى كە مافى پەنابەرى و ئىقامەى كورتخایەنیان وەرگرتووە كار بكریت و ھەروەھا ئەو داواكارى پەنابەرییانەى كە تومار كران، ئەوانەى كە رەفریان وەرگرتووە و ئەوانەى كە وەكو پەنابەرى بى كاغەز له ھەريەكەدا دەمێننەو چى مافىكان ھەيە. نزىكەى يەك لەسەر سێى داوانامەى پەنابەریەكان له ماوەى شەش مانگدا بریاریان وەرگرت و يەك لەسەر دەى داوانامەكانیش سێ سال زياترى دەخاياند ھەتاكو بریارى لەسەر بدریت.

بابەتى ئەم راپۆرتە كە لەژێر ناویشانى “Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Germany, 2019. The Case of Rhineland-Palatinate and

Kaiserslautern. (پنابهران، داواکارانی پنابهری و کوچبهره بی کاغز مهکان له نهمانیا سالی ۲۰۱۹. حالتهکانی رهنلاند- فالز و کایسرسلاوتیرن) دایه، بریتیه له ژبانی رۆژانهی نهو کوچبهرانه که داواکاری پنابهرین، جوولهی گویزانمه، ئاواتهکانی گویزانمه، ههروهه بهکارهینانی نینتهرنیت و سوشیال میدیا له لایهن نهو کهسانهوه له ههریمی رهنلاند - فالز (ژماره‌ی دانیشنوانی ۴،۱ ملیۆن) و له کایسرسلاوتیرن (ژماره‌ی دانیشنوان ۱۰۰،۰۰۰). له سالهکانی ۲۰۱۵ - ۲۰۱۶ له ههریمهکه‌دا چهنیدن کامپی پیتسوازی پنابهران دامزریران (بۆ نمونه هۆتیه کونهکان، فهرمانگه‌کان و کۆشکه‌کان له رهنلاند - فالز ههروهه له فهرمانگهی پۆست له ناومندی کایسرسلاوتیرن). بێجگه له‌وانه‌ش کوسیل که شاریکی بچوکه دانیشنوانه‌که‌ی ۵۰۰۰ کهسه و ۴۰ کیلومتر له کایسرسلاوتیرنمه دورره شوینیکی گرینگ بوو، چونکه له‌ویدا سه‌ربازگه‌کان گۆردران بۆ کامپی نهو کوچبهرانه که داواکاری پنابهری بوون (کامپ کوسیل Camp Kusel).

نهم راپۆرت به‌شێوه‌یه‌کی سه‌رمکی له‌سه‌ر بنه‌مای نهو لیکۆلینه‌وه مه‌یدانیه نوسراوته‌وه که له به‌هاری سالی ۲۰۱۹ له کایسرسلاوتیرن و رهنلاند - فالز نهمجام دراوه. به‌وه‌لامدانیه‌ی پرسیارمه‌کان به‌شێوه‌ی بێ ناو له‌لایهن سه‌رجه‌م ۲۹۰ کوچبهری و لاتیه جیا‌جیا‌کان که داواکاری پنابهرین (به‌وانه‌وه که پنابهرن و نه‌وانه‌ی تریش که نیقامه‌ی هه‌میشه‌ییان وه‌رگرتوه)، نه‌وانه‌ی که نیقامه‌ی کاتیان وه‌رگرتوه له‌گه‌ڵ کوچبهره‌ی بی کاغز مه‌کان که مۆله‌تی مانه‌میان نیه) له‌ولاته جیا‌جیا‌کانه‌وه له‌ شوینه جیا‌جیا‌کانی کایسرسلاوتیرن و کامپه‌کانیان (کامپ کوسیل). هه‌روه‌ها له‌گه‌ڵ به‌شیک له‌وانه‌ی که وه‌لامی پرسیارمه‌کانیان دا‌بو‌وه له‌گه‌ڵ شارمه‌زانیان بابه‌ته‌که‌دا چاوپێکه‌وتنه‌مان کرد. نهو لیکۆله‌رانه‌ی که راپۆرتمه‌کیان ناماده کردوه بریتی بوون له‌ پروفیسۆر یوسسی س. یاهویانین، پروفیسۆر نه‌نیتتی سېللیزبیرگ و لیکۆله‌ر لوتز ئیشه‌هۆلز. هه‌روه‌ها له‌ جیه‌جیه‌کردنی لیکۆلینه‌وه‌که‌دا یاریده‌دهرانی لیکۆلینه‌وه یارمه‌تییان دا. ئیمه‌ سوپاسی هه‌موو نه‌وانه‌ ده‌که‌ین که له‌ لیکۆلینه‌وه‌که‌دا به‌شدار بیان کردوه.

نهم راپۆرت به‌شێکه له‌ پڕۆژمه‌کی لیکۆلینه‌وه‌ی گه‌وره‌تر. که بابه‌ته‌کانی بریتین له‌ لیکۆلینه‌وه له‌سه‌ر نه‌وانه‌ی که ولاتیان ده‌گۆزنمه‌وه، داواکارانی پنابهری، پڕۆسه‌کانی پنابهرمه‌کان له‌ ولاته‌کانی پێشووتری خویان و ده‌ورو به‌ری نهو ولاتانه، هه‌روه‌ها کاتی گه‌شته‌مکانیان بۆ پنابهریتتی بۆ نهو ولاتانه‌ی که بۆی ده‌چن. لیکۆلینه‌وه‌که‌ په‌یوه‌ندی هه‌یه به‌ یه‌کتی لیکۆلینه‌وه‌ی URMI (Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration) بڕوانه www.urmi.fi که خه‌رجیه‌کانی له‌لایهن نه‌جمه‌نی ستراتیجی نه‌کادیمی فینله‌نده‌وه ده‌دریت و به‌ریۆ به‌ر مه‌کی پروفیسۆر یوسسی س. یاهویانینه (به‌شی جوگرافیا، زانکۆی تورکو، فینله‌ندا).

یه‌که‌م پرسیار لیکۆلینه‌وه‌که نه‌وه‌یه که: چی جوړه کوچبهریکی داواکاری پنابهری له کایسرسلاوتیرن و رهنلاند - فالز دا ده‌ژین. هه‌روه‌کو له‌ چهنیدن ولات و ناوچه‌ی تردا، کوچبهرانی داواکاری پنابهری له‌ ناوچه‌ی لیکۆلینه‌وه‌که‌ماندا له‌ پڕوی دیمۆگرافیا پێشینه‌ی کوچبهریه‌وه جوړاجۆرن: تیا‌یاند هه‌یه گه‌نجه و هه‌شه‌پیره، له‌ نه‌خوینده‌واره‌وه هاتاکو ده‌رچووی زانکۆکان، له‌ کارگه‌رمه‌وه بۆ و بیکار و له‌ ژنی ماله‌وه هه‌تاکو خویندکار. نه‌وانه له‌ چهنیدن ولاتی جیا‌جیا‌وه هاتون، زۆربه‌یان له‌ سووریاوه، له‌ نه‌فغانستان یان له‌ عیراقه‌وه هاتون. له‌ داواکارانی پنابهری رهنلاند - فالز دا یه‌که له‌سه‌ر سی (۳۲٪) ته‌مه‌نیان له‌ خوار ۱۸ سالانه‌ویه، دوو له‌سه‌ر سیان (۶۷٪) له‌ ته‌مه‌نی کارکردندان (۱۸-۶۴ سالان) و ژماره‌یه‌کی زۆر که‌میان (۱٪) به‌ته‌مه‌ن (۶۵ سالان یان گه‌وره‌تر). نه‌وانه‌ی که وه‌لامی پرسیارمه‌کانمان دا‌وته‌وه، یه‌که له‌سه‌ر سیان (۳۱٪) زیاتر له‌ ۴ ساله له‌ نه‌لمانیا ژیاون و یه‌که له‌سه‌ر پینجیان (۲۱٪) که‌متر له‌ شه‌ش مانگ. زۆربه‌ی نهو وه‌لامه‌رانه‌ی که مافی پنابهرییان وه‌رگرتوه خه‌لکی سووریا و ئێران بوون. داواکارانی پنابهری له‌ چهنیدن ولاتی جیا‌جیا‌وه هاتون، زۆرجار له‌ نایجیریا و تورکیاوه هاتون.

بەشىنك لەوانەى كە وەلاميان داومتەو (زىياتر سوورىيەكان و ئىرانى و عىراقىيەكان) مافى پەنابەرىيان و مەنەگرتىبو، بەلام لەبەر ئەوئى ناتوانرئىت لە ئەلمانىا دەربىكرئىن، نىقامەى كاتىيان پى دراو، كە دمتوانن ھەر شەش مانگ جارىك تازەى بىكەنەو. ھەروەھا خەلكى چەندىن و لات لەو وەلامدەرانەى كە كۆچەرى بى كاغەزن و لە رووى ياساىيەو مافى مانەمىيان لە ئەلمانىادا نى. ئەوانە ئەگەر لەلايەن كاربەدەستانەو دەستگىر بىكرئىن لە و لاتەكە دەريان دەكەن.

پرسىارى دوومى لىكۆلنەو كە ئەمىيە كە: ژيانى رۆژانەى ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرىن چۆنە لە كايسەرسلاوتتېرن و رېنلاندا — فالز. ژيانى رۆژانەى ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرىن جۆراوجۆرە. ئەو كەسانەى كە دەگەنە ئەلمانىا دوابەدەى تۆمار كەردىيان لەپىشا لە كامپەكانى پەنابەرى نىشتەجى دەكرئىن، بۆ نمونە كامپى كوسىل (Camp Kusel). لەوتىشەو ئاراستە دەكرئىن بۆ شارەكان بەگۆرەى سىستەمى نىشتىمانى. مالىشىنى كىشەيەكى گەورەى رۆژانەى. زۆربەى ئەو خەلكانە لە خانووى خاوندارى سەربەخۆدا دەژىن. بەشىكىيان لە فەرمەنگە كۆنەكاندا دەژىن، يان لە ئوتلەكان و لە كۆشكەكاندا كە گونجىندراون بۆ حەواندەوئى ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى مافى پەنابەرىن. لەو كەسانەدا كە وەلامى پرسىارەكانىيان داومتەو ئەوانەى كە بەتەواوى لە شوئىنى حەوانەوئى خۆيان رازى بوون ۳۶٪ بوون و ۸۰٪ ھىچ نەبىت كەمىك لە ناوچەى نىشتەجىبوونەكەى ئەو كاتەى خۆى رازى بوو.

بەشىنك لەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرى بوون دەستىيان بەو كەردىبوو كە بە رېگای كار كەردن و زمان و برادەروە لەگەل ئەلمانىا خۆيان بگونجىنن. لەو پىاوانەى كە وەلامى پرسىارەكانىيان دابوومە ۳۸٪ كارى دەكرد (۱۵٪ رۆژى تەواو كارى دەكرد) و لە ژەكانىشدا ۸٪ (۳٪ رۆژى تەواو كارى دەكرد). ئەو ژانەى كە مندالىيان ھەبوو بەشىوئەى سەرمەكى كاتى خۆيان لەگەل خىزانەكانىياندا دەگوزمەرنەن. بارودۆخى كار كەردنى ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە بەھوى داواى پەنابەرىيەو ھاتبوون جۆراوجۆر بوو: ھەندىكىيان رېكەوتتەنامەى كار كەردنى ھەبوو و ھەندىكىيان نەيانبوو: ھەندىكىيان لە شوئىنى فەرمىدا كارىيان دەكرد و ھەندىكىيان لە شوئىنى نافەرمى. مووچەى كارەكان (سەرجمەى ناومەند) ھاوئى ۲۰۱۹ ۸۰۰ ئىورۆ بوو. باشترىن كار ئەو بوو كە ئەو كەسە لە رووى دەروونىيەو ئىسراحتى پى دەكرد و ئەوئى كە كرېكارەكە وەكو بەشىكى كۆمەلگەكە تەماشبا بىكرئىت. خراپترىن شتىش لە كارەكاندا بىرىتى بوو لە بارودۆخەكانى كار كەردن. لە دوو كەسدا يەككىيان (۵۳٪) لەوانەى كە وەلاميان داومتەو برادەرى ئەلمانىيان ھەبوو (۱۱٪ چەندىن برادەريان ھەبوو؛ ۴۲٪ ھەندىك). لەو كەسانەى كە وەلاميان داومتەو ۲۱٪ و تەوئەتى زمانى ئەلمانى دەزانئىت و ۸۶٪ ھىچ نەبىت كەمىكى زانىو. ئەگەر بەشىوئەى گشتى وەرى بگرىن ئەوانەى كە كارىيان دەكرد لە زمانە ئەلمانىيەكە باشتر تىدەگەيشتن و بەشىوئەى زىياتر لە ژيانى خۆيان رازى بوون لە ئەلمانىا.

پرسىارى سنىيەمى لىكۆلنەو كە ئەو بوو كە: جوولەى گۆزانەو و ئارەزووى گۆزانەوئى ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرىن بەچى شىوئەىكە لە كايسەرسلاوتتېرن و رېنلاندا — فالزدا. لە سالى ۲۰۱۹دا ئەو كۆچەرانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرى بوون ئاواى گۆزانەو و پلانى گۆزانەوئى جىباچىيان ھەبوو. ۵۶٪ ئەو كەسانەى كە مافى پەنابەرىيان ھەبوو و نىقامەى ئەلمانىيان و مەگرتىبو پلانى ئەمىيان نەبوو كە بگەرنەو بۆ و لاتى پىشووى خۆيان. بەلام ۷۶٪ ئەوانەى كە داواكارى پەنابەرى بوون و ۹۲٪ بى كاغەزەكان ئەو پلانىيان ھەبوو. ئەوانەى كە مۆلتەى مانەوئى ھەمىشەىيان و مەگرتىبو تەنھا ۱۳٪ نەبىت ئەوانى تر بە دلىياىيەو نىازىيان نەبوو لە ئەلمانىا بگۆزنەو بۆ شوئىنىكى ترى جىاواز لە و لاتەكەى پىشووى خۆيان. لەو كەسە وەلامدەرانەى كە لە زانكۆكاندا خوئندوويانە لە ھەر دوو كەسەدا يەككىك (۴۸٪) بىرى لەو دەكرەو كە ھەتا كۆتايى

ژیانی له ئەلمانیا بمیښتهوه، ههروها یهك لهسهر سێ (۷۷٪) كه بهرزترین ئاستی خوێندنیان قوناخی بنچینهیی بوو یان بنچینهیی نیومهچل بوو بههمان شیوه. ههبوونی خیزان و برادر له ئەلمانیا ئارمژووی گۆزانهوهی وهلامدەر مهکانی بۆ دهر مهوی ئەلمانیا ی کهم دهرمهوه. نزیکه ههموویان (۹۸٪) لهوانه ی که وهلامیان داوهتهوه، که مۆلتهی مانهوهی ههمیشهیان ههیه له ئەلمانیا، وایر دهکهنهوه که بهرزیایی ژیاڤیان له ئەلمانیا بمیښتهوه (۵۱٪ به دلتیا بهوه؛ ۴۷٪ لهوانه یه)، و ئهم وهلامه له لایهن ۹۳٪ ی داواکارانی پهنا بهر یهوه درابهوه له گهه ۹۶٪ ی کۆچ بهر یه بێ کاغهز مهکان. په سهندترین شوین که لێی بژین له ئەلمانیا بریتی بوون له کایسه سلاوتیرن (۳۰٪)، فرانکفورت ئهم مهین (۲۹٪) و هامبورگ (۲۳٪). بهتایبهتیش گهنجه گهور مهتمه نهکان پێیان خوش بوو له بهرلیندا بژین. بهشیکیان دهستیان کرد به گۆزانهوه بۆ دهر مهوی ئەلمانیا بۆ ولاتیکی تری جیاوازه له ولاتی پێشووی خویان. یهك لهسهر چواریان (۲۳٪) ئهو کهسانه بوون (بهتایبهتیش سوور یهکان) که مۆلتهی مانهوهی ههمیشهیی یان مافی پهنا بهر ییان و مرگرتبوو له ئەلمانیا.

پرسیاری چوارمه ی لیکۆلینهوه که ئهوه بوو که: چۆن و له بهر چی ئهو کۆچ بهرانه ی که داواکاری پهنا بهرین له کایسه سلاوتیرن و رینلاند- فالز ئینتهرنێت و سۆشیال میدیا بهکاده هین؟ ههموو ئهوانه ی که وهلامی پرس بهر مهکانیان دا بهوه (زیاتر له ۹۹٪) ئهوسای که له ئەلمانیا بوون ئینتهرنێتیان زیاتر بهکار هیناوه لهچاو ئهوه ی که له ولاتی رهسه نی خویان بهکاریان هیناوه. بهشیومهکی ئاسایی وهلامدەر تهلهفونی زیرمکی ههبوو که تیایدا په یومندی ئنتهرنێت ههبوو (۸۶٪). بهلام بۆ ئهو وهلامدەرانه ی که مۆلتهی مانهوه ی کور تها یه نیان ههبوو یان ئهوانه ی که له کامپی پهنا بهرانی کوسیل بوون ئهو شته نهختیک که متر بوو. له وهلامدەر مهکاندا دوو لهسهر سنیان (۶۹٪) پێیان وابوو که ئینتهرنێت و سۆشیال میدیا ژیاڤی ئهوان له ئەلمانیا ئاسانتر دهکات (۲۳٪ دهیووت نازانم؛ ۸٪ رای جیاوازه بوو). ئهوانه ی که بهشیومهکی چالاکانه ئینتهرنێتیان بهکار دههینا ۸۹٪ بهکاری دههینا بۆ گهران بهدوای کار و ۷۷٪ بۆ زانینی مافهکانی خوی له ئەلمانیا. له ههموو وهلامدەر مهکاندا دوو لهسهر سنیان (۶۶٪) بهریگای ئینتهرنێت بهدواداچوونی بۆ رووداوهکانی ولاتی پێشووی خوی دهکرد. لهوانه نزیکه ی نیهمیان (۴۶٪) پلانی وابوو (به دلتیا بهوه یان لهوانه یه) بهگهریتهوه بۆ ولاتی پێشووی خوی. ژماره یهکی کهم (۱۲٪) لهوانه ی که بهریگای ئینتهرنێت بهدواداچوونیان بۆ رووداوهکانی ولاتی پێشووی خویان ناکرد پلانی گهرانه یان ههبوو.

بابهتی گهیشتنی داواکارانی پهنا بهر ی بۆ ئەلمانیا له سالی ۲۰۱۵ دا و کۆچ بهرانی داوای پهنا بهر ی له سالانی رابوردو دا بابتهکی گرینگه، که پێویست دهکات له ئەلمانیا دا و بهتایبهتیش له رینلاند- فالز و کایسه سلاوتیرن لیکۆلینهوه ی لهسهر بکریت. لهم بابته دا پێویستمان به ئهجامیک ههیه که لهسهر بهنما ی لیکۆلینهوه ی زانستی بیت. بهو ئهجامانه دهتوانین سیاسهتیک دا بهننن تاییهت به جوولهکانی گۆزانهوه ی داوای پهنا بهر ی که پشت بهستوو بیت به بابته رهسته قینهکان و لههمان کاتدا کار بهر یهکی بههیزی پلان بۆ دانراو ههیت بۆ سهر تاکهکان و کۆمهله خهکهکان و کۆمهلهگا له ئەلمانیا دا.

QAXOOTIYADA, MAGANGELYO DOONYADA IYO DADKA AJNABIGA AH EE BILAA WARAAQAHA AH EE JARMALKA 2019. XAALAD AHAAN RHEINLAND-PFALZ IYO KAISERSLAUTERN.

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Jarmalka waxaa jooga cadadka ugu badan ee qaxootiyada, iyo magangelyo doonka ee dalalka midowga yurubta. Sanadkii 2015 kii ilaa iyo 1.3 milyuun oo magangelyo doon ah ayaa yimidey dalalka midowga yurubta. Jarmalku waa bar tilmaameedka boqolaal kun oo magangelyo doon ah, tobonaan kun oo ka mid ahina waxay yimaadeen sidoo kale gobolka Rheinland-Pfalz (Bundesland af Jarmalka loo yaqaano). Markii dambe cadadkii magangelyo doonku hoos ayey u dhacdey, laakiin weli waa mid saameynteeda leh in (Jarmalka ay joogaan sanad walba in ka badan 100 000 ayna Rheinland-pfaltz in ka yar 10 000 oo magangelyo doon ahi). Mudooyinkan dambe magangelyo doonku Jarmalka waxay uga kala yimaadaan Siiriya, Ciraaq iyo Nayjeria marka xigtana inta ugu badani waa Turkiga, Iiraan iyo Afganistan. Qeybo iyaga ka mid ahi waxaa la siiyey sharciyo joogto ah ama kuwo muddo cayiman ah, qaarkood waxay Jarmalka ka codsadaan magangelyo doon qaarkoodna waxay noqdaan dad ajnabi ah oo aan waraaqo laheyn, kuwaas oo ay tahay in ay Jarmalka ka baxaan. Intaa waxaa dheer Jarmalka waxaa yimaada qaar badan shaqooyin awgeed u soo guura. Dadka ajnabiga ahi waxay saameyn badan ku leeyihiin magaalooyin badan iyo baadiyaha bulshadooda iyo kobcidda dhaqaalaha ee Jarmalka.

Codsiga magangelyo doonka guuritaanka la xidhiidhaa wuxuu saameyn weyn ku leeyahay wakhtigan xaadirka ah una yahay waji cusub Jarmalka iyo goboladiisa, marka lagu daro gobolka Rheinland-Pfaltz. Markii inta ugu badaneyd ee ajnabiga ahi ay soo gaadheeb Jarmalka, ayaa federaalka jamhuuriyadda Jarmalku u dejisey iya qorshe. Dhammaan kuwa yimid oo dhan in la diiwaangeliyo ka dibna dhamaantoodba loo diro kaamamka qaxootiga lagu qaabilo (sida ugu badana kaamamka waaweyn). Intaa ka dib waxaa si sugan iyaga loogu qeybiyey dalka goboladiisa kala duduwan, laguna wajihiyey iyaga degmooyinka si ay halkaa ugu sugaan go'aanmada magangelyo doonkooda iyo fursadaha sharciyada. Goboladdu waxay waafajiyaan qaabab qawaaniineed oo waxoogaa kala duduwan oo ah, sidee iyo xagee ayaa dadka ajnabiga ah ee magangelyo doonka ah lagu meeleynayaa, sidee ayaa ajnabiga magangelyo doonka ah iyo kuwa la siiyey sharciga mudadda gaaban ah loola dhaqmayaa sidoo kalena xuquuq noocaa ah leeyihiin iyagu, kuwa isku diiwaangeliyey cadsadayaasha magangelyo doonka, kuaas oo ah kuwa codsigooda la diidey iyo kuwa ku joogaya goboladda ajnabiga warqado la'aanta ah. Qiyaastii saddex meeloodkiiba mid ayaa hela go'aanka codsigiisa magangelyo doonka ah sanad badhkii gudihiisa tobonkiiba halna go'aan ka helidda codsigoodu wuxuu qaata in ka badan saddex sano.

Warbixintan “Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Germany, 2019. The Case of Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern.” (Qaxootiyada, magangelyo doonka iyo dadka aan warqadaha laheyn ee Jarmalka sanadkii 2019. Xaalad ahaana Rheinland-Pfalz iy Kaiserslautern) mawduucuna waa in magangelyo doonku uu la xidhiidho dadka ajnabiga ah nolol maalmeedkooda, guuritaanka iyo hadafyada guuritaanka iyo sidoo kale iyaga isticmaalkooda internetka iyo baraha warbaahinta bulshada isticmaalkooda ee gobolada Rheinland-Pfaltzin (4,1 milyuun oo dad ah ayaa degan) iyo Kaiserslauterniga oo (100 000 dad ah baa deggan). Sanadadii 2015–2016 goboladdaa laga aasaasey dhowr kaam oo kaamamka qaabilaada qaxootiga ah (tusaale ahaan hoteeladii hore, xafiisyo iyo filooyinka Rheinland-Pfaltz iyo sidoo kale xafiisyadii hore ee boostooyinka ee Kaiserslautern badhtamihiisa). Intaa waxaa dheer Kusel, oo ah degmo ay deggan yihiin dad dhan 5 000 oo 40 kilometir u jirta Kaiserslauterniga, waana meel astaan leh, sababtoo ah halkaas waxaa ku yaala qalcadihii hore ee ciidamada oo loo badaley kaam lagu qaabilo dadka magangelyo doonka ah. (Camp Kusel).

Warbixintani muhiimadeedu waxay ku saleysan tahay gegida baadhitaanka, taas oo lagu hirgeliyeyo Kaiserslauterniga iyo Rheinland-Pfalz gugga iyo xagaagga 2019. Isugeyn 290 magangelyo doonka la xidhiidha ajnabiga (marka lagu daro qaxootiga iyo kuwa kale ee la siiyey sharciga joogtada ah; kuwa la siiyey sharciga mudadda cayiman ah; iyo kuwa ajnabiga ah ee aan laheyn waraaqaha ee bilaa sharciga ah) wadamada kala duduwan kuwa kaga jawaabey magac la’aanta ee dhinacyada kala duduwan ee Kaiserslauterni iyo kaamamka qaabilaada ee (Camp Kusel). Intaa waxaa dheer oo aan wareysi la yeelaney su’aalaha qaar ka mid ah kuwii ka soo jawaabey iyo khubaradii mowduuca. Warbixinta soo ururiyayaashu waxay ahaayeen Jussi S. Jauhiainen, professori Annette Spellerberg iyo baadhe Lutz Eichholz. Intaa waxaa dheer hirgeliyayaasha baadhitaanku in ay caawiyeen caawiyayaasha baadhitaanku. Aad baanu ugu mahadcelineynaa dhammaan ka qeybgalayaasha oo dhan.

Warbixintani waxay qeyb ka tahay mashruuc baadhitaan, kaaso o uu mowduuciisu yahay guurayaasha, magangelyodoonka iyo qaxootiyada qaab socodka magangelyo doonkooda wadamadoodii hore iyo kuwa u dhowdhow ee ay magangelyo doonkooda u soo maraan iyo dalalka ay soo beegsanayaan. Baadhitaankani wuxuu la xidhiidhaa xulafada baadhitaanada URMI (Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration, www.urmi.fi), kaaso o ay maalgeliyaan Suomen Akatemian Strategisen Tutkimuksen Neuvosto kuwaas oo ay madax ka yihiin professori Jussi S. Jauhiainen (qeybta juquraafiga, jaamacadda Turku, Finland; ”maantieteen osasto, Turun yliopisto, Suomi”).

Su’aasha ugu horeysa ee baadhitaanku waa: “Magangelyo doonyo caynkee ah ayaa la xidhiidha dadka ajnabiga ah ee ku nool Kaiserslauterniga iyo Rheinland-Pfaltziga.” Sida dawlado kale oo badan iyo agagaarada kaleba

codsiyada la xidhiidha magangelyo doonkooda dadka ajnabiga ah agagaarka baadhitaanadoodu ay u leeyihiin noocyo badan demografiga taariikhdoodii hore sidey aheyd: kuwaas oo dhallinyaradu noqonayaan dad waaweyn ilaa iyo waayeel, kuwa aan wax akhriyin noqdaan kuwo leh takhasus jaamacadeed oo ay soo diyaariyeen, laga bilaabo shaqaaluhu ilaa iyo shaqo la'aanta hooyooyinka gurijoogta ahina u noqdaan ardey waxbarata. Waxay ka kala yimaadeen wadamo badan oo kala duduwan intooda badani waa Siiriya, Afganistan ama Iiraan. Rheinland-Pfalziga kuwa magangelyo doonka ahi saddexdiiba mid (32%) ayaa ka yar da'ada 18- jirka, saddexdiiba labana waa (67%) waxay ku jiraan da'adii shaqada (18-64-jiradda) jintooda ugu yarina (1%) waa waayeel (65-jiro ama ka waaweyn). Su'aalhayaga ka jawaabayaashoodu, sadexdiiba mid (31%) ayaa Jarmalka joogey in ka badan 4 sano shantiiba midna (21%) wuxuu joogey sanad badhkii ka yar. Inta ugu badan kuwa heley jagada qaxootinimada ee ka jawaabey waxay ahaayeen Siiriya iyo Iiraan. Sharciga mudadda dheer ee cayiman kuwa heleyna intooda badani waxay ka kala yimaadeen Siiriya ama Iiraan. Magangelyo doonyadu waxay ka kala yimaadeen wadamo badan oo kala duduwan, intooda badanina waa Neygeyriya ama Turkiga. Qeyn ka mid ah ka jawaabayaashu waxay ka yimaadeen (sida qaaliibka ah Siiriya, Iiraan ama Ciraaq) mana aynan helin magangelyo, laakiin maadaama aanan iyaga laga celin karin Jarmalka, waayo waxay haystaan iyagu sharci muddo cayiman ah, kaaso o loo cusbooneysiyo lixdii biloodba mar. Intaa waxaa dheer oo jirey wadamo badan oo kala duduwan ka jawaabayaashooda, kuwaas oo ahaa ajnabi bilaa waraaqo ah oo si sharco darro ahku jooga Jarmalka. Kuwaasna dalka Jarmalka waa laga saarayaa, haddii ay masuuliyiinta dawladdu iyaga qabato.

Su'aalihii baadhitaanka ee kale waxay ahayd: "Waa sidee codsiyada magangelyo doonka ah ee la xidhiidha nolol maalmeedka dadka ajnabiga ahee Kaiserslauterniga iyo Rheinland-Pfalziga." Codsiga magangelyo doonka ee la xidhiidha dadka ajnabiga ee dalka u soo guurey wey kala duduwan yihiin. Dadka Jarmalka yimaada waxaa lagu meeleeeyaa marka la diiwaangeliyo wixii ka dambeeya marka hore kaamka qaabilaada qaxaootiga, tusaale ahaan ee kaamka Kuseliga (Camp Kusel). Halkaas ayaa lagaga hagayaa degmooyinka qaranku marba sida ay u qorsheeyaan. Degaanku maalin walba wuxuu leeyahay weji maalinle oo caqabad leh. Inta ugu badani waxay ku nool yihiin guryo madax banaan. Qaar badanina waxay ku nool yihiin xafiisyo hore, huteelo iyo filooyin, kuwaas oo laga dhigey meel seexadyo ay u hoydaan codsiga magangelyo doonka ee la xidhiidha dadka ajnabiga ah. Su'aalaha ka jawaabayaashoodu hadda meelaha ay ku meeleysan yihiin gabi ahaanba waxey ugu qanacsan yihiin 38% qeyb ahaana waxay ugu qanacsan yihiin 36%, ayan 80% ugu yaraan ugu qanacsan yihiin hadda deegaanadda ay deggan yihiin.

Qeybo ka mid ah codsadayasha la xidhiidha magangelyo doonku wuxuu bilowdey in ay dhexgalaan shaqada Jarmalka, luqadda iyo dhinaca asxaabta.

Ka jawaabayaasha nimanka ka jawaabey waxay shaqeynayeen 38% (15% maalin buuxda) dumarkana 8% (3% maalin buuxda). Dumarka, kuwa carruuraha lihi waxay wakhtiyadooda ku lumiyaan inta badan qoyskooda. Magangelyo doonka codsabayaasha la xidhiidha ajnabiga shaqooyinkoodu wey is bedbedelaan: qeybo ka mid ah waxay ku shaqeeyaan heshiis shaqo qeybano bilaa heshiis; qaarkood waxay si sharciyeysan uga shaqeeyaan, qaarkoodna si aan sharciyeysneyn ayey u shaqeeyaan. Shaqaalaha mishaharkoodua (dhexdhexaadkii) wuxuu ahaa xagaagii 2019 kii 800 euro (1,250 euro waqti buuxa). Tan ugu wanaagsan ee shaqadu waa niyad ahaan ku raaxaysiga iyo sidoo kale garashada inuu og yahay qofku in shaqaale ahaan loo aqbalayo qeyb bulshada ka mid ah ahaan. Tan ugu xun ee shaqadu waa marxalaha shaqada. Mid dhaaf (53%) ka jawaabayaashu waxay lahaayeen asxaab Jarmal ah (11%: ba qaar badani 42% ba waxyaalo qaar ah). Ka jawaabayaashu waxay sheegteen in ay u yaqaanaan luqadda Jarmalka si wanaagsan 21 % iyo ugu yaraan 86% intooda badan oo ah, kuwa shaqeynayey fahmayeyna luqada Jarmalka si wanaagsan, waxay ahaayee kuwo ku qanacsan noloshooda Jarmalka.

Su'aashii sadexaad ee baadhitaanku waa: "Waa noocyadee kuwa magangelyo doonka codsanaya ee la xidhiidha dadka ajnabiga ahgeedi socodkooda iyo rabitaankooda geediga ee Kaiserslauterniga iyo Rheinland-Pfaltziga." Sanadkii 2019 codsabayaasha magangelyo doonka la xidhiidha dadka ajnabiga ahi wey kala duduwan yihiin hadafkooda geedigga iyo qorshohooda geediguba. Qaxootiyada iyo kuwa kale ee sharciyada joogtada ah la siiyeyba ee Jarmalka jooga waxaa kaga jawaabey 56% in ayna ku noqoneynin dalalkoodii ay horey uga yimaadeen. Halka kuwa u dhigmaana ay ahaayeen 76% magangelyodoonka iyo 92% dadka ajnabiga ee bilaa waraaqaha ah. Sharciga joogtada ah kuwa la siiyey cidna kuma talo jirto runtii in ay uga guuraan Jarmalka meel kale sida dalalkoodii hore oo kale keliya 13% ayaa ka fikiraya guuritaankan oo kale. Jaamacadda kuwa dhiganaya waxaa ka jawaabey labadiiba mid (48%) waxayna ka fikirayaan in ay Jarmalka joogayaan inta noloshooda ka hadhsan afartiibana saddex baa waxay (77%) kuwaas oo waxbarashadooda ugu sareysaa ay tahay dugsi hoose ama dugsigaa hooseba badhtan kaga tagay. Qoyska iyo asxaabta Jarmalka intooda ugu yar ka jawaabayaashu waxay rabaan in ay ka guuraan Jarmalka. Ku dhawaad dhammaantood (98%) ka jawaabayaasha, kuwa haysta sharciga joogtada ee Jarmalku, waxay u fikirayaan in ay joogayaan noloshooda inta ka dhimanba Jarmalak (51% waa la hubaa; 47% laga yaabaa), sidan ayayna kaga jawaabeen 93% magangelyo doonyada ah iyo 96% oo ah dadka ajnabiga ah ee bilaa waraaqaha ah. Meelaha loogu jecel yahay Jarmalku waa Kaiserslautern (30%), Frankfurt am Main (29%) iyo Hampuri (23%). Khaas ahaan dhallinyara da'ada dhexe waxay doonayaan iney deganaadaan sidoo kale Berliini. Qeybo ka mid ahi waxay doonayaan in ay Jarmalka uga guuraan meelo kale sida dalkoodii ay horey uga soo guureen. Kuwaas afartiiba mid (23%) waa shaqsiyaadka (khaas

ahaan siiriyaanka), kuwa haysta sharciga joogtada ah ama jagada qaxootinimo ku jooga Jarmalka.

Su'aasha baadhitaanka ee afraad waa: "Sidee iyo sabatee ayey codsiyada la xidhiidha magangelyo doonka dadka ajnabiga ah ee Kaiserslauterniga iyo Rheinland-Pfaltzigu u isticmaalaam internetka iyo baraha warbaahinta?" Dhammaan (in ka badan 99%) kuwa ka jawaabey su'aaluhu way ku isticmaalaan internetka Jarmalka sida qaalibka ahana waxay ku isticmaalaan in ka badab dalkooda intey isticmaali jireen. Caadi ahaanka jawaabayaashu waxay isticmaalayeen telefoonada casriga ah, kuwaasoo uu internet ugu xidhiidhsan yahay (86%). Wey ku yareyd waxoogaa ka jawaabayaasha, kuwa haysta sharci muddo cayiman leh oo xilligiisu gaabanyahay ama kuwa ku jirey Kusel kaamkeeda qaabilaasa. Ka jawaabayaasha sadexdiiba laba (69%) ayaa waxay qabaan fikir ah in internetka amaba warbaahinta bulshadu ay noloshooda u fududeeyeen (23% waxba kama sheegi karaan; 8% fikirkaa lama qabo). Kuwa sida firfircoon internetk u isticmaala 89% waxay u isticmaalaan in ay shaqo ku raadsadaan waxayna 77% u isticmaalaan in ay ogaadaan xuquuqda ay ku leeyihiin Jarmalka. Dhamaanba ka jawaabayaasho sadexdiiba laba (66%) ayaa kala socda horumarka dalkoodii hore. Kuwaas ku dhawaad qeyb (46%) waxay qorsheynayaan (hubaal maba laga yaabo) in ay ku noqonayaan dalkoodii. Noqoshada waxaa qorsheynaya uun tiro aad u yar (12%) kuwaas oo aanan kala soconin internetka horumarka dalkoodii hore.

Magangelyo doonka soo gaadhey Jarmalka sanadkii 2015 iyo dadka ajnabiga ah ee codsiyada magangelyodoonka la xidhiidha sanadihii ugu dambeeyey waa mowduuc aad u muhiim ah, kuwaas oo lagu baadhi doono Jarmalka iyo khaas ahaan Rheinland-Pfalz iyo Kaiserslautern. Waxaa loo baahan yahay baadhitaan cilmiyeysan oo ku saleysan natiijada mowduucan. Kuwaas oo la abuuri karo siyaasad xaqiiq ah oo ku saleysan natiijada khuseysana arrimaha la xidhiidha geedi socodka, isla markaana waxaa la heli karaa qorshe awood leh oo saameyn leh oo si shaqsi ahaaneed u saameyneya, bulshooyinka iyo bulshada Jarmalkaba.

RÉFUGIÉS, DEMANDEURS D'ASILE ET MIGRANTS SANS-PAPIERS EN ALLEMAGNE EN 2019. LE CAS RHÉNANIE-PALATINAT ET KAISERSLAUTERN.

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L'Allemagne est l'un des Etats de l'Union européenne ayant accueilli le plus grand nombre de réfugiés et de demandeurs d'asile. Environ 1,3 million de demandeurs d'asile est arrivé sur le territoire de l'Union européenne en 2015. L'Allemagne était le pays cible des centaines de milliers de demandeurs d'asile et des dizaines de milliers d'entre eux sont également arrivés dans le Land (en allemand Bundesland) de Rhénanie-Palatinat. Le nombre des demandeurs d'asile a depuis diminué, mais il est toujours considérable (plus de 100 000 demandeurs d'asile en Allemagne et un peu moins de 10 000 demandeurs d'asile en Rhénanie-Palatinat annuellement). Ces derniers temps, le plus grand nombre de demandeurs d'asile est arrivé en Allemagne de Syrie, d'Irak et de Nigeria. Viennent ensuite la Turquie, l'Iran et l'Afghanistan. Une partie d'entre eux ont obtenu un permis de séjour permanent ou temporaire en Allemagne, une partie ont déposé une demande d'asile en Allemagne et une partie sont devenues des migrants sans-papiers qui devraient quitter l'Allemagne. De plus, les travailleurs migrants arrivent en masse en Allemagne. Les migrants jouent un rôle important dans le développement socio-économique de nombreuses villes et régions rurales allemandes.

Le mouvement migratoire pour demander asile est un phénomène contemporaine importante en Allemagne et dans ses Lands, tels que la Rhénanie-Palatinat. Lorsqu'un grand nombre de demandeurs d'asile était arrivé en Allemagne, la République fédérale d'Allemagne a adopté un plan systématique les concernant. Toutes les personnes arrivées ont été enregistrées, puis envoyées dans des centres d'accueil (souvent de grands camps). Puis ils ont été répartis strictement entre les Lands qui les ont orientés vers leurs communes pour attendre une décision relative à leur demande d'asile et un permis de séjour éventuel. Les Lands appliquent un peu différemment les dispositions relatives au placement des demandeurs d'asile, au traitement des demandeurs d'asile et des titulaires d'un permis de séjour à court terme ainsi qu'aux droits des demandeurs d'asile enregistrés qui ont reçu une décision négative et de ceux qui restent dans le Land en tant que migrants sans-papiers. Environ un tiers des demandeurs d'asile reçoit une décision dans les six mois et, pour un sur dix, la décision prend plus de trois ans.

Ce rapport "Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Germany, 2019. The Case of Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern." (Réfugiés, demandeurs d'asile et migrants sans-papiers en Allemagne en 2019. Le cas Rhé-

nanie-Palatinat et Kaiserslautern) traite de la vie quotidienne, du mouvement migratoire et des souhaits de migration des migrants demandeurs d'asile ainsi que de l'utilisation de l'Internet et des médias sociaux de ceux-ci sur le territoire de Rhénanie-Palatinat (4,1 millions d'habitants) et à Kaiserslautern (100 000 habitants). Plusieurs centres d'accueil (par exemple anciens hôtels, bureaux et villas en Rhénanie-Palatinat et un ancien bureau de poste dans le centre de Kaiserslautern) ont été créés en 2015 et en 2016 dans ce Land. Kusel, une petite commune de 5 000 habitants à 40 kilomètres de Kaiserslautern, a également joué un rôle important, car une ancienne caserne y a été transformée en un centre d'accueil pour les migrants demandeurs d'asile (Camp Kusel).

Ce rapport se base principalement sur une étude sur le terrain effectuée à Kaiserslautern et en Rhénanie-Palatinat durant le printemps et l'été 2019. Un total de 290 migrants demandeurs d'asile (y compris des réfugiés et autres personnes titulaires d'un permis de séjour permanent ; des personnes titulaires d'un permis de séjour temporaire ; et des migrants sans papiers et sans permis de séjour) originaires de divers pays ont répondu anonymement à cette enquête dans différentes parties de Kaiserslautern et dans un centre d'accueil pour demandeurs d'asile (Camp Kusel). Nous avons en outre interviewé quelques-unes des personnes ayant répondu ainsi que des experts dans ce domaine. Les chercheurs rédacteurs de ce rapport sont le professeur Jussi S. Jauhiainen, le professeur Annette Spellerberg et le chercheur Lutz Eichholz. Des auxiliaires de recherche ont également aidé dans la réalisation de l'enquête. Nous sommes reconnaissants à toutes les personnes qui ont participé à cette enquête.

Ce rapport fait partie d'un projet de recherche plus vaste qui a pour sujet les processus d'asile des migrants, des demandeurs d'asile et des réfugiés dans leur pays d'origine et dans les environs de celui-ci, durant leur voyage migratoire et dans leurs pays cibles. Cette étude appartient au consortium d'étude URMI (Urbanization, Mobilities and Immigration, voir www.urmi.fi) financé par Le Conseil de la recherche stratégique (Strategisen Tutkimuksen Neuvosto) de l'Académie de Finlande (Suomen Akatemia) et présidé par le professeur Jussi S. Jauhiainen (Département de géographie, Université de Turku, Finlande).

La première question de l'enquête était : « Quels types de migrants demandeurs d'asile résident à Kaiserslautern et en Rhénanie-Palatinat ? » Tout comme dans beaucoup d'autres Etats et régions, il y a, dans la région faisant objet de notre recherche, des migrants demandeurs d'asile très variés du point de vue des variables sous-jacentes démographiques : des jeunes adultes et des personnes âgées, des illettrés et des personnes ayant obtenu un diplôme universitaire, des employés et des chômeurs, des femmes au foyer et des étudiants, etc. Ils sont originaires de plusieurs pays, le plus souvent de Syrie, d'Afghanistan ou d'Iran. En Rhénanie-Palatinat, un demandeur d'asile sur trois (32%) a moins de 18 ans, deux sur trois (67%) appartiennent à la population en âge de travailler (de 18 à 64

ans) et très rares (1%) sont âgés (65 ans ou plus). Parmi les personnes interrogées, une sur trois (31%) avait résidé en Allemagne plus de quatre ans et une sur cinq (21%) moins de six mois. La plus grande partie des personnes interrogées ayant obtenu le statut de réfugié étaient originaires de Syrie et d'Iran. Les personnes ayant obtenu un permis de séjour temporaire à long terme étaient le plus souvent originaires de Syrie ou d'Iran. Les demandeurs d'asile étaient originaires de divers pays, souvent de Nigeria ou de Turquie. Une partie des personnes interrogées (en général originaires de Syrie, d'Iran ou d'Irak) avaient obtenu une décision d'asile négative, mais comme on ne pouvait pas les refouler d'Allemagne, elles avaient obtenu un permis de séjour temporaire qu'elles pouvaient renouveler tous les six mois. De plus, il y avait des personnes interrogées originaires de divers pays qui étaient des migrants sans-papiers sans droit de résider en Allemagne. Ces personnes seront expulsées d'Allemagne si les autorités les arrêtent.

La deuxième question de l'enquête était : « Comment se déroule la vie quotidienne des migrants demandeurs d'asile à Kaiserslautern et en Rhénanie-Palatinat ? » La vie quotidienne des migrants demandeurs d'asile se déroule de manières variées. Après leur arrivée en Allemagne et leur enregistrement, ils sont d'abord placés dans des centres d'accueil, par exemple dans un camp à Kusel (Camp Kusel). De là, ils sont transférés dans les communes selon un système national. Le logement pose des défis quotidiens importants. La majorité d'entre eux résident dans des appartements privés. Beaucoup d'entre eux résident dans d'anciens bureaux, hôtels et villas adaptés aux besoins des migrants demandeurs d'asile. Parmi les personnes interrogées, 38% étaient entièrement satisfaits de leur logement actuel, 36% en étaient partiellement satisfaits et 80% étaient au moins partiellement satisfaits de leur zone de résidence actuelle.

Le travail, les connaissances linguistiques et les amis avaient permis à une partie des migrants demandeurs d'asile de commencer à s'intégrer en Allemagne. Parmi les hommes qui ont répondu à notre enquête, 38% travaillaient (15% à plein temps) et, parmi les femmes, 8% (3% à plein temps). Les femmes qui avaient des enfants passaient leur temps principalement avec leur famille. Les conditions de travail des migrants demandeurs d'asile variaient : les uns avaient un contrat de travail, les autres n'en avaient pas ; les uns travaillaient officiellement, les autres illégalement. Le salaire (médiane) de ceux qui travaillaient était de 800 euros en été 2019 (1,250 euros à plein temps). Les meilleurs côtés du travail étaient la satisfaction psychologique qu'il produisait et le sentiment d'être accepté comme membre de la société. Les conditions de travail étaient ce qu'il y avait de pire. Une personne interrogée sur deux (53%) avait des amis allemands (11% en avaient plusieurs ; 42% quelques-uns). 21% des personnes interrogées affirmaient avoir de bonnes connaissances de la langue allemande et 86% disaient qu'ils le parlaient au moins un peu. Sur le plan général, ceux qui travaillaient et comprenaient bien l'allemand étaient plus satisfaits de leur vie en Allemagne.

La troisième question de l'enquête était : « Quels sont les mouvements migratoires et les désirs de migration des migrants demandeurs d'asile à Kaiserslautern et en Rhénanie-Palatinat ? » Les migrants demandeurs d'asile avaient divers souhaits et plans de migration en 2019. Parmi les réfugiés et autres titulaires d'un permis de séjour permanent en Allemagne, le nombre de ceux qui ne projetaient pas de retourner dans leur pays d'origine n'était que de 56%. Les chiffres correspondants étaient en revanche de 76% pour les demandeurs d'asile et de 92% pour les migrants sans papiers. Parmi les titulaires d'un permis de séjour permanent, personne n'allait sûrement quitter l'Allemagne pour s'installer ailleurs que dans son pays d'origine et seuls 13% pensaient le faire éventuellement. Parmi les personnes interrogées qui avaient fait des études universitaires, un sur deux (48%) pensait rester en Allemagne pour le reste de sa vie. Le nombre correspondant était de trois quarts (77%) pour les personnes interrogées qui n'avaient pas fait d'études après l'école primaire ou qui n'avaient pas terminé l'école primaire. La famille et les amis en Allemagne ont réduit le désir des personnes interrogées de quitter l'Allemagne. Presque toutes les personnes interrogées (98%) titulaires d'un permis de séjour permanent en Allemagne pensaient rester en Allemagne pour le reste de leur vie (51% sûrement ; 47% peut-être). 93% des demandeurs d'asile et 96% des migrants sans papiers ont donné la même réponse. Kaiserslautern (30%), Francfort-sur-le-Main (29%) et Hambourg (23%) étaient les villes de résidence préférées. Notamment les jeunes adultes souhaitaient également habiter à Berlin. Une partie avait l'intention de quitter l'Allemagne et de s'installer ailleurs que dans leur pays d'origine. Un quart d'entre eux-ci (23%) était des personnes (en particulier des Syriens) qui possédaient un permis de séjour permanent ou avaient le statut de réfugié en Allemagne.

La quatrième question de l'enquête était : « Comment et pour quoi faire les migrants demandeurs d'asile à Kaiserslautern et en Rhénanie-Palatinat se servent de l'Internet et des médias sociaux ? » Toutes les personnes interrogées (plus de 99%) se servaient de l'Internet en Allemagne et en général davantage que dans leur pays d'origine. Les personnes interrogées disposaient d'habitude d'un smartphone avec accès à l'Internet (86%). Parmi les personnes interrogées qui avaient un permis de séjour temporaire à court terme ou qui se trouvaient dans le centre d'accueil de Kusel, c'était un peu plus rare. Deux tiers (69%) des personnes interrogées pensaient que l'Internet et les médias sociaux facilitaient leur vie en Allemagne (23% ne savaient pas ; 8% n'étaient pas de cet avis). Parmi ceux qui se servaient activement de l'Internet, 89% l'utilisaient pour chercher du travail et 77% pour connaître leurs droits en Allemagne. Deux tiers (66%) de toutes les personnes interrogées suivaient par l'Internet le développement dans leur pays d'origine. Parmi ceux-ci, près de la moitié (46%) envisageaient (sûrement ou peut-être) de retourner dans leur pays d'origine. Seuls très rares (12%)

de ceux qui ne suivaient pas le développement dans leur pays d'origine par l'intermédiaire de l'Internet envisageaient d'y retourner.

L'arrivée des demandeurs d'asile en Allemagne en 2015 et les migrants demandeurs d'asile de ces dernières années sont des thèmes importants à étudier en Allemagne et notamment en Rhénanie-Palatinat et à Kaiserslautern. Des résultats fondés sur la recherche scientifique à ce sujet sont nécessaires afin de faire une politique factuelle relative au mouvement migratoire lié à la demande d'asile et d'exercer simultanément une action planifiée et efficace sur les individus, les communautés et la société en Allemagne.

PAKOLAISET, TURVAPAIKANHAKIJAT JA PAPERITTOMAT MAAHANMUUTTAJAT SAKSASSA VUONNA 2019. TAPAUKSENA RHEINLAND-PFALZ JA KAISERSLAUTERN.

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Saksassa on suurimpia määriä pakolaisia ja turvapaikanhakijoita Euroopan unionissa. Vuonna 2015 noin 1.3 miljoonaa turvapaikanhakijaa saapui Euroopan unioniin. Saksa oli satojen tuhansien turvapaikanhakijoiden muuttokohde, ja kymmeniä tuhansia saapui myös Rheinland-Pfalzin osavaltioon (Bundesland saksaksi). Myöhemmin turvapaikanhakijoiden määrä on laskenut, mutta se on edelleen hyvin merkittävä (Saksassa on vuosittain yli 100 000 ja Rheinland-Pfaltzissa alle 10 000 turvapaikanhakijaa). Viime aikoina turvapaikanhakijoita on tullut Saksaan eniten Syyriasta, Irakista ja Nigeriasta ja seuraavaksi eniten Turkista, Iranista ja Afganistanista. Osa heistä on saanut pysyvän tai määräaikaisen oleskeluluvan Saksaan, osa hakee Saksasta turvapaikkaa ja osasta on tullut paperittomia maahanmuuttajia, joiden pitäisi poistua Saksasta. Lisäksi Saksaan saapuu paljon työperäisiä muuttajia. Maahanmuuttajilla on suuri merkitys monien kaupunkien ja maaseutualueiden sosiaaliseen ja taloudelliseen kehitykseen Saksassa.

Turvapaikan hakuun liittyvä muuttoliike on merkittävä nykyaikainen ilmiö Saksassa ja sen osavaltioissa, mukaan lukien Rheinland-Pfaltzin osavaltio. Kun suuri määrä turvapaikanhakijoita saapui Saksaan, niin Saksan Liittotasavalta alkoi soveltaa heihin järjestelmällistä suunnitelmaa. Kaikki saapujat rekisteröitiin ja sitten heidät lähetettiin vastaanottokeskuksiin (usein suurille leireille). Tämän jälkeen heidät jaettiin tarkasti maan eri osavaltioihin, jotka suuntasivat heidät kuntiin odottamaan turvapaikkapäätöstä ja mahdollista oleskelulupaa. Osavaltiot soveltavat hieman eri tavoin säännöksiä, miten ja minne turvapaikkaa hakee neet maahanmuuttajat sijoitetaan, miten turvapaikanhakijoita ja lyhytkestoisen oleskeluluvan saaneita käsitellään sekä mitä oikeuksia on niillä, jotka ovat rekisteröityjä turvapaikanhakijoita, joiden hakemus on hylätty ja niillä, jotka jäävät osavaltioon paperittomina maahanmuuttajina. Suunnilleen joka kolmas turvapaikkahakemus saa päätöksen puolen vuoden kuluessa ja joka kymmenennen päätöksen saaminen hakemukseen kestää yli kolme vuotta.

Tämän raportin "Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Germany, 2019. The Case of Rhineland-Palatinate and Kaiserslautern." (Pakolaiset, turvapaikanhakijat ja paperittomat maahanmuuttajat Saksassa vuonna 2019. Tapauksena Rheinland-Pfalz ja Kaiserslautern) aiheena on turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien maahanmuuttajien arkipäivä, muuttoliike ja muuttotoiveet sekä heidän Internetin ja sosiaalisen median käyttönsä Rheinland-Pfaltzin osavaltiossa (4,1 miljoonaa asukasta) ja Kaiserlauternissa (100 000 asukasta). Vuosi-

na 2015–2016 osavaltioon perustettiin useita vastaanottokeskuksia (esimerkiksi entisiä hotelleja, toimistoja ja huviloita Rheinland-Pfalzissa sekä entinen postitoimisto Kaiserslauternin keskustassa). Lisäksi Kusel, pieni 5 000 asukkaan kunta 40 kilometrin päässä Kaiserlauternissa, oli merkittävä kohde, koska siellä entinen armeijan kasarmi muutettiin turvapaikkaa hakevien muuttajien vastaanottokeskukseksi (Camp Kusel).

Tämä raportti perustuu pääosin kenttätutkimukseen, joka toteutettiin Kaiserslauternissa ja Rheinland-Pfalzissa keväällä ja kesällä 2019. Yhteensä 290 turvapaikan hakuun liittyvää maahanmuuttajaa (mukaan lukien pakolaiset ja muut pysyvän oleskeluluvan saaneet; määräaikaisen oleskeluluvan saaneet; ja pape-rittomat maahanmuuttajat ilman oleskelulupaa) eri maista vastasivat nimettömänä kyselyyn eri puolilla Kaiserslauternia ja heille tarkoitettussa vastaanotto-keskuksessa (Camp Kusel). Lisäksi haastattelimme joitakin kyselyyn vastanneita ja aihepiirin asiantuntijoita. Tämän raportin laativat tutkijoina olleet professori Jussi S. Jauhiainen, professori Annette Spellerberg ja tutkija Lutz Eichholz. Lisäksi tutkimuksen toteuttamisessa auttoivat tutkimusapulaiset. Olemme kiitollisia kaikille tutkimukseen osallistuneille.

Tämä raportti on osa laajempaa tutkimushanketta, jonka aiheena ovat muut-
tajien, turvapaikanhakijoiden ja pakolaisten turvapaikkaprosessit heidän aiem-
massa kotimaassaan ja sen lähellä, turvapaikkamatkojensa aikana ja kohdemaiss-
saan. Tutkimus liittyy tutkimuskonsortioon URMI (Urbanization, Mobilities and
Immigration, katso www.urmi.fi), jota rahoittaa Suomen Akatemian Strategi-
sen Tutkimuksen Neuvosto ja jonka johtajana on professori Jussi S. Jauhiainen
(maantieteen osasto, Turun yliopisto, Suomi).

Ensimmäinen tutkimuskysymys on: “Minkälaisia turvapaikan hakuun liit-
tyviä maahanmuuttajia elää Kaiserslauternissa ja Rheinland-Pfalzissa.” Kuten
monissa muissakin valtioissa ja alueilla, turvapaikan hakuun liittyvillä maa-
hanmuuttajat tutkimusalueellamme ovat monenlaisia demografisten tausta-
muuttujien suhteen: heitä on nuorista aikuisista iäkkäisiin, lukutaidottomista
yliopistotutkinnon suorittaneisiin, työntekijöistä työttömiin ja kotiäideistä opis-
kelijoihin. He ovat kotoisin monista eri maista, useimmin Syyriasta, Afganista-
nista tai Iranista. Rheinland-Pfalzissa turvapaikanhakijoista joka kolmas (32%)
on alle 18-vuotias, kaksi kolmesta (67%) on työikäisiä (18–64-vuotiaita) ja hyvin
harvat (alle 1%) ovat iäkkäitä (65-vuotiaita tai vanhempia). Kyselyymme vastan-
neista, joka kolmas (31%) on ollut Saksassa yli 4 vuotta ja joka viides (21%) alle
puoli vuotta. Eniten pakolaisaseman saaneista vastaajista oli Syyriasta ja Iranis-
ta. Pitkäkestoisen määräaikaisen oleskeluluvan saaneista useat olivat kotoisin
Syyriasta tai Iranista. Turvapaikanhakijoita oli monista maista, usein Nigeriasta
tai Turkista. Osa vastaajista (yleensä Syyriasta, Iranista tai Irakista) ei ollut saa-
nut turvapaikkaa, mutta koska heitä ei voida käännäyttää Saksasta, niin heillä oli
määräaikainen oleskelulupa, jonka he voivat uusida puolen vuoden välein. Lisäk-

si oli monista maista vastaajia, jotka olivat paperittomia maahanmuuttajia ilman laillista oikeutta asua Saksassa. Heidät poistetaan Saksasta, mikäli viranomaiset saavat heidät kiinni.

Toinen tutkimuskysymys on: "Minkälaisia ovat turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien maahanmuuttajien arkipäivät Kaiserslauternissa ja Rheinland-Pfaltzissa." Turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien maahanmuuttajien arkipäivät ovat erilaisia. Saksaan saapuvat sijoitetaan heidän rekisteröimisensä jälkeen aluksi vastaanottokeskukseen, esimerkiksi leiriin Kuselissa (Camp Kusel). Sieltä heidät suunnataan kuntiin kansallisen järjestelmän mukaisesti. Asuminen on merkittävä jokapäiväinen haaste. Enemmistö heistä elää yksityisasunnoissa. Monet elävät entisissä toimitoissa, hotelleissa ja huviloissa, joita on muokattu majoittamaan turvapaikan hakuun liittyviä maahanmuuttajia. Kyselyyn vastanneista oli nykyiseen majoitukseensa kokonaan tyytyväinen 38% ja osittain tyytyväinen 36%, ja 80% vähintään osittain tyytyväinen nykyiseen asuinalueeseensa.

Osa turvapaikan hakuun liittyvistä maahanmuuttajista oli alkanut integroitua Saksaan työn, kielen ja ystävien kautta. Kyselyyn vastanneista miehistä työskenteli 38% (15% kokopäiväisesti) ja naisista 8% (3% kokopäiväisesti). Naiset, joilla oli lapsia, viettivät aikaansa pääosin perheensä kanssa. Turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien maahanmuuttajien työolosuhteet vaihtelivat: osalla oli työsopimus ja osalla ei; toiset työskentelivät virallisissa, toiset epävirallisissa töissä. Työllisten palkka (mediaani) kesällä 2019 oli 800 euroa (1250 euroa kokopäiväisesti työskenteleville). Parasta töissä oli sen tuoma psykologinen tyydytys sekä tuntemus siitä, että työntekijä hyväksytään osaksi yhteiskuntaa. Huonointa töissä olivat työskentelyolosuhteet. Joka toisella (53%) vastaajalla oli saksalaisia ystäviä (11%:lla useita; 42%:lla joitakin). Vastaajista väitti osaavansa saksan kieltä hyvin 21% ja vähintään vähän 86%. Yleisesti ottaen he, jotka olivat töissä ja ymmärsivät saksan kieltä hyvin, olivat tyytyväisimpiä elämäänsä Saksassa.

Kolmas tutkimuskysymys on: "Minkälaisia ovat turvapaikan hakuun liittyvien maahanmuuttajien muuttoliike ja muuttohalukkuus Kaiserslauternissa ja Rheinland-Pfaltzissa." Vuonna 2019 turvapaikan hakuun liittyvillä maahanmuuttajilla oli erilaisia muuttotoiveita ja muuttosuunnitelmia. Pakolaisista ja muista pysyvän oleskeluvan Saksaan saaneista vastaajista vain 56% ei suunnitellut palaavansa aiempaan kotimaahansa. Sen sijaan heitä oli 76% turvapaikanhakijoista ja 92% paperittomista maahanmuuttajista. Pysyvän oleskeluluvan saaneista kukaan ei aikonut varmasti muuttaa pois Saksasta muualle kuin aiempaan kotimaahansa ja vain 13% harkitsi tällaista muuttoa. Yliopistossa opiskelleista vastaajista joka toinen (48%) ajatteli jäävänsä loppuelämäkseen Saksaan ja kolme neljästä (77%) heistä, joiden korkein koulutus oli alakoulu tai kesken jäänyt alakoulu. Perhe ja ystävät Saksassa vähensivät vastaajien halua muuttaa pois Saksasta. Lähes kaikki (98%) vastaajista, joilla oli pysyvä oleskelulupa Saksaan, ajattelivat jäädä Saksaan loppuelämäkseen (51% varmasti; 47% ehkä), ja näin vas-

tasi 93% turvapaikanhakijoista ja 96% paperittomista maahanmuuttajista. Suosituimmat paikat asua Saksassa olivat Kaiserslautern (30%), Frankfurt am Main (29%) ja Hampuri (23%). Erityisesti nuoret aikuiset halusivat asua myös Berliinissä. Osa aikoi muuttaa pois Saksasta muualle kuin aiempaan kotimaahansa. Heistä joka neljäs (23%) oli henkilöitä (erityisesti syyrialaisia), joilla oli pysyvä oleskelulupa tai pakolaisasema Saksassa.

Neljäs tutkimuskysymys on: "Miten ja mitä varten turvapaikan hakuun liittyvät maahanmuuttajat Kaiserslauternissa ja Rheinland-Pfalzissa käyttävät internetiä ja sosiaalista mediaa?" Kaikki (yli 99%) kyselyyn vastaajat käyttivät internetiä Saksassa ja yleensä enemmän kuin kotimaassaan. Tavallisesti vastaajilla oli käytössään älypuhelin, jossa oli internetyhteys (86%). Se oli hieman harvinaisempaa vastaajille, joilla oli lyhytkestoinen määräaikainen oleskelulupa tai jotka olivat Kuselin vastaanottokeskuksessa. Vastaajista kaksi kolmesta (69%) oli sitä mieltä, että internet ja sosiaalinen media tekevät heidän elämänsä helpommaksi Saksassa (23% ei osannut sanoa; 8% ei ollut tätä mieltä). Aktiivisista internetin käyttäjistä 89% käytti sitä työpaikan etsimiseen ja 77% tietääkseen oikeuksistaan Saksassa. Kaikista vastaajista kaksi kolmesta (66%) seurasi internetin avulla aiemman kotimaansa kehitystä. Heistä lähes puolet (46%) suunnitteli (varmasti tai ehkä) palaavansa aiempaan kotimaahansa. Paluuta sinne suunnittelivat vain harvat (12%), jotka eivät seuranneet internetin avulla aiemman kotimaansa kehitystä.

Turvapaikanhakijoiden saapuminen Saksaan vuonna 2015 ja turvapaikan hakuun liittyvät maahanmuuttajat viime vuosina ovat tärkeä teema, jota tulee tutkia Saksassa ja erityisesti Rheinland-Pfalzissa ja Kaiserslauternissa. Tarvitaan tieteelliseen tutkimukseen perustuvia tuloksia tästä aiheesta. Niillä pystytään luomaan tosiasioihin perustuvaa politiikkaa koskien turvapaikanhakuun liittyvää muuttoliikettä, ja saamaan aikaan suunniteltu tehokas vaikutus yksilöihin, yhteisöihin ja yhteiskuntaan Saksassa.



TURUN YLIOPISTON MAANTIETIEN JA GEOLOGIAN LAITOKSEN JULKAISUJA PUBLICATIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TURKU

- No. 1. Jukka Käyhkö and Tim Horstkotte (Eds.): Reindeer husbandry under global change in the tundra region of Northern Fennoscandia. 2017.
- No. 2. Jukka Käyhkö och Tim Horstkotte (Red.): Den globala förändringens inverkan på rennäringen på norra Fennoskandiens tundra. 2017.
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