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MUTUAL INTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION

Exploring potentials of coexistence
between locals and refugees in Germany

A case study in Marzahn, Berlin

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Mutual Integration and Adaptation:

Exploring potentials of coexistence between
locals and refugees in Germany
A case study in Marzahn, Berlin

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ABSTRACT

Globalization has become ubiquitous in today's world with its advantages and disadvantages in all spheres of society. One of the major challenges is the increasing migration around the world, which is transforming formerly homogeneous societies into multicultural ones. It serves as a trigger for new debates about national and cultural identity and values, leading to the manifestation of prejudices and social polarization. Both immigrants – especially refugees – and the local population face difficulties in adapting and integrating into their changing environments. In Germany, the discrepancies became more visible in recent years related to an immigration influx and the rise of right-wing populist parties, which led to an increase in xenophobic attitudes.

This study examines the challenges of integration and adaptation in the context of a multicultural society, focusing on the Marzahn district of Berlin, where the local society shows a high degree of skepticism towards refugees, resulting in the feeling of fear between both groups. The approach of mutual integration and adaptation is the result of a redefinition of conventional in-

tegration strategies and theories, leading to a shift from a one-way to a two-way process, involving refugees and locals.

Through collaborative design methods and co-operation with the BENN initiative, the research aimed to understand the different perspectives and needs of the neighborhood to develop a space of encounter and mutual benefit. It proposes steps for achieving integration through temporary spaces of coexistence by applying a bottom-up approach, emphasizing the participation and contribution of both target groups. It reveals the potential of socio-spatial interventions in fostering mutual integration and adaptation, aiming to reduce feelings of fear and prejudices in global societies.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Globalisierung ist in der heutigen Welt allgegenwärtig geworden und hat ihre Vor- und Nachteile in allen Bereichen der Gesellschaft. Eine der größten Herausforderungen ist die weltweit zunehmende Migration, die ehemals homogene in multikulturelle Gesellschaften verwandelt. Sie dient als Auslöser für neue Debatten über nationale und kulturelle Identität und Werte und führt zur Manifestation von Vorurteilen und sozialer Polarisierung. Sowohl die Zuwanderer - insbesondere die Geflüchteten - als auch die einheimische Bevölkerung haben Schwierigkeiten, sich an ihr verändertes Umfeld anzupassen und sich zu integrieren. In Deutschland wurden die Diskrepanzen in den letzten Jahren im Zusammenhang mit dem Zustrom von Einwanderern und dem Aufstieg rechtspopulistischer Parteien, der zu einer Zunahme fremdenfeindlicher Einstellungen führte, deutlich sichtbar.

Diese Studie untersucht die Herausforderungen der Integration und Anpassung im Kontext einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft und konzentriert sich dabei auf den Berliner Bezirk Marzahn, wo die lokale Gesellschaft ein hohes Maß an Skep-

sis gegenüber Geflüchteten an den Tag legt, was zu einem Gefühl der Angst zwischen beiden Gruppen führt. Der Ansatz der gegenseitigen Integration und Anpassung ist das Ergebnis einer Neudefinition herkömmlicher Integrationsstrategien und -theorien und führt zu einer Verlagerung von einem einseitigen zu einem zweiseitigen Prozess, an dem sowohl Geflüchtete als auch die lokale Bevölkerung beteiligt sind.

Durch kollaborative Designmethoden und die Zusammenarbeit mit der BENN-Initiative zielte diese Untersuchung darauf ab, die verschiedenen Perspektiven und Bedürfnisse der Nachbarschaft zu verstehen, um einen Raum der Begegnung und des gegenseitigen Nutzens zu entwickeln. Sie schlägt Schritte zur Integration durch temporäre Räume der Koexistenz vor, indem sie einen Bottom-up-Ansatz anwendet und die aktive Beteiligung und den Beitrag beider Zielgruppen betont. Damit wird das Potenzial sozialräumlicher Interventionen zur Förderung der gegenseitigen Integration und Anpassung aufgezeigt, mit dem Ziel Ängste und Vorurteile in globalen Gesellschaften abzubauen.

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1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly globalized world, characterized by a heterogeneous migration society, we are witnessing an unprecedented surge in human mobility. This phenomenon has led to millions of individuals seeking refuge due to more conflict zones and climate change or migrating to pursue better opportunities, contributing to the multicultural fabric of urban societies. The clash of diverse groups in urban spaces has given intercultural enrichment but also a rise to issues such as segregation, xenophobia, discrimination, stigmatization, and social exclusion. To address these societal problems, concepts of integration and adaptation have emerged as strategic responses, aiming to transform these challenges into opportunities with a practical approach by harnessing the benefits of mutual understanding and embracing multiple perspectives.

This research is guided by the question: “How to achieve integration and adaptation by creating a space of benefit and encounter for refugees and locals?”. The case study is situated in Marzahn, a densely populated district in Berlin, which faces a high degree of skepticism towards refugees by the local society. The research explores the socio-spatial dynamics of the area and the significance of mutual integration and adaptation among refugees and locals within this context.

For a larger understanding, it includes an analysis of the general challenges of integration in Germany, then focuses for the case study mainly on refugees and the skeptical part of the local

society. Regarding terminology, the term “refugees” refers here to individuals residing in refugee accommodations in Marzahn, while “locals” encompasses not only Germans but also long-term residents of the neighborhood. The term “immigrants” serves as an umbrella for both immigrants and refugees, as the focus of this study is on the difficulties faced by all immigrants, including refugees, in their journey towards integration and locals regarding adaptation and integration to a multicultural society or neighborhood.

The primary objective of this thesis is to identify and analyze the barriers to integration, focusing on Germany where almost one-third of the population is formed by people with a migration background (Destatis Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). This involves examining the challenges of immigration for both locals and immigrants, by considering their perspectives.

The thesis develops a theoretical framework based on an analysis and evaluation of preexisting concepts that facilitate mutual integration and adaptation. The acculturation models stated by Berry (1997) provide a structure for understanding the various strategies that immigrants employ to adapt to their new surroundings. The integration strategy presented here further highlights mutuality in three steps emphasizing the importance of a two-way process between the receiving society and immigrants, which means that not only immigrants but also the locals have to adapt and integrate into a pluralistic society.

Socio-spatial and political dynamics of Marzahn highlight the urgency of spatial interventions for the integration strategies on a neighborhood scale, regarding the high population of refugees and right-leaning voters with xenophobic attitudes.

My research is based on investigations in the neighborhood targeting refugees and locals and involves a collaboration with BENN for the fieldwork analysis and realization of the project. This initiative elaborates programs and establishes projects for neighborhood development. They focus on fostering social cohesion in neighborhoods, encouraging exchanges between long-time residents and new neighbors, and therefore reducing prejudices and discrimination.

The public space plays a decisive role in putting the theoretical model into practice, as the process of mutual integration and adaptation can be realized there supported by the implemented facilities. It offers a space of common experiences to create connections and relationships between locals and refugees. The physical environment enables more profound interactions and creates opportunities for inclusive public spaces which allow different parts of society to be accommodated (Landman, 2020). Public spaces as places of encounter hold spatial potential for interactions, gatherings, and positive experiences. Urban intercultural encounters can promote integration, community cohesion, and tolerance through meaningful contact (Ganji & Rishbeth, 2020).

The practice of creating spaces and encounters is central to this approach. It aims to activate unused areas by providing opportunities for interaction, cultural exchange, and the development of a shared sense of belonging. The community space prioritizes key elements such as safety, adaptability, affordability, and temporality, making it open to tactical interventions. These spaces are designed in response to the evolving needs of the community and adapt over time to the changing dynamics of integration and possible locations.

The motivation behind this work is to understand how urban spaces can act as mediators and foster connections between different groups who are not accustomed to everyday encounters with each other thereby reducing prevalent prejudices and derogatory attitudes. The thesis aims to address the urgent need for innovative solutions for mutual understanding in multicultural societies of a globalized world.

In order to reach the presented goals, it is crucial to deal with the following questions:

- Which are the challenges and barriers that locals and refugees face during social interaction?
- Which are the key concepts of mutual integration and adaptation?
- How can spaces of benefit and encounter for refugees and locals be designed in the public spaces of Marzahn?

1.2 METHODOLOGY

For this thesis I used a set of different methods based on a collaboration with BENN and TU Berlin as well as an individual analysis and fieldwork. My main goal focuses on the interaction of different actors, including the BENN initiative, refugees, and locals in sense of the long-term inhabitants of the neighborhood. The research methodology adopts a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative data, supplemented by a collaborative design method.

I present different methods and tools which will be further explored more in detail. These include “phase I” fieldwork analysis conducted before the thesis like activating surveys within the neighborhood and a workshop. The “phase II” fieldwork involves conducting interviews and analyzing social media content.

Departing from the conventional approach of carrying out literature review followed by a site analysis to implement theory, I adopted an alternative sequence. My initial engagement to the topic involved active participation in fieldwork in Marzahn, collaborating on workshops with TU Berlin and the BENN initiative, with a specific focus on refugee integration, by exploring their challenges, needs, wishes, and fears. This practical approach allowed me to conceptualize the outcomes, combining the findings from the field with my experiences alongside BENN and refugees in the shelter, leading to the development of a critical approach on the integration challenge.

Shifting from a one-sided focus on refugee integration, my research question was formulated by broadening the scope to encompass the integration of both refugees and the local society. The theoretical foundation of my work formed the concept of mutuality, considering integration as a reciprocal process. After establishing a theoretical framework by comprehending the challenges from both perspectives and analyzing integration strategies in Germany, I redefined the integration concept. Critically evaluating existing approaches, I developed a theory, subsequently putting it into practice in Marzahn through a design proposal for a mutual space of encounter—a tangible result of the ongoing dialogue with the field.

What sets this approach apart is the holistic consideration of integration as a two-way process, addressing the needs and concerns of both refugees and the existing community. The methodology employed involved active participation in fieldwork, collaborative workshops, and seminars, integrating practical experiences with theoretical insights. The distinctive aspect lies in the iterative process of theory development, critical evaluation, and on-the-ground implementation, emphasizing adaptability and responsiveness to the specific dynamics of the Marzahn context.

The project holds potential through the possible collaboration with BENN in its realization. Tailoring the proposed design to BENN’s objectives and utilizing their community network pro-

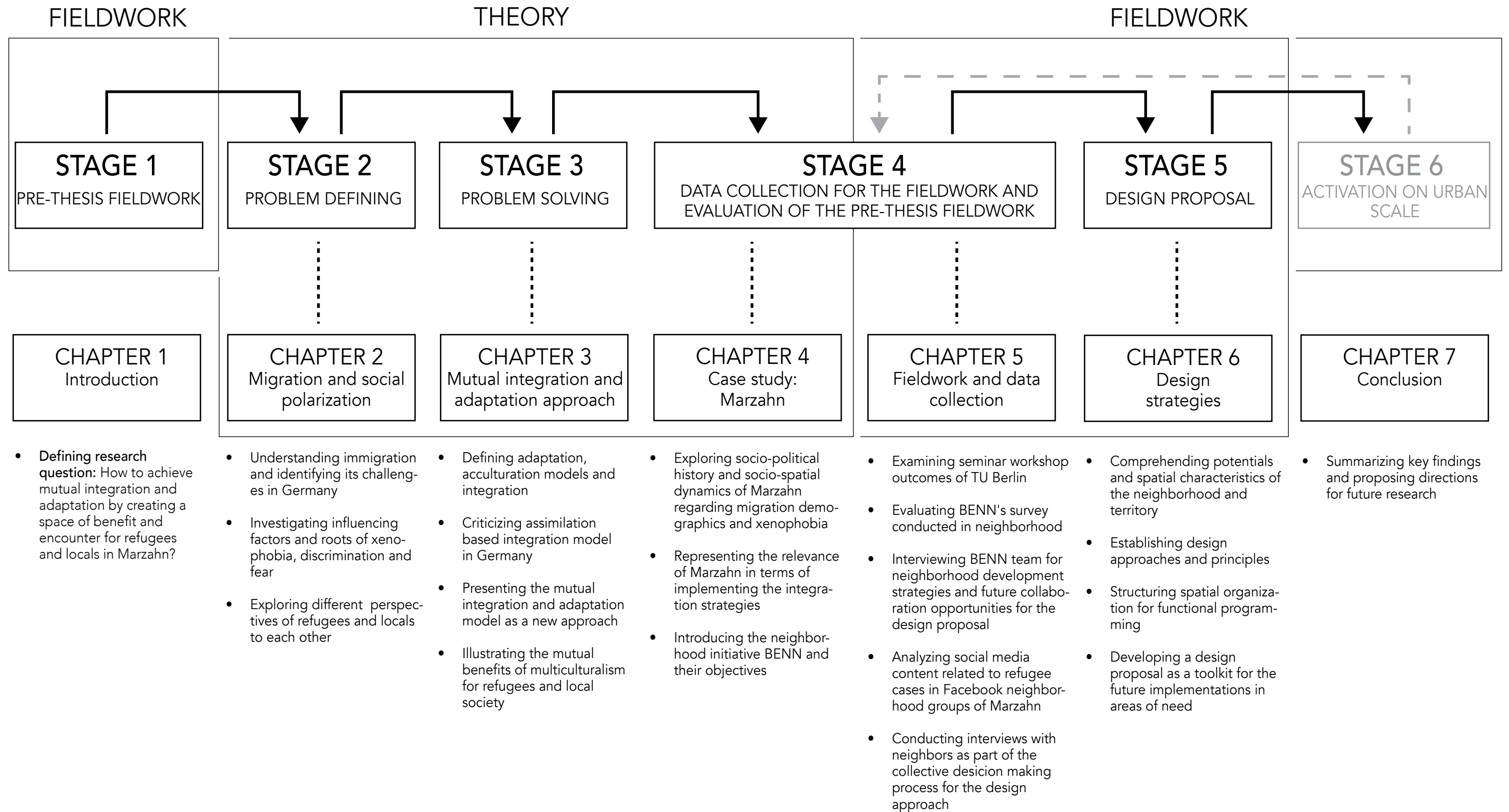
vides the opportunity for mutual support and resource sharing, enhancing the impact and sustainability of the project. The collaborative approach aims to foster community engagement and ownership, ultimately making the project more inclusive and reflective of the diverse perspectives in Marzahn.

Data collection is conducted through a combination of the following methods:

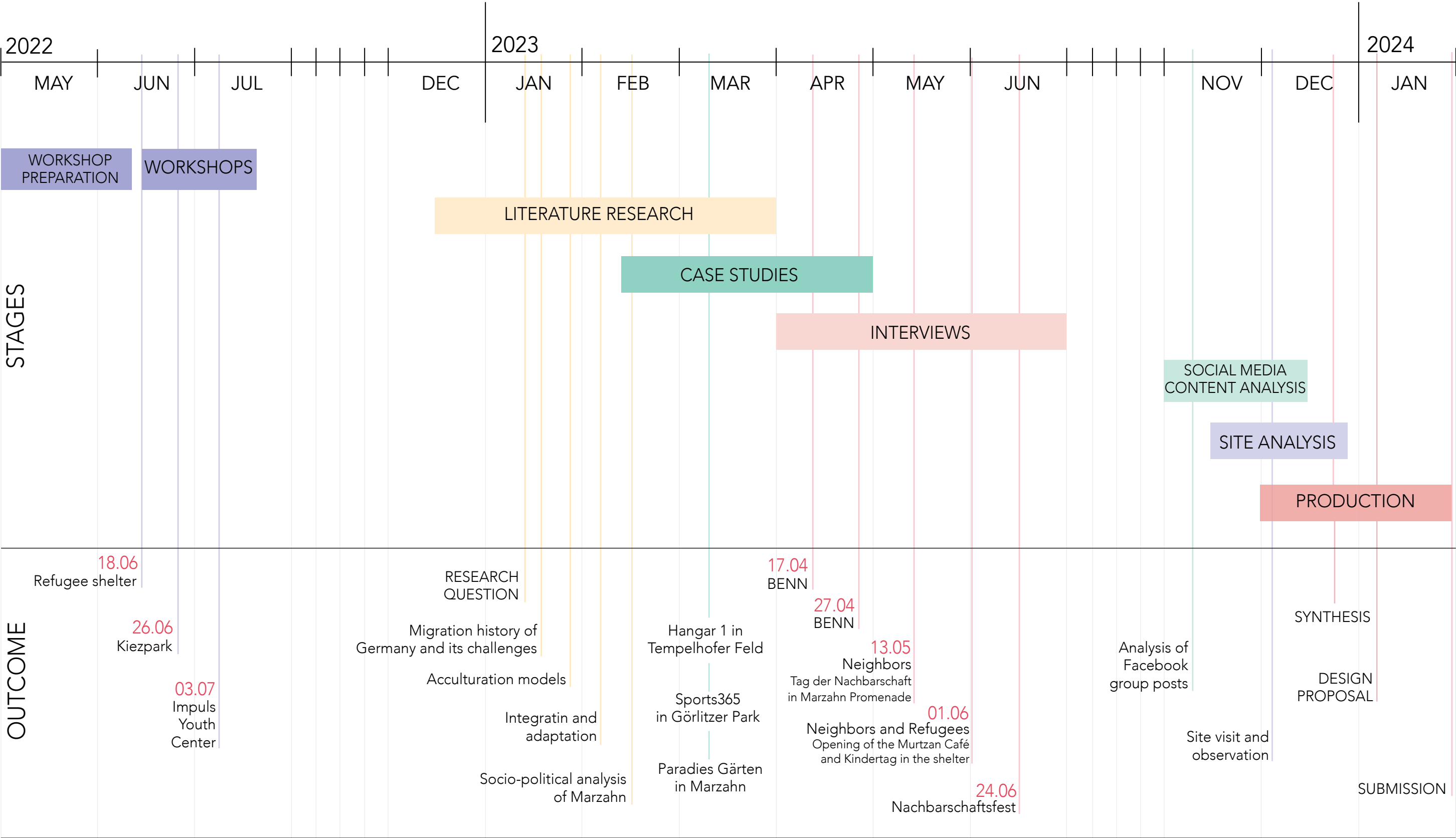
- **Literature Review:** A comprehensive review of existing literature on migration and its implications, integration and adaptation models, and public space, focusing on the context of Berlin and Marzahn.
- **Statistical Analysis:** Hypothesis testing, analysis and interpretation of statistical data and its illustration.
- **Case Studies:** Examining successful examples of public spaces that have facilitated integration and adaptation, both within Berlin and internationally, to identify best practices and lessons learned as well as figuring out possible projects, design models, tools, and materials.
- **Socio-spatial Mapping:** Utilizing GIS open data (Fis Broker) and statistical reports to visualize socio-spatial and demographic data.
- **Surveys and Interviews:** Conducting interviews with BENN (neighborhood initiative), neighbors and refugees through collaborative design methods, and analyzing the quantitative BENN surveys.

- **Workshop analysis:** Assessing the workshops by the seminar “Integration through Collaboration” of TU Berlin.
- **Social media content analysis:** Evaluating the comments on posts related to refugees in public Facebook groups of neighbors living in Marzahn.
- **On-site observations:** Observing people flow and profile.

1.3 THESIS STRUCTURE



1.4 TIMELINE OF THE FRAMEWORK



2. MIGRATION AND SOCIAL POLARIZATION

2.1 MIGRATION AND REFUGEE TREND

Migration, derived from Latin “migratio”, is understood as the movement of people from one place to another, often crossing national or regional borders, temporarily or permanently, for a variety of reasons (IOM, n.d.; Meier-Braun, 2013, p. 16). Throughout history, migration has been a recurrent phenomenon. However, due to increased globalization which has significantly facilitated mobility, migration flows have seen a worldwide increase in the last decades.

Analysis of long-term data on international migration has revealed that migration is influenced by various factors such as economic, social, geographic, political, and demographic conditions (IOM, 2022). However, in last years, certain factors have accelerated, such as escaping from war and conflict, or natural disasters caused by climate change.

Over the past five decades, the number of international migrants has always increased and reached a new peak despite the mobility restrictions of the COVID-19 pandemic in the last years (IOM, 2022, p. 23). As of 2021, there are at least 281 million international migrants which make up 3.6 percent of the global population (Fig. 1) (IOM, 2022, p. 3), and 87 million (30.9 percent) of this migrant population live in European borders (IOM, 2022, p. 24). Europe, particularly North-Western countries like Germany, has attracted migrants not only because of its good living conditions but also due to labor shortages in low-paying jobs that the local population is unwilling to fill. This trend has contin-

ued as Germany’s economic development, high income levels, and opportunities have made it a prime destination (Van Mol & de Valk, 2016).

Migration can be perceived as either voluntary or forced. While some people are migrating for reasons related to work, family, and study, some of them have to migrate for compelling and tragic reasons such as conflict, persecution, and disaster (IOM, 2022, p. 21). So here, the term “migrant” refers to people not just with a migration background, but also including forced migrants like refugees and asylum seekers (The European Platform for Rehabilitation (EPR), 2016, p. 2).

In mid-2023, an estimated 110 million people around the world are displaced as a result of persecution, conflict, violence, and human rights violations or events seriously disturbing public order (Fig. 2) (UNHCR, 2023). This number has dramatically increased each year over the past decade. It is projected that this trend will continue, with the twenty-first century seeing a growing number of displaced individuals (UNHCR, 2021, p. 9).

281 Million international migrants

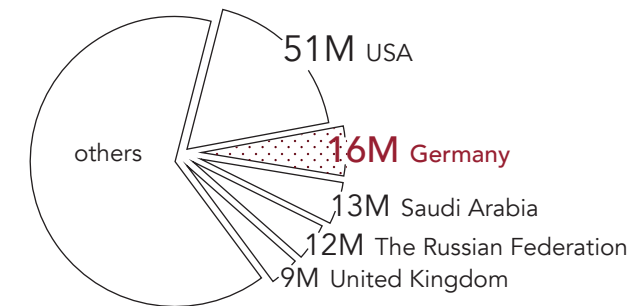


FIGURE 1
Number of worldwide international migrants
Source: IOM, 2022; created by author

110 Million forcibly displaced people

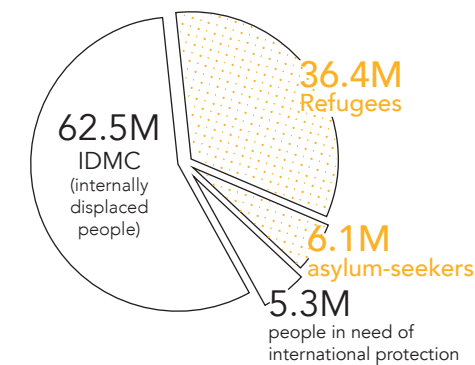


FIGURE 2
Number of worldwide forcibly displaced people
Source: UNHCR, 2023; created by author

Definitions:

“**Refugee** is defined by the UN Convention Related to the Status of Refugees (1954) as someone who is fleeing conflict or persecution (for reasons of race, religion, nationality, social group, or political opinions) and is seeking refuge across international borders. A refugee who has submitted a request for asylum in a hosting country and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status is called an **asylum seeker**. A **migrant** is someone who makes a conscious choice to leave their country for a better quality of life.” (The European Platform for Rehabilitation (EPR), 2016, p. 3).

2.2 MIGRATION IN GERMANY

Germany has become the second most popular destination in the world for international immigrants with nearly 16 million migrants residing in the country (IOM, 2022, p. 9). Beyond this, Germany is the largest refugee-hosting country with 2.4 million in Europe, among in total of 36.4 million worldwide refugees (Fig. 3) (UNHCR, 2023). Considering Germans with a migration background, these findings indicate that almost one-third of Germany's population is formed by migrants (Fig. 4) (Destatis Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023). Following a minor peak in the early 90s after the German reunification, there has been a significant increase in immigration and asylum applications, particularly since

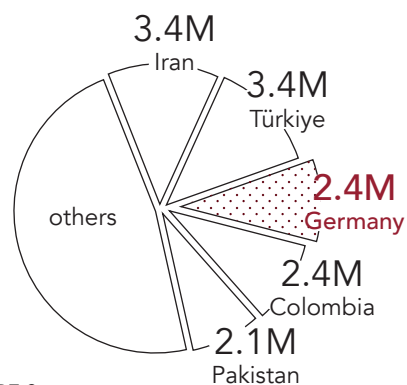


FIGURE 3
Number of worldwide refugees
Source: UNHCR, 2023; created by author

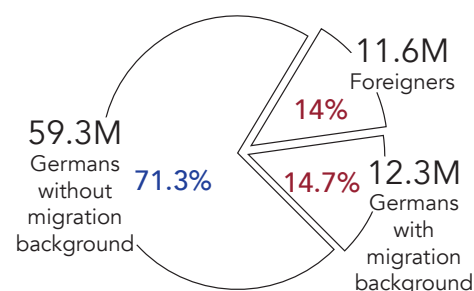


FIGURE 4
Migration share of Germany's population
Source: Destatis Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023; created by author

the first major wave of immigration in 2015. This number reached a new record of more than 2.5 million migrants in 2022, while the number of asylum seekers increased to around 250 thousand people (Fig. 5) (BAMF, 2023; *ibid.*).

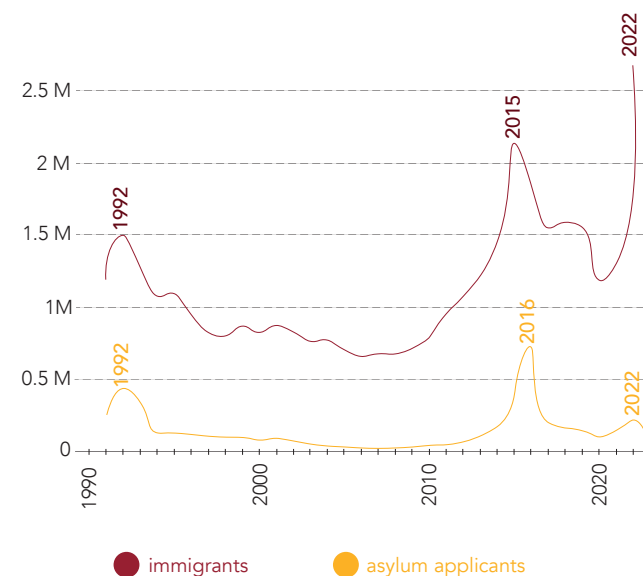


FIGURE 5
Number of immigrants and asylum applicants in Germany 1991-2022. Source: BAMF, 2023; Destatis Statistisches Bundesamt, 2023; created by author

Germany's history of migration (Fig. 6) is a dynamic narrative that has significantly shaped the country's social, cultural, and economic development. The first large-scale migration began before the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the early 19th century, more than five million Germans emigrated, primarily to the USA, where they had better prospects (Berlinghoff, 2018). However, the migration flow reversed in the late 19th century, as there was a surge in immigration of seasonal workers for agriculture from Eastern Europe into Germany's industrial regions. This was due to the expansion of heavy industry in the Ruhrpolen, also

known as the Rhine-Ruhr region (Beger, 2000, p. 26). This term is also used for the Polish migrants and their descendants who lived in the Ruhr area. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were over one million foreign citizens from Prussian eastern countries, mostly from Poland (*ibid.*). "These people assimilated rather quickly into society and were not recognized as a minority after a few decades (Klessmann, 1992)" (Zick et al., 2001, p. 542); however, this pattern of assimilation cannot be generalized to other migration groups.

The second mass migration happened during and between the World Wars (1914-1945). After World War I, the Weimar Republic hosted refugees fleeing the Russian Revolution, civil war, and antisemitism (Hanewinkel & Oltmer, 2018). However, the rise of the Nazis led to the deportation of more than half a million people, mainly Jews. During the wars, forced labor migration was common for the weapon industry. After World War II, over 14 million "Reichsdeutsche" and "Volksdeutsche" (members of German minorities without citizenship) fled from Eastern and Southern Europe towards the West (*ibid.*).

The third big migration flow occurred in the late 1960s when Germany experienced a rise in economic growth, which followed the expansion of the labor market. As domestic labor was not sufficient, Germany received approximately 2.6 million Gastarbeiter (guest workers) and their families mainly from Türkiye, Italy, Greece, and Spain to reinforce their manufacturing upswing

(Katz et al., 2016, p. 6). Between the late 1950s and 1973, about 14 million foreign workers arrived in Germany, 11 million of whom were temporary residents (Hanewinkel & Oltmer, 2018). In the beginning, this bilateral agreement between countries was viewed positively because of its mutual economic benefits. However, this recruitment was expected on a temporary basis and the guest workers were expected to go back to their countries of origin after a few years. Consequently, they were overlooked by the government and not integrated into German society. After the end of the recruitment period in 1973 due to the oil crisis and unemployment, many guest workers and their families, despite incentives to return to their home countries, chose to stay after a long period of residence. Consequently, they and subsequent became permanent residents, often without full integration. Nowadays, even the fourth generation of those from Türkiye is living in Germany; however, some still do not possess citizenship and live in segregated communities, often in a parallel society rather than being integrated into the broader society.

In the early 1990s, another major immigration was followed by the fall of the Berlin Wall and German reunification, which caused an increase in the number of asylum applications in Germany. There was a new wave of immigration from former Soviet bloc countries, particularly those in Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe. The majority of Eastern European immigrants, who arrived legally and identified as Aussiedler (re-

settlers), were considered Germans, since they or their ancestors were expelled from Germany during World War II or had German origins. As such, they were not classified as an ethnic minority group and were granted immediate citizenship (Zick et al., 2001, p. 544).

Beginning of 2011, there was a significant rise in forced refugee migration towards Europe, which eventually culminated in the so-called refugee crisis (Flüchtlingskrise) of 2015 and 2016 (BAMF, 2019). This term got used by media, politics, and wide parts of the society, neglecting the inherent negative framing, as it got criticized for contributing to a moral panic and “locating chaos and emergency in refugees as cultural others” (Bock & Macdonald, 2019, p. 2). Further, due to its negative connotation, it serves as legitimization of authoritarian agitation and intervention by the state and leading to a politics of passivity for the refugees themselves (Kallius et al., 2016, p. 9), which will be considered in the later presented integration approach. Germany faced the highest level of immigration in 2015, mainly from the Middle East and North African countries. More than one million Syrian refugees escaped from their country’s civil war to reach Europe, especially Germany. Its implications significantly transformed the German political discourse in the summer of 2015. Subsequently, individuals from Eritrea, Afghanistan, other Middle Eastern countries, and recently Ukraine followed this influx. This has sparked profound debates over European migration policy and the future of the European Union.

Given its long history of migration, Germany experienced a large number of immigrants through the years. In addition to the current refugees, the country is attracting many people due to its wide range of opportunities. For instance, there is also a new form of movement “brain drain”, where individuals migrate to economically more developed countries that offer higher wages for jobs.

Migration has significantly shaped societies and cultures around the world, often leading to increased cultural diversity as urban areas become home to increasing numbers of people from different races, ethnic groups, and nationalities. As a result of international migration driven by a combination of economic, social, and political factors, European cities have become more ethnically diverse (Güngör & Strohmeier, 2020, p. 99).

Increasingly diverse societies, such as metropolitan Berlin, are experiencing significant cultural heterogeneity due to migration patterns; however, this rich diversity is not without its consequences. It is a challenge and an opportunity at the same time. This coexistence of different cultures makes the city culturally diverse and plural, but it may also lead to division and social exclusion in society, which in turn can result in discriminatory attitudes towards other cultures. The societal divide is not necessarily based on “migration”, but rather on the tolerance or rejection of diversity and heterogeneity.

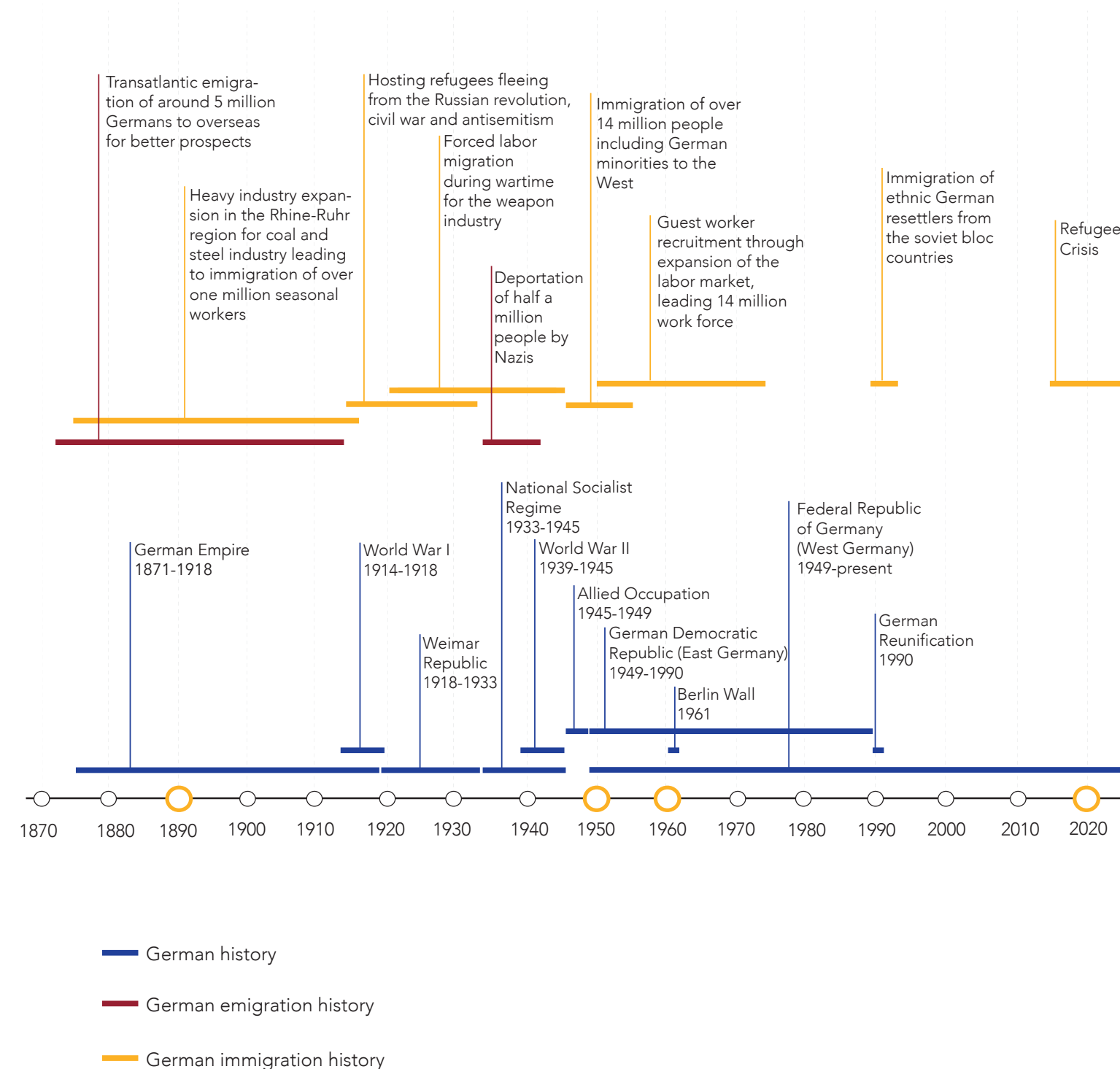


FIGURE 6
Migration history timeline of Germany
Source: Zick et al., 2001; Beger, 2000; Katz et al., 2016; Berlinghoff, 2018;
Oltmer & Hanewinkel, 2021; created by author

2.3 CHALLENGES OF IMMIGRATION

The new age of migration, driven by globalization and increasing mobility, has transformed nations into melting pots of different cultures, ethnicities, languages, and religions. This transformation has brought social dilemmas in local societies, as integration of diverse groups can be challenging.

Migration now stands as a central issue in political discourse and debates as it is perceived as a disruption to societal norms. This is evidenced by the growing tendency of closing off national and European borders and restricting the migrant influx. The emergence of far-right extremist political movements, as referred to, is seen as a manifestation of social closure dynamics. Therefore, it can be linked to political backlash, and a rise of populism, nationalism, and xenophobia in many countries.

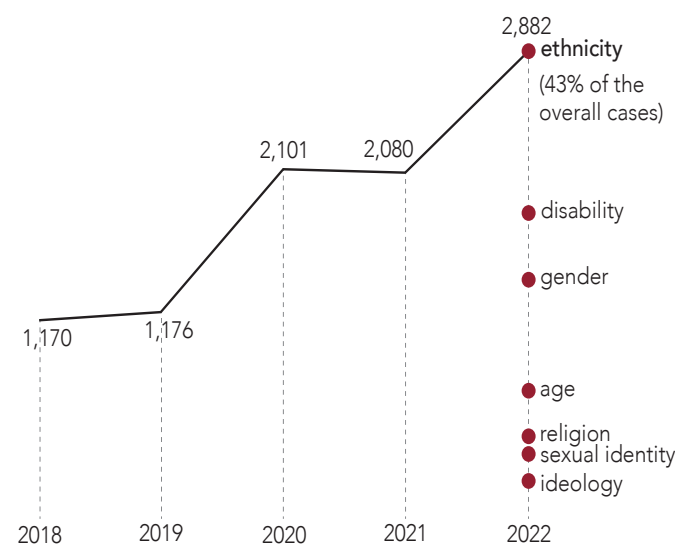


FIGURE 7
Reported discriminatory cases by year
Source: Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency of Germany, 2023, 2022; created by author

According to the 2022 annual report of the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency of Germany (2023, p. 24), the most reported discriminatory cases (2,882 out of 8,827 cases) are related to ethnic origin or racist reasons with 43 percent of the overall cases, and continue to increase comparing to last years (Fig. 7). In some cases, these racist and xenophobic attitudes of parts of the society culminate even in more brutal and violent actions, like the recent terrorist attack in Hanau, where in 2020 nine people were killed. It shows the potential danger of these attitudes in societies.

Related to this, the statistics from the years 2002 to 2022 show an increasing xenophobia, particularly in East Germany. The study which was carried out by the University of Leipzig and is involving a total of 2,533 participants ranging from 16 to 91 years, encompasses the representative findings on the political sentiments in Germany (Decker et al., 2022, p. 52). The statistic (Fig. 8) demonstrates a relation between immigration influx and xenophobic attitudes. There are significant differences between East and West Germany. After the reunification, East Germany had socioeconomic challenges. The transition from a socialist system to a capitalist one caused unemployment, economic disparities, and uncertainty about job prospects and the outcome contributed to more anti-immigrant rhetoric like xenophobia due to the sense of fear and insecurity in people in the East (Ireland, 1997). The reunification resulted in a clash between two identity groups – foreigners and

the Eastern Germans. Eastern Germans felt insecure and uncertain about their roles in a multicultural society, experiencing a sense of being second-class citizens and in turn, they directed blame towards foreigners by attributing their fear to them (ibid.). Furthermore, about twenty thousand migrants living in the GDR (1%) were guest workers from Cuba, Mozambique, and Vietnam, who were mostly excluded from the mainstream society and there was no integration policy (Rechte Tendenzen und Ausländerfeindlichkeit, 2022). Due to the limited contact of Eastern Germans, the political strategy of

creating a homogeneous society and nation-state contributed to prejudicial attitudes towards “the others” (ibid.). Likewise, xenophobia in the East is also increasing in direct correlation with the rising number of immigrants in the country.

There has been a rise in xenophobia in the last few years, clearly revealing disparities between East and West Germany. This tendency in xenophobic sentiments emphasizes the need for a deep investigation into the factors that fuel prejudice, hostility, and fear in society.

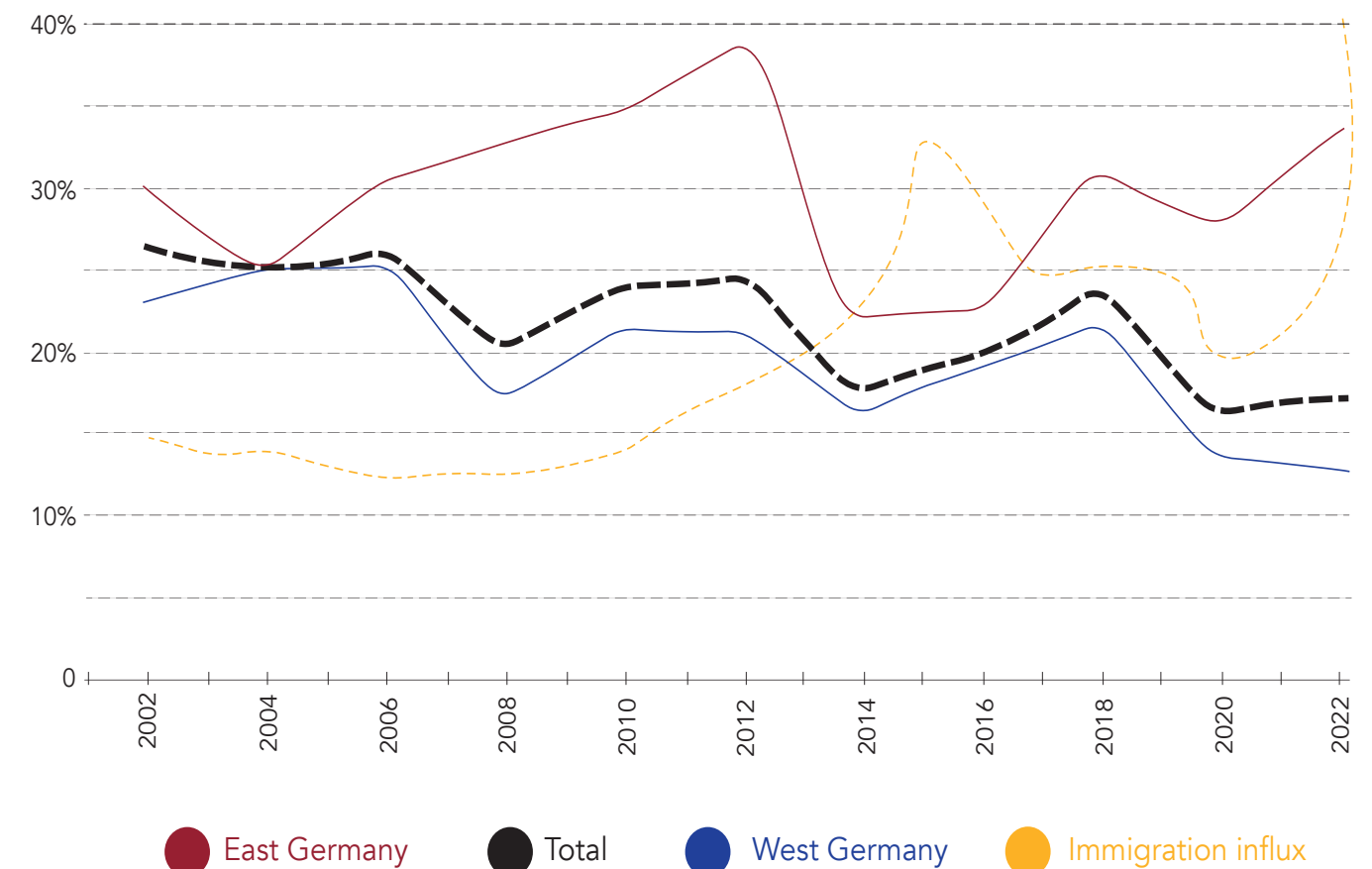


FIGURE 8
Share of xenophobia and immigration influx in Germany 2002-2022
Source: Decker et al., 2022, p.52; created by author

2.4 PERSPECTIVES OF LOCAL POPULATION AND REFUGEES IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER

In order to be able to understand the challenges of immigration it is inevitable to focus on different perspectives of the local population and refugees. On the one hand, the local population creates a prejudiced or xenophobic attitude out of a variety of fears, while on the other hand, refugees sometimes still have to struggle with their burdensome past and the hostility and otherness with which they are confronted in their new environment. The following will examine the influencing factors that contribute to the aforementioned perspectives and the consequences that both sides must face. These consequences sometimes act like a vicious circle and thus further reinforce fossilized opinions.

Economic competition

Increasing inequality between societies has an influence on rising xenophobia and intolerance against refugees. While some privileged groups take advantage of globalization and its new opportunities like working abroad or remotely, traveling, intercultural exchange, and worldwide communication due to digitalization, others have the feeling of not belonging to this group.

An inquiry (Fig. 9) which was conducted in 2022 also demonstrates that part of German society has still prejudices, as 27.4% of respondents agreed with the statement that foreigners only come to Germany to benefit from the welfare state (Decker et al., 2022, p. 46). In East Germany this percentage is almost half of the popula-

tion, highlighting that the presence of foreigners raises concerns regarding the state of the economy.

The government is confronted with an economic challenge regarding the provision of immediate support, integration initiatives, and training programs tailored to diverse cultures and educational backgrounds. Simultaneously, the municipalities undertake significant responsibilities in providing public services including health-care, education, housing, and social welfare systems for newcomers, therefore these responsibilities can strain the government's budget (Katz et al., 2016, p. 1). Apart from that, the increased competition over jobs and limited welfare state resources can foster anti-immigrant sentiments, as immigrants are often perceived as economic threats and competitors due to potential reductions in job opportunities and the split labor market (Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011). Pew Research Centre's surveys also confirm that an increasing number of people, particularly those who align with right-wing political parties, perceive refugees as a threat due to the security and economic concerns stemming from the refugee crisis, such as rising crime, terrorism, and loss of jobs and social benefits (Wike et al., 2016, pp. 3-12).

Nevertheless, despite the associated costs for the state, it is imperative not to underestimate the immigrants' long-term economic benefits to the country of residence. Immigrants may bring valuable and needed skills, and international

connections, and may fill the labor gap in needed sectors, which is particularly true for the needs of Germany, as well as their consumption of local goods and services may benefit the local economy (Güngör & Strohmeier, 2020, p. 77). In the end, it is an opportunity for the economic development of countries.

Security concern

In late 2022, a collaborative survey (Fig. 10) by the University of Hamburg and GIGA Institute engaged over 2,500 respondents in Germany to explore public attitudes towards refugees (Richter et al., 2023, p. 4-5). While most Ger-

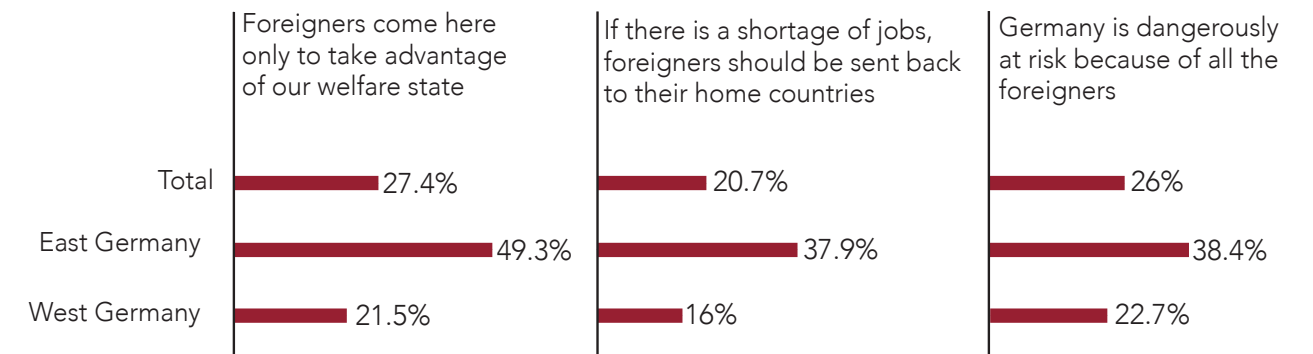


FIGURE 9
Xenophobic statements and prejudices about foreigners 2022
Source: Decker et al., 2022, p. 46; edited by author

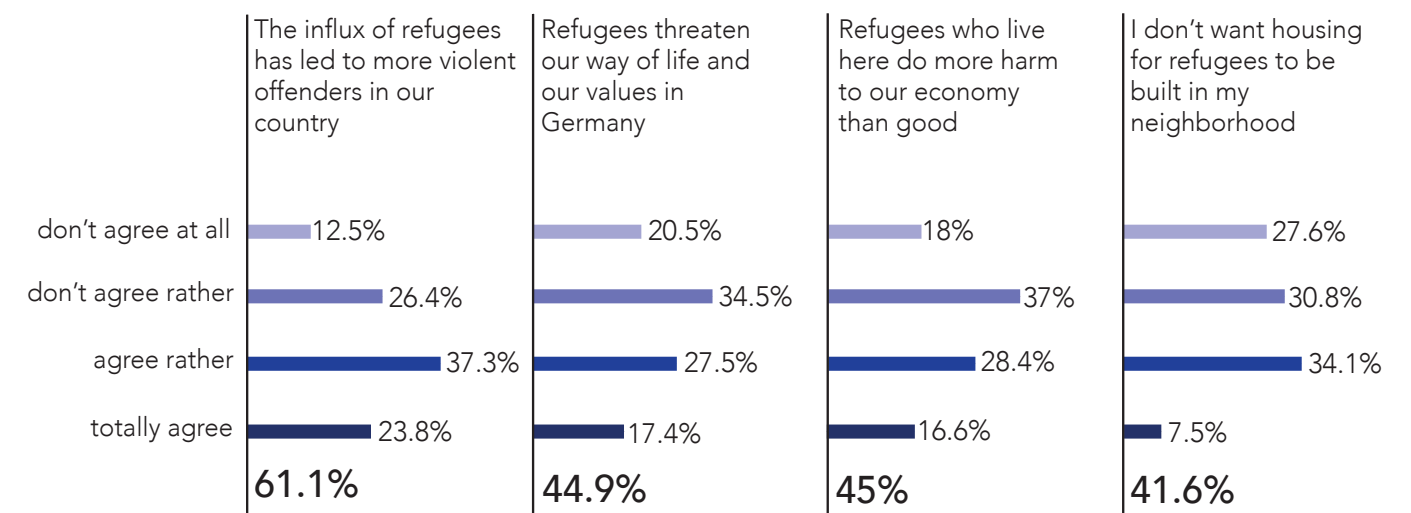


FIGURE 10
Threat perceptions and acceptance regarding refugees 2022
Source: Richter et al., 2023, p. 4-5; edited by author

mans do not perceive refugees as a threat to their way of life and values, more than 61% are concerned about the presence of violent offenders among refugees. Although over 58% of the respondents do not want housing for refugees to be built in their neighborhood, 55% believe that refugees will do more good than harm to the German economy in the future. This shows a division in German society: on the one hand there are open-minded and tolerant people, on the other hand, there is a significant number of people who have various fears and prejudices, as shown in the following study.

The fear of conflicts caused by immigration has grown significantly in 2023. Based on a face-to-face survey of the R+V-Studie (2023) with 2,400 respondents, 56% of residents in Germany expressed fear that the state could be over-

whelmed by the increasing number of refugees. This number represents an increase by 11% compared to the previous year, 2022 (Fig. 11). Likewise, concerns about tensions caused by further migration have also increased massively, with 47% of respondents stating this.

Contrary to such an assumption, the survey results shaped by public sentiments only reflect their fear rather than an accurate representation of reality about refugees. According to the Federal Criminal police department (Bundeskriminalamt, 2022, p.8), only 7.4% of all the registered crime suspects are forcibly displaced people including refugees (Fig. 12). The percentage is not so low compared to the number of refugees in Germany, rather almost as high as for German citizens. This can be attributed to the challenging circumstances of their arrival, as

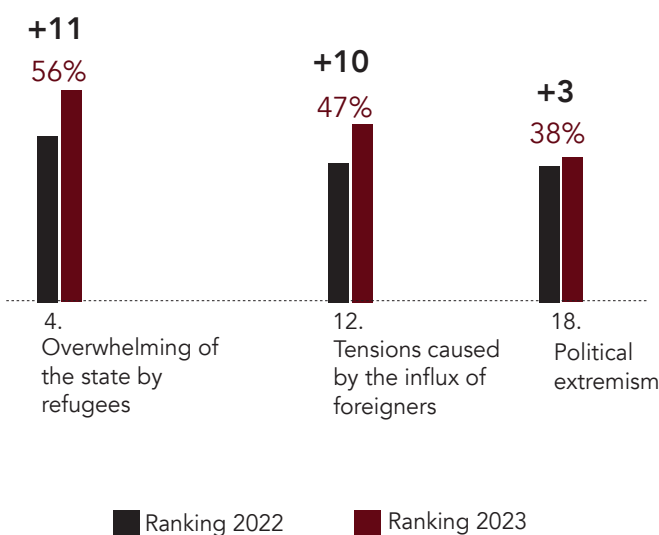


FIGURE 11
Ranking of biggest fears of Germans 2022-2023
Source: R+V-Studie, 2023; edited by author

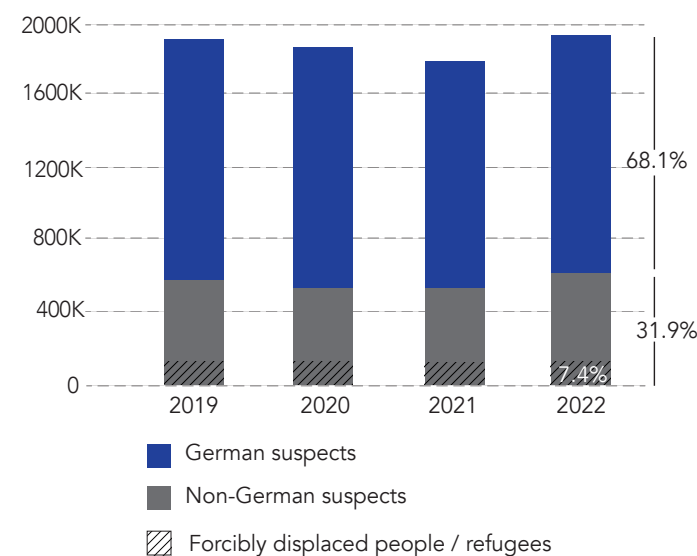


FIGURE 12
Federal crime report 2019-2022
Source: Bundeskriminalamt, 2022, p.8; created by author

well as the negative experiences they endured in their home countries and during their flight. However, it fails to represent the stereotype and generalization of refugees as criminals as perceived by some segments of the population.

On the contrary, they are also subjected to xenophobic attacks. According to the reports of Bundestag and the parliamentary group Die Linke (Deutscher Bundestag, 2023), there were at least 48 attacks on asylum seekers' accommodation in Germany in the first half of 2023, which is more than twice as many as in the same quarter of the previous year (Fig. 13). According to the investigators, the majority of the offenses have a right-wing extremist background, and they mainly involve damage to property and propaganda, but also arson and dangerous

physical attacks (ibid.). Over the past few years, around 1000 attacks targeting refugees, excluding incidents related to asylum seekers' accommodation, have been recorded (ibid.). Rather than being part of the population with concerns about refugees, this outcome positions refugees as victims. Ultimately, both sides face anxiety and fear.

The statistics indicate a higher degree of skepticism or negativity regarding the future related to the immigration issue of Germany, particularly in the Eastern part. As shown these prejudices cannot be confirmed by the presented data but lead extremely to violent actions towards the refugees. Consequently, these xenophobic sentiments remain a sensitive issue for Germans.

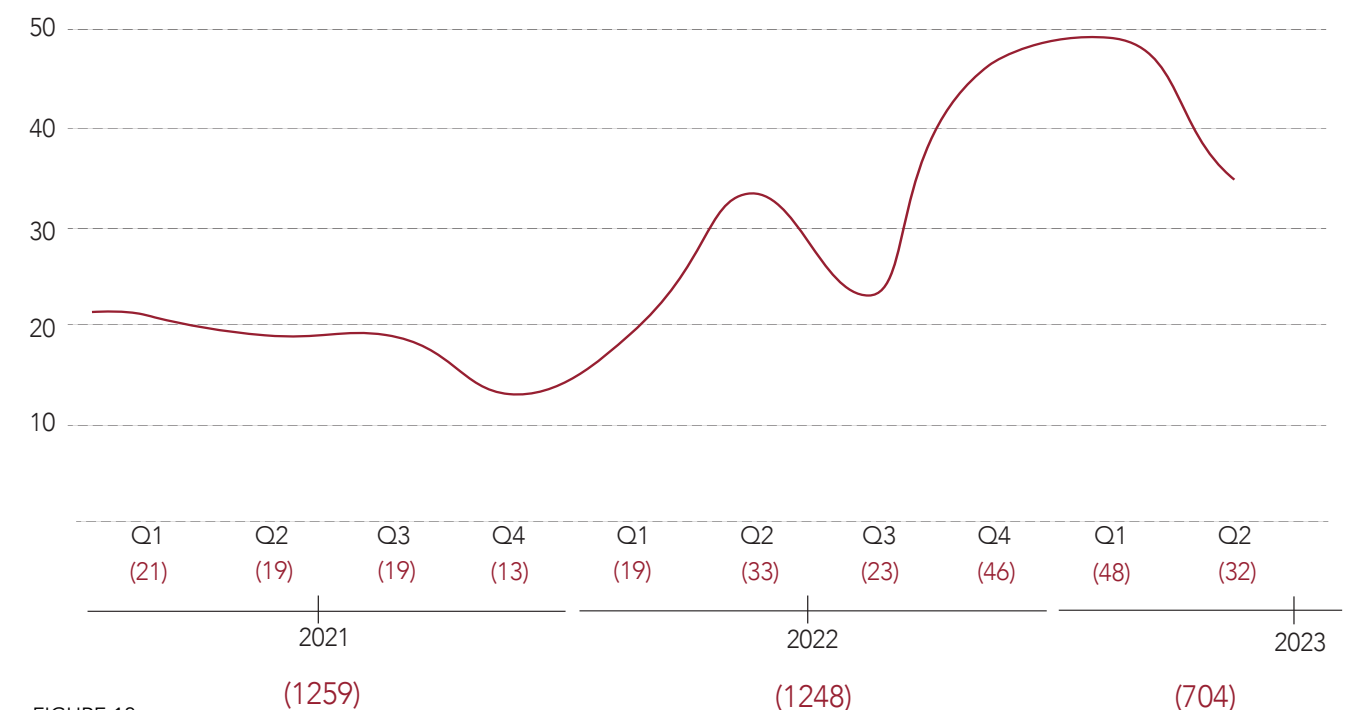


FIGURE 13
Number of crimes against asylum seeker shelters in Germany 2021 (1st quarter) - 2023 (2nd quarter)
Source: Deutscher Bundestag, 2023, 2022 and 2021; created by author

Risk to national identity and values

National identity and homogeneous predetermined values play an increasing role in the right extremist scene, but increasingly also in wider parts of society. Since the appearance of right-wing movements, the strengthening of ultra-conservative and right-extremist parties, which base their political program mainly on the migration topic, strong patriotism and so-called *Leitkultur*, prejudicial attitudes and extremist statements got more familiar in the political and societal discourse.

At the same time, hostile expressions towards diversity became increasingly apparent with the arrival of people who were categorized as “Muslim foreigners” and the emergency of civic engagement among minority groups residing in Germany triggered debates regarding German identity, belongings, and Germanness (Bock, 2018, p. 378). Like the anti-Islam movement, “Pegida” (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamification of the Occident) and other right populism ideologies in Germany insist on cultural, ethnic, or national homogeneity and the concept of protective nationalism which is opposed to pluralism (Havertz, 2021, p. 5). The refugee crisis has revealed deep ideological divides regarding minorities and diversity, therefore, people on the ideological right express more concerns about refugees, more negative attitudes towards minorities, and less enthusiasm for a diverse society (Wike et al., 2016, p. 5).

The political and social challenge can be represented as debates surrounding national identity and belonging. Therefore, refugees are becoming targets for internal disputes about national identity because they take part in the identities of the receiving country. “Customs, tradition and especially language are seen as crucial to national identity” (Wike et al., 2016, p. 10). The influx of immigrants can raise questions regarding what it means to be a member of a nation and how the newcomers can integrate into that identity. Tackling these issues needs nuanced policy frameworks that embrace inclusivity and acknowledge the complex nature of contemporary societies shaped by immigration. This political challenge can be solved by policymakers who must strike a balance between fostering a sense of belonging for immigrants and preserving the foundational values and cultural heritage of the host society.

Politics and media influence

In many EU countries, anti-migrant sentiments have dominated the political scene, with migration being viewed as a potential danger to cultural identities and welfare systems (EPR, 2016, p. 2). Most of society experiences a sense of fear that might be based on prejudice and often these notions and perceptions can be influenced and shaped mostly by political influencers, media presentations, or social media, but also on a smaller scale by the peer group or family, personal experiences, and education. In Germany, this movement is nowadays mostly

represented by the radical right populist AfD party (Alternative für Deutschland) whose politics is based on a nationalist and patriotist identity that excludes minorities, especially other ethnicities, races, and nationalities (Fig. 14). They gained unexpected success and power to oppose mainstream parties in the last years, especially after the high rise of immigration in 2015, which augmented the tensions between social groups. Regarding radical right populism in Germany, their ideologies are primarily focused on cultural, ethnic, or national homogeneity (Havertz, 2021, p. 4).

However, migrants have been portrayed negatively by right-populist media and regarded as a threat not only to national identity, but also to values, economic stability, security, and social cohesion. This negative perception is also fueled by media reports and interaction in social networks which has led to instances of intolerance, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, and even violent extremism towards migrants. Media played a crucial role in stereotyping and giving negative images of migrants as an “invasion” or a “burden” which raised prejudice and hostile attitudes, relatedly led to the rise in anti-immigrant political parties (Allen et al., 2018). Despite the significant social and economic contributions made by migrants, anti-immigration sentiment prevails, particularly in countries experiencing a rise in nationalism, patriotism, and populism (Bauloz et al., 2020, p. 168), which can be considered an outcome of political and (social) media influence.



FIGURE 14
Demo-Banner Pegida, AfD, Identitarian movement
Source: Politische Bildung, n.d.; edited by author



FIGURE 15
Pegida propaganda placard
Source: Feuerbach, 2015; edited by author

Conclusion

One of the main reasons for feelings of anxiety and hostility, which lead to prejudicial attitudes and the rise of extremist ideologies, is a deeply rooted fear of the unknown. When confronted with elements that deviate from their regular or usual environment, perceived as foreignness, the individuals from the native population often experience feelings of discomfort. In a more globalized and multicultural world, locals must adapt and accept new circumstances, often requiring minor changes in their lives. However, migrants face more significant challenges.

The refugees represent one of the most vulnerable groups in society. They often confront numerous challenges during their flight from their home countries, such as persecution, conflict, or other forms of violence, or trauma. When they first arrive in the receiving country, they require basic needs such as food, shelter, and healthcare. Beyond the physical needs, it is possible that they suffer from mental health issues, social isolation, and difficulty adapting to the new culture and surroundings.

In the case of structural barriers to social and economic integration, loss of social support can be challenging. Beyond that, the uncertain future, broken family ties, homesickness, identity confusion, and discrimination are the problematic aspects for the adjustments of immigrants and refugees (Güngör & Strohmeier, 2020, p. 2). They need to rebuild their life to achieve a mea-

sure of stability and well-being, and this only works if the receiving society and politics can contribute to this process, so we can speak about a mutual dynamic.

The following steps can be understood as crucial in the mentioned process:

1. When refugees face additional difficulties posed by the receiving society, such as prejudices or xenophobic behaviors, it becomes more challenging for them to integrate and to create a sense of belonging in the receiving country. As a result, facing xenophobic actions raises their feelings of fear and vulnerability, even in their supposed safe place – their home. There are more studies related to the fears of Germans than the fears of refugees. However, it is also crucial to address and consider the fears that the refugees face to improve the situation as a whole.

2. Xenophobic attacks and prejudices against refugees are evident. They have their origins in the fear of the unknown. One contributing factor is the limited interaction and encounter with the newcomers. People tend to have prejudices against things they do not know or are unfamiliar with. And it leads to feelings of fear. While top-down approaches like politics and media can influence people's fear, changing them significantly might be beyond their control. Instead, focusing on bottom-up approaches, such as the creation of new spaces for positive encounters where refugees and locals can find

common interests could dispel fears and foster mutual acceptance.

3. Lastly, it is crucial to acknowledge that the arrival of newcomers in a local society can create cultural disparities, which in turn present additional challenges like cultural clashes. These disparities arise from divergent languages, social norms, traditions, and values, and can significantly impact community cohesion and efforts towards integration. As a result, these cultural obstacles serve as barriers to effective interaction and hinder the development of mutual understanding among diverse communities. Therefore, it is important to focus on the receiving society and understand their perspectives, especially those who harbor feelings of mistrust, fear, and disadvantage, in order to create advantages for all societal groups establishing spaces where mutual benefits can be realized through interaction.

All these highlighted factors address the social polarization within certain segments of German society, which needs to be dealt with by fostering mutual integration and adaptation processes for harmonious and cohesive communities. In the following chapter there will be presented a concept, which tries to develop it on a theoretical basis and further, in the case study, it will be applied on a practical solution and concrete intervention.

3.
(MUTUAL) INTEGRATION
AND ADAPTATION
APPROACH

3.1 ADAPTATION

In today's globalized world, the phenomenon of human mobility has reached the highest levels, leading to increased diversity in societies in the last decades. Accordingly, this requires a deeper understanding of the concepts of mutual integration and adaptation to enhance social cohesion across cultures. However, to comprehend integration, it is crucial to understand adaptation first. Because integration is often wrongly considered as one way of adapting to new cultural surroundings.

Adaptation processes allow organisms, societies, and civilizations to survive and be more resilient to overcome challenges or to fit new circumstances. The term adaptation can be defined as "to adjust, fit environmental conditions" or "the modification of an organism or its parts that makes it fitter for existence under its environmental conditions" (Runco & Pritzker, 1999, p. 10).

From the smallest organism to human societies, the adaptation process is crucial. Through adaptation, they become better suited for survival and reproduction in their habitat. Darwin's adaptation theory also states that species evolve and adapt to their environments over time. Consequently, the advantageous traits increase the chances of survival and reproduction, which leads to the accumulation of adaptations within a population and therefore has positive effects on society. Instead of understanding adaptation as the misleading Darwinian concept of "survival of the fittest" – often exploited by right-wing

extremists, we should embrace adaptation as enhancing humanity through the benefits of pluralism.

Societies also undergo adaptation processes, whereby they evolve and adjust to enhance their handling of the changing dynamics of their living space through migration as a transformative process, which requires an adaptation to changing conditions. This implies that people have to reorient themselves in the new social environment in various areas such as work, professions, social interactions, and community relationships (Cormoş, 2022, p. 2). In the context of migration, the adaptation process includes the migrant's ability to fit into the pre-existing structures of the receiving society, as well as being familiar with the new mechanism of the economic, political, social, cultural, and particularly political institutional environment (Cormoş, 2022, p. 4). As a result, migration creates new patterns of attitudes, values, and appreciation that shape the cultural and social fabric of the receiving societies.

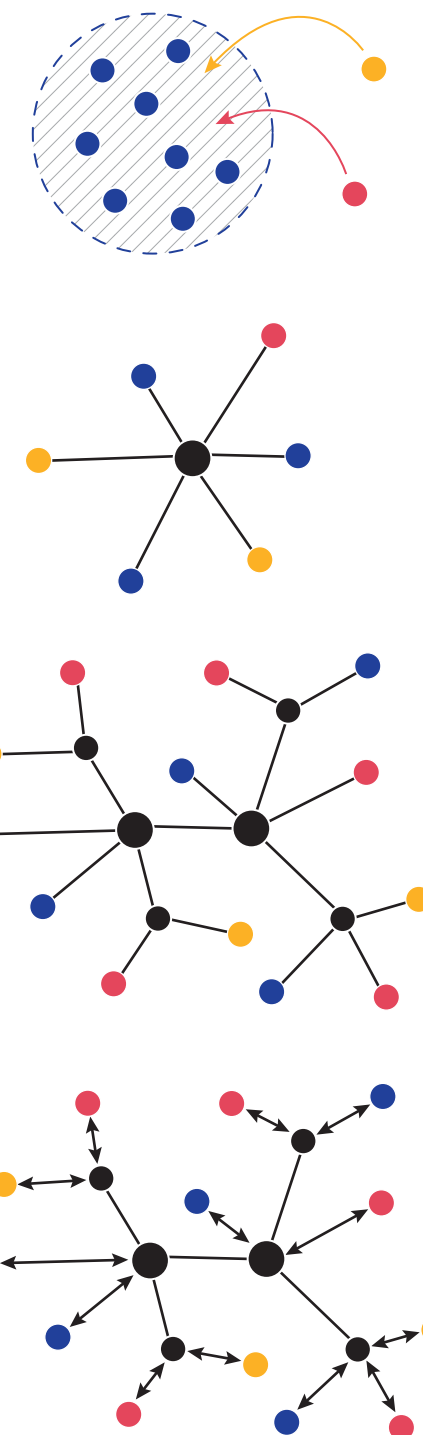
With the intent of understanding the changes that occur during the adaptation process resulting from migration, the migrant's adaptation to the new society takes place in three stages, as shown in the diagram (Fig. 16). When they arrive in the new society, there is first a cultural clash, that leads to new encounters with the members of the society. Finally, the acculturation process as described later happens which might result in cultural exchange.

Adaptation into new society

1. Cultural clash

2. New encounters

3. Acculturation
Cultural
Exchange



As Berry (1997, p. 13) describes adaptation as "the changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands", which can occur immediately or develop over the longer term. In addition, Berry (1997) also points out that short-term changes for adaptation could sometimes be negative or disruptive. For example, regarding migration, when someone from a different cultural background moves to a new environment, it can take time to adjust to a new culture or understand the norms and values of the new society. That is why it is important to allow time for refugees to become familiar with the local society and their perspectives. On the other hand, refugees need time to recover from previous experiences like persecution or violence once they are resettled. For this reason, short-term adaptation in certain situations can lead to negative consequences such as stress, anxiety, or cultural loss. It is therefore crucial for successful adaptation to support and implement slow and long-term adaptation processes.

FIGURE 16
Adaptation process with three stages
Source: Illustrated by author

3.2 ACCULTURATION MODELS IN THE PERCEPTION OF IMMIGRANT GROUPS

All the individuals adapt to their new cultural surroundings in different ways. The migrant, once arrived in a new country, goes through the process of adaptation. During the adaptation process, immigrants pass through different stages and transformations. This inevitable phase which transforms their identity and in which an individual adapts to a new social environment is called acculturation and its definition encompasses all cultural changes at the societal or individual level (Cormoş, 2022, p. 2). Acculturation also refers to the cultural change arising from the encounters of different groups as a result of migration and intercultural contact (Berry, 1997, p. 6).

This acculturation process involves two important dimensions referring to adapting the culture of the receiving society or maintaining their original culture and interacting with the local people from the receiving society. These dimensions, as described by Berry (1997), lead to the formation of four distinct acculturation strategies which are integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Fig. 17).

Berry (2005, p. 705) argues that non-dominant groups have different approaches to their cultural identity and interactions with other cultures. Therefore, integration occurs when individuals maintain their heritage culture and value other cultures by engaging with other groups in their daily lives. Here, both groups have an interest in adopting both identities. This approach allows for some level of cultural integrity while

Acculturation strategies **in ethnocultural groups**
in the larger society

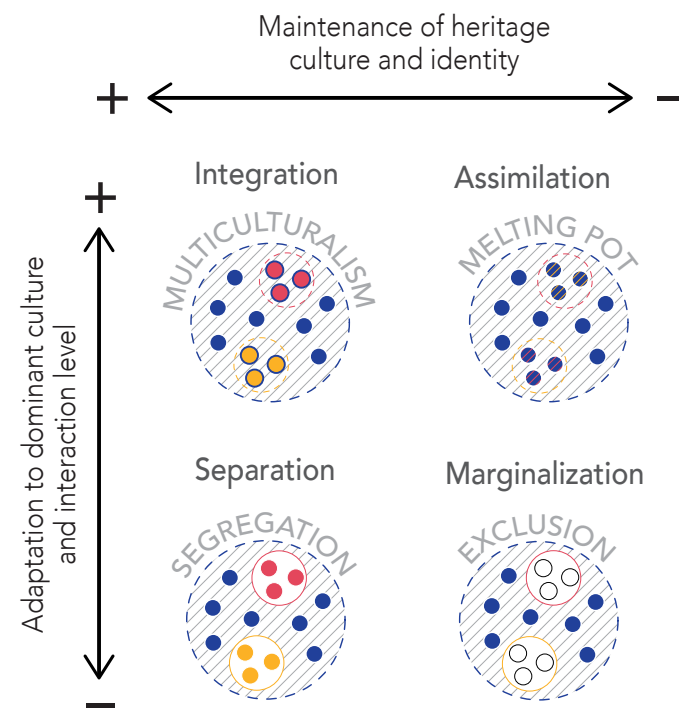


FIGURE 17
Acculturation strategies
Source: Illustration by author, based on the graphic of Berry (2005, p. 705) on acculturation strategies

actively participating as a member of their ethnocultural group in the larger social network. When individuals in these groups do not intend to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interactions with other cultures like valuing contact with the dominant culture, they adopt the assimilation strategy. On the other hand, when individuals value their heritage culture and prefer to avoid interactions with other groups, they

adopt a separation alternative. Lastly, marginalization happens when individuals have little interest in or opportunity to maintain their heritage culture. It involves rejecting both cultures, often due to enforced cultural loss, as well as a lack of interest in engaging with others, and because of their experiences of exclusion or discrimination.

These strategies are basically from the perspective of non-dominant ethnocultural groups, however, there is also another dimension highlighting the influence of dominant groups in shaping acculturation in larger societies (ibid.). The integration of diverse ethnocultural groups accepted by the dominant society is referred to as multiculturalism. Assimilation by the dominant acculturating group is described as a melting pot, while forced separation is termed segregation. Ultimately, dominant-group-imposed marginalization is denoted as exclusion (ibid.). As a result, there is a big impact of dominant groups on acculturation dynamics. Nevertheless, non-dominant groups should have the freedom to choose their acculturation paths instead of being forced by society to impose specific acculturation forms. Support from both the dominant group and the state authorities should be provided to ensure, or even guarantee a high level of integration, which would be the best outcome for the society.

Berry (2005) also emphasizes the relationship between different adaptation strategies and resulting levels of adaptation. In both types of ad-

aptation, the individuals who maintain and successfully achieve integration demonstrate higher levels of adaptation, as they engage with the local society. On the other hand, those who experience marginalization exhibit the lowest levels of adaptation. On the contrary, the strategies of assimilation and separation are linked to intermediate levels of adaptation outcomes because they can be characterized as exclusion from the local society. After all, individual experiences of acculturation can vary and they might be influenced by many factors like social support, acceptance, personal resilience, and especially the attitudes of the receiving society.

3.3 INTEGRATION

Integration, which is understood as a successful adaptation strategy, is a concept for inclusive and cohesive societies. As defined, it is the strategy where migrants can maintain their original culture and at the same time adopt the key elements of the mainstream culture. Integration means to restore, or create a whole, referring to bringing together different elements while maintaining their distinctiveness (Meier-Braun, 2013, p. 16). The strategy aims to create a harmonious coexistence and respect among diverse cultural backgrounds within a society.

Successful integration entails creating an environment that encourages immigrants' involvement in social, economic, and political spheres, where integration is accomplished not only by promoting social inclusion but also by ensuring

equal opportunities for everyone such as access to education and language training, employment, recognition of qualifications, health care, social assistance, housing as well as integration into social, cultural and civic life of receiving society (Argirova, 2021, pp. 42–53). Consequently, equity plays a crucial role by involving fair treatment, providing equitable access to resources, and offering equal opportunities with long-term commitment.

The process of integration of migrants includes socio-economic, legal, political, and cultural aspects, which are provided by policymakers. For instance, the conceptual framework developed by Ager and Strang, in fieldwork in settings of refugee settlement in the UK provides a basis for an empirical study of integration, as depicted

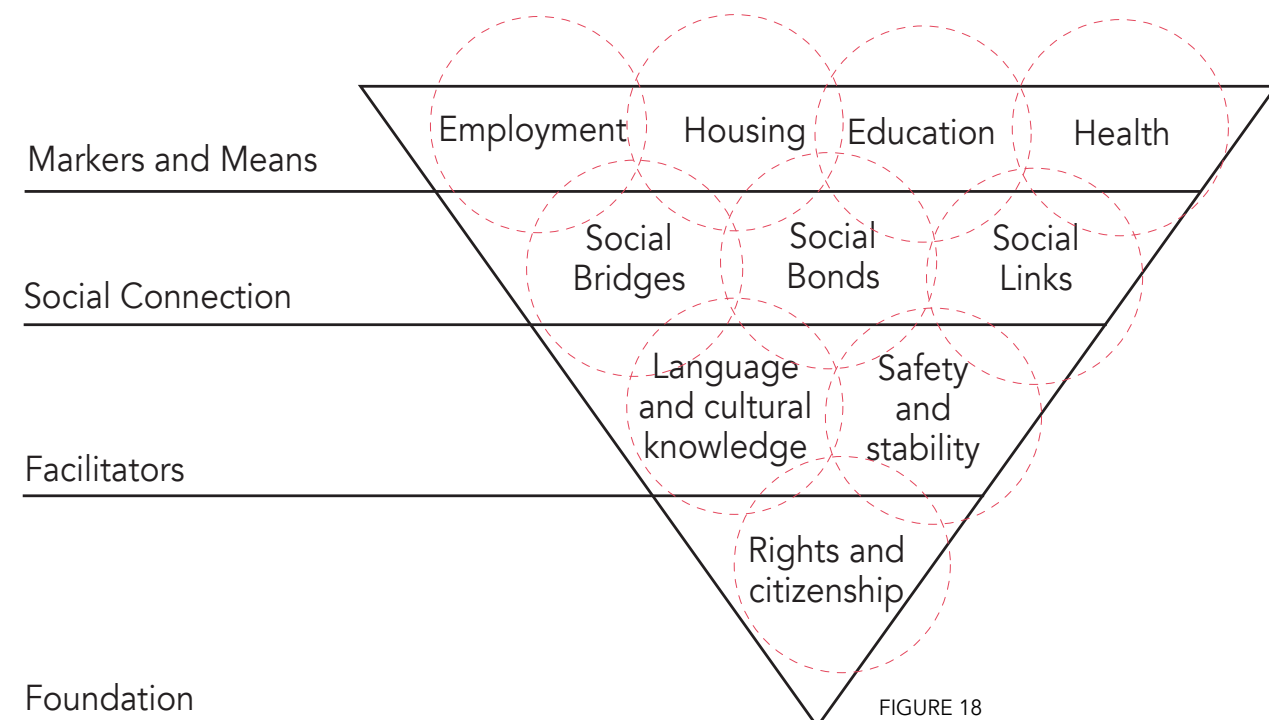


FIGURE 18
Core domains of integration by Ager and Strang
Source: Ager & Strang, 2008; illustrated by author

ed in the diagram below (Fig. 18). These indicators of integration have been used as a framework for developing policymakers and service providers for supporting refugee integration.

For the understanding of the concept of integration, the framework identifies ten integration domains organized into four groups: “Foundations” (rights and citizenship, a necessary basis for integration), “Facilitators” (language, culture, safety and stability, which remove barriers to integration), “Social connections” (bridges, bonds and links) and lastly “Means and Markers” (employment, housing, education and health, which could act as mechanisms of integration) (Ager & Strang, 2008).

The study highlights the emphasis on security and stability but also on rights and citizenship as a basis for integration. It is inaccurate to consider citizenship as a necessity for the integration process. Also, the security measure can lead to framing refugees as security concerns rather than individuals seeking social, cultural, and economic integration. Moreover, we cannot generalize the steps in linear format according to their importance. As the challenges occur at different steps, integration is a non-linear process. The same steps and guidelines, which are applied to all the refugees could be criticized as this one-size-fits-all approach homogenizes different refugee experiences.

A stereotyped integration policy with concrete steps is not a correct approach to measuring the level of integration of an individual, because it's impossible to apply the same rules or measures for all individuals as refugees come from diverse backgrounds or experiences. Integration policy must take individual needs and experiences into account.

3.4 INTEGRATION THROUGH ASSIMILATION

Assimilation as an approach to integration has been debated and is a topic of discussion. In this method, minority groups adopt the cultural and social norms of a dominant society and lose their original cultural practices or values. In the political discourse, the concept of integration is often misunderstood as assimilation, which implies giving up one's own cultural and linguistic heritage to fully conform to the receiving society (Luis, 2023, p. 142). This also means that immigrants or refugees are expected to go through a process of assimilation to adjust or adapt to the dominant society where they would assimilate into the host society and eventually fully blend in (*ibid.*). It is a simplified and rigid approach to integration as we are living in a cultural pluralist society, and it is not a valid opinion to clone all the individuals to create one type and disregard the diversity and its benefits.

On the other hand, the purpose is also to unite people by creating a shared national identity and common values for social cohesion. For this reason, assimilation has been implemented in many nations and it is important to highlight that assimilation and integration are distinct concepts with different attitudes and behaviors.

Peter Philipp (2008) contrasts the adaptation approaches to immigrants and integration in the United States, Canada, and Germany in his article. He asserts that the United States promotes assimilation, where immigrants are expected to adopt the American way of life. It is also known as the melting pot strategy which emerged to create a homogeneous American

identity. Using this strategy, it is easier to integrate the various immigrant groups into the fabric of American society. By contrast with the United States, in Canada, the state embraces a policy of multiculturalism and encourages immigrants to preserve their cultural heritage while integrating into the new environment.

In contrast, Philipp (2008) argues that Germany has historically denied its status as a country of immigration and has expected immigrants, at least after an unsuccessful policy of segregation for guest workers, to assimilate rather than integrate by getting into mainstream German culture referring to *Deutsche Leitkultur*, which plays a crucial role in shaping societal norms and behaviors. Because the concept advocates for a singular dominant culture, expecting all the diverse groups to conform, thereby impeding their full participation in society. Even though the intention is to preserve social cohesion and integration, the approach undermines the principles of multiculturalism by restricting ethnocultural groups from maintaining their unique cultural identity. This is why concepts of *Leitkultur* and assimilation are interconnected particularly in the context of cultural identity, integration, national values, and multiculturalism. Nowadays this ideology is associated mostly with the anti-immigrant populist AfD and partly with CDU/CSU.

Migration researcher Ruud Koopmans claims that Muslims living in Germany should assimilate into mainstream society. Even though his idea is distinct from right-wing populist de-

mands for assimilation, he suggests cultural guidelines for newcomers, emphasizing adaptation while preserving identity, such as customary German greetings like handshakes or the necessity of learning German. According to Koopmans these guidelines are crucial for social integration and connection with the majority of the population. He proposes the necessity of measured assimilation in specific contexts. For instance, the decision of the European Court of Justice permits employers to restrict religious symbols including hijab, in specific professions, clarifying the nuanced view on assimilation and the distinction from the concept of giving up one's identity (Koopmans, 2017).

In the context of Germany, the integration through assimilation strategy has failed with the newer generations of Turkish immigrants, who have come originally as guestworkers. Just a few Turks who were born in Germany have chosen to obtain German citizenship and most of them have married within the Turkish community. Restrictive citizenship laws in Germany are also another dilemma. Among a few other non-European Union nationalities have been forbidden from holding two citizenships, instead, they have been required to choose between nationalities and many of them do not want to cut their ties with their original country. According to the Adenauer Foundation study, this rule does more to hinder than encourage people to join the mainstream of German society (Chase, 2016). However, this law was amended in 2024 so that dual citizenship is now possible and German citizenship can be applied

for after just five years, or three years in the case of special integration effort, instead of eight years (BMI, 2024). The prerequisites are knowledge of German, sufficient financial means to support yourself and passing an integration test. The Minister of the Interior, Nancy Faeser (2024), explained this step as follows: "Acquiring citizenship promotes and accelerates integration in many areas". This marks a major step forward in migration and integration policy.

While exploring the attitudes and ideologies of Germans towards immigrants, previous studies conducted that immigrants are often classified under the negatively connotated and segregating category of "Ausländer" (foreigners), which continues to be widely employed by politicians, media, the general public, and even immigrants themselves when referring to immigrants in a more general sense (Zick et al., 2001, p. 546). The publicly used terminology must be carefully examined, as it might lead to stigmatization, stereotypes, or otherness, and thereby limit the opportunities for integration.

Another failure in the past was the little attention given to long-term integration plans as the guestworkers were seen as a temporary labor force. The lack of integration policy has led to parts of the minorities and the Turks living in a parallel society. Moreover, it created more separation and segregation rather than integration or assimilation. It is not possible to expect people coming from different cultures suddenly or

completely to integrate and adapt to the culture. Integration or assimilation is an individual decision and cannot be achieved by imposing.

The key to the solution should involve both the willingness of immigrants to participate in society and the acceptance of the receiving society. Immigrants can lead successful integration without necessarily abandoning their cultural heritage. That is why I criticize the notion of forced assimilation into local society and want to emphasize the importance of recognizing, respecting, and valuing diverse cultures within a country and at the same time offering low-threshold opportunities for self-integration.

If we assume that the integration process as a one-way strategy that excludes the local society, it would involve only the immigrants who try to integrate into society. Hence, this would divide people into two categories such as people who have undergone integration and those for whom integration is a non-issue. In other saying, it creates a distinction between people in need of integration and people not in need of integration. Therefore, in the case that the refugees are well-integrated, it would make them integrated migrants but not locals. If they were defined as locals, the integration topic would not be an issue. The categorization in the integration process puts boundaries into social relations and they would always remain in a separate category of people who are not respected members of one society.

Cormoş (2022, p. 5) defends that adaptation, characterized by a significant psycho-social element, is a one-way process and does not involve the reciprocity between the migrant and the receiving society. Migrant's adaptation reaction is triggered by the changes in the new social environment (ibid.). They are the ones who decide to migrate and have therefore the necessity to alter their lifestyle, switch jobs, be exposed to social pressures, form new social relationships, modify their professional status, acquire a new language, and appropriate new norms, and rules, in short, anything that obliges them to confront the unknown. Nevertheless, while migrants must deal with such challenges and changes, the receiving society also has to deal with the consequences and plays a key role in the integration process. Instead of excluding the local society from the integration process, they also bear a large responsibility.

Integration involves a dynamic interaction between the immigrant and the receiving society, leading to various transformations. Even though immigrants' successful integration and adaptation can be influenced by many factors like their country of origin, background, beliefs, lifestyle, and habits, there are also important social factors that the receiving society can offer, and which affect their integration level.

3.5 MUTUAL INTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION

In multicultural societies, the adoption of integration as a strategy can be pursued when there is a collective embrace of cultural diversity, just a minimal presence of prejudice, racism, and discrimination, and a positive mutual attitude among various individuals. For this reason, not only the attitudes of the immigrants but as well those of the receiving society impact the process of acculturation.

IOM (International Organization for Migration) (2019) defines integration as a "two-way process of mutual adaptation between migrants and the societies in which they live, whereby migrants are incorporated into the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the receiving community. It entails a set of joint responsibilities for migrants and communities and incorpo-

rates other related notions such as social inclusion and social cohesion." Likewise, ECRE (European Council on Refugees and Exiles) (2002, p. 4) considers integration to be a process of change that is long-term, multidimensional, dynamic, and two-way:

- a) **Long-term**; relates to the integration of immigrants, which starts upon arrival in the receiving country and concludes when they become active members of the society across legal, social, economic, educational, and cultural domains.
- b) **Multi-dimensional**; relating the conditions and actual involvement in various aspects of economic, social, cultural, civil, and political life in the country where they seek acceptance and membership in the receiving country.
- c) **Dynamic and two-way**; relating to a process that involves responsibilities from both the re-

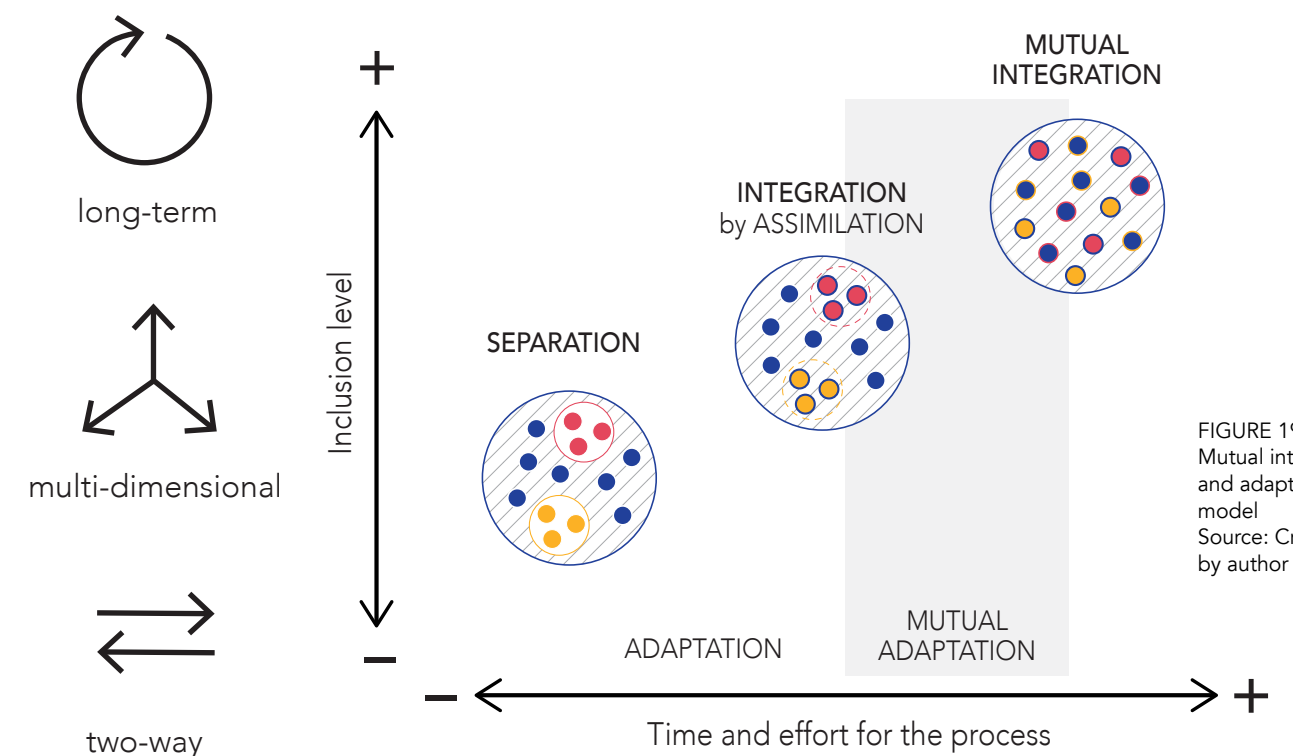


FIGURE 19
Mutual integration
and adaptation
model
Source: Created
by author

ceiving society and the individuals or communities involved. While refugees should be open to adapting to the lifestyle of the receiving society and maintaining their own cultural identity, on the other hand, the receiving society must be willing to adapt public institutions to accommodate the changing population profile, embrace refugees as members of the national community and actively work towards providing access to resources and decision-making processes.

Here, integration refers to a two-way process of adaptation. The term two-way emphasizes the importance of mutual accommodation and understanding between immigrants and the receiving society. The refugee's successful integration and adaptation can be influenced by many things; however, an important factor is the attitude of the receiving society. Behaviors resulting from these attitudes including the inclusion or exclusion in daily life, significantly influence the degree of adaptation of new arrivals (Bourhis & Montreuil, 2003). While immigrants make an effort to adapt to the new circumstances and society, the receiving community needs to understand the conditions, traditions, and culture of migrants and respect migrant rights. Both sides must take a step towards each other and create this two-way understanding of integration which necessitates mutual adaptation and cooperation.

We should avoid the issue of one-wayness. The integration challenge does not concern only one group but goes beyond the immigrants. As

a member of the receiving society, you are unintentionally involved in the integration process, as you are affected by the results of immigration and the integration process of immigrants. In addition, the receiving society can impact the level of integration of immigrants, and this makes them part of the integration process. Ultimately, it is not just immigrants integrating into the new society, the locals also integrate and become accustomed to the immigrant population and the new circumstances introduced by immigration, or better said become part of a multicultural society. As a result, as the integration process, therefore, affects both groups, it is a reciprocal process and mutual concern that both groups must deal with and collaborate. This collaborative effort not only contributes to mutual understanding and accommodation but also creates mutual benefits.

3.6 MUTUAL BENEFITS

Successful mutual integration and adaptation benefit the whole society by maximizing the benefits for all parties involved in the process. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to consider firstly how both sides can contribute and secondly, what means can be used to support this process. The creation of places or happenings of mutual benefit requires to generate settings of encounter.

Mutual benefits for the society

First of all, supportive actions by the local community are a key point for mutual engagement. As the receiving society helps immigrants break down barriers, overcome misconceptions, and give immigrants a sense of belonging, the result enriches the receiving community by creating a resilient, dynamic, and culturally rich society. Immigrants feel accepted and welcomed and they would contribute to society as well.

According to migration policy research, there are three main categories through which migrants contribute to society, such as sociocultural, civic-political, and economic contributions (Khadria, 2020, p. 130).

Sociocultural refers to social and cultural factors, including habits, traditions, and beliefs. As a result of big cultural diversity, they can introduce new ideas, values, and practices, but also unique skills and talents, such as food diversity, literature, the creation of new music, sporting achievements, and other forms of artistic ex-

pression. Sociocultural contribution is the one notable and visible one because it influences our daily life like shopping, dining, or attending cultural events. Especially the diversification of food and culinary traditions is an important element in creating shared experiences and cultural fusion in the cities, which also helps to foster social bonding and integration.

Civic-political relates to addressing community issues through volunteering and engaging in civic duties. They can be involved in politics and governance at different levels like local and national levels with different experiences, skills, and resources. As well as, by engaging in volunteer activities, they can provide support to fellow migrants who need integration into new communities. It is important to mention that diaspora communities have the potential to advocate for migrant rights and active participation in political processes in their countries of origin as well as to include initiatives that promote peacebuilding and reconstruction.

Economic benefits encompass activities related to trade, industry, or money. Migration can be an economic opportunity in the long term that the government will benefit from. It has been demonstrated to stimulate economic growth and contribute to the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Research indicates that migrant workers, whether low- or high-skilled, play a crucial role in addressing labor shortages, leading to heightened productivity in specific sectors and studies show that migrants are likely to

become entrepreneurs due to their resilience and growth mindset cultivated through overcoming challenges associated with moving to a new country (Khadria, 2020, p. 144). It is also important to consider Germany's aging population as this demographic shift creates gaps in the labor market that the refugees can help fill.

Understanding integration and adaptation as a two-way process is a starting point. Refugees can make significant contributions, especially from a long-term perspective, however, without the collaborative efforts of the local population, these contributions wouldn't have the same positive impact. To foster this process, it is necessary or at least beneficial that places or settings of encounter exist that facilitate the reciprocal contributions and ultimately generate a mutual benefit. This is especially important in the short term, e.g., upon arrival and while staying in refugee shelters.

Mutual benefits in public space

Positive benefits for the local population, particularly on the meta-level or in city-wide contexts, are not always visible or individually tangible. This is in contrast to the neighborhood scale or personal experiences, where it is possible to observe the noticeable impact. The creation of places or happenings of mutual benefit requires generating settings of encounters. In order to understand the dynamics of meaningful encounters, it is important to determine how these encounters happen and what means

can be used to support this process.

In this context, experience in public spaces is important to create connections and relationships between locals and refugees. Landman (2020, p. 212), emphasizes the role of physical space in enabling more meaningful interactions and creating opportunities for more inclusive public space. Furthermore, the inclusivity of public space is influenced by factors such as who uses the space, where and when, and how this makes other users feel (ibid.).

Urban public spaces offer ideal opportunities for developing integration strategies and practices. Placemaking, beneficial for both the city and its neighborhoods, becomes essential as a physical intervention to bridge the gap between theory and practice. Here, public spaces take center stage for the development of integrative and inclusive districts. "Inclusive public space would allow for different parts or groups of society to be accommodated in public space or other words for social and physical inclusion" (Landman, 2020, p. 211). At the same time, it offers the chance to contribute voluntarily to creating activities or organizing events both for the neighbors and for the refugees. The latter follows a bottom-up approach, because contrary to existing initiatives they would get an opportunity to give back something to the community, even though most of them still don't possess a work permit and therefore could feel useless or bored. Likewise, this would create a positive impact on the local population.

Public space is a space open to everyone, offering a higher probability of meeting those different from ourselves than other types of space (Piekut & Valentine, 2017, p. 177). These spaces of encounter possess the spatial potential for interactions, getting together, and positive experiences. Since people from diverse backgrounds can mix and interact, the inclusivity of public spaces creates an ideal environment for inter-group encounters (ibid.) and these urban intercultural encounters can promote integration, community cohesion, and tolerance through meaningful contact (Ganji & Rishbeth, 2020, p. 217).

In order to maximize the benefits of public space design plays a crucial role. Density and proximity can often be positive (e.g., in markets) and the wider spaces of urban greenspace can provide a feeling of undemanding intercultural togetherness that can foster a sense of local belonging (Ganji & Rishbeth, 2020). The creation of places or activities for mutual benefit necessitates the generation of settings that act as focal points, naturally drawing people in through density, nearby frequently used facilities, or patterns of everyday day use among people. Integrating spaces into the daily routines of passers-by who naturally find themselves in those spaces. It is important to reach people who feel disadvantaged, fear, have prejudices, or avoid any encounters. They need to experience concrete benefits and encounters to break down the prejudices. Therefore, accessibility, a welcoming atmosphere, safety, proximity, and

inclusivity play an important role in attracting people.

Examples from Berlin like Hangar1 in Tempelhofer Feld, the Sport365 project in Görlitzer Park, and Paradies Gärten in Marzahn illustrate the successful transformation of spaces to promote social participation and community engagement. Initially, the unused aircraft hangar at the old airport has been transformed into a place for emergency shelters in 2015-17 and in that time Hangar1 was created to offer a space for activities for refugees (Hangar1, n.d.). Nowadays, the place is open for public use, providing free services such as sports, education, culture, counseling, library, and cafe offered by organizations and volunteers (ibid.). While the facility was initially created for refugees, now neighbors can also benefit from this space. This provides opportunities for both to encounter and connect with each other, which is a mutual benefit.

Similarly, the Sport365 initiative converted a disused football pitch into a low-threshold sports area with various programs (Plarre, 2023). Given the park's reputation as a drug hotspot with high criminality, resulting in segregation and racial profiling against people of color, the objective was to revitalize the park, enhance safety, and promote community engagement through sports (ibid.). This temporary, low-cost project can be extended or implemented in other parts of the city depending on the demand of neighbors and users.

Likewise, the Paradies Gärten project was planned and implemented by neighbors at three locations near refugee shelters in Marzahn-Hellersdorf (Paradiesgaerten Berlin, n.d.). Through various workshops, and seminars regarding gardening, the communal gardens are aiming for everyday encounters between new and old neighbors, and people from different cultures. The idea behind is simple: it requires only raised beds and a garden that generates an urban space of encounter.

Giving meaning to places in everyday interactions enriches the lives of its users and enhances its surrounding infrastructures and neighborhoods. At the same time, places of encounter and open spaces of flexible usage can create mutual benefits for the local population and refugees, and therefore help to reduce prejudices and create a stage of intercultural understanding. It can be a simple but important contribution to foster mutual integration and adaptation processes.

Mutual integration and adaptation in three steps

As a first step, locals adapt to the situation of refugee influx; they tolerate, accept, are informed and deal with new circumstances, while refugees are making an effort to be part of society.

As a second step, in the acculturation process, not just refugees but also locals **integrate** into a

new model of cultural society by participating in their environment. Because locals are also part of the integration process as they are affecting the level of refugee integration.

As a third step, for a successful integration and adaptation process it is conducive to create spaces of benefit and encounter in needed and strategical locations through collaborative design methods. The facility provides wished and voluntarily offered activities by the neighborhood to create mutual benefit and common learning spaces.

The concept involves a shift towards a bottom-up approach, which means a high degree in participation and contribution of the target groups instead of initiatives or authorities providing and operating. The focus is on creating common spaces of coexistence and collaboration run by both refugees and locals, thereby creating mutual benefits for the whole neighborhood. It is a model or toolkit which can be implemented easily in different areas in need.

4.
CASE STUDY:
MARZAHN

4.1 SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY

Marzahn was originally a rural area, situated in the northeastern part of Berlin. When Greater Berlin was established in 1920 by the incorporation of 93 surrounding towns, municipalities, and estates, the village became a part of the new borough of Lichtenberg and first in 1979, it was formed as a district (Ifland et al., 1999, p. 7). Compared to the other nearby villages, Marzahn had a big unused open space that had mainly served to dispose of Berlin's sewage and the existence of this vacant land played a crucial role in the selection of this location when it became increasingly urgent for the GDR (the German Democratic Republic) to fulfill the growing demand for housing (ibid.). The aim was to create as much living space as possible in a short time as a sociopolitical experimentation field (Ifland et al., 1999, p. 65).

Therefore, in 1980s the large-scale housing estates were built as a part of the socialist housing program of East Germany. With the goal of addressing "the housing issue as a social problem" by 1990, the plan was to construct one million apartments and establish the capital of Berlin in Marzahn (Ifland et al., 1999, p. 77). The construction model of Plattenbau, which refers to large-scale identical prefabricated concrete buildings, was a response to Western consumer culture to facilitate a form of private and public life that was challenging to attain in the dense inner cities of the GDR (Sammartino, 2018).

However, the rise of a soviet district with modernist Superblocks was against the ideology of

Kiez which is a colloquial term used commonly in Berlin, referring to a neighborhood with community feeling. Kiez culture fosters a sense of identity and a feeling of belonging among the neighbors in the anonymity of metropolitan cities. Similarly, the "Heimat" ideology which signifies homeland or belonging to a place, was seen as a rejection of the modernist urban planning of the East German regime. Marzahn was so far from this feeling of belonging due to its rational planning which had no memory from the past and its vast scale which could easily lead to social isolation and hinder the social interaction in the neighborhood.

Most of the residents moved into Plattenbau apartments from Altbau buildings, coming from the old prewar neighborhoods of other East Berlin districts like Friedrichshain or Prenzlauer Berg. Everything was new for them and in the progress of time, a need for Kiez culture increased among the residents as they missed the familiar characteristics of their kiez, such as sounds, sights, or "the smell of freshly baked bread from the neighborhood bakeries" (Sammartino, 2018, p. 89).

Consequently, Marzahn participated in the Socially Integrative City Program to upgrade and diversify the land and provide communal facilities. Nevertheless, after unification, Marzahn lost its value and one-fifth of its population while the rest was hoping to move out (Kil & Silver, 2006, p. 101-102). The resulting vacancies have created opportunities for immigrants in search



FIGURE 20
View of the first residential area of Marzahn
Source: Ifland et al., 1999, p.88; edited by author



FIGURE 21
High density housing in Marzahn
Source: Ifland et al., 1999, p.89; edited by author

4.2 SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND IMMIGRATION

of low-cost rent and as a result, Marzahn became “Plattenbau Ghettos” with high unemployment rates and a bad reputation (ibid.).

Marzahn had experienced a big influx of immigrants. Excluding the German-Russian migrants (Aussiedler und Spätaussiedler, which were counted as Germans) during the GDR, Marzahn was dominated by the Vietnamese (contract workers), ex-Yugoslavs, Russians, Kazakhs, and Poles compared to West Berlin with Turks. Like in other migrant neighborhoods, immigrants faced stigmatization, racism, hate crimes, and social exclusion (Kil & Silver, 2006).

However, in response to these conflicts, some multicultural initiatives have been initiated to enhance understanding and cooperation among different nationalities. They aim to empower migrants and refugees, enhance their language skills, and facilitate their integration into the labor market and wider society. In recent years, the district’s infrastructure and amenities were revitalized and improved to create a more attractive neighborhood.

Recognized for its post-war Plattenbau architecture, unemployment, and poverty, Marzahn is also associated with contemporary challenges such as right-wing extremism and racism, emerging in the context of an increasing number of refugees and immigrants in Marzahn. The selection of Marzahn as a case study is grounded in its socio-spatial patterns which encompass its both complex dynamics and potentials. By the government of Berlin, northern Marzahn is also identified as one of the five “problematic” areas in Berlin, due to high unemployment (especially of young people and migrants), school dropouts, and high migration rates, which are the common features of deprived neighborhoods (Kramer, 2013, p. 35). For this reason, these problematic areas like in Marzahn are part of a government program aimed at addressing socioeconomic challenges and promoting social inclusion.

The demographic dynamics of Marzahn-Hellersdorf present an interesting contrast to the overall demographic profile of Berlin. In comparison with Berlin, where 40% of residents have a migration background, the district of Marzahn-Hellersdorf stands out with the second highest proportion of Germans without a migration background, reaching 73.1% (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2023). Consequently, it holds the position of the district of the second lowest migrant population in Berlin, representing 26.9%, equivalent to 78,019 people with diverse countries of origin (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2023, pp. 70–71).

The largest resident populations with migration backgrounds are coming from the Former Soviet Union (26,444), Islamic countries (25,419), and the European Union (17,377) (Fig. 22) (ibid.).

However, despite its relatively low migrant population, Marzahn-Hellersdorf hosts the third largest refugee population at 12.26% in Berlin (Fig. 25) (LAF, 2023) after the districts Tempelhof-Schöneberg and Pankow. It is apparent that refugees are unevenly distributed. In some districts, the number is four times higher than in others, notably in eastern Berlin compared to the western part (ibid.).

With Berlin’s growing population, the government faces challenges in finding spaces to accommodate refugees, and attention has turned to districts on the outskirts like Marzahn-Hellersdorf, which offer more space, lower rents, and therefore higher capacities.

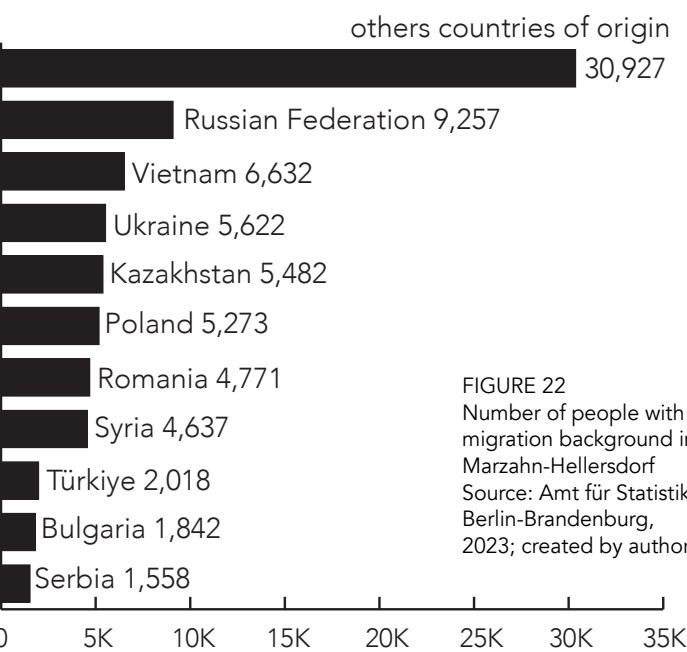
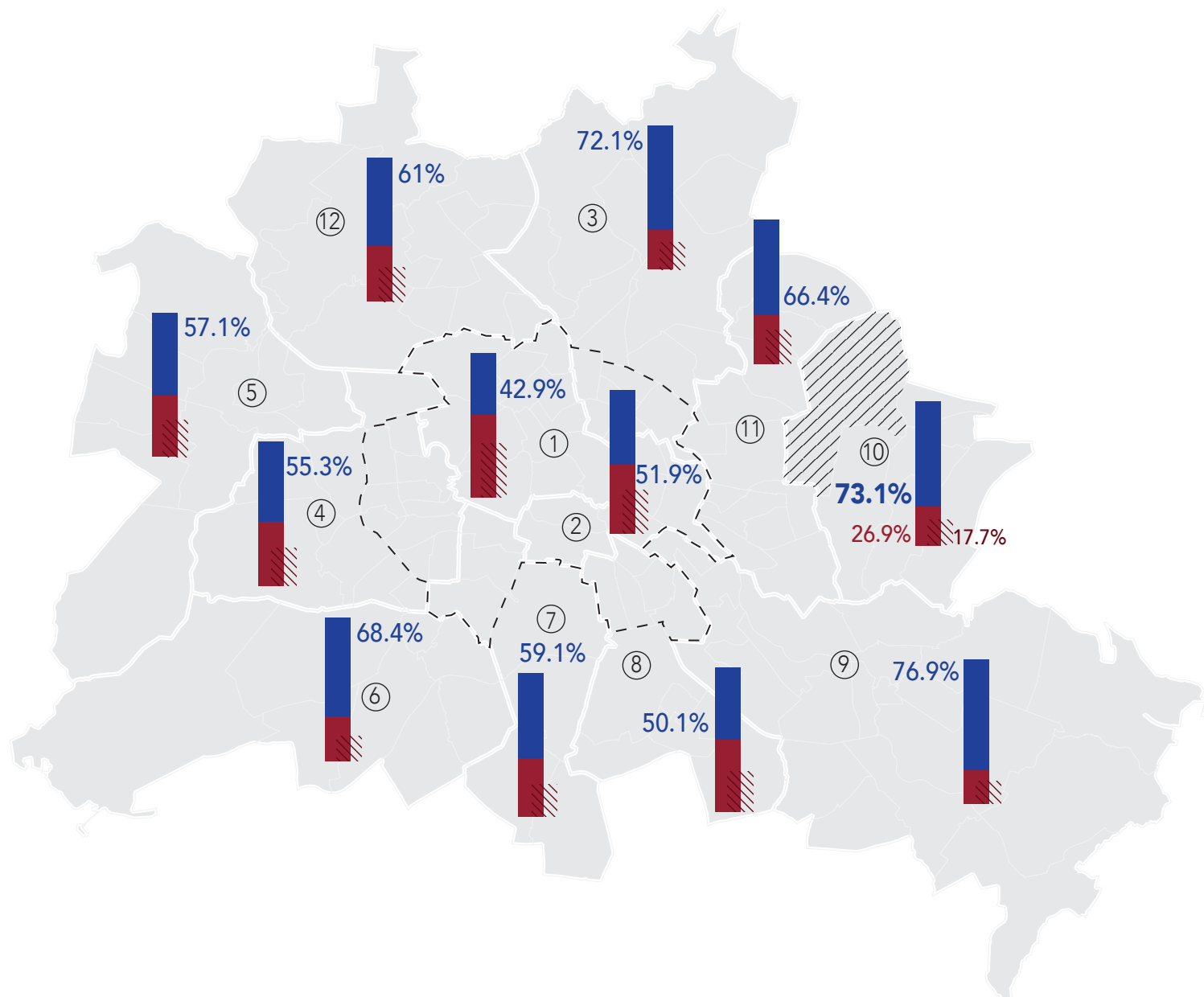


FIGURE 22
Number of people with migration background in Marzahn-Hellersdorf
Source: Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2023; created by author

Share of the population in Berlin, by migration background

FIGURE 23
Source: Amt für Statistik
Berlin-Brandenburg,
2023; created by author

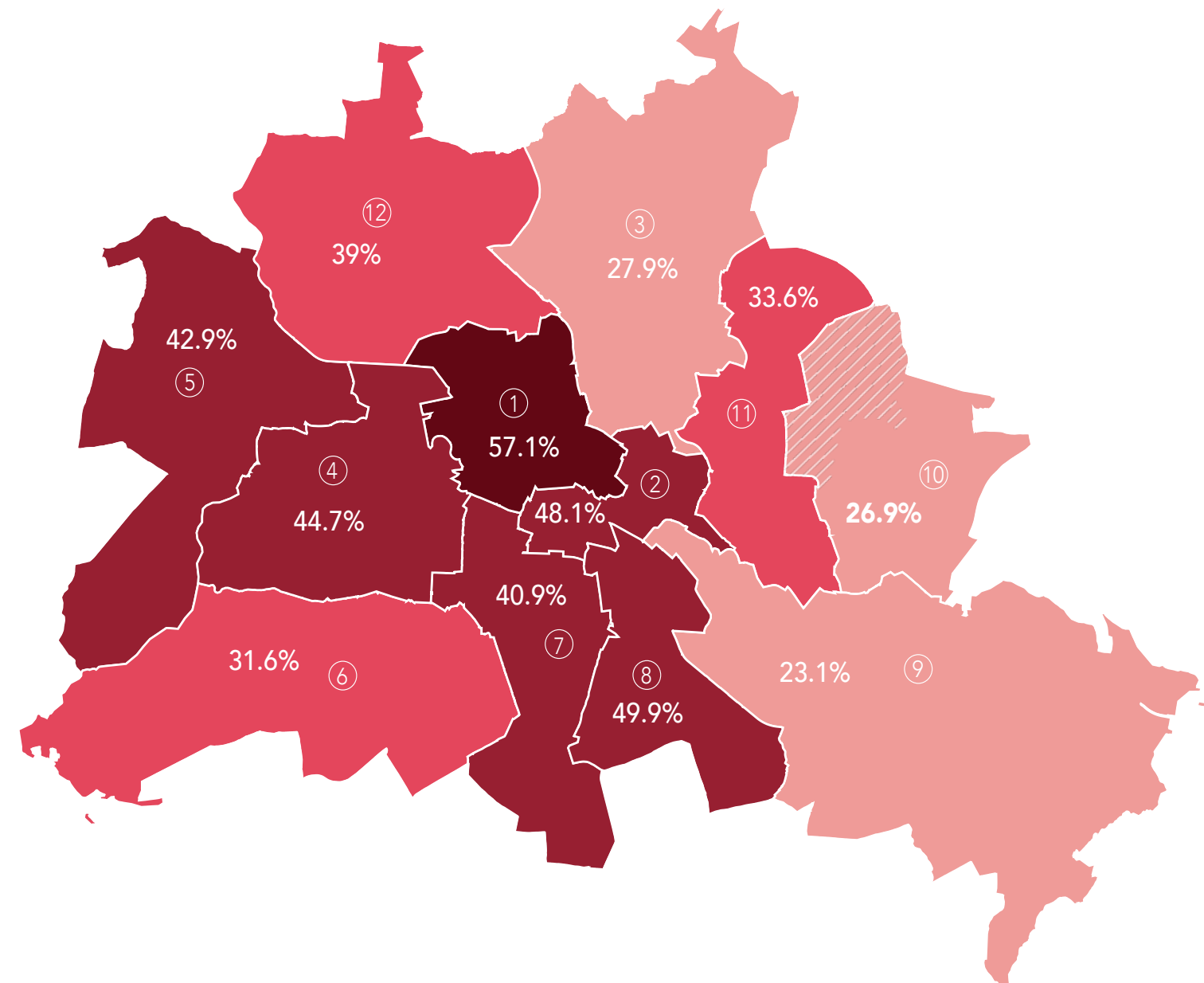


Marzahn
 Inner city border
 Germans without migration background 2,358K
 Germans with migration background 585 K
 Foreigners 924K

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Mitte | 5. Spandau | 9. Treptow-Köpenick |
| 2. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg | 6. Steglitz-Zehlendorf | 10. Marzahn-Hellersdorf |
| 3. Pankow | 7. Tempelhof-Schöneberg | 11. Lichtenberg |
| 4. Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf | 8. Neukölln | 12. Reinickendorf |

Share of inhabitants with migration background

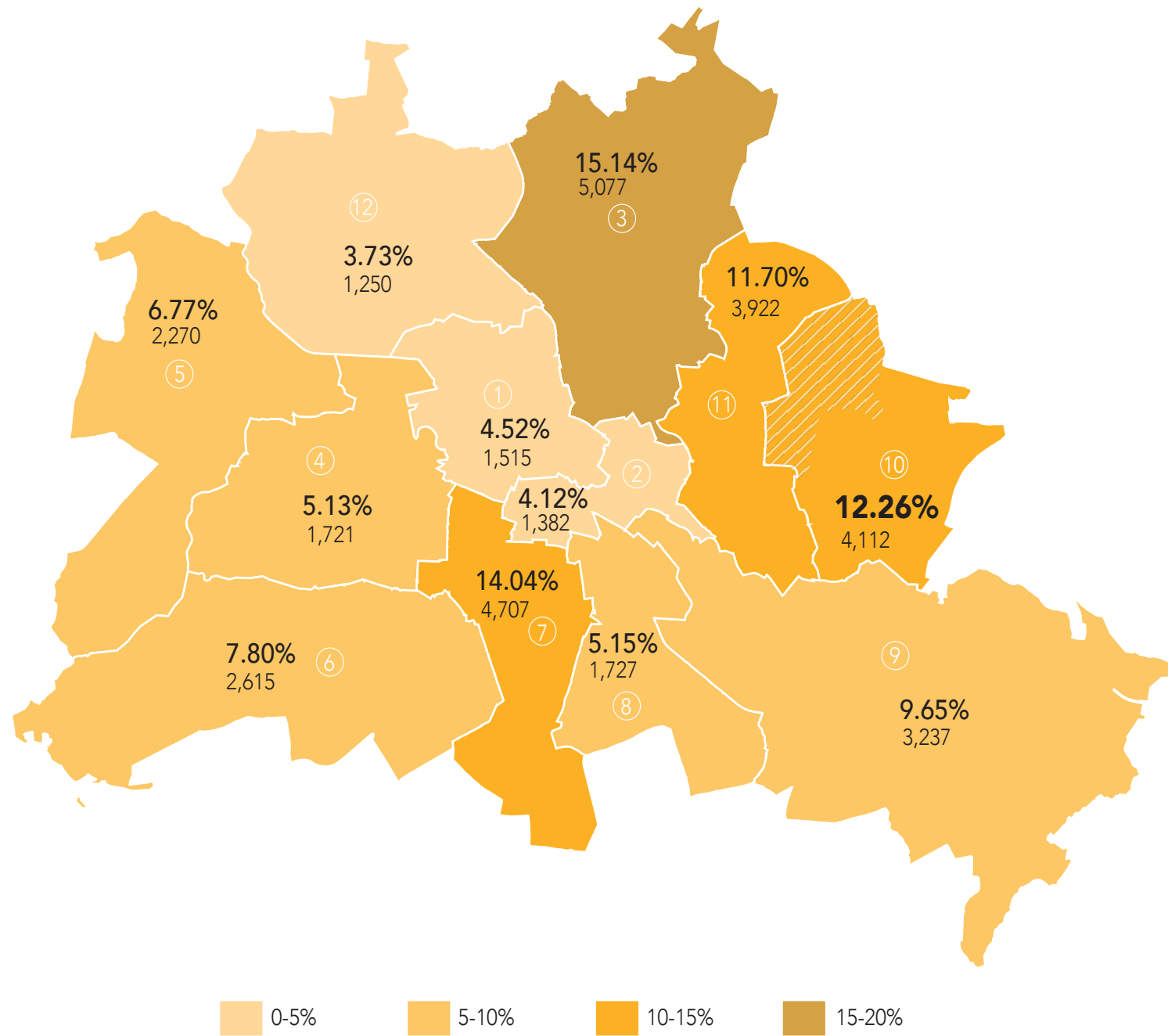
FIGURE 24
Source: Amt für Statistik
Berlin-Brandenburg,
2023; created by author



20-30%
 30-40%
 40-50%
 50-60%

Share of refugees 2023

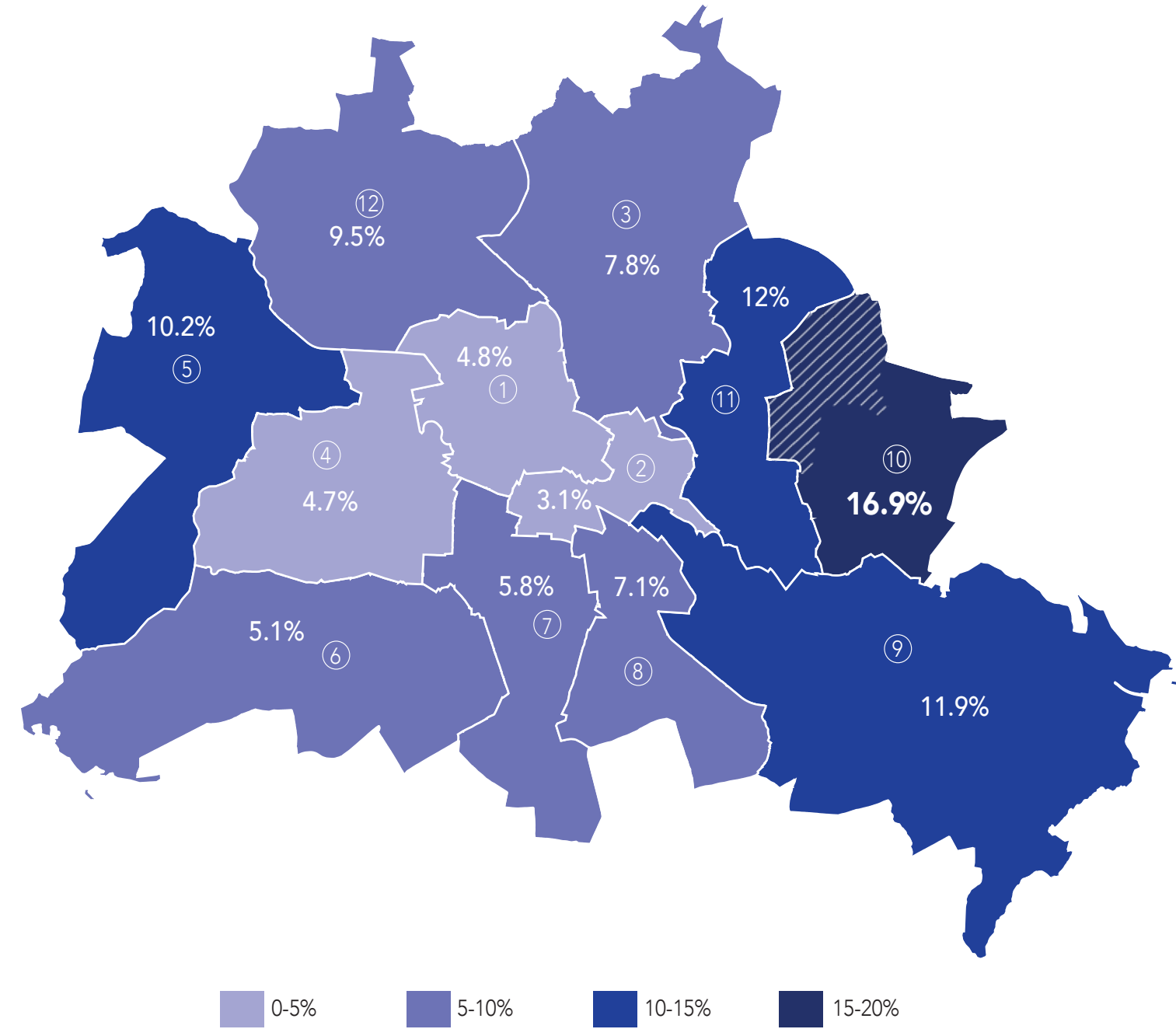
FIGURE 25
Source: LAF, 2023;
created by author



- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Mitte | 5. Spandau | 9. Treptow-Köpenick |
| 2. Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg | 6. Steglitz-Zehlendorf | 10. Marzahn-Hellersdorf |
| 3. Pankow | 7. Tempelhof-Schöneberg | 11. Lichtenberg |
| 4. Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf | 8. Neukölln | 12. Reinickendorf |

Share of AfD votes on the elections for the district councils 2021

FIGURE 26
Source: Der Landeswahlleiter
Berlin/Amt für Statistik
Berlin-Brandenburg, 2021;
created by author



On the other hand side, Marzahn-Hellersdorf is the district with the highest approval ratings for right-wing extremist attitudes in Berlin. In the 2021 district council elections, the AfD received the highest share of votes in Marzahn-Hellersdorf with 16.9% (Fig. 26) (Der Landeswahlleiter Berlin/Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2021).

Regarding the location of refugee shelters, it is apparent that the refugee shelters are located in or close to the areas where the AfD has the highest votes (Fig. 28) (ibid.; Bezirksamt Marzahn-Hellersdorf, 2023). Whether this observation is coincidental or a contributing factor to the fact that a large number of refugees reside in this area, influences neighbors to support a party that advocates stricter limitations on refugees.

Exploring the social inequality index in Marzahn provides valuable insights. This index, based on three indicators; unemployment, social welfare reception, and child poverty, is used to form a status index and a dynamic index (FIS-Broker, 2021). The map also demonstrates the areas with a low-status index, indicating a particular need for attention. It reveals an overlap between areas with high status of social inequality and those voting for AfD. My research has revealed that people supporting AfD or having a prejudice against refugees tend to be characterized as economically disadvantaged or with a lack of recognition of benefits associated with refugees.

The other graphic illustrates the number of extreme right and discriminatory incidents recorded by the Marzahn-Hellersdorf registration office in 2022 (Fig. 27) (Berliner Register, 2022). The data reveal an increase in reported incidents over the years, with notable peaks in 2016, coinciding with the 2015 refugee influx, in 2020 related to the COVID-19 pandemic, and in 2022. The majority of these discriminatory incidents involve propaganda, with 159 out of 290 reported cases, which is more than half, linked to “Der Dritte Weg”, which is a small Neo-Nazi party (Berliner Register, 2022, p. 8).

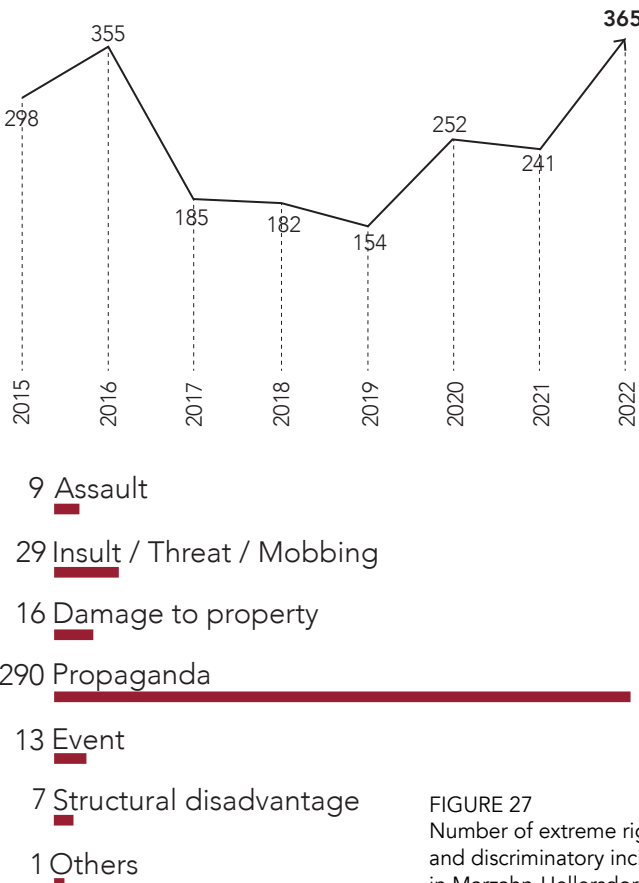


FIGURE 27
Number of extreme right and discriminatory incidents in Marzahn-Hellersdorf
Source: Berliner Register, 2022; created by author

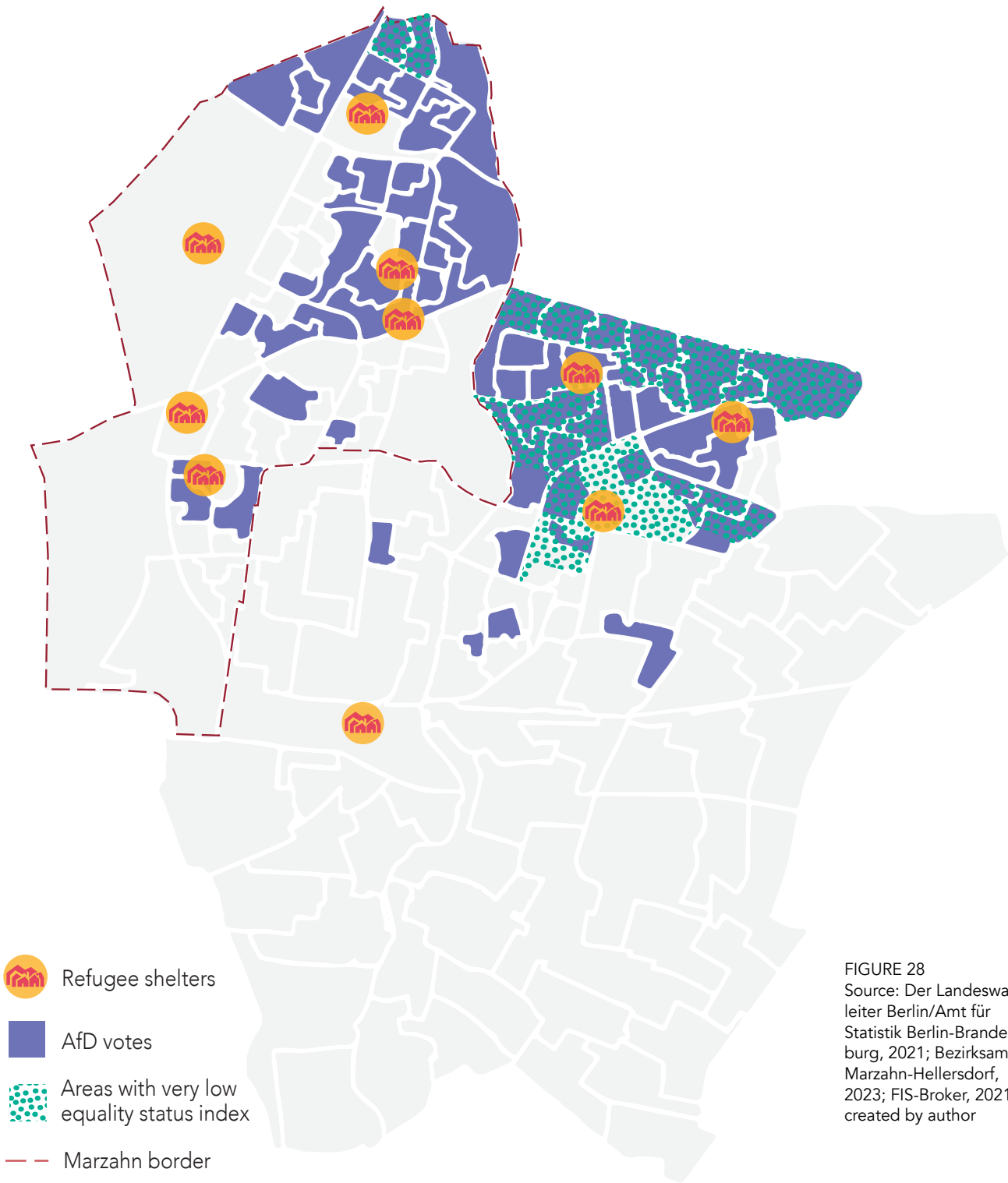


FIGURE 28
Source: Der Landeswahlleiter Berlin/Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2021; Bezirksamt Marzahn-Hellersdorf, 2023; FIS-Broker, 2021; created by author

In conclusion, these findings emphasize the urgency of spatial interventions on a neighborhood scale, identifying the areas with needs for action through socio-spatial analysis. The focus should be on exploring interaction and encounter spaces, especially in the identified areas that demand positive engagement. Furthermore,

the results raise questions about the neighbors’ approach to accommodating refugees, with areas in need of action representing an intersection of right-leaning voters, socio-economically disadvantaged individuals, and the refugee population.

4.3 NEIGHBORHOOD INITIATIVE BENN

Integration programs are often established through collaboration between government agencies, NGOs, local communities, and international organizations. In 2017, the Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing of Berlin implemented “integration management programs” in 20 different neighborhoods with large refugee accommodations (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung, Bauen und Wohnen, 2020, p. 4). This initiative emerged in response to escalating challenges faced by local authorities after an administrative collapse and demands of civil society in 2016 to deal with refugee influx (ibid.).

This Berlin-wide program, called BENN (Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften / Berlin develops new neighborhoods), is active in the socioeconomically disadvantaged areas. In Marzahn three groups are operating: BENN Teams of Marzahn-Süd, Blumberger Damm, and Wittenberger Straße. The research presented here was carried out in close cooperation with the BENN Marzahn-Süd and Blumberger Damm teams.

The Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing is pursuing four areas of action with BENN, which are intended to contribute to strengthening local democracy (Bezirksamt Marzahn-Hellersdorf, n.d.):

- Community building by meetings and active cooperation
- Empowerment and participation

- Communication and dialogue
- Networking and neighborhood development

BENN teams focus on fostering social cohesion in neighborhoods, encouraging exchanges between long-time residents and new neighbors. That is why they are organizing neighborhood events and festivals to promote encounters among neighbors from different nationalities and backgrounds, by aiming to strengthen mutual assistance and understanding. They also play a crucial role in helping refugees and displaced people get involved in shaping neighborhoods. Collaboratively, they tackle issues of discrimination and prejudice through training and educational initiatives. Their mission is to work together with the residents inside and near the refugee accommodations to develop good neighborhood relationships.

In addition, the collaboration with BENN also provided insights into their observations, experiences, their daily and strategic work as well as the data they compiled in the form of surveys, which will be presented in the next chapter.

5.
FIELDWORK AND
DATA COLLECTION

5.1 PHASE I (PRE-THESIS FIELDWORK)

5.1.1 WORKSHOP ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

The seminar “Integration through Collaboration” of TU Berlin focused on the integration of refugees in Marzahn. We endeavored to reflect the presence of the refugees in the city combining theoretical knowledge and practical enterprise. We worked in collaboration with the BENN Blumberger Damm Team for coordinating three activity workshops during summer 2022 in the neighborhood and these workshops allowed us to connect with around 90 people from different nationalities, ages, and backgrounds.

2. Goals

The objective was to engage with the neighborhood’s inhabitants, institutions, and the existing infrastructure to present an alternative perspective on integration, and to identify the wishes and needs of the refugees, thereby gaining a comprehensive understanding of their experiences within the neighborhood to activate neighborhood communities. Another goal was to facilitate the activation of the BENN community by creating a place of gathering to interview people and increase BENN’s survey participation.

3. Methods and tools

Through collaborative design methods and participatory activities in collaboration with BENN, multiple collaborative activities for refugees and

neighbors in the refugee shelter at Rudolf Leonhard Straße 13, Kiezpark, and the Impuls Young Center were organized. Collaborative activities involved emotion mapping, selection of postcards to get to know each other, wish box, treasure hunt game, creating fabrics to represent personal fragments and memories, and lastly organization of a barbecue event to engage people.

4. Findings

Activities:

The approach to individuals was one by one or family and friend groups for the conversations. However, communication was a challenge due to the lack of translators. Simple activities with easy tasks were because of the language barrier more successful, therefore, the mapping activity gave positive results. The handcraft, drawing, and game activities helped to catch the attention of the children, so the parents could focus more on our conversation.

Interviews:

Refugees spend most of their time in Marzahn. Otherwise, they go to the Sonnenallee to see friends and buy Arabic products or to Kreuzberg for worship. Sometimes they experience racist or anti-migrant acts around the shelter (graffities), in schools, and at the tram or S-Bahn stations at night (mostly verbal threats). The majority reported that they have experienced hateful behaviors since their arrival in Germany.

Eventually, this makes them feel unsafe and limits their daily activities in Marzahn.

General wishes:

Barbecue area, nearby sports center infrastructure with sports events for all ages, child’s care center, language learning center not just German but also for Arabic, grocery with Arabic food, therapy consulting center, support for apartment finding and education orientation advisor for students were mostly wished. Moreover, some qualified refugees, specialized in a particular subject or having completed vocational training in their home country wanted to help the community benefit with their skills.

5. Evaluation

The collaborative activities played a big role in the future decisions: approaching people one-on-one, creating a simple and easy activity, translating the task in multiple languages, and finding an interesting occupation for the children to catch their attention and to get full concentration of the parents. Furthermore, the results can be used for mapping out the areas where refugees experience fear or become targets of racist or anti-migrant actions, which is important for the socio-spatial analysis.



Workshop Day 1
Refugee shelter at Rudolf Leonhard Straße 13



Workshop Day 2
Kiezpark



Workshop Day 3
Impuls Youth Center

Source: Taken by author

5.1.2 BENN-SURVEY ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

The method evaluates a BENN-developed (Marzahn Süd and Blumberger Damm Teams) 50-question survey targeting the residents of Marzahn, including refugees living in the shelters to comprehend their perspectives and experiences in the neighborhood.

Interviews were conducted with 105 individuals (37 males, 52 females, and those whose gender was unspecified) residing in Marzahn, by BENN Teams during the period of 05.2022 – 10.2022. All the respondents were interviewed spontaneously in the public spaces, representing a broad age range from 12 to over 65 years, from 21 different countries living in Marzahn and the survey reflects both the view of long-term residents and recent newcomers to the district.

The survey explored Marzahn residents’ wishes, preferences, and concerns in the neighborhood. It also encompassed a range of questions, covering topics like public spaces, neighborhood environment, infrastructure, and leisure activities. It is important to note that not all the questions were answered by all the interviewees, therefore, the following result of the survey only gives an overview of life in the neighborhood.

2. Goals

The survey aimed to gather insights and perspectives from the local community concerning

their experiences, challenges, needs, and wishes to create an inclusive environment in Marzahn. Accordingly, the main objective of the survey was to activate the neighbors in Marzahn and provide their participation in the gathering activities and to inform people about the upcoming activities. Furthermore, it is also intended for assessing likes and dislikes and identifying missing elements in the neighborhood in terms of services and facilities.

3. Methods and tools

The 50-question survey contained both open and closed-ended questions, enabling efficient data collection and analysis for both qualitative and quantitative insights. Data was gathered through face-to-face interviews using printed questionnaires and tablets, occasionally with the assistance of a translator.

4. Findings

General findings:

Most of the interviewees described positively the nature and recreational areas in the neighborhood. In general, many people were satisfied with shopping facilities, transportation connections, and infrastructure. However, when it comes to social cohesion and public life, the experiences reported by the residents varied significantly. While some described the neighborhood as friendly, others perceived it as distant, sometimes hostile, and lacking a vibrant street life.

The negative aspects included concerns about partial pollution of public spaces and incidents of bullying or harassment. Respondents frequently mentioned the inadequate provision of cultural offers, limited nightlife options, the poor housing conditions, emphasizing the need for improvement in these areas. In addition, some highlighted the need for increased police presence to enhance safety and security

Social interaction in the neighborhood:

Neighbors with migration background usually maintain social contacts with people who speak the same language. In general, they don’t tend to have German native speakers as friends. The only way how some get in touch with them is at school through their children, when walking the dog in the park, at football or other team sports, in their leisure time or at work. People in the shelter mostly have contact to others of the same shelter. Neighbors greet each other when they see each other on the street or at the train station, but no deeper conversation and no more than a greeting.

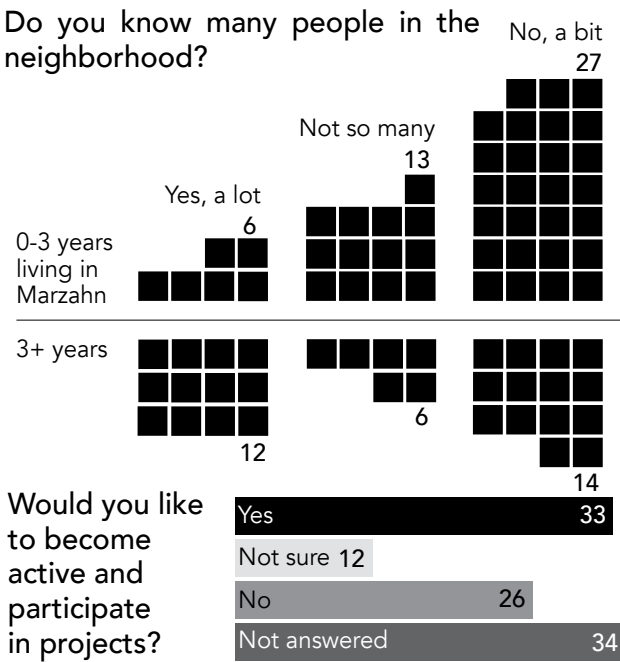
Participation:

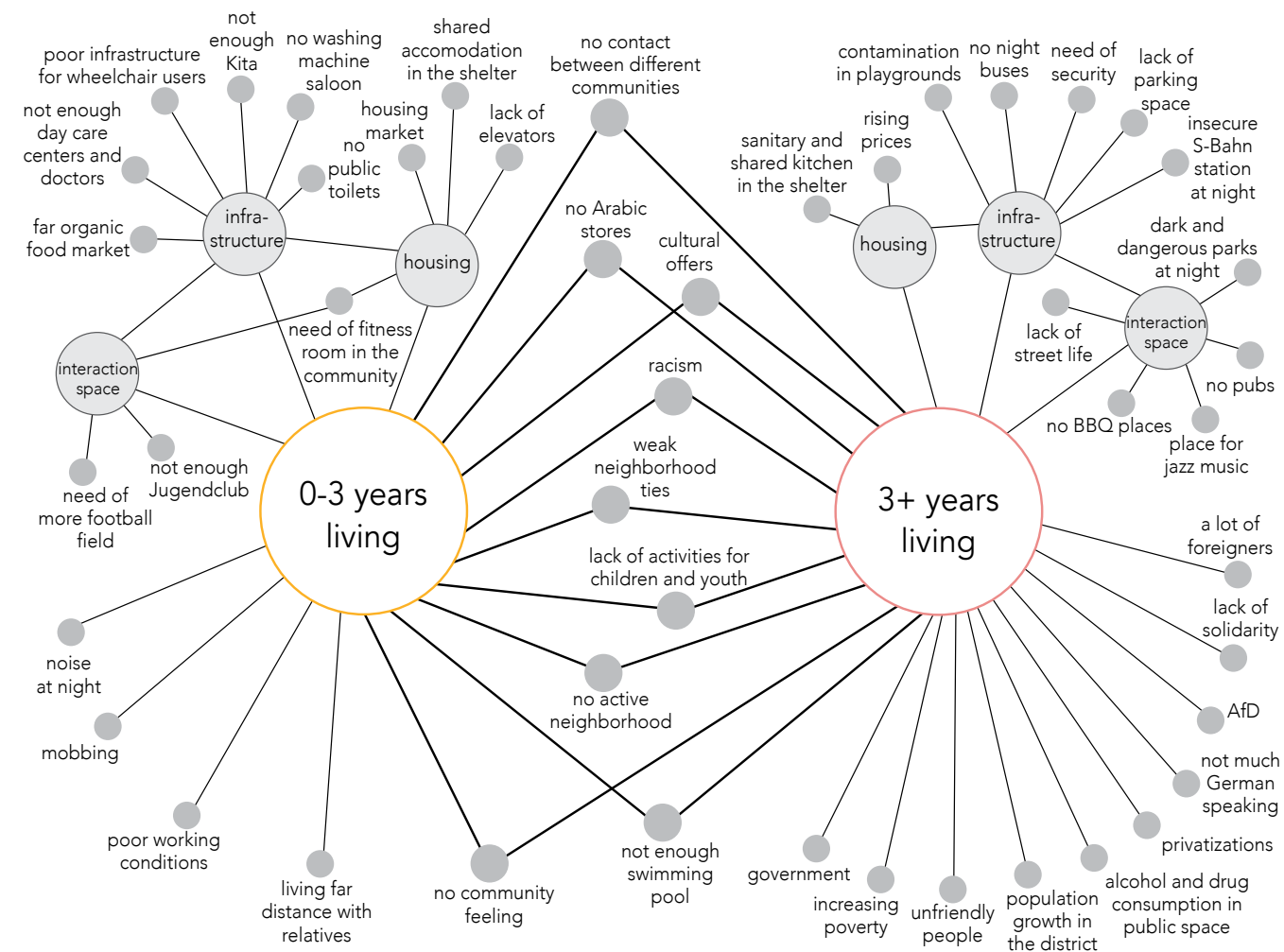
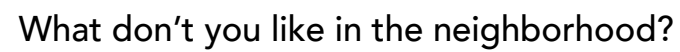
Most of the people would neither participate nor organize neighborhood projects as they do not have time for it or are busy. According to the survey questions regarding the BENN budget for small projects “How would you personally use these funds?”, most of the interviewees did not have any idea. Others were keen on using the budget for political projects, language cafes or integration places, sports activities, rubbish

collection actions, handcraft projects for children, bakeries, and offering traditional food.

5. Evaluation

A quantitative survey was used to gain insights into a heterogeneous population. The survey provided an understanding of their likes and dislikes, what they would like to change or miss in the neighborhood, how, where and if they interacted with other neighbors, and whether they would participate in BENN activities and the reasons why. All this information served as a basis for structuring my forthcoming interviews without repetition of the same questions. Thus, a list of activities was drawn up to be included in the next methodology, so that the participants could vote for their preferences. In addition, mapping the places they frequent helped me to make connections between these areas and the features of the design proposal.





Do you regularly visit certain places or leisure activities in the neighborhood?



105 
PARTICIPANTS

25 German

18 Afghan

8 Ukrainian

4 Syrian

3 Moldovan

2 Russian

2 Armenian

2 Bosniak

2 Iraqi

2 Latvian

1 Nigerian

1 Turkish

1 Bulgarian

1 Libyan

1 Pakistani

1 Kazakh

1 Eritrean

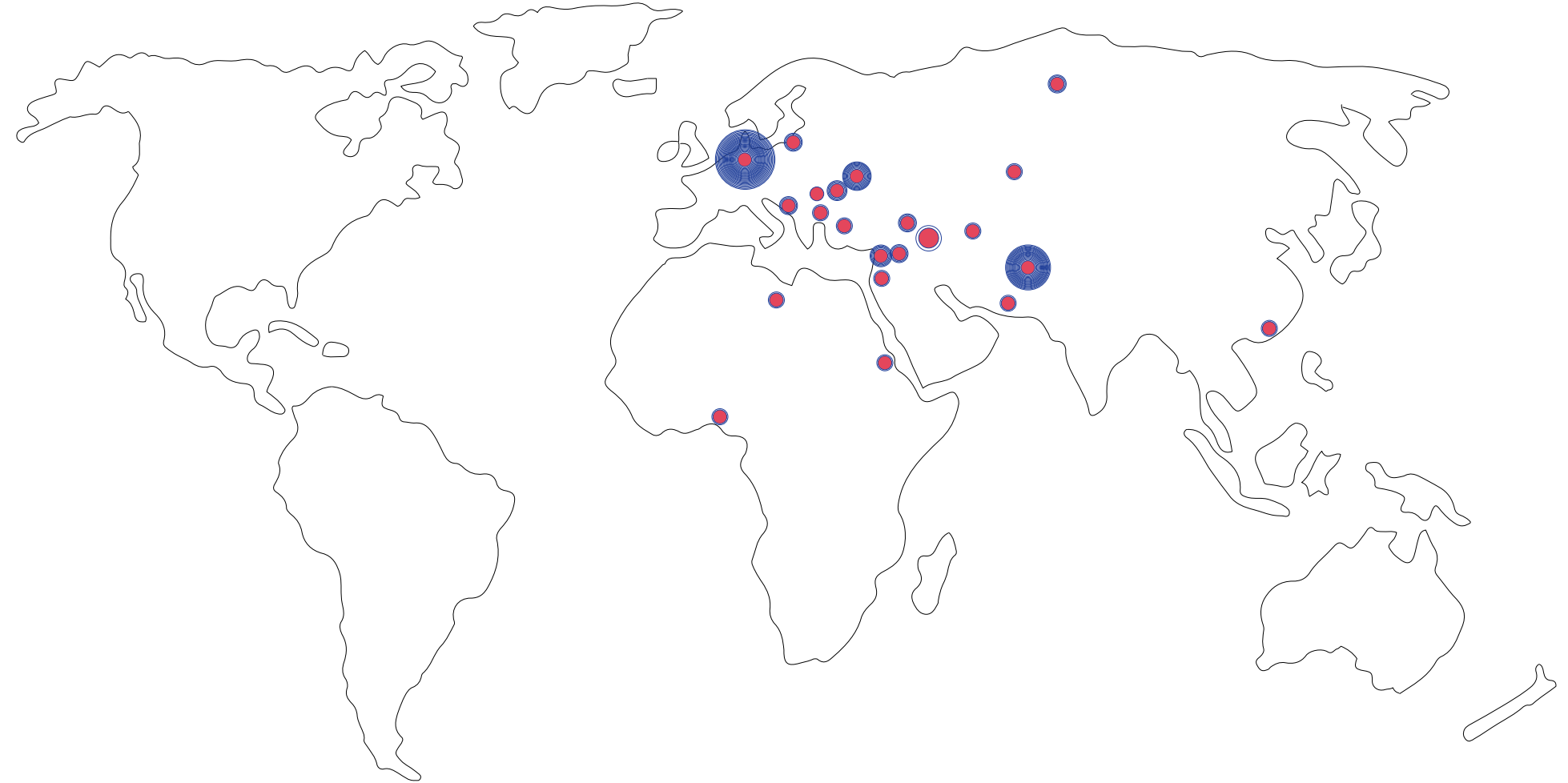
1 Palestinian

1 Romanian

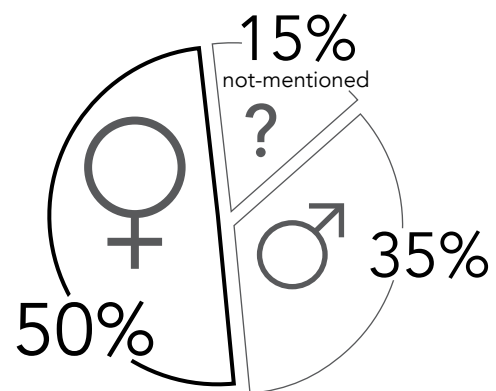
1 Turkmen

1 Vietnamese

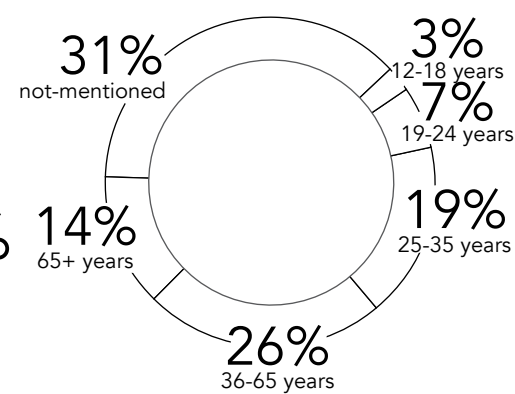
26 not mentioned



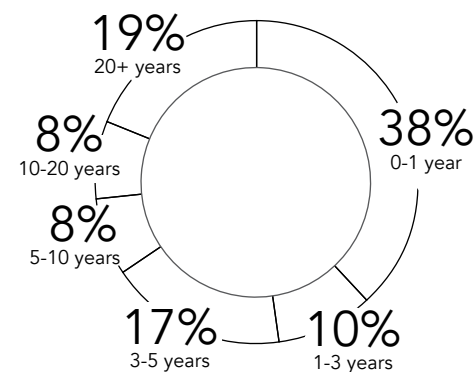
GENDER



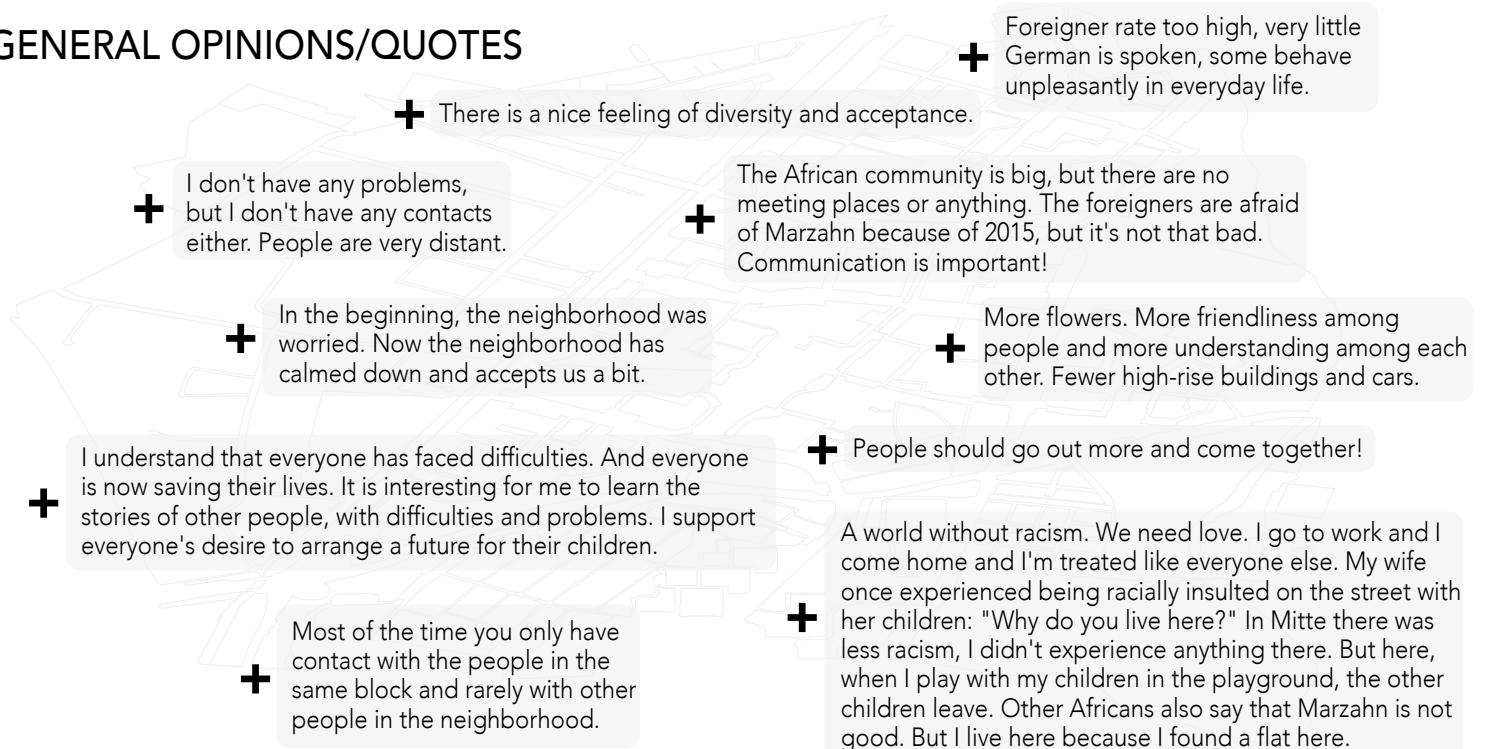
AGE GROUP



LIVING IN MARZAHN



GENERAL OPINIONS/QUOTES



5.2 PHASE II (FIELDWORK AFTER LITERATURE REVIEW)

5.2.1 INTERVIEW WITH BENN

1. Introduction

Open ended interviews were conducted with the BENN Marzahn-Süd and Blumberger Damm teams, forming the foundation of this comprehensive exploration. The collaborative aspect of the initiative is in accordance with the common goals regarding my research topic, which aim to promote social cohesion in the district and encourage interaction between long-time residents and newcomers, including people from different backgrounds such as refugees. The initiative addresses issues of discrimination and prejudice as well and regularly organizes neighborhood activities, where I could conduct interviews with the participants of these events.

2. Goals

The goal is to examine their organizational structure, exploring the legal and financial perspectives related to project realization, and gaining insights into the overall functioning of the initiative. Another aim is to uncover their strategies, challenges, potentials and needs along with understanding their perspectives on my project proposal and gain access to their survey data conducted with neighbors.

3. Methods and tools

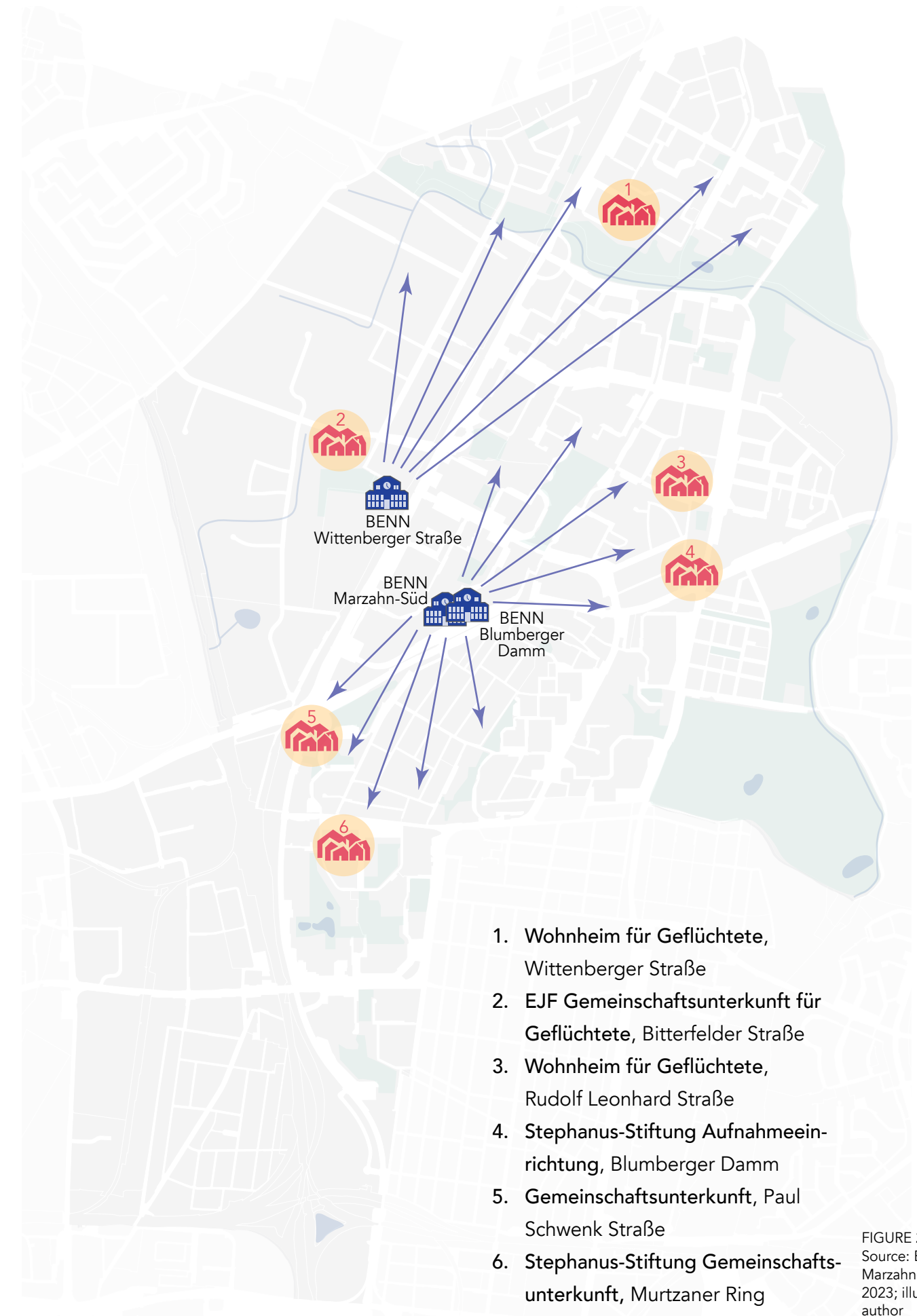
Interviews serve as a qualitative research method, involving one-to-one, unstructured (open-ended) conversations with the BENN team. A series of questions is employed to

gather information about their structure, goals, strengths, weaknesses, and challenges.

4. Findings

Challenges:

- Their biggest challenge is the legalities and bureaucracy, which consume a lot of time. Non-team members, who are not in the organization team, cannot easily organize an event for the neighborhood due to bureaucratic reasons. Furthermore, the bureaucratic system with outdated digital tools delays procedures.
- Funding is insufficient for civic initiatives and staff in the organizations despite high demand.
- There is a tendency towards simple, short-term voluntary commitment instead of long-term participation.
- Despite weekly events like Sprachtreff or gatherings at Café Murtzan, participation predominantly consists of refugees and elderly retired German women. Therefore, they want to reach out to other profiles as well, like young and intellectual people, families, and especially precarious milieu groups and conservative neighbors, without migration background.
- Their outreach strategies involve flyers and posters on the walls of refugee shelters, social media platforms like Facebook and Neben an (a neighborhood platform), a contact database, or neighborhood events. However, it is also not their real goal to reach all the



1. Wohnheim für Geflüchtete, Wittenberger Straße
2. EJF Gemeinschaftsunterkunft für Geflüchtete, Bitterfelder Straße
3. Wohnheim für Geflüchtete, Rudolf Leonhard Straße
4. Stephanus-Stiftung Aufnahmeeinrichtung, Blumberger Damm
5. Gemeinschaftsunterkunft, Paul Schwenk Straße
6. Stephanus-Stiftung Gemeinschaftsunterkunft, Murtzaner Ring

FIGURE 29
Source: Bezirksamt Marzahn-Hellersdorf, 2023; illustrated by author

neighbors due to their events' limited capacity for space and people. Because of the small space available for community use, they can organize for small and intimate groups of 10-15 people.

- The approach tends to be not just bureaucratic but also top-down, as refugees are not involved in organizing events.
- There is a lack of programs for women and cooperation between refugee accommodations and youth leisure facilities.

Potentials:

- There are already a lot of offers for the neighborhood.
- In Marzahn, there are a lot of existing green and open spaces as meeting places.
- There are some very committed volunteers and a broad range of counseling services in various languages.
- They have a big network with other organizations in the neighborhood.

Structure of BENN:

Projects within BENN are initiated through the application of an idea by external partners and its funding is based on the idea's societal impact, community benefits, and financial feasibility. If the idea is approved by BENN, the Senatsverwaltung (Senate Administration), and the Bezirksamt, the project gets funded with up to 6.000 euros (Fig. 30).

Commissioned executing organizations (Träger) like PAD (präventive, altersübergreifende Dienste im sozialen Bereich gGmbH) apply to manage BENN, seeking permission from the Senat. PAD also hires a team of four people to run project implementation and maintain contact with the Senat. However, the crucial decisions are made by the Senat and Bezirksamt.

5. Evaluation

Learning from the challenges and needs of BENN contributed to shape my design proposal and program. For instance, key aspects involve: a) developing strategies to engage neighbors with prejudices b) encouraging their participation with refugees and immigrants c) illustrating the desired shift from a top-down to a bottom-up approach d) empowering refugees to organize and operate the events with a long-term perspective.

Collaboration with BENN is an important aspect for a design proposal adapted to their needs, such as creating a space that BENN can also use for their activities or offering more programs for women. This collaborative effort aims to create a mutually beneficial relationship between BENN's initiatives and my design proposal.

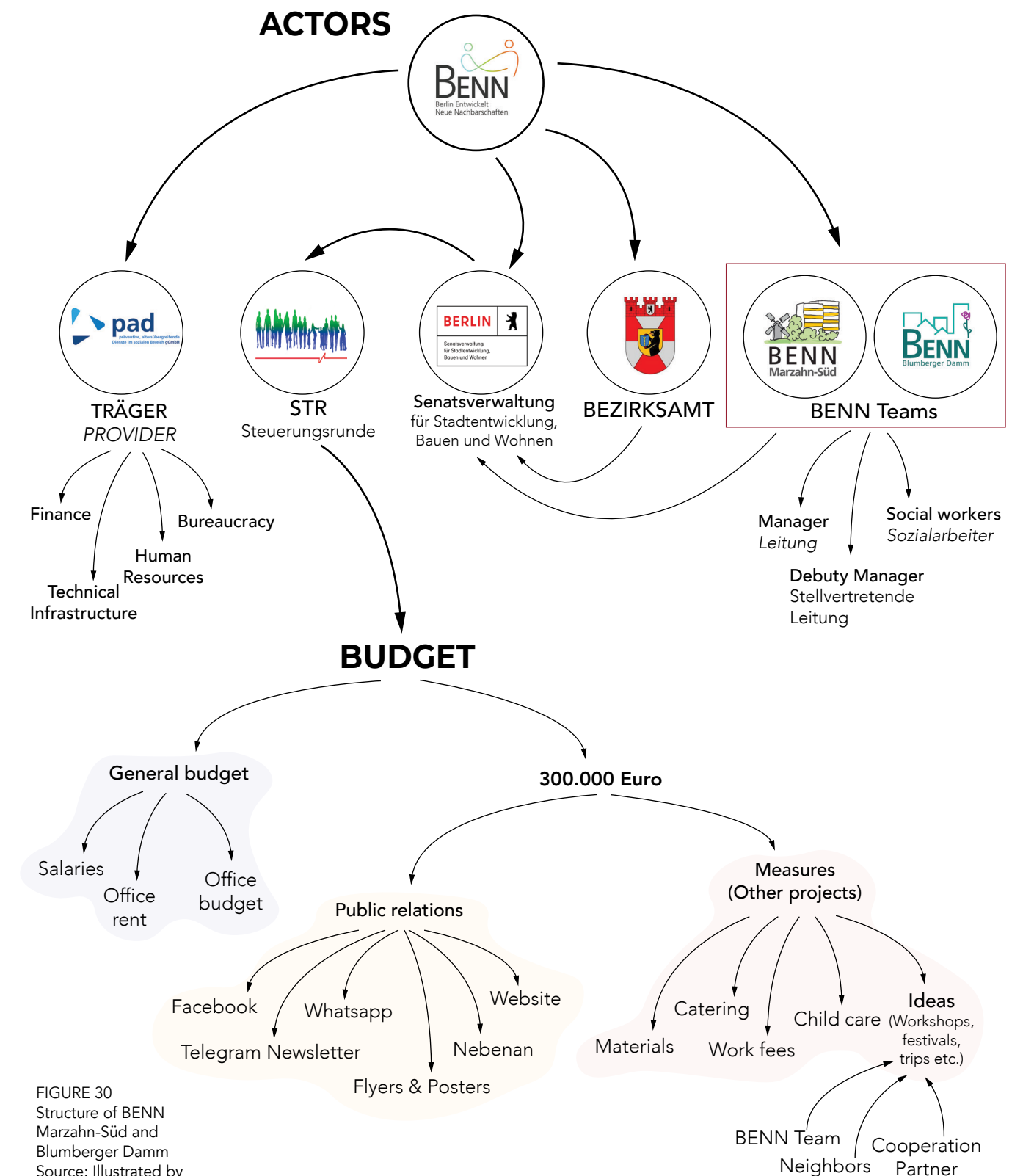


FIGURE 30
Structure of BENN
Marzahn-Süd and
Blumberger Damm
Source: Illustrated by
author, based on
interviews with BENN

5.2.2 SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

Social media has become a powerful tool with a growing number of active users, who share their personal experiences, express their opinions and sentiments, and engage in dialogue. Here, the research in this section involves using text data derived from Facebook as a platform that offers a potentially rich source for qualitative research. The platform provides valuable insight into people's profiles by observing the number of likes, comments, and emotions expressed under posts, as well as ensuring that the latest discussions in groups on the current situation can be followed.

The analysis involves the evaluation of comments on posts related to the refugees in public Facebook groups of neighbors living in Marzahn, with a focus on two prominent groups called "Wir Hellersdorfer und Marzahner" with 31,000 members and "Marzahn-Hellensdorf LIVE - News. Informationen. Blaulicht" with 19,000 members. The data was accessed on 25.11.2023 and the comments were evaluated up to 7 years ago.

2. Goals

The objective is to gain an understanding of the thoughts and concerns of refugees in the Marzahn-Hellersdorf community by analyzing a sample of comments on refugee-related posts to gather valuable insights into public opinion, attitudes, and behaviors in the refugee context.

The second goal is to reach the Marzahn residents who do not participate in the neighborhood or refugee gathering events organized by BENN or neighbors as they avoid interacting with refugees. The same profile of people was probably not encountered via my further interviews as this was mainly conducted at events where the interviewees were already willing to engage with refugees. This unreached group represents an important target group for integration in the space of encounters, with the aim of changing their negative perception of refugees.

Lastly, another objective is to obtain more genuine perspectives from residents of Marzahn, as people can express their thoughts more freely and fearlessly on social media compared to face-to-face interviews. It is interesting to see how people behave online, as the platform would encourage them to share their ideas more honestly on a sensitive topic as they would feel less pressure to conform to societal expectations.

3. Methods and tools

This qualitative research provides an understanding of the audience's sentiments and opinions. The manual desk research approach was applied using relevant keywords on the topic of refugees and foreigners in Facebook groups of the community of Marzahn-Hellersdorf. Finally, the comments were analyzed by highlighting

important keywords or sentences and clustering them into specific themes such as economic inequality and competition, security concerns, risks to identity, legal disparities, and expectations for integration and gratitude.

This method allowed to collect a large sample of diverse data to analyse public opinion and it helped to reach more people's sights. However, as the outcome excludes the perspectives of those who choose not to comment or are not active on social media or in the mentioned Facebook groups, the data is not representative.

4. Findings

During the analysis, attention was directed towards identifying the feelings and expressions of prejudice and thoughts of the local population in Marzahn concerning refugees.

Economic inequality and competition:

There is a concern among residents that refugees are occupying more spaces in the neighborhood, restricting their access to social facilities such as the sports hall assigned to the refugees. Residents generally compare their socio-economic situations with those of refugees.

For instance, refugees receiving various forms of assistance make some residents feel unsupported. They believe that refugees' children secure spots in Kitas or schools, while their own children face challenges. Residents also feel an

inequality, as they state that refugees would be given free accommodation, food, clothes, and electricity without having to work or pay taxes for it, where the residents and their children have to work hard for providing these necessities. Furthermore, there is dissatisfaction that taxes are paid to ensure the comfort of refugees, while the local population, e.g., the homeless, would not receive comparable support.

Security concern:

Some residents express unwillingness to send their children to the kindergarten or to school near to a refugee center, as they are afraid of refugees, by associating them with terrorist attacks and criminality. Some have the impression that the neighborhood is becoming more and more like a ghetto. Under a post about a robbery committed by a person with a migrant background, some people make discriminatory and xenophobic comments.

Risk to identity:

Some neighbors are afraid of losing their German culture and national identity. They perceive a lack of integration among refugees and assume that refugees want to abolish German culture and values, citing examples such as their diet preferences. For example, they mention that their children no longer have pork on the menu at school canteen and suspect that the caterer is Muslim. Some express the fear that Germany's existence is threatened by the increasing number of foreigners.

Chapter 5

Economic competition and inequality

Dan ...
Helfen ok, aber unseren Kindern und Vereinen die Plätze wegzunehmen, nur weil die Regierung zu nix fähig ist, das ist schon Schikane !!!!! Meine Meinung

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 7

Kessy ...
Diese Familie kann lachen. Na klar , lebt auf unsere Kosten..brauchen nicht arbeiten, Essen umsonst, Bekleidung umsonst, Miete - Strom, kostenlos, So ein sorgloses Leben wünsche ich meinen Kindern auch, Aber nein...
Meine Kinder gehen arbeiten damit sie Miete, Essen, Kinder usw. bezahlen können, denen wird nix geschenkt ...
ein schönes Wochenende an alle arbeitenden Menschen 🙄

4 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 21

Uwe ...
Für Sanierung und renovierung von kitas und schulen ist kein geld da aber dafür... Echten Flüchtlingen soll geholfen werden aber nicht auf kosten der deutschen bürger und schon garnicht auf kosten der kinder

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 13

Christin ...
Das sollen Notlösungen sein, keine Dauerherberge. Und sie Steuerzahler finanzieren dies alles. 🙄 Für Flüchtlinge, von denen ein großer Teil gar keiner ist, was man dank angeblich verlorener Pässe nicht nachweisen kann, geht das. ABER die eigenen Bürger schlafen auf der Straße. Schönt Euch alle, die diese Vorgehensweise gut finden! Schön unter dem Deckmantel des veralteten Asylrechts....

3 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 10

Patrick ...
Für Flüchtlinge werden wieder mal wohnungen gebaut. Für die allgemeine bevölkerung mal wieder nicht. Langsam lächerlich.

5 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 14

Heiko ...
Hallo Katrin ich bekomme als deutscher nichts in den Hintern geschoben muss wie jeder andere Steuern zahlen damit unsere ausländischen einwanderer alles vom Amt in den goldenen geschoben bekommen und lachen uns Deutsche dafür noch aus.sorry kein Verständnis dafür

3 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 8

Peggy ...
Wenn ich sowas lese könnte ich kotzen sorry. 🙄 Hier gibt es genügend Leute die eine größere Wohnung suchen, brauchen und sie nicht bekommen. Ich helfe normalerweise gern aber nicht wenn die eigenen Bürger unter den, zuwandern leiden auf Grund von zu wenig Platz. Schiebt die Migranten ab die kein Recht haben hier zu sein und wir haben genug Platz für die ukrainischen Flüchtlinge. Helfen schön und gut aber nicht auf alle Kosten.

1 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 22

Fieldwork and data collection

Edeltraud ...
In den Nachrichten haben sie gesagt das sie die Täter haben, es waren fluechtlingen. Und ich möchte nichts von dem verlieren was ich hab. Die länder haben so viel Hilfe bekommen und haben alles verkommen lassen. Die denken bei uns wächst das Geld auf den Bäumen, wir müssen nichts dafür tun außer zu ernten.

3 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 12

DIE-HELLERSDORFER.BERLIN
Ukrainische Geflüchtete sollen auch in der Zossener Straße unterkommen
Momentan kommen in der Hauptstadt Tag für Tag mehr als 10.000 ukrainische Kriegsflüch...

80 211 Kommentare 8 Mal geteilt

Gefällt mir Kommentieren Teilen

Top-Kommentare ▼

David ...
Und was ist mit denen , die schon seit Jahren warten ? Wieso ist unsere Regierung für alle Menschen im Ausland da , nur für ihr eigenes Volk nicht? 🙄

1 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 46

Sven ...
Es wäre schön, wenn in gleichem Maße auch für die eigene Bevölkerung neue bezahlbare Wohnungen gebaut werden...

5 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 5

Maria ...
Ich könnte so kotzen. Bin frisch gebackene Mutter und hab jetzt schon Angst um meine Tochter und nun stellen sie ein eins genau vor die Haustür. Frauen und Kinder können sich hier bald nicht mehr allein auf die Strasse trauen. Und solch eine " relativ unbeschwerte" Kindheit wie wir sie hatten werden unsere Kinder auch nicht erleben dürfen. Dieses Land ist kurz vor dem Ende...

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 1

Security concern

Nicole ...
Na zum Glück wird mein kleiner nicht in die wittenberger zur kita gehen ...

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen

Celine ...
meine geht da zur Schule!!! Das ist einfach zum kotzen!!!

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 1

Nicole ...
Kann ich verstehen meiner geht extra ab Sept drei Bahn Station weiter zur kita ist mir lieber als das ich gleich um die ecke ein platz habe aber ein heim vor der kita...

Sabrina ...
Toll... Albert-kuntz str. direkt neben der kita... 🙄 will die hier nich haben...

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 5

Thomas ...
Logo verwandeln wir Marzahn/Hellersdorf in Gettos. Wie ich bemerke, hat man vergessen, das wir das schon mal hatten und absolut nicht funktioniert hatte. Nicht umsonst hatte Hellersdorf den schlechten Ruf (da Wohnen nur Nazis). Was keiner Weise berechtigt war, so wie die sich hier aufgeführt hatten.

5 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 5

Eli Wittenberger str. Ist ne Kita und ne schule... Damit die unsere Kita Plätze bekommen... weil wir doch so viele haben... Und sie sollen keine weiten Wege haben... Da fällt mir nur ein das wir jeden morgen 10 km und 30 min mit dem Schulbus zur Schule fahren müssen...weil für unsere Schule keine Geld da ist... Aber 700 Millionen für Flüchtlingsunterkünfte... Irgendwann müssen wir hoffen nen Schulplatz für unsere Kinder zu bekommen...weil zu wenig Plätze sind... Ich sage nur so viel... Schweinefleisch gibt es bei uns schon nicht mehr... Wobei wir nicht mal Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund haben (noch nicht)...weil der Inhaber der Futterfirma Moslem ist... Wo ist da die Integration? ??Wenn wir nicht mal mehr selbst entscheiden können ob wir Schwein essen oder nicht!!!

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 8

Marci Na ist doch super 👍👍 ... die einen bekommen wir net los, also nehmen wir gleich die nächsten auf.. Deutschland eigentlich noch deutsch? Frag für ein Freund 🧑🏿

1 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 27

Antje Wir werden ausgerottet 🙄

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 2

Ivo Peinlich , andersrum der Fall , angenommen ein Asylant , beleidigt , zückt Messer , spuckt Frau an , schiebt auf seine Kindheit ach was weiss ichohne Wortetraurig zweierlei Maß ...jetzt kann mich der Mainstream verbessern

4 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen

Manuel Sagen wir es mal so falls er gefunden wird. Er wurde straffrei davon kommen die Fachkraft 🧑🏿

23 Wo. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 2

Kuschelbär Achmet, Mohamed, und Zwiebelmett 🍌

23 Wo. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 5

Marius Ist das nicht der gleiche .Der letztes Jahr versucht hat ,eine Frau zu vergewaltigen ?

23 Wo. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 2

Robert Marius Herder die sehen alle ähnlich aus 🙄

23 Wo. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 8

Nadine Sascha Paderborn

Aber die Ausländer dürfen, als Gäste, mit ihren Protzkarren Amok fahren, Kinder und Mädchen umbringen und Attentate begehen? Das ist also in Ordnung, aber wenn wir uns dagegen wehren, sind wir gleich rechts. Wenn den Ausländern was passiert, wird gleich demonstriert. Aber wenn Deutsche und andere Nationalitäten auf dem Weihnachtsmarkt umgebracht werden, ist keiner auf die Straße gegangen und das kann es doch nicht sein. Die haben hier doch Narrenfreiheit.

3 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 9

Risk to identity

Legal Disparities

Michael Sorry aber das ist doch alles krank. Wie oft werden wir meine Frau und ich abends von Asylanten beschimpft sogar bespuckt. Als wir Dir Polizei gerufen hatten würde uns gesagt sie können nichts machen wir sollen wo anders mit dem Hund lang gehen. Das ist gerecht , aber einer der sich wären tut bekommt eine Strafe . Sorry armes Deutschland

4 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 18

Emilie durchmischung von kulturen hat ja sinn u.kann etwas sehr bereicherndes sein, setzt allerdings voraus , dass dazu auch der wille besteht!! ...hier geht es doch schon lange nicht mehr um 'kulturelle bereicherung', sondern um 'abschöpfung' wirtschaftlicher hilfen...in welchem europäischen land wird in dieser art u.weise in flüchtlinge investiert? ohne rückzahlungsvereinbarungen/ gegenleistung...und dann braucht man auch keinen frust auf andere eu-nachbarländer haben, dass diese keine f.aufnehmen, weil es nirgends soviel steuerfinanzierte unterstützung gibt wie bei uns! also doch völlig klar, dass diese leute alle (sollten sie anderswo "verteilt" worden sein) bei nacht u.nebel sich über die grüne grenze (den pass verlierend) nach 'D' flüchten!! hier wären europäische finanziell gleiche unterstützungsstandards absolut wichtig !! u.würde sich sicher für unser land wirtschaftlich aber auch gesellschaftlich entlastend auswirken !!

3 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 1

Nicole Die wissen es eben nicht zu schätzen so machen die jedenfalls den Eindruck. Am besten Haus und Hof vor die Füße schmeißen und fertig

2 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 8

Maria Sorry aber solche Kommentare wie von dir Nancy tun echt weh vor und Ignoranz.. .. Sollen erst urteilen wenn es passiert ist? Warum erst dann warum? Jeder versucht doch vorher sein Leib und Seele zu beschützen wo es nur geht oder läufst du mit Absicht auf eine Autobahn und " wir schauen mal was passiert" sorry aber was ist das bitte für eine Aussage... Und einige andere aussagen hier genauso... Wanderte aus wenn du Angst hast.. Du verlässt auch deine Wohnung wenn jemand bei klingelt und sagt so ab jetzt wohne ich hier? Und das nächste... Ich würde auch nicht in Kriegsgebiet bleiben .. Ne aber da wo ich hinkomme würde ich mich anpassen und dankbar sein und dieses Land und ihre Kultur nicht mit Füßen treten... Außerdem.. Warum kommen hauptsächlich Männer? Warum nicht als erstes frauen und oder Kinder.. Diese KuscheltierWerfer - Gutmenschen Fraktion geht mir echt auf die nerven.. Ach ja und wie auch hier in den Kommentaren erwähnt... Alles Nazis ne.. !? Ihr macht es euch einfach...befasst euch nochmals mit der Bedeutung dieses Wortes bevor ihr es benutzt... Es sind viele Leute hier die einfach nur sagen das sie Angst haben..m

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen 7

Sandra Ich traue mich Abends nur noch ungern alleine raus. Bald wird es noch schlimmer. Ich könnte schon kotzen wenn ich höre, das in manchen Gegenden diese "Flüchtlinge" frisch gebaute Familieneigenheime beziehen. Von dem ganzen Markenklamottenscheiß will ich gar nicht erst anfangen. Die sind undankbar und wollen immer mehr, besonders das wir uns denen anpassen. Ist nicht drin.

7 J. Gefällt mir Antworten Teilen Bearbeitet 2

Expectation for others' integration and gratefulness

Legal disparities:

There is an impression of legal inequality, as some residents believe that a refugee does not have to pay a fine for the same offense, while they get high penalties. They also do not feel supported by the protection of the state, as some of them state that they have not received any help from the police in the event of an attack. On the contrary, they believe that refugees receive direct help in similar cases.

Expectations for their integration and gratitude:

Some neighbors assume that refugees exhibit less willingness to integrate, and they are missing gratitude for what they get from the state. Also, some believe that refugees exploit state resources or the welfare state for economic gain. Consequently, some neighbors anticipate reciprocity by expecting the refugees to give something back to the society and the country and not just be “consumers”.

5. Evaluation

Analyzing comments enabled an understanding of the fear among neighbors and identifying fear zones, such as schools, kindergartens, or the areas close to refugee accommodations. The comments are generally full of discriminatory judgments and prejudices and often contain inaccurate or unreliable information or sources. They also reflect highly subjective opinions, mainly aligned with right-extremist ideologies. Regardless of whether the information is accu-

rate or not, their feelings of anger and fear are evident and real. Neighbors express concern about their own situation, first comparing themselves to the refugees and then blaming and holding both the refugees and the government responsible. This could be due to a sense of inequality, injustice, and prejudice.

The map (Fig. 31) demonstrates the fear zones of refugees and locals in Marzahn. In some areas, the fear of each other intersects, which illustrates mutual fear. It figures as an indicator for areas with a high demand for programs aiming to decrease prejudices and therefore feelings of fear or insecurity. Creating places of encounter and mutual benefit can contribute in this sense not just to an improvement of the atmosphere in this specific zones, but also would establish a safe place.

SPACES OF MUTUAL FEAR

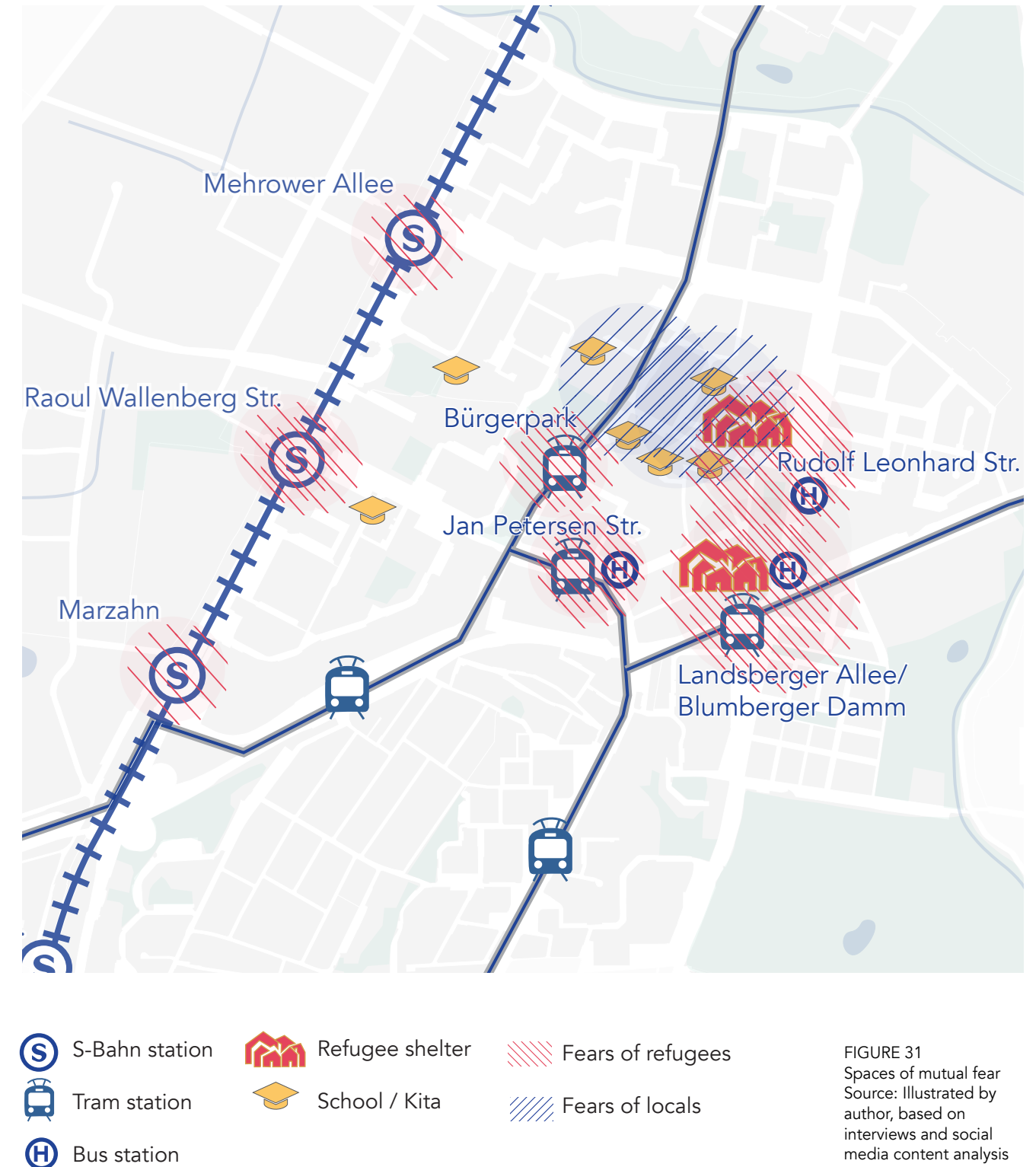


FIGURE 31
Spaces of mutual fear
Source: Illustrated by
author, based on
interviews and social
media content analysis

5.2.3 COLLABORATIVE INTERVIEW

1. Introduction

After analyzing BENN-survey, the list of activities and recreational preferences expressed by neighbors and refugees was gathered. This led to the introduction of 15 new activities.

In practice, a collaborative and participatory design approach is adopted in which various interest groups such as BENN and the residents of Marzahn are involved in the collective decision-making process. This inclusive process allows them to contribute to a joint project proposal. Consequently, the design decisions are influenced by different actors and therefore involve the possible future profiteers.

2. Goals

In order to achieve the overall goal of creating a space for encounter, mutual benefit, and knowledge exchange, an initial understanding of the challenges and barriers hindering the neighbors' interactions was crucial. The aim was then to identify the activities they would like to participate in and would like to see in the neighborhood, and those they would like to offer or be willing to organize, both in terms of participation and contribution to mutual learning.

3. Methods and tools

The research method is based on semi-structured interviews using a qualitative approach with the help of a short questionnaire to get to know each other and learn more about their experiences.

Then, a collaborative design method as a visual survey was conducted with a simple task assigned for participants during the activity selection phase. They were asked to vote for their selected activities by placing stickers on a printed A3-size sheet with a list of 15 activity drawings. This method was chosen for an easier and more comprehensible interview process.

The stickers were of two different colors: blue indicating their interest in participation in the activity and pink signifying their willingness to organize or offer the activity. Ultimately, the activities they are interested in should be matched with those they can offer voluntarily. If there is a high level of agreement for an idea, this can be translated into a proposal for the design of the facilities for the neighborhoods.

A) STRUCTURE BASE OF THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

PART I - Getting to KNOW

1. Gender, age, migration background?
2. How long are you living in the neighborhood?
3. What is your job/profession?

PART II – CHALLENGES and barriers to interaction

1. Have you had any interactions with other neighbors/refugees or participated in neighborhood events?
2. If yes; can you describe it? If not, why?
3. What are the challenges and barriers of this interaction?

PART III – NEEDS to create a space and benefiting from it

1. What do you usually do in your free time in the neighborhood?
2. What would you wish to have in the neighborhood as a facility or activity space?
3. Which activities in the picture would you like to participate? Why?

PART IV – ACTIONS defining space and activity management

1. What would you like to have in terms of services, workshops, learning space, and consultation?
2. If you had time, how could you imagine contributing to the neighborhood? Which activities would you like to organize?
3. If there would be an opportunity, would you like to contribute to the neighborhood voluntarily?

In case the participant didn't have time or was not willing to be interviewed, the first step got wrapped up and proceeded directly to the second step.

B) ACTIVITY SHEET LAYOUT (to be filled)

1. Interview at Marzahner Promenade

Kunst Art 	Kiosk Shop 	Theater 	Tanz Dance 	Bibliothek Library
Kino Cinema 	Musik Music 	Grillen Barbecue 	Fitness 	Gärtnern Gardening
Mannschaftssport Team sports 	Spiele Games 	Kochen Cooking 	Fahrradwerkstatt Bike repair 	Holzwerkstatt Wood workshop

● An welchen Aktivitäten würden Sie teilnehmen?
Which activities would you like to participate in?

● Welche Aktivitäten würden Sie mitorganisieren?
Which activities would you like to organize?

2. Interview at Murtzaner Ring 68

Kunst Art هنر هنر Искусство	Kiosk Shop کiosk کiosk Kiosk	Theater Theater تئاتر تئاتر Teatr	Tanz Dance تاراج تاراج Nhảy Nhảy танец танец	Bibliothek Library کتابخانه کتابخانه Thư viện Thư viện Библиотека Библиотека
Kino Cinema سینما سینما Cinema Cinema Kino Kino ci nê Kino	Musik Music موسیقی موسیقی Âm nhạc Âm nhạc Музыка Музыка	Grillen Barbecue باربیکی باربیکی Tiệc nướng ngoài trời Tiệc nướng ngoài trời Barbecue Barbecue	Fitness Fitness لیاقة بدنية لیاقة بدنية Sức khỏe thể chất Sức khỏe thể chất Fitness Fitness	Gärtnern Gardening باغبانی باغبانی Làm vườn Làm vườn Садоводство Садоводство
Mannschaftssport Team sports فرقی ورزشی فرقی ورزشی Чемпионатный спорт Чемпионатный спорт đội thể thao đội thể thao командный вид спорта командный вид спорта	Spiele Games بازی ها بازی ها Trò chơi Trò chơi игры игры	Kochen Cooking آبپز آبپز Nấu nướng Nấu nướng Gотовка Gотовка	Fahrradwerkstatt Bike repair تعمیر دوچرخه تعمیر دوچرخه Xử lý xe đạp Xử lý xe đạp ремонт велосипедов ремонт велосипедов	Holzwerkstatt Wood workshop ورقة الخشب ورقة الخشب Холщевая мастерская Холщевая мастерская Dеревянная мастерская Dеревянная мастерская

● An welchen Aktivitäten würden Sie teilnehmen?
Which activities would you like to participate in?
У яких заходах ви хотіли б взяти участь?
У яких заходах ви хотіли б взяти участь?
Những hoạt động nào bạn muốn tham gia?
Những hoạt động nào bạn muốn tham gia?
В каких мероприятиях вы хотели бы принять участие?
В каких мероприятиях вы хотели бы принять участие?

● Welche Aktivitäten würden Sie mitorganisieren?
Which activities would you like to organize?
Які заходи ви хотіли б організувати?
Які заходи ви хотіли б організувати?
Bạn muốn tổ chức những hoạt động nào?
Bạn muốn tổ chức những hoạt động nào?
Какие мероприятия вы хотели бы организовать?
Какие мероприятия вы хотели бы организовать?

The second exercise sheet is improved by adding translations in six additional languages based on the proportion of nationalities in the reufugee accomodation in Murtzaner Ring.

C) ACTIVITY SHEET (with the results)

1. Interview at Marzahner Promenade

Kunst Art 	Kiosk Shop 	Theater 	Tanz Dance 	Bibliothek Library
Kino Cinema 	Musik Music 	Grillen Barbecue 	Fitness 	Gärtnern Gardening
Mannschaftssport Team sports 	Spiele Games 	Kochen Cooking 	Fahrradwerkstatt Bike repair 	Holzwerkstatt Wood workshop

● An welchen Aktivitäten würden Sie teilnehmen?
Which activities would you like to participate in?

● Welche Aktivitäten würden Sie mitorganisieren?
Which activities would you like to organize?

2. Interview at Murtzaner Ring 68

Kunst Art هنر هنر Искусство	Kiosk Shop کiosk کiosk Kiosk	Theater Theater تئاتر تئاتر Teatr	Tanz Dance تاراج تاراج Nhảy Nhảy танец танец	Bibliothek Library کتابخانه کتابخانه Thư viện Thư viện Библиотека Библиотека
Kino Cinema سینما سینما Cinema Cinema Kino Kino ci nê Kino	Musik Music موسیقی موسیقی Âm nhạc Âm nhạc Музыка Музыка	Grillen Barbecue باربیکی باربیکی Tiệc nướng ngoài trời Tiệc nướng ngoài trời Barbecue Barbecue	Fitness Fitness لیاقة بدنية لیاقة بدنية Sức khỏe thể chất Sức khỏe thể chất Fitness Fitness	Gärtnern Gardening باغبانی باغبانی Làm vườn Làm vườn Садоводство Садоводство
Mannschaftssport Team sports فرقی ورزشی فرقی ورزشی Чемпионатный спорт Чемпионатный спорт đội thể thao đội thể thao командный вид спорта командный вид спорта	Spiele Games بازی ها بازی ها Trò chơi Trò chơi игры игры	Kochen Cooking آبپز آبپز Nấu nướng Nấu nướng Gотовка Gотовка	Fahrradwerkstatt Bike repair تعمیر دوچرخه تعمیر دوچرخه Xử lý xe đạp Xử lý xe đạp ремонт велосипедов ремонт велосипедов	Holzwerkstatt Wood workshop ورقة الخشب ورقة الخشب Холщевая мастерская Холщевая мастерская Dеревянная мастерская Dеревянная мастерская

● An welchen Aktivitäten würden Sie teilnehmen?
Which activities would you like to participate in?
У яких заходах ви хотіли б взяти участь?
У яких заходах ви хотіли б взяти участь?
Những hoạt động nào bạn muốn tham gia?
Những hoạt động nào bạn muốn tham gia?
В каких мероприятиях вы хотели бы принять участие?
В каких мероприятиях вы хотели бы принять участие?

● Welche Aktivitäten würden Sie mitorganisieren?
Which activities would you like to organize?
Які заходи ви хотіли б організувати?
Які заходи ви хотіли б організувати?
Bạn muốn tổ chức những hoạt động nào?
Bạn muốn tổ chức những hoạt động nào?
Какие мероприятия вы хотели бы организовать?
Какие мероприятия вы хотели бы организовать?

4. Findings

a) First Interview at Marzahner Promenade

Location and date:

The first interview took place on Saturday, May 13, 2023, between 2-6 pm. It was “Tag der Nachbarschaft” which is the neighborhood festival that happens every year. There were various participatory activities and a varied stage program in the Marzahner Promenade.

Also, some social organizations such as BENN, “Bündnis für Demokratie und Toleranz e. V.”, Fridays for Future, Bagfa, etc. had set up their booths to inform neighbors about their purposes, offer them some fun activities related to their goals and to engage with other organizations. Marzahner Promenade was therefore full of families with children, people of all ages and nationalities who were living in the neighborhood.

Participants:

The interviews were conducted with a total of 20 people, including 6 males and 24 females in the age range of 5 to 80 years. Although a balanced ratio of male and female respondents was targeted, more women were willing to participate and showed interest in the research questions. In addition, children and teenagers were included in the interviews to understand the impact of migration for all generations in terms of adaptation.

Participants were generally long-term residents of Marzahn, many with a migration background, including some who initially arrived as refugees but now have their own flat in the area. Apart from that residents who have lived in the neighborhood for a long time were also encountered. Most of the interviewees were open to conversation. The children in particular were more enthusiastic than the adults when it came to engaging with pictures and placing stickers. Overall, adults were generally cheerful and talkative during the interviews.

Interviews:

The interview language was mostly German. However, a few immigrants who were not proficient in the language had their children translate for them. In such cases, the series of pictures helped understand the activities and ease the interview process.

Based on my impressions and the feedback from neighbors, they were generally satisfied with the neighborhood because of green spaces, parks, playgrounds for children, and its connectivity to the city center. The presence of commercial facilities, the calm atmosphere, and the safety of children were also highlighted positively. However, residents wished for more cultural activities, such as art events and theater. Some residents also expressed their wish to better know their neighbors.

Most Germans were willing to participate in bike repair and wood workshops and have a kiosk in the neighborhood. Children were keen on selecting team sports with ball games, music, and dance. Families and men expressed a need for a barbecue area in the neighborhood, as the lack of this infrastructure requires them to make far distances. Women, on the other hand, showed interest in gardening, cooking, and sports activities.

However, there was limited enthusiasm for volunteering to organize the activities. Either they did not have enough time, or they were not skilled in the shown activities. Despite this, few people wanted to take part in the organization. For instance, one Iraqi man offered voluntary assistance for wood and construction work, sharing his contact information for future collaboration. Some Germans were already volunteering to teach painting and were interested in collaboration. Few men working full-time mentioned weekend availability for organizing barbecue events. Certain women expressed interest in coordinating gardening and cooking events.



Marzahner Promenade

Source: Taken by author

b) Second interview at Murtzaner Ring 68

Location and date:

The second interview took place on Thursday, June 1, 2023, from 3 to 7 pm at the “Murtzaner Ring 68” shelter. It was the opening of the Café Murtzan, also known as “Nachbarschaftscafé” in the shelter’s garden. On the same day, it was “Kindertag”, so there were different games for children, as well as free food, drinks, and activities.

“Café Murtzan” is a project of BENN that aims to create a communal space once a week, bringing together neighbors and refugees to coordinate different activities for elders, families, and children.

The shelter and activity area had the advantage of being easily accessible and visible, as there was no fence or wall to access the garden. The atmosphere was lively, full of chatting people and children playing.

Participants:

The interviews were conducted with a total of 18 people, including 6 males and 12 females in the age range of 7 to 72 years old. During the interviews with the people who attended this event, I met only one long-term female resident with a migration background and one elderly German woman who was actively involved in coordinating activities and facilities for refugees.

The majority of participants at the event were refugees.

Interviews:

This time the stickers were distributed on the activity pictures almost homogeneously. To avoid language barriers; texts, and questions in eight different languages, including German, English, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Russian, Arabic, Persian, and Pashto were provided, by considering the nationality share in the shelter. Apart from a few people, most of them did not read the text on the activity sheet and some were not familiar with reading, even in their native language. Therefore, translation assistance was necessary for Afghan participants.

Refugees, in general, expressed interest in participating in the activities, although they did not have time for organizing or even for attending them, especially for parents who had to balance attending German courses, caring for their children, and managing household responsibilities. Beyond this, the unemployment rate was quite high due to their low proficiency in the German language or lack of work permit.

Some of the interviewees were young and middle-aged people who were enthusiastic about learning German and finding a job. However, they were dissatisfied with not having any German friends or acquaintances in the neighborhood. Their social contacts were limited to the time they spent with their children, often in the park. A Romanian neighbor also confirmed that

she regularly tries to communicate with refugees when spending time with her children in the park.

Regarding the activity selection, the middle-aged group expressed interest in barbecue, a sports area, gardening, and cooking, while children wished for more team sports, dancing, and cinema. The concept of a kiosk idea received fewer votes from people with migration backgrounds due to differences in interpretations of the word and concept in their countries. Consequently, clarification of the meaning was required.

5. Evaluation

In the first interview perspectives from a mix of short and long-term residents were gathered, including those with and without migration backgrounds, but not many refugees. The second interview involved mostly refugees because of its location in front of the refugee shelter.

In both interviews, interest in participating in the survey and the research was very high. Activity preferences varied based on interview locations; people tended to vote for activities which are not available nearby. That is why, given the proximity of my first interview location to the proposed site for the design and as it included a wider range of neighbors, the results are considered more reliable.

Many refugees are often busy learning German



Stephanus gGmbH refugee shelter

Source: Taken by author

or caring for their children, and it was important that one resident mentioned that the only time she interacted with refugees was in the park when both left their children to play.

This consideration is crucial when zoning activity functions. In addition, they face limitations in working due to legalities or language barriers. An idea is to create a space they can run with donations, allowing them to improve their German and build connections with the neighbors. Both surveys revealed that the most desired and offered activities are barbecue, garden, sports field, art, cooking, cinema and wood workshop.

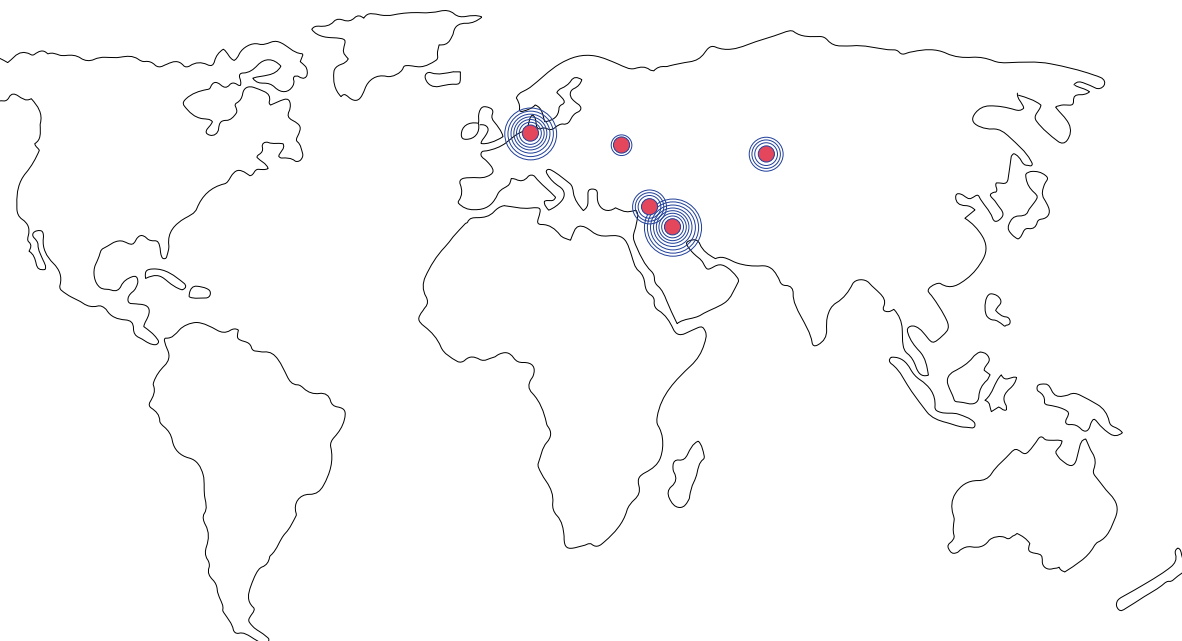
INTERVIEW I

13.05.2023
neighborhood festival

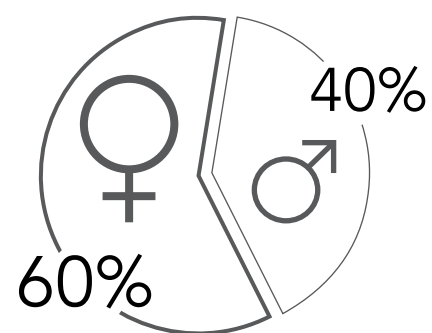
20 

PARTICIPANTS

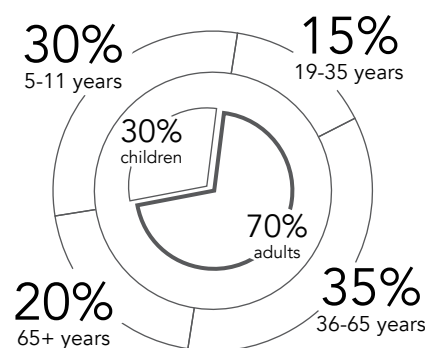
7 Iraqi
6 German
3 Kazakh
3 Syrian
1 Ukrainian



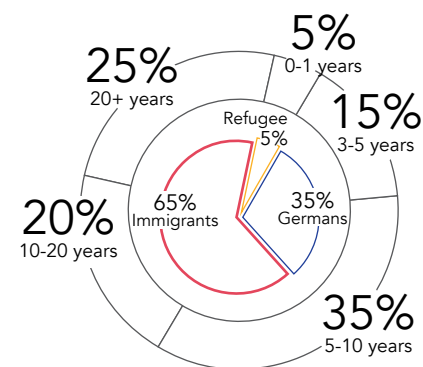
GENDER



AGE GROUP



LIVING IN MARZAHN



GENERAL OPINIONS

- + No time for any activities!
- + I would be willing to help to my neighbors about woodwork, I have a lot experience in this field.
- + Working full time, I have time only at weekends for able to organize activities.
- + I wish I would know my neighbors. I used to have strong neighborhood ties in my hometown in Syria.
- + As an handicaped I cannot organize many of those activities.
- + The neighborhood festival is also good for BENN not only to connect with neighbors but also to network and get to know other organizations face to face.
- + Driving more than half an hour to barbecue with my family.
- + Calm and safe neighborhood. There are many parks for my children!
- + Marzahn is green and well connected to city center. There are also many shopping opportunities, but culture is missing!

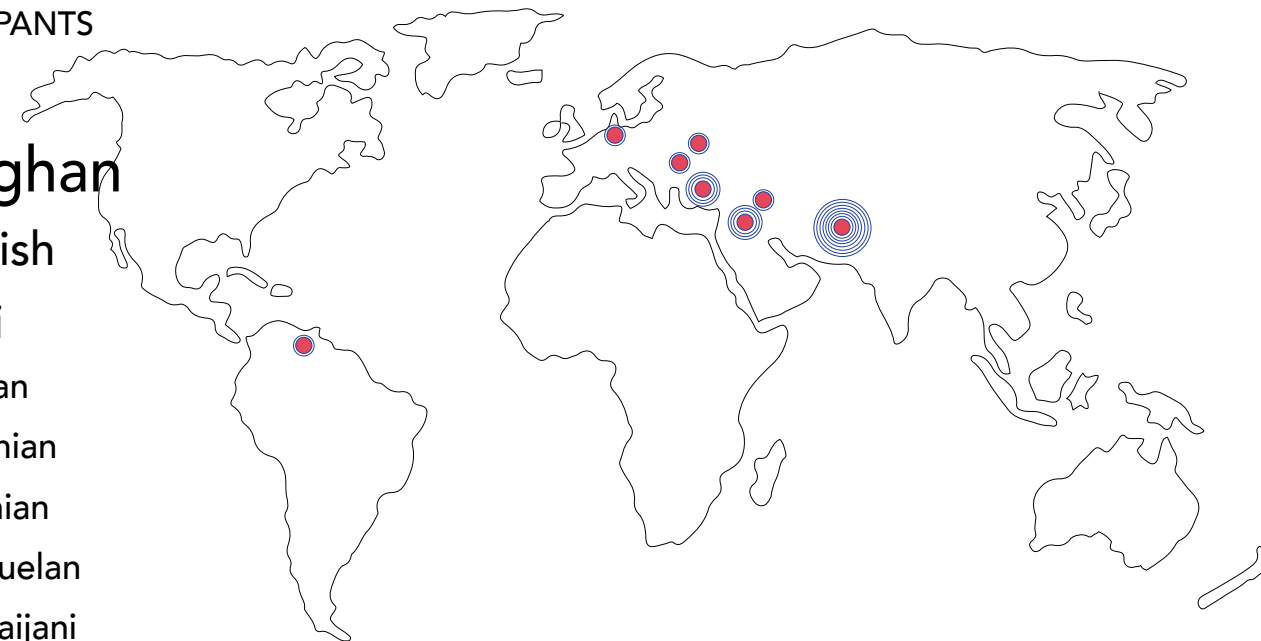
INTERVIEW II

01.06.2023
opening of Café Murtzan
children day

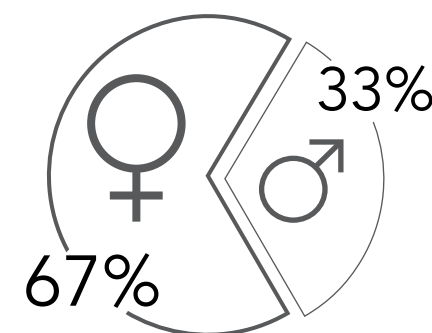
18 

PARTICIPANTS

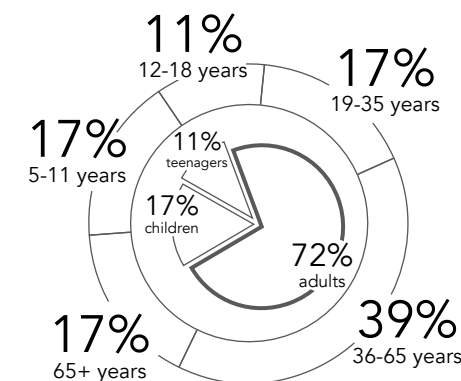
7 Afghan
3 Turkish
3 Iraqi
1 German
1 Romanian
1 Ukrainian
1 Venezuelan
1 Azerbaijani



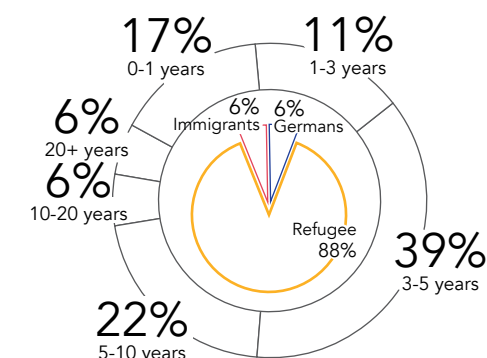
GENDER



AGE GROUP



LIVING IN MARZAHN



GENERAL OPINIONS

- + I don't have any German friends.
- + Only time I get together with refugees is when I leave my child to play in the park.
- + Because of my German level, I am not qualified for any work, neither communicate with the neighbors.
- + Due to housework and my kids, I hardly find time for anything.
- + As part of organization communities, we have all those activities in the neighborhood except kiosk and theater.
- + We have organized the concept of "Café Murtzan", however it did not work as we planned; there was not enough participants from the neighborhood.
- + I just know the people in the shelter.
- + In order to buy halal food I have to go every time to Kreuzberg or Neukölln.

ACTIVITY MATCH

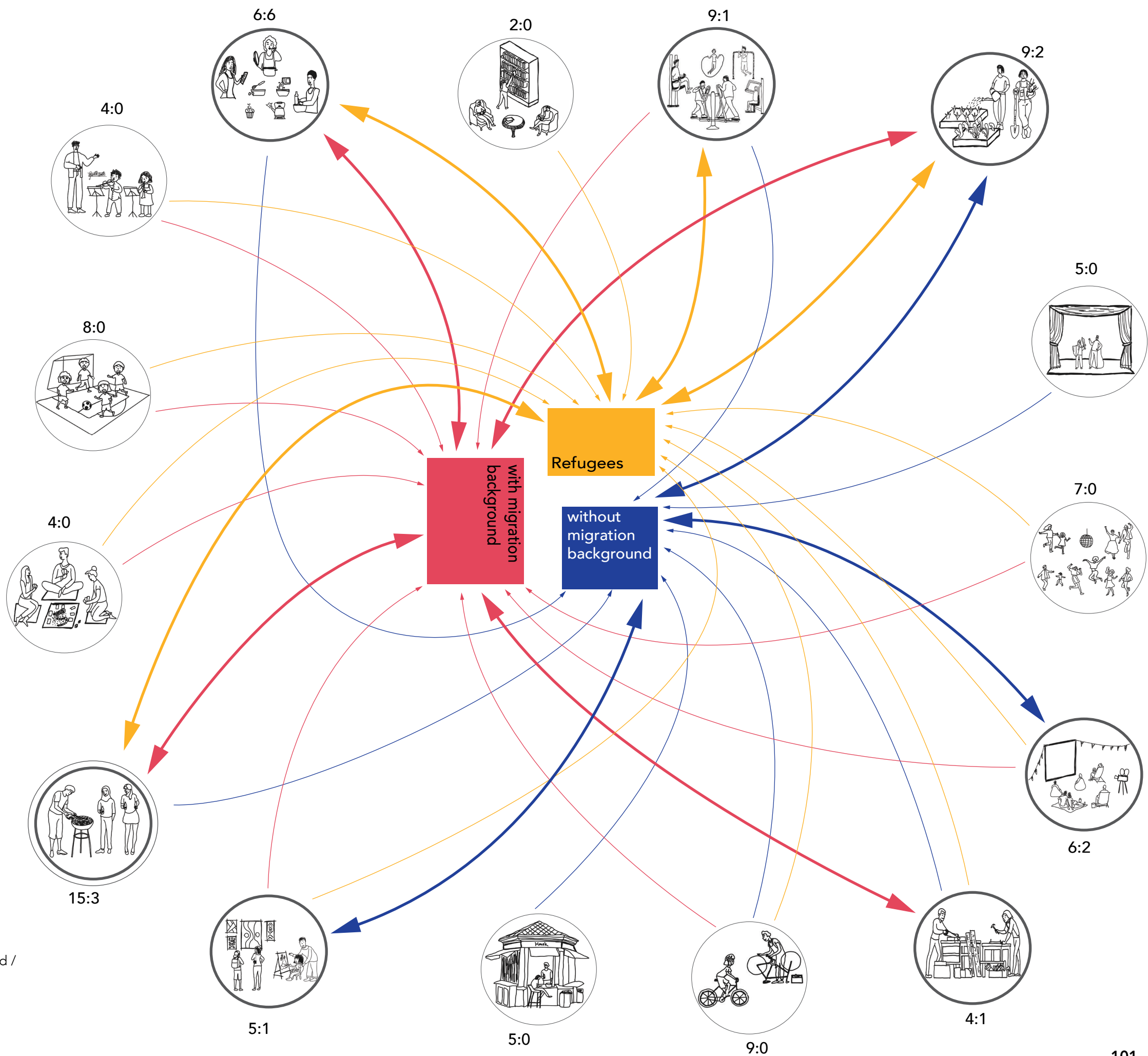
MUTUALLY MATCHED

Offered by Activities Participated by

3		15
2		9
1		9
1		5
5		6
2		6
1		4

- Not matched
- Mutually matched
- Mostly wished
- Willing to receive and give
- Only willing to receive
- Refugees in the shelters
- Neighbors with migration background
- Neighbors without migration background / who identify themselves German
- a:b

 Number of people
a: who wish to have
b: who would like to organize



5.3 OUTCOME

The “phase I” section included fieldwork before the thesis, comprising activity workshops held in collaboration with BENN through TU Berlin seminar and the activation survey conducted by BENN with the neighbors and refugees in Marzahn. Consequently, the findings from pre-thesis fieldwork were evaluated and repurposed as a foundation for the development of the “phase II” section which was developed throughout my thesis and involved the interview with BENN, social media content analysis and collaborative interviews and.

The five methods functioned as distinct layers that contributed to the design outcome by understanding different perspectives and seeking reciprocity among them.

The methodological approach focused on exploring mutuality, such as mapping mutual fear zones, identifying mutual interests in participation and contribution, analyzing mutual benefits (not only between locals and refugees but also between the space of encounter and BENN), understanding mutual perspectives, and creating a mutual decision-making process.

Furthermore, as the approach aims to understand the socio-spatial problems, qualitative research methods are also used. Certain analyses validated the theory in a spatial context and assisted in transferring and mapping social issues onto a spatial dimension.

The contribution to the space of encounter by each method is as follow:

- BENN is a key player in the activation of a communal gathering space that benefits both their inclusion neighborhood goals and their physical needs such as event spaces. BENN serves as a resource for budget allocation and collaboration. Learning from BENN’s successes and challenges is an essential aspect.
- Workshop analysis and Facebook comments encompass the spatial translation of data collection by validating theoretical research and the definition of the intervention location. The findings provide insights into the perspective of refugees and locals regarding spaces of fear.
- The extensive qualitative data of the BENN survey on neighbors and refugees gives an overview of the neighborhood, their personal experiences, and preferences in Marzahn. This data was instrumental in creating an activity list for selection.
- In the collaborative survey method, the needs and offers are matched, which leads to a mutual decision-making process for defining the functions of the space of encounter in collaboration with the participants.

6. DESIGN STRATEGIES

6.1 SITE ANALYSIS, CURRENT STATE

6.1.1 LAND USE AND PROXIMITY

The area, located in the northeastern region of Marzahn, is a combination of multiple features, such as recreational, educational, commercial, and densely populated residential areas, complemented by large green spaces. There are two focal zones in walking distance that attract the neighbor flow, Marzahner Promenade and the area adjacent to the chosen site. The diverse land use makes the site adaptable to the varying demands of different demographic groups.

The selected location carries a strategic importance, being close to the former BENN Marzahn Süd office and only 1 km away from their current office. Moreover, the location accommodates facilities such as a youth center (Impuls) and educational places, which provide opportunities for project engagement and collaboration. Refugee accommodations, within a 3–5-minute walking distance, contribute to the integration program's inclusivity and cooperative potential. The area's proximity to both neighbors' and refugees' living spaces is a beneficial aspect.

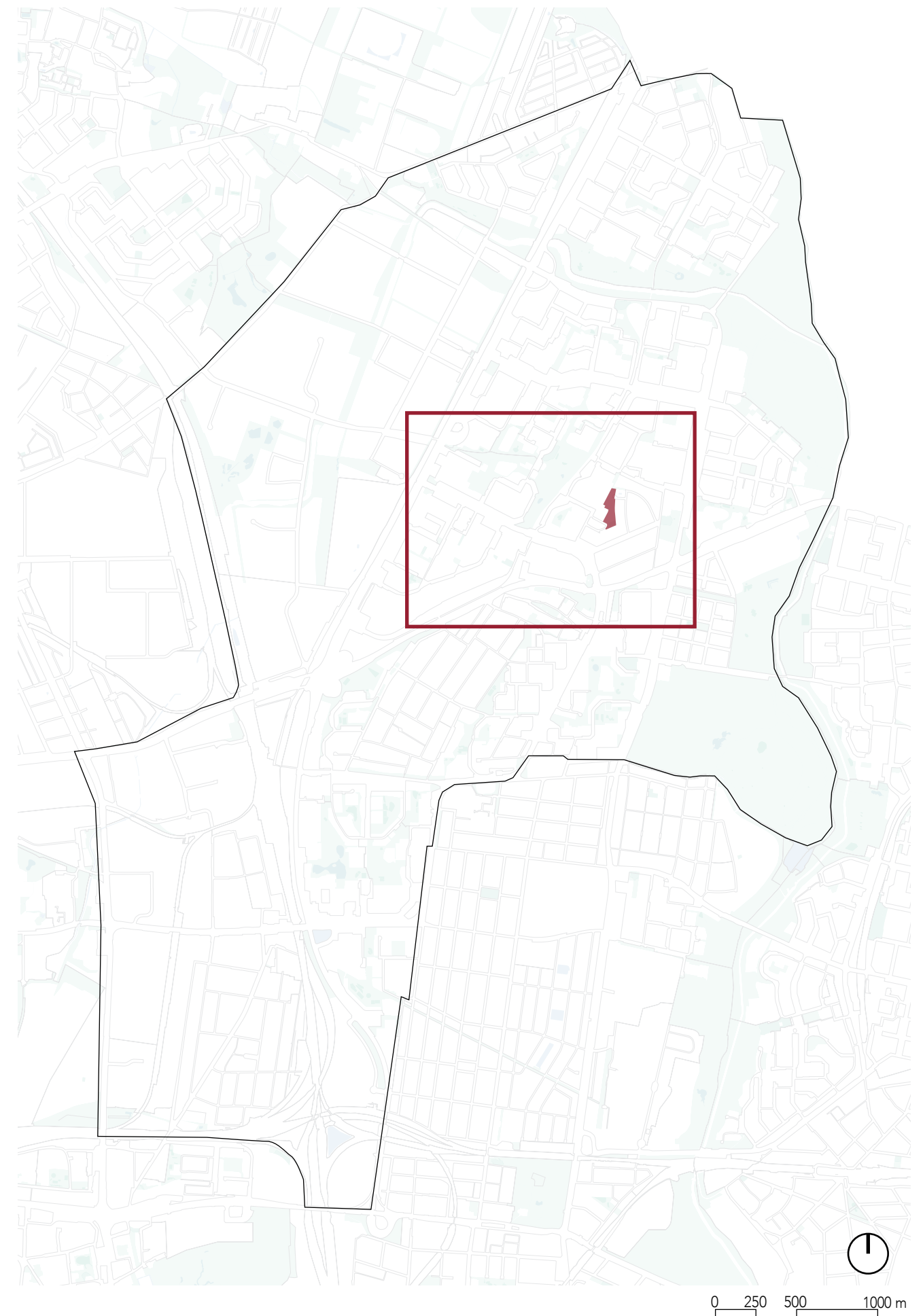
Further potential arises from the social media content analysis and workshop report, highlighting areas near the site area and schools where mutual fear happens between refugees and neighbors. This requires the necessity for interventions such as safety and integration programs close to these identified zones.

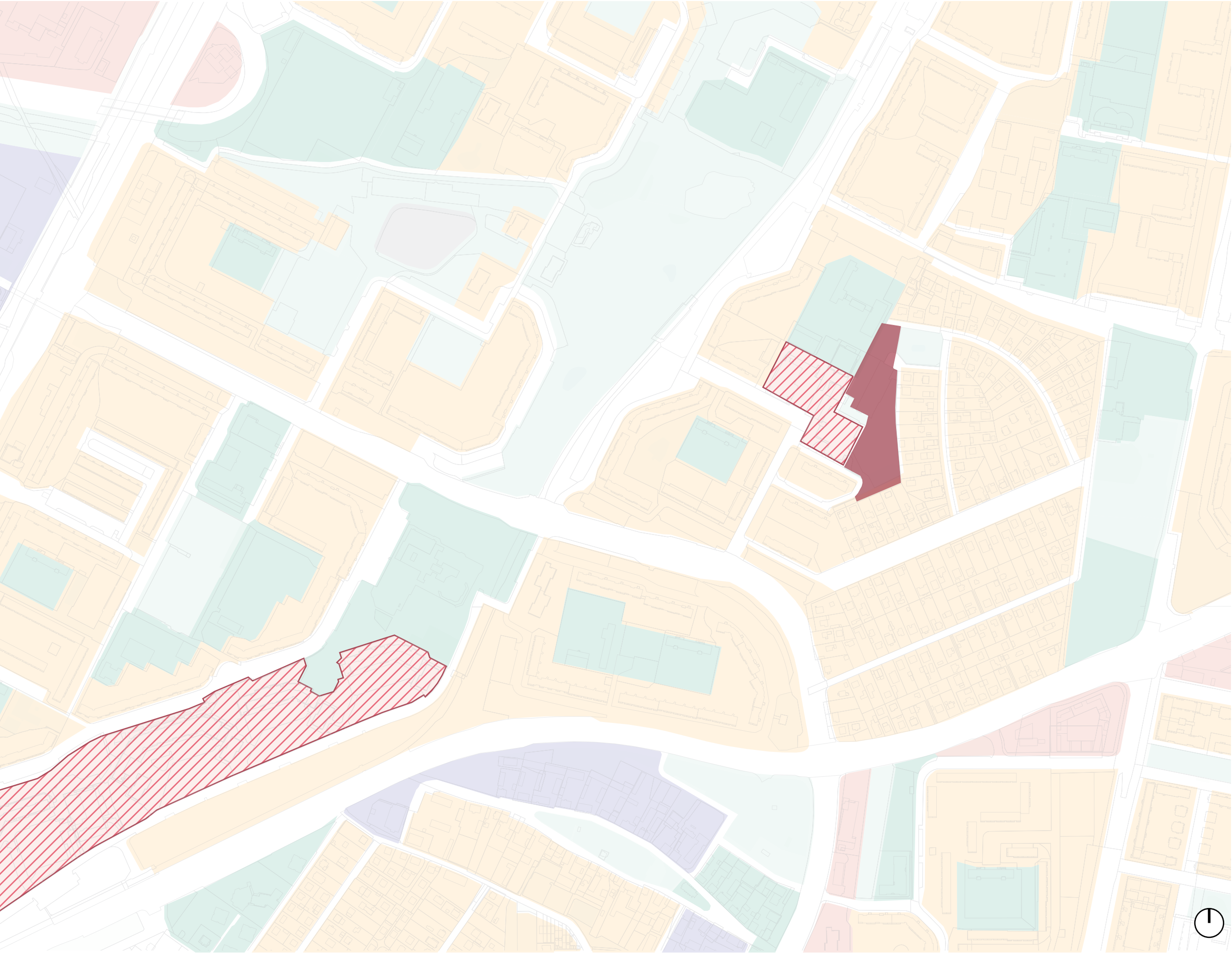
The areas most frequented by neighbors and refugees are homogeneously distributed

throughout the neighborhood, encouraging active use of the recreational spaces around the site, and promoting a continuous flow and connection within the selected area, especially with community spaces such as the Paradies Gardens, which is already established as a meeting place for neighbors.

The area is also easily accessible, connected by multiple means of transportation, mainly by tram and bus. The nearest transit station is only 5 minute walk away. It enhances accessibility particularly for women with children, whose travel patterns are often limited to the nearby area.

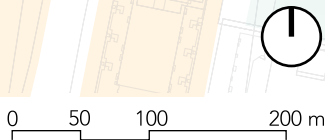
The map therefore summarizes the translation of all the data collected in the previous chapter with the proximity of the functions. The strategic importance of the location lies in its accessibility, proximity to potential users such as schools, youth center, BENN offices and refugee shelters in a densely populated residential area and frequently used community spaces.

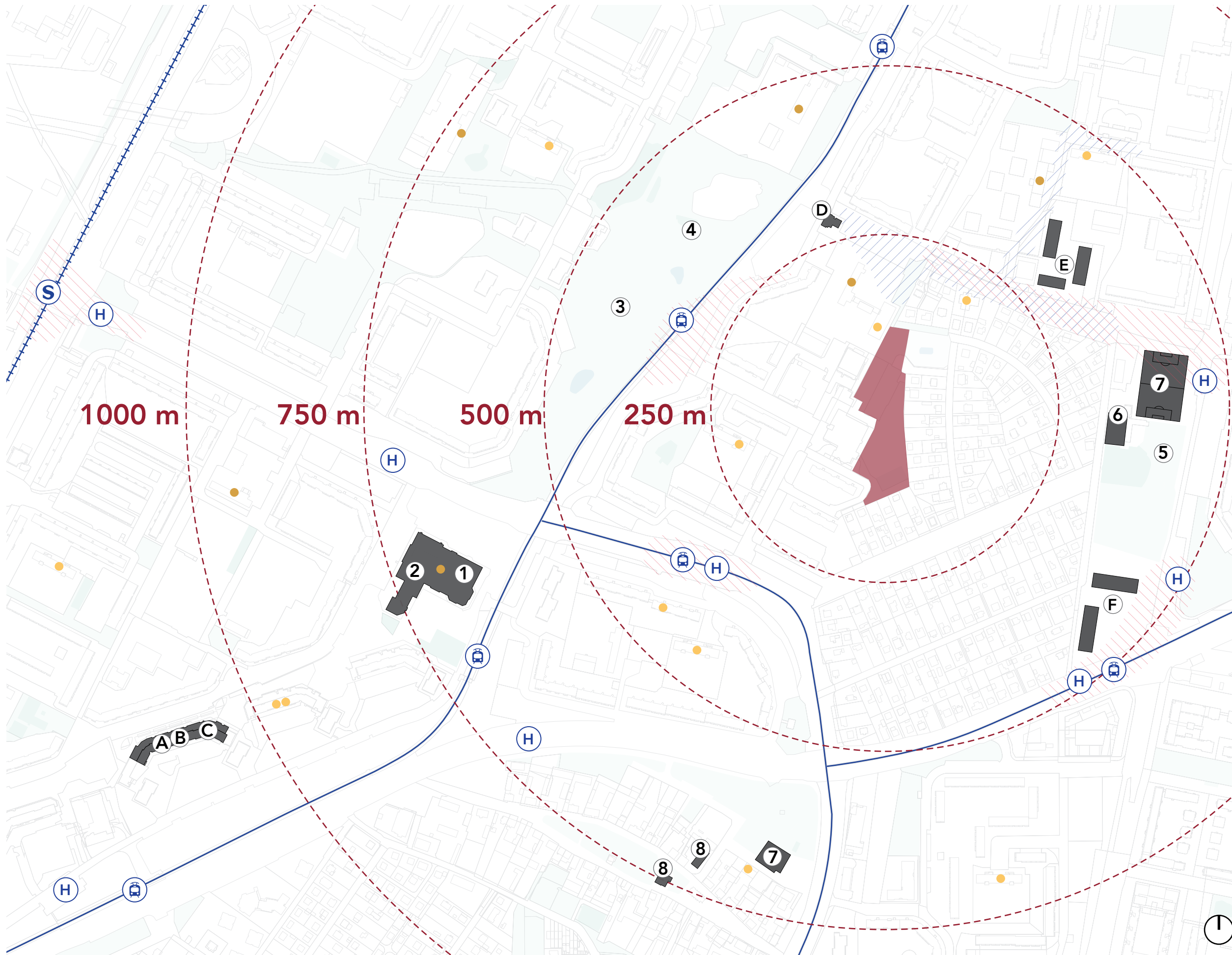




LAND USE

- Residential
- Commercial, industrial
- Central area
- Park, open space
- Recreational
- Mixed use
- Utility
- Project site





PROXIMITY

COOPERATION PLACES

- A. BENN Marzahn-Süd
- B. BENN Blumberger Damm
- C. Machbar37
(Die Volkssolidarität)
- D. IMPULS Youth Center
- E. Refugee Shelter, Rudolf
Leonhard Straße
- F. Refugee Shelter, Stephanus
Stiftung Aufnahmeeinrichtung

FREQUENTLY VISITED AREAS

- 1. Freizeitforum
- 2. Schwimmhalle
- 3. Bürgerpark
- 4. Skatepark
- 5. Kiezpark, Paradiesgärten I
- 6. Sporthalle
- 7. BSC Marzahn Fußballplatz

- Kita
- School
- Project Site

SPACES OF FEAR

- ▨ Refugees
- ▨ Neighbors

TRANSPORTATION

- ++S++ S-Bahn Station
- T— Tram Station
- H— Bus Station

0 50 100 200 m

6.1.2 UNDERSTANDING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

TRAVEL PATTERNS OF NEIGHBORS

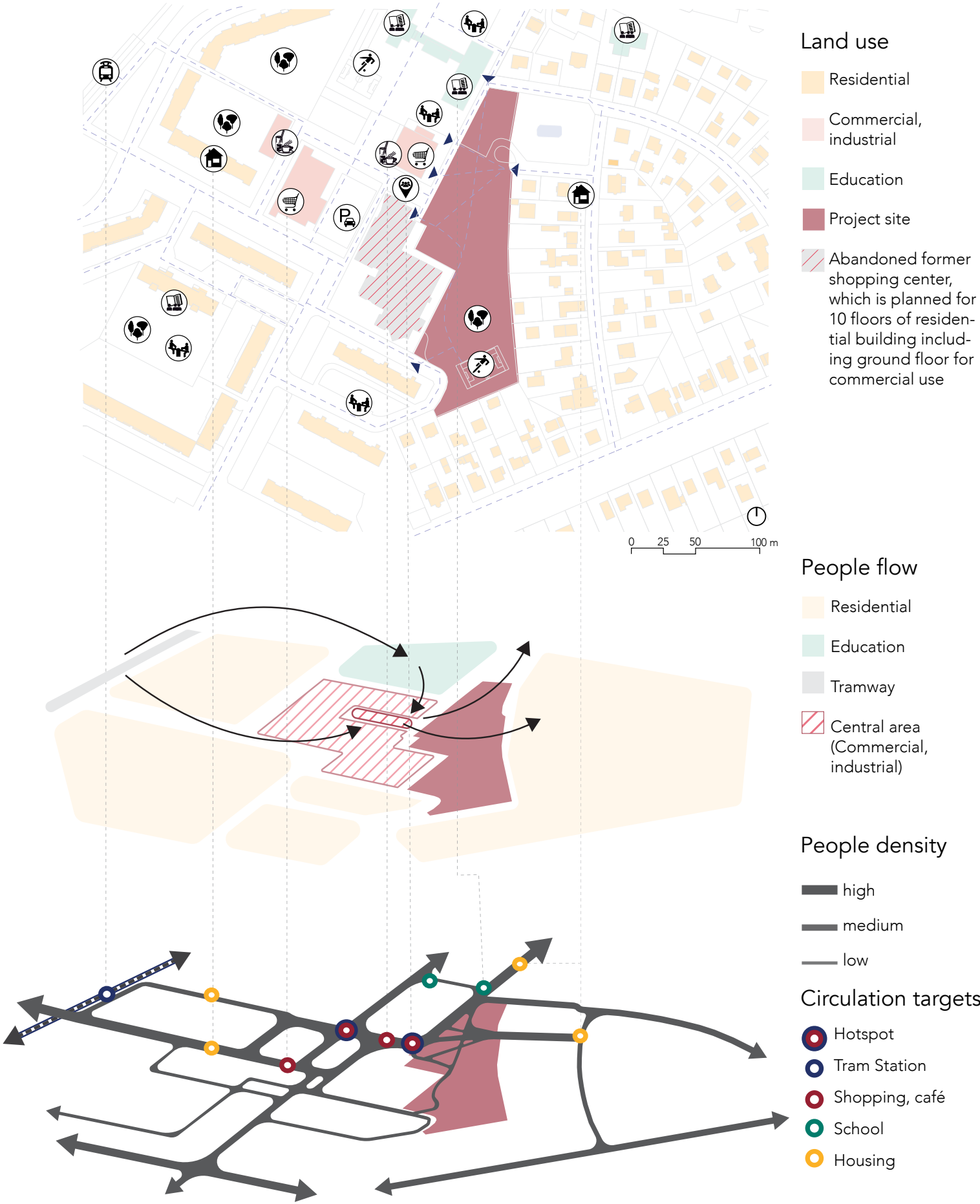
The site is surrounded by a variety of functions, including supermarkets, cafés, schools, restaurants, playgrounds, houses, and finally an abandoned former shopping center which is planned for a residential building with ten floors including ground floor commercial use. It is anticipated that the redevelopment and transformation expected in the coming years will increase the dynamism and density of the area by attracting neighborhood flows.

Understanding travel patterns of neighbors is important to facilitate collaboration and effective community planning, and to analyze how neighbors interact. The density of these movement patterns varies depending on the time of the day and days of the week. Weekday observations show that certain streets and paths are more frequented, indicating the daily use pat-

terns of neighbors between frequently visited locations such as public transportation stops, schools, supermarkets, and residences. Particularly, many parents with their children and people carrying grocery bags define the targeted facilities of their travel patterns. The intersection of these patterns in a central area surrounded by commercial establishments and urban green spaces (the selected site) creates hotspots that serve as hubs for social interaction.

The dense flow of neighbors passing through the site creates opportunities for meeting spaces and a high degree of accessibility. Neighbors' daily routine paths contribute as well to the creation of safe places due to people density and familiar faces. This in turn would facilitate spontaneous interactions and conversations in intersecting spaces such as parks, sidewalks, and seating areas. As a result, the site has the potential to bring all the neighbors together.

Design strategies



6.1.3 UNDERSTANDING THE SITE

POTENTIALS OF THE TERRITORY



A. Existing football and basketball field



B. Continuity



C. Slope for children to play or activity uses



D. Existing cohesive community around the site



E. Seating areas



F. Large empty space for recreational uses

USERS

-  Existing users
-  Existing dense pedestrian flow
-  Prospective users
-  Prospective pedestrian flow

VEGETATION

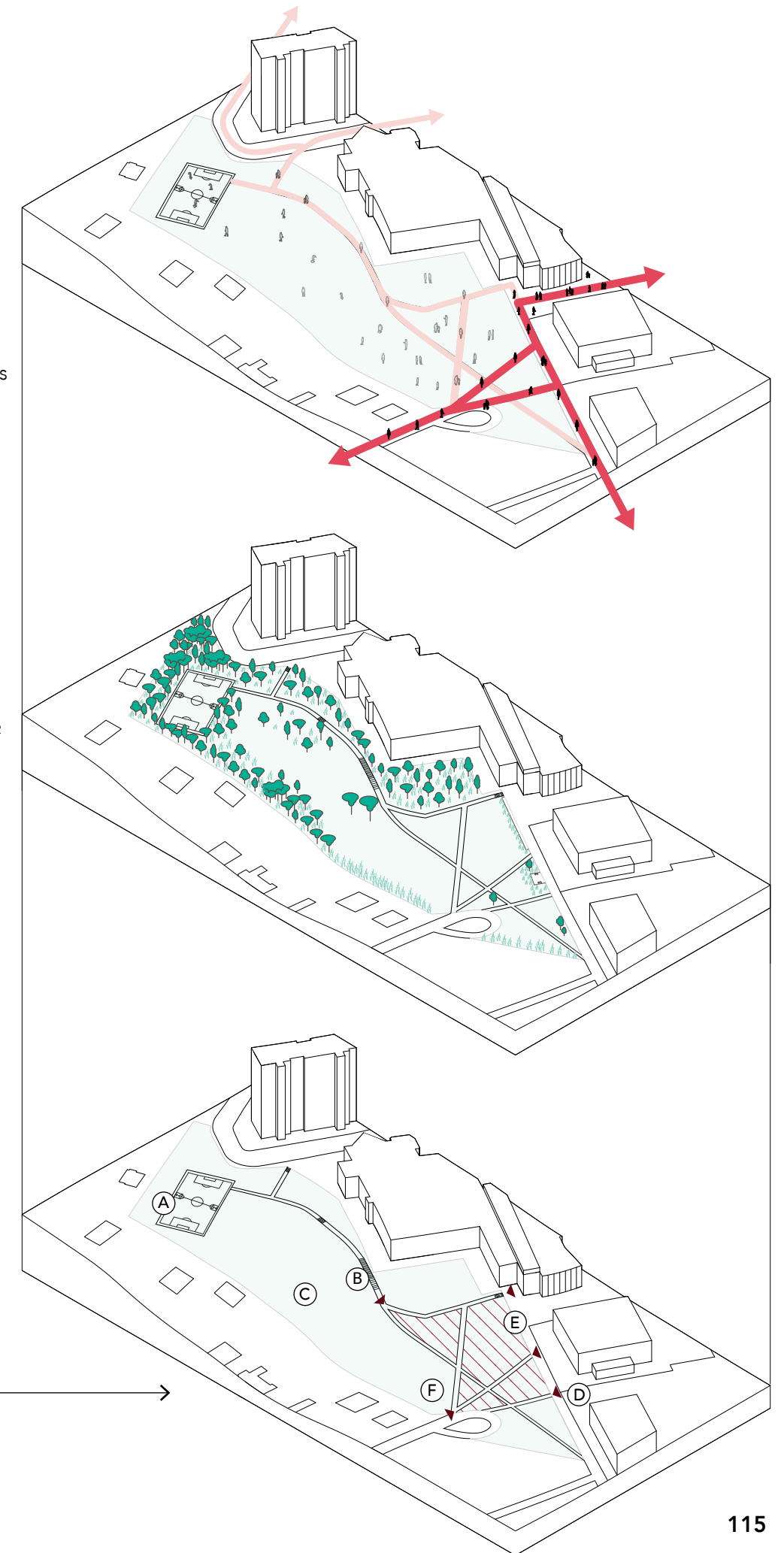
Total area: 12,900 m²
Empty space: 7,400 m²
(without sports field, pedestrian ways and trees)

-  Trees
-  Bushes
-  Grass

SPACE

-  Potential spaces in between the pedestrian ways

Design strategies



6.2 DESIGN APPROACH AND PRINCIPLES

THE SITE

Around 13,000 m² of public green space includes a merged football and basketball field. This area remains calm and is mainly used by passersby, dog walkers, and children playing on the slope. The higher section, the southwest entrance, is relatively quiet compared to the northern entrances which experience a dense flow of people. The terrain consists of a sloping landscape with bushes, scattered trees, and grassy areas. The vegetation elements form a border with the neighboring residential buildings.

The site holds potential due to its existing sports field, accessibility through stairs, opportunities for various playing and activity uses, proximity to cohesive community structures such as schools, and the presence of seating areas around the park. The large empty green space further contributes to the potential for recreational uses.

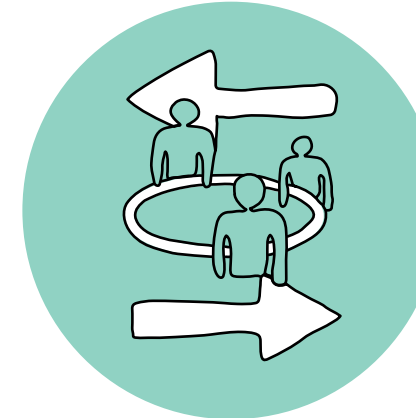
The urban park provides access to nature, places for leisure and play, and opportunities for social interactions. It functions as a focal point for social activities and gatherings. In particular the spaces along the pedestrian ways present potential areas for encounters when equipped with functional uses. The layout of the paths naturally guides visitors to these spaces, increasing the likelihood of spontaneous social interactions with neighbors and the vitality of the place.

LEGAL LIMITATIONS

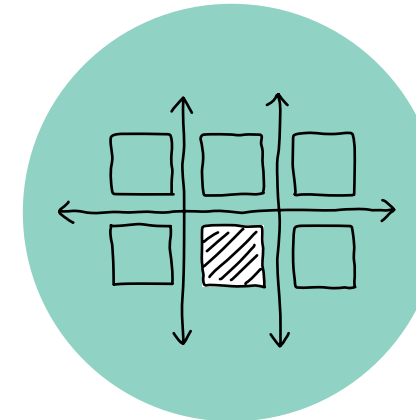
The Green Spaces Law of Berlin allows non-commercial events and activities in designated areas and the local Bezirksamt Marzahn-Hellersdorf is responsible for giving permission (Grünanlagengesetz, 2024, p.3). The approval is granted in consideration of urban space and urban design issues, weighing up the different usage requirements and taking health and environmental protection into account (ibid.). In addition, it must be guaranteed that the prevailing public interest requires this, and that the elimination of the consequences is ensured (ibid.).

Therefore, due to its temporary, non-commercial and beneficial character, the design proposal could receive the permission of the local authorities.

MUTUALITY AND KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE



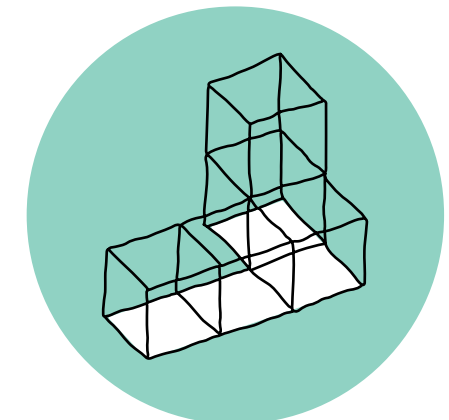
PERMEABILITY AND FUNCTIONALITY



SAFETY AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT



FLEXIBILITY, ADAPTABILITY AND TEMPORALITY



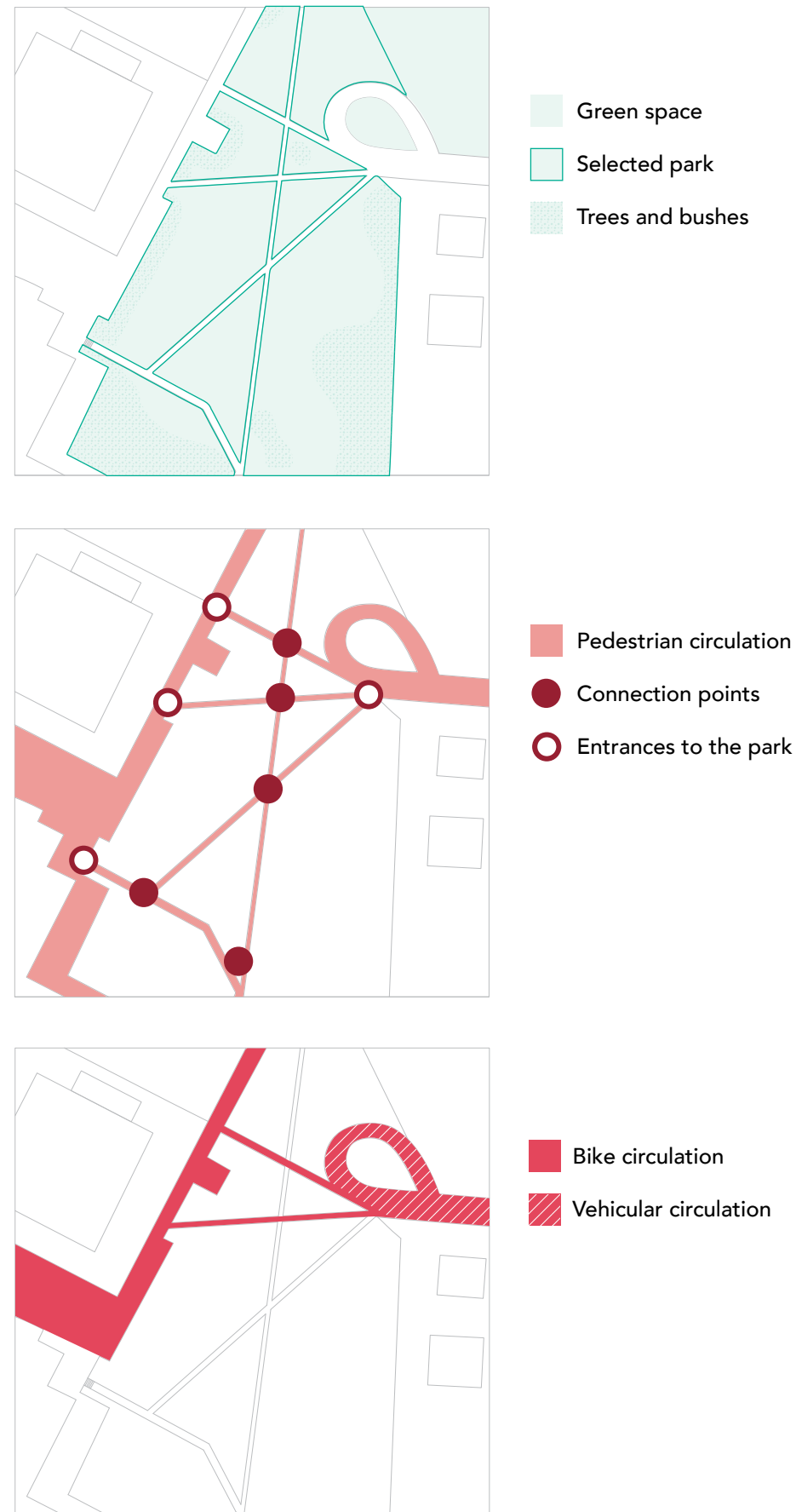
The design approach for the envisioned space is based on four key principles:

- 1. Mutuality and knowledge exchange:** The emphasis of a reciprocal relationship in terms of benefits and offerings of the space. This approach encourages continuous learning and interaction through shared practices.
- 2. Safety and community engagement:** Addressing breaking down spaces of fear and prejudice by actively incorporating neighborhood functions for a sense of community and inclusive environment.
- 3. Permeability and functionality:** A space that integrates all the people naturally in their daily routines and maximizes human flow through

both location-based visibility and structural permeability. It also fulfills functional needs by repurposing empty and unused space according to people's needs and interests, creating a multi-functional space.

- 4. Flexibility, adaptability, and temporality:** A toolkit for local initiatives and neighborhoods. It is a response to the evolving needs of the community and adapts over time to the changing dynamics of integration. The design emphasizes being temporary, cost-effective, simple, easy to build and open for tactical interventions. It also ensures adaptability for a possible relocation, as it can be easily dismantled and assembled in another location if necessary.

6.3 IMPLEMENTING STRATEGIES



6.4 SOCIAL PROGRAMMING AND ZONING

CONCEPT

Space of encounter enables the interaction between its users, bringing people together and creating community cohesion. Such encounters occur in neighborly streets, parks, local services like shops and public transportation (Piekut & Valentine, 2017, p. 177). Urban elements such as squares, courtyards, stairs, or seating areas can further promote these encounters.

In order to establish such spaces, one approach involves organizing and planning community activities. However, to maximize neighborhood participation, another approach is to encourage non-intentional or unplanned encounters for those who may not be informed about events or are initially hesitant to participate. Thus, my implementation strategy focuses on integrating neighbors through their daily travel patterns and that they find themselves naturally in the targeted area. This is achieved by integrating the community space into existing circulation network by intersecting and connecting the pathways with the space. Consequently, the space accommodates not only those who intentionally visit but also neighbors on their daily commutes to work, home, school, or shopping. These encounters cultivate moments of engagement and mutual experience.

POSITIONING

Hence, location, accessibility and visibility of space are important factors for usage of the activity facility. The structure should be positioned close to high frequented and bike accessible pathways and intersected with pedestrian paths. Therefore, the proximity of access points to the site becomes crucial.

Prioritizing visibility and safety necessitate the consideration of viewpoints from heavily frequented circulation pathways. Lastly, the facility's placement is determined by referencing the existing urban grid, thereby contributing to a comprehensive and well-integrated location strategy.

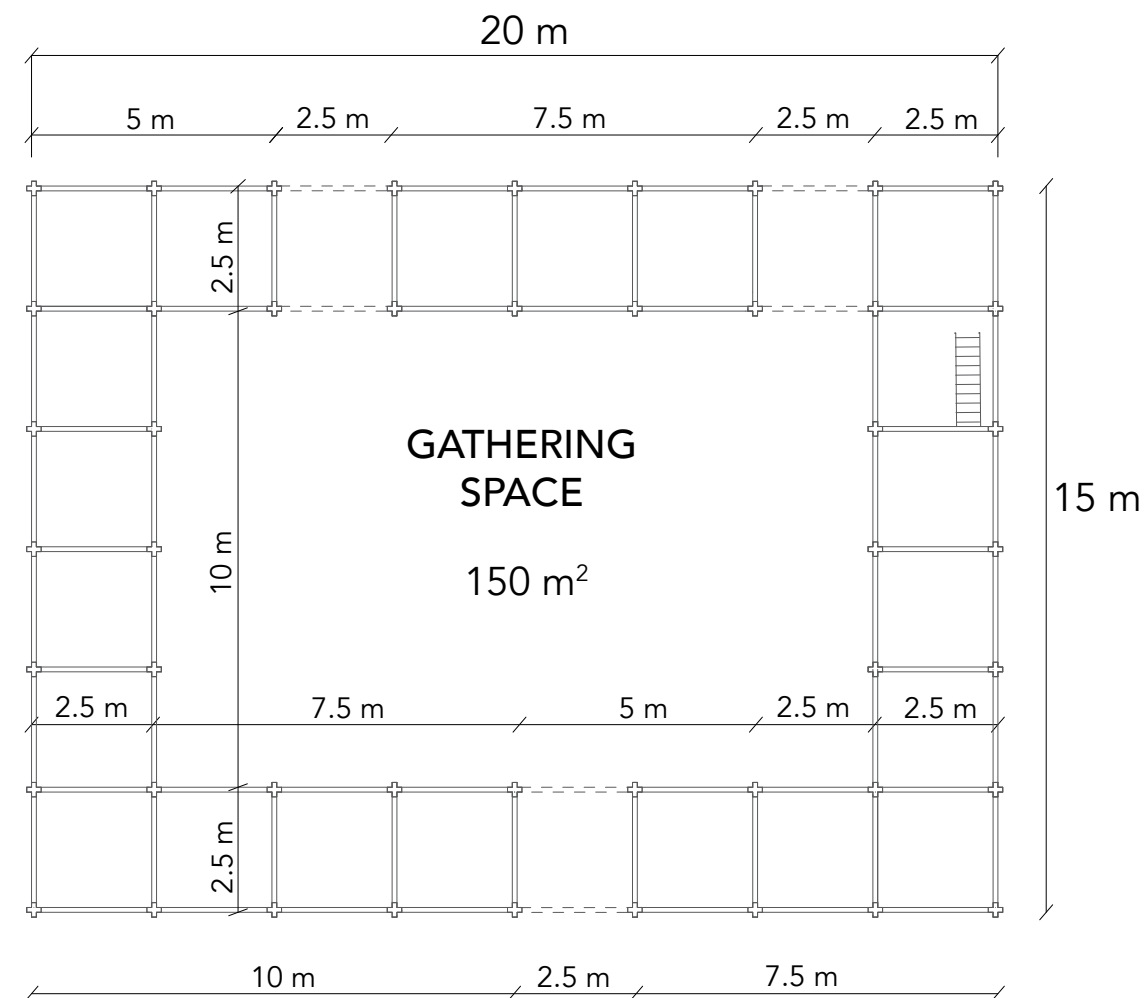
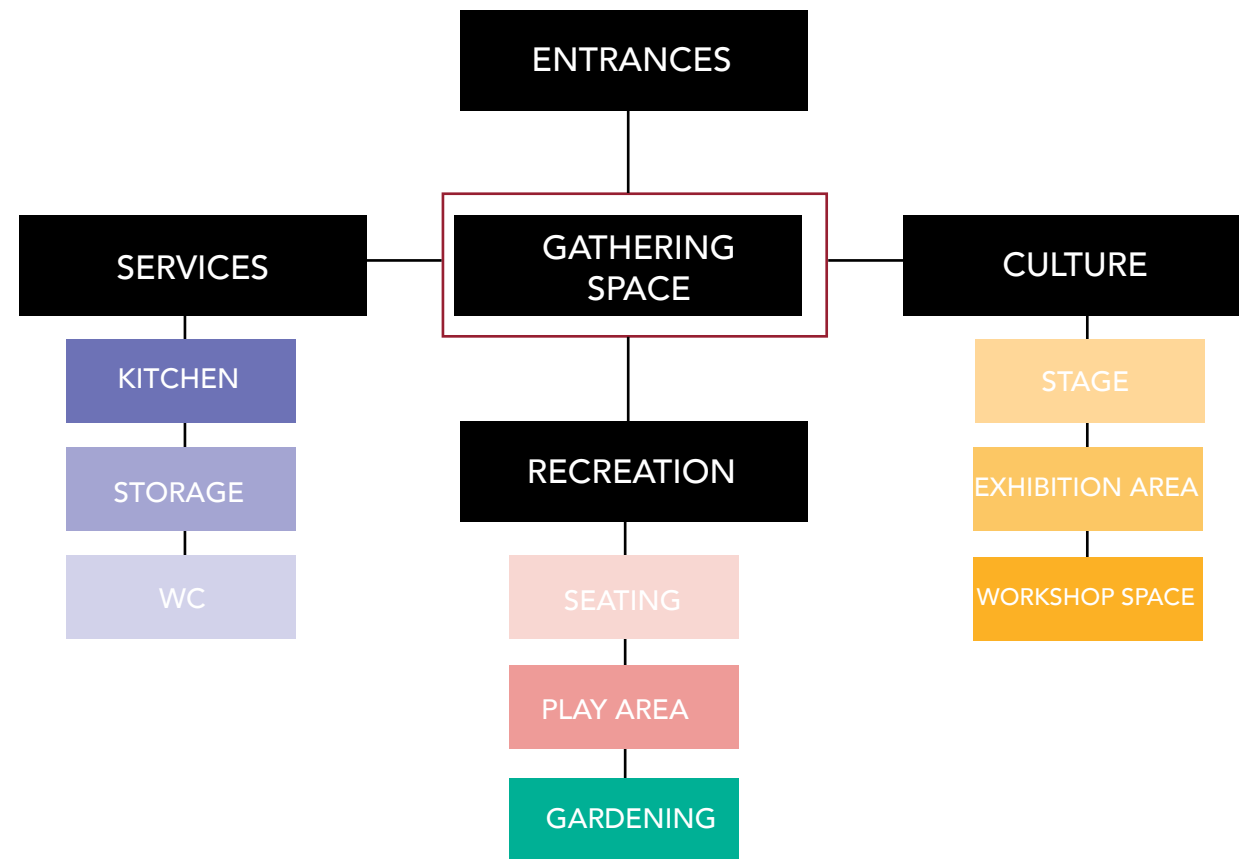
The configuration of programming elements and functional modules is determined by identifying the necessary spaces for selected activities by neighbors and refugees during the interviews. The core of the rectangular space provides a semi-private zone, serving as a central gathering area for activities which can accommodate the capacity to accommodate a large number of people. The arrangement of functional modules around this central space contributes to the overall formation of a rectangular layout.

The modules are categorized into entrances, services, recreation, and culture uses. Entrance modules align with the pathways entering the community space. Kitchen, storage, and WC modules, which are the only indoor spaces, are grouped together to serve for shared purposes. The stage hosts performances or concerts, also engaging the audience passing through the dense flow path, expanding its impact beyond the community space users. The same two-floor module can be used as an open-air cinema by hanging a sheet for screening. An exhibition area is positioned along the main road to create an inviting space. Individual and group seating areas are homogenously distributed for the purposes of (art) workshops or communal dining.

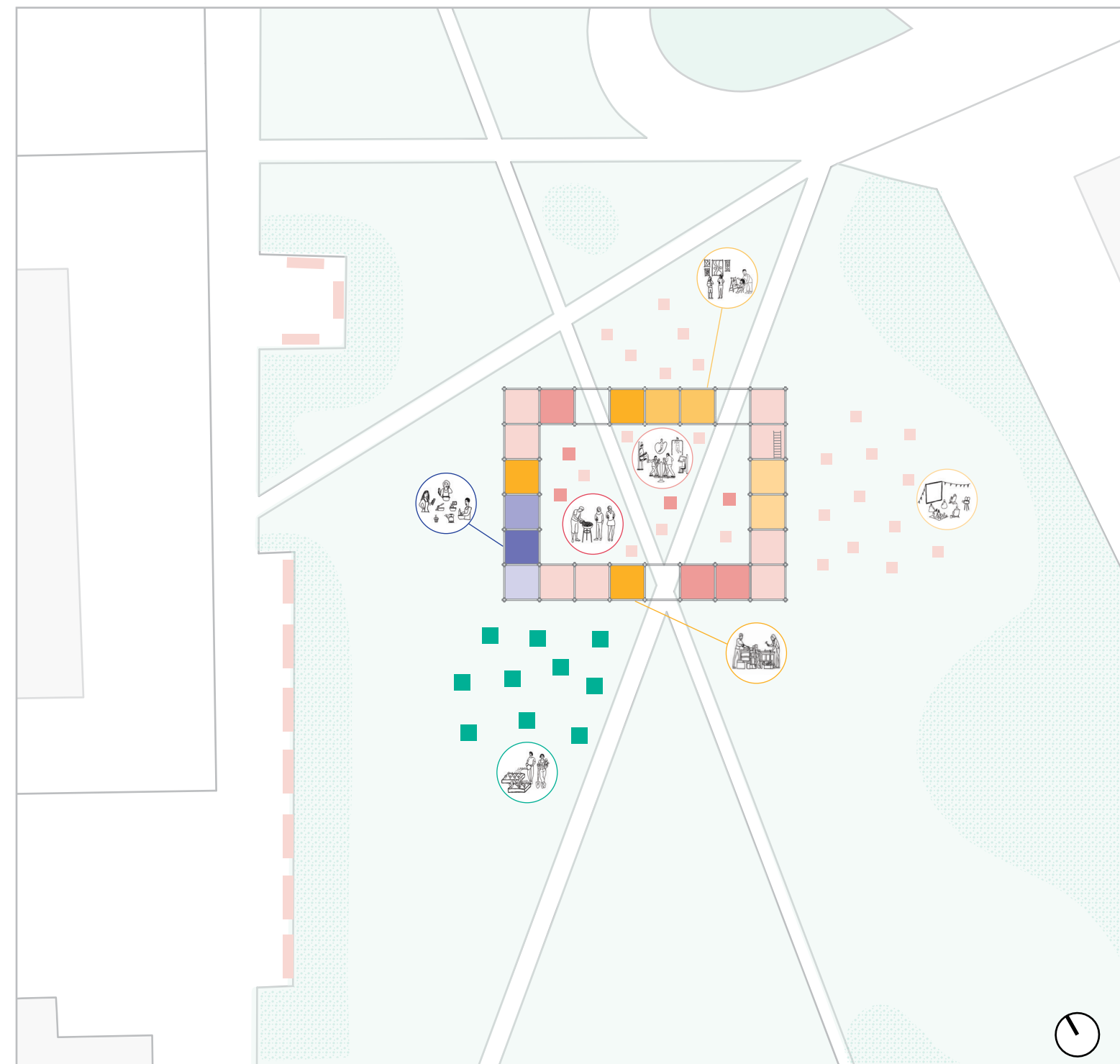
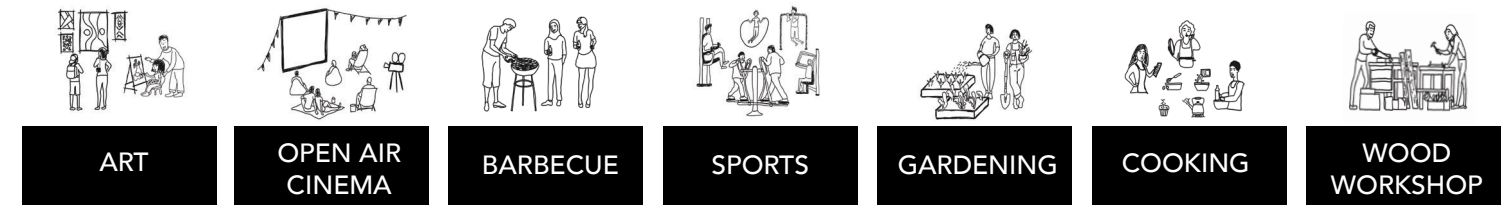
Wood workshops, sports and barbecue events mainly take place in the courtyard. Gardening, on the other hand, is not limited to one module, but occurs in an open green space with raised garden beds. This space, located on the side of

the planned residential building, would be maintained by many neighbors and could be easily monitored. Due to the daily maintenance demands and the challenge of transportation, the raised beds become a non-temporary element that will remain after the designated time period for the community space. Therefore, it is the only activity area that is available to neighbors even after the intended duration of the common area has expired.

It is important to mention that this is a conceptual work or a toolkit, presenting one possibility of a layout which can be changed and adapted according to users' needs and the type of activity use. For instance, the kitchen area can occupy more than one module or seating areas can be expanded vertically. It is not a fixed design, rather, it creates possibilities through dimensions, modules, and zoning. I am employing architecture as an experiment to foster interactions among people with different backgrounds, who might not naturally come together. The space also facilitates an appropriation process, which enables meaningful encounters and social interactions between different groups. Consequently, it is not a framework limiting spatial scenarios, but rather acts as a starting point stimulating interaction with the space.



SELECTED ACTIVITIES



6.5 CASE STUDIES

STRUCTURE AND MATERIAL

In order to create a flexible, adaptable and temporary structure, the scaffolding concept proves to be practical. The modularity of the scaffolding facilitates the creation of a smooth and adaptable framework. This versatile space is scalable horizontally, vertically, and diagonally, and adapts to different layouts. It can be easily and quickly assembled, dismantled, and transported.

In addition, the accessibility and reuse of materials contribute to sustainability and cost efficiency. The permeable frame of the scaffolding increases transparency and makes it visible to pedestrians. The entire structure is based on collaborative participation, with the aim of transformation through the active involvement of volunteers and guests from the neighborhood. Additionally, it remains also open for tactical interventions in the future.

The expected costs are around 7000-8000 euros (cf. Kleinanzeigen or geruest.com) for the scaffolding if used materials are utilized. Added to this are the costs for the chipboard for the floors, ceilings, and walls (approx. 1500 euros, cf. Bauhaus) as well as the awnings. The last point would be the costs for the materials and objects for the planned activities as well as seating modules, tables, etc., which can be produced mainly from recycled materials, for example through the project's own wood workshop, and donations.

A final calculation of the budget can therefore not be made in advance and depends on the possible funding for the project.

The following case studies show the implemented projects of scaffolding structures:

1. Conexidade Installation was conceptualized as an urban occupation in a square, featuring an intensive program of cultural and educational activities zones (ArchDaily, 2020a). The scaffolding structure provided a platform for experimentation and contributed to an ephemeral character. This versatile system served as a support for furniture uses and play areas with shade meshes for possible encounters without any separation of ambiance and floor between the zones (ibid.).



1. Conexidade Installation

Architects: Estúdio Chão
Location: Praça XV, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
Area: 20,500 m²
Year: 2018

Source: Images are taken by Mangolin, 2020

2. The Level Up, a design and construction workshop area, concentrated on repurposing a disused rooftop into an event space for locals and small gatherings (ArchDaily, 2019). In contrast to developing new public urban areas, the concept prioritized the revitalization of the existing space (ibid.). Additionally, the structure provided various seating possibilities for recreational use.

3. An abandoned primary school farm underwent a transformation into a hostel (farm inn), using scaffolding structures (ArchDaily, 2017). The integration of fixed steel pipes and connected malleable iron fasteners formed the scaffolding framework, as well as sun hollow sheets and linoleum were adopted for different sections regarding sun angles and ventilation (ibid.).

4. The “Dadad Market”, which serves as a temporary market, was built as a meeting place for locals and young people (ArchDaily, 2020b). This structure consists of repetitive pipe elements and clamps, forming a microcosm of alleyways accessible from different directions, with small squares in between (ibid.). Due to construction with standard scaffolding poles and clamps, the pavilions were designed to be easily dismantled and reassembled elsewhere and they were clad with corrugated, translucent acrylic panels, providing a straightforward approach to create a space with form and functionality (ibid.).

The last two case studies highlight potential material combinations with scaffolding structures to enclose spaces from the roof and sides by still guaranteeing a maximum of transparency and permeability.

Eventually, scaffold proves to be a practical alternative when it comes to quickly setting up meeting spaces within a limited budget. The structure consists of prefabricated metal elements that can be adapted to different dimensions and proportions. Despite its temporary character, it can be effectively combined with other materials such as metal tubes, textiles, wood, polycarbonate panels, facilitating the creation of indoor spaces. With its translucent form and flexible grid system, the concept focuses on sustainability and the reuse of materials.



2. The Level Up

Architects: Brett Mahon, Joonas Parviainen, Saagar Tulshan, Shreyansh Sett

Location: Rijeka, Croatia

Area: 110 m²

Year: 2018

Source: Image is taken by Palagani, 2019



3. Community Center

Architects: Big Smallness Studio, Wuhan ADAP Architects

Location: Qichun County, China

Area: 272 m²

Year: 2017

Source: Image is taken by Big Smallness Studio + Wuhan ADAP Architects, 2017



4. Dadad Market

Architects: Bangkok Tokyo Architecture, OPH

Location: Nai Mueang, Thailand

Area: 342 m²

Year: 2017

Source: Image is taken by OPH, 2020

6.6 DESIGN PROPOSAL

PLACE OF ENCOUNTER AND MUTUAL BENEFIT

The space of encounter is designed to facilitate interactions among places, senses, materials, and users. “As a place of encounters, focus of communication and information, the urban becomes what it always was: place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints, the moment of play and the unpredictable” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 129). The concept aims to create moments of unexpected flux and cross-cultural exchange promoting more improvisatorial urban design that stimulates diverse, spontaneous, and adaptable use.

Multi-use space has the flexibility to metamorphose various activity scenarios. For instance, the workshop zone can be transformed into an exhibition space. Throughout the day, the stage may serve for performances, and in the evening, it can function as a screen for an open-air movie. Similarly, the sports area can be converted into either a barbecue space or a play area.

While the parents cook or take part in a workshop, the children can play freely in the play zone of the same structure. The aim goes beyond simply combining different functions: to bring people of different backgrounds and ages so that they can benefit from the space together.

The other important aspect is that the concept

should not only be managed by neighborhood initiatives such as BENN but must include the active participation of neighbors and refugees who are collectively responsible for the operation of the space. This also requires the commitment of all parties.

The space offers opportunities for individuals who want to contribute to the neighborhood community. For example, during my interviews, a migrant who lived in Marzahn for a short time stated his willingness to volunteer to do wood work for the neighbors in need and to have a chance to connect with others. Another example is a refugee passionate about cooking and aspiring to open a bakery but faces challenges due to a lack of a work permit. In addition, a long-term German resident of Marzahn mentioned about her ongoing volunteer painting classes and expressed a continued willingness to contribute. On the other hand, BENN highlighted the necessity for a space to organize activities. During my research, I conducted interviews with 38 people to identify their activity needs and potential volunteers. However, interviewing with a larger group would increase the chances of finding volunteers available and willing to contribute to the community project.

Thus, it is not just a space from which people can benefit, it also provides opportunities for giving back something to the community. However, the initial encounters that break down prejudices between different groups should sometimes occur unintentionally, spontaneous-

ly, or unplanned, which represents the need for an open and easily accessible space. In the first step, even if a person isn’t actively involved, the space and people are included in the daily routine, it catches their curiosity, which could lead to an observation and approximation. This marks the beginning of the adaptation process.

Over time, as an individual begins to benefit and gets to know others, prejudices may disappear. Then it goes beyond participating in activities, when this person is involved in a new community or environment. This leads to the initiation of the integration process for both refugees and locals. As a result, space transforms into an ongoing loop of mutual benefit and exchange through spontaneous encounters.

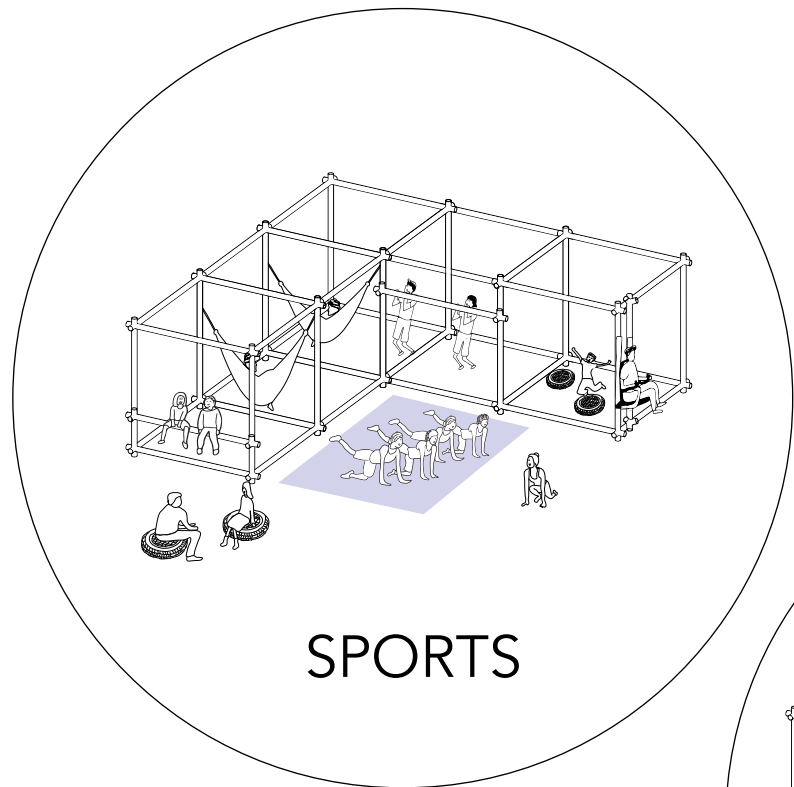
CONCLUSION

The project idea emerged from confronting the integration and immigration challenges within a neighborhood. Practical application of the theoretical concept of mutuality converted a space into a hub that serves as a meeting point and fosters mutual benefits.

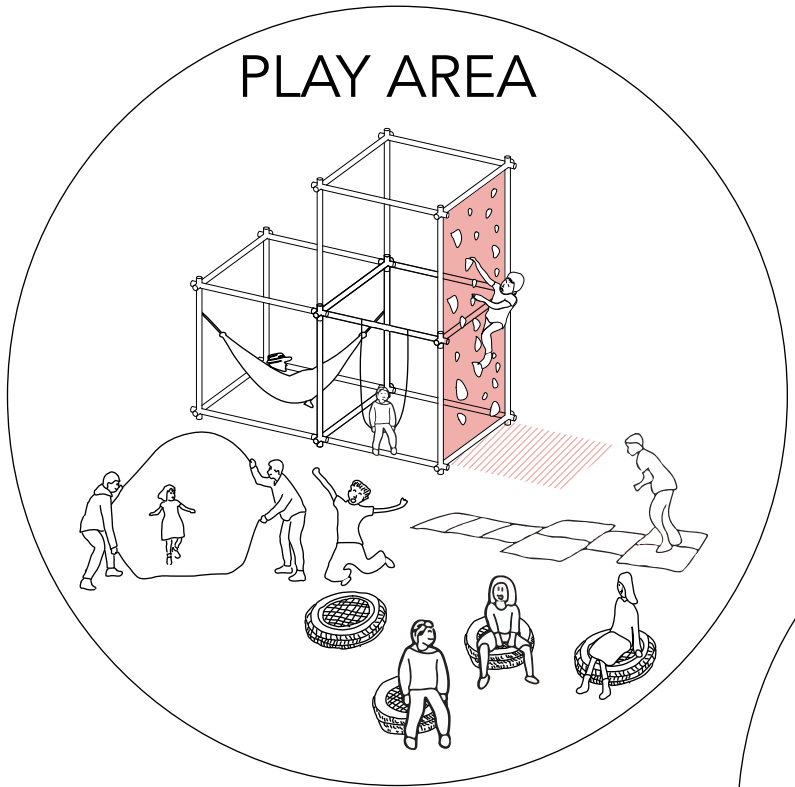
Marzahn and the selected site was identified, based on the research, as a potential location characterized by social polarization, societal divisions, prejudices, and challenging socio-economic conditions. It also emerged as a space that harbors fears among both refugees and locals. This realization emphasized the need for an intervention space and concept that is easily

accessible, low-budget, and flexible, providing diverse facilities for multiple uses.

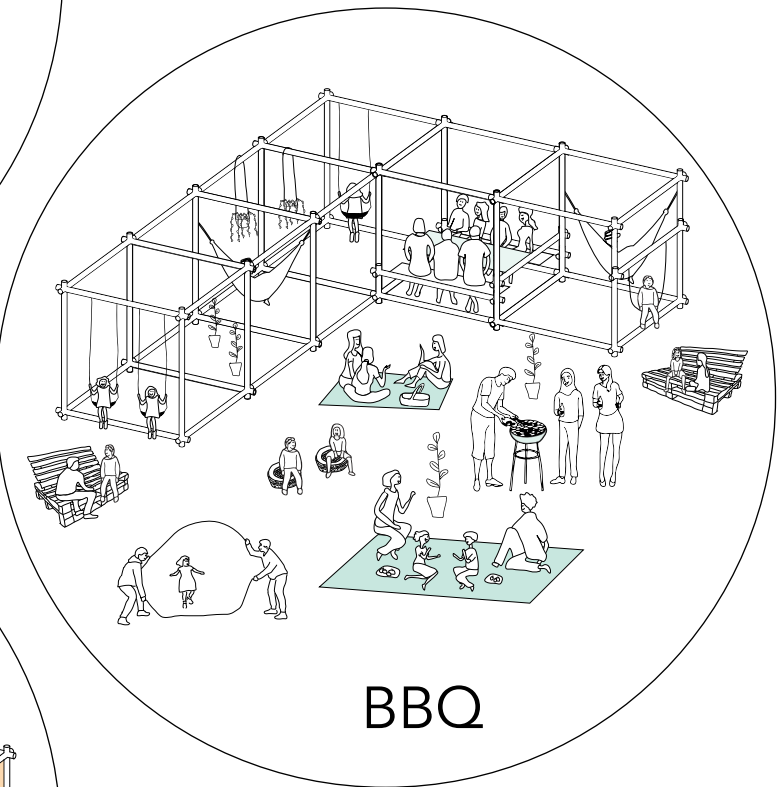
Hence, the concept of a scaffold arose as a space of coincidence and encounter, serving as a practical solution to address the identified challenges and foster interaction between different groups within the community.



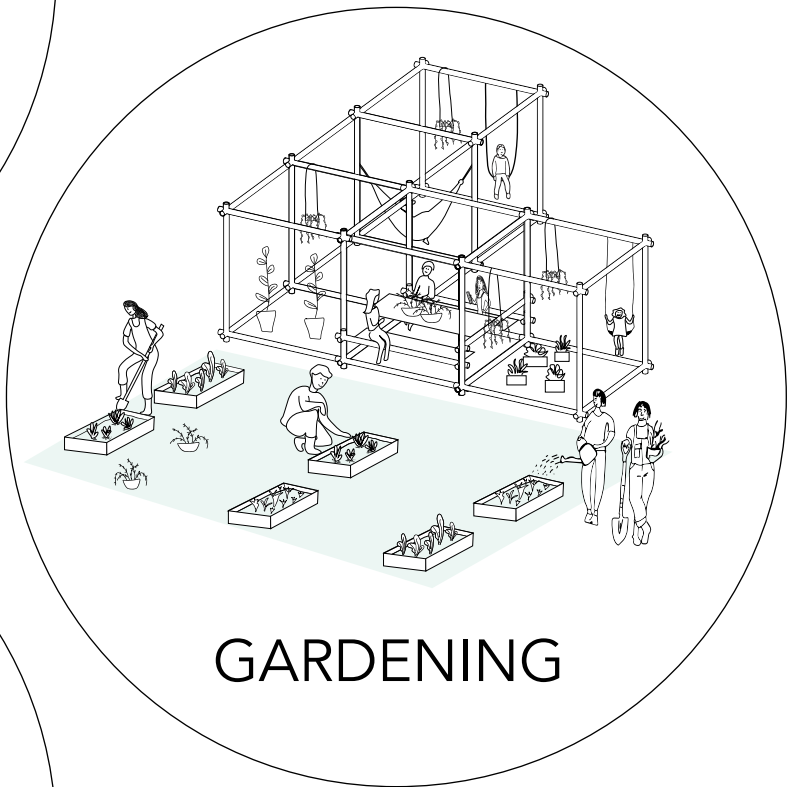
SPORTS



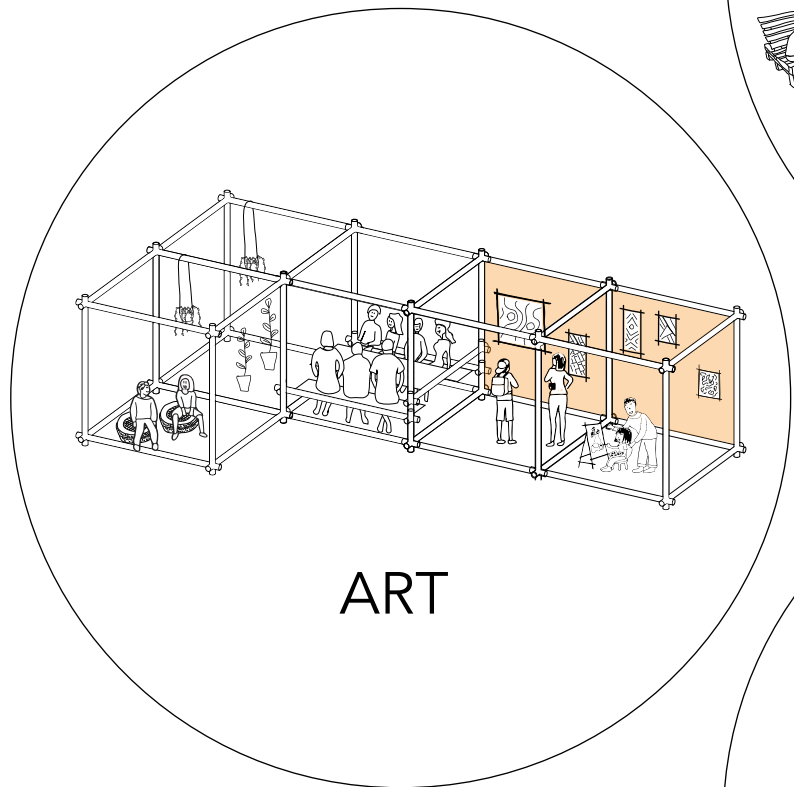
PLAY AREA



BBQ



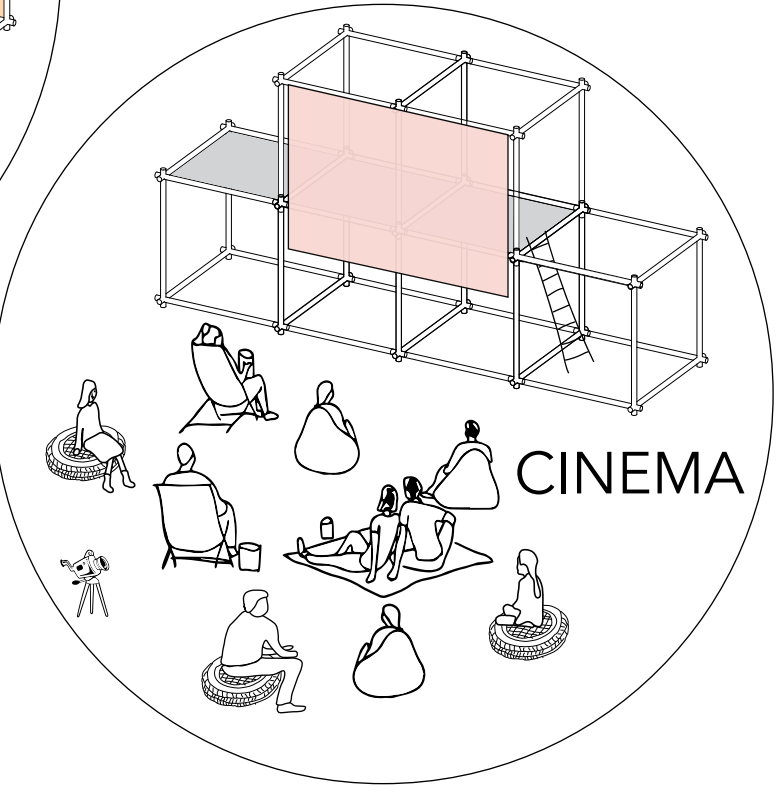
GARDENING



ART



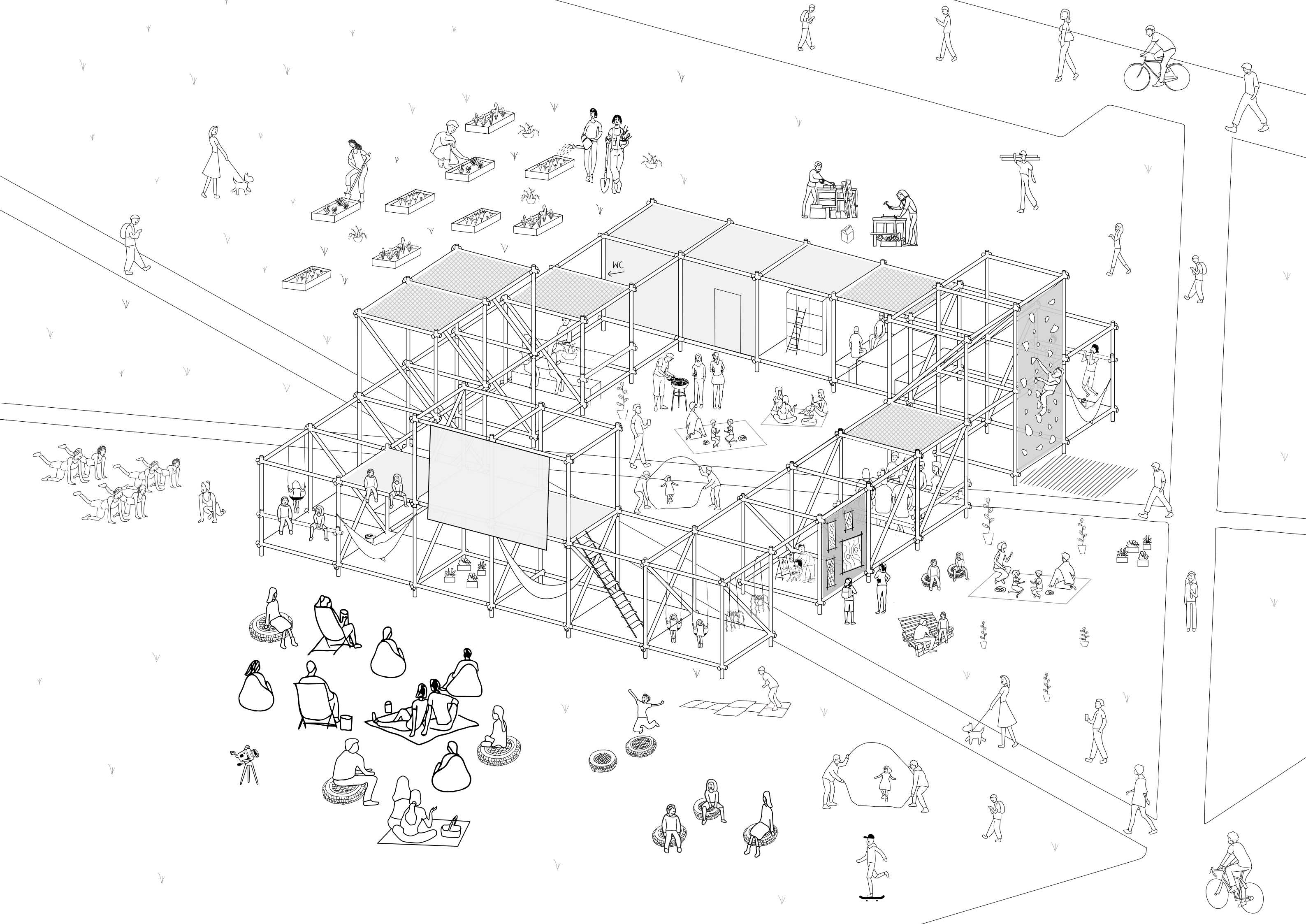
WOOD
WORKSHOP



CINEMA



COLLECTIVE
KITCHEN



7. CONCLUSION

7.1. CONCLUSION

Mutual benefit, space of encounter, reciprocal contribution – those are important terms for possible solutions regarding the challenges of migration. Based on the theory of acculturation, the concept of mutual adaptation and integration of locals and refugees emerged. Therefore, it shifted the convenient approaches of unilateral integration expected only by one way, the refugees, to a two-way model, which requires the inclusion and participation of the whole society or, on a small scale, neighborhood.

Integration and adaptation concepts gained more importance, due to increasing global conflicts and natural disasters which led to a higher rate of forced human flow. This entails changes in everyday life patterns of people around the world and makes everybody witness and affected by the consequences of the globalized world. Out of the problem for a limited group, it is becoming an all-encompassing challenge, which requires new approaches of mutual solution finding. Living in multicultural societies means living with diversity, dealing with different opinions or traditions, and going beyond traditional nationalist thinking and values. In contrast to the opinion of a growing number of people with xenophobic and prejudicial attitudes, it is important to see and represent migration and multiculturalism as advantageous.

This thesis elaborated a theoretical and practical approach to achieve the mentioned goal. Therefore, it explored the dynamics of integration and adaptation between locals and refu-

gees and how to achieve this by a mutuality concept. The following three-steps-strategy demonstrates this process:

1. Beyond the adaptation efforts of refugees, locals should adapt to the situation of refugee influx by tolerating, being informed and dealing with new circumstances.
2. Both refugees and locals then integrate into a new model of cultural society by immersing themselves in their environment.
3. Spaces of benefit and encounter are created, which provide wished and voluntarily offered activities by the neighbors and locals to create mutual benefit and learning spaces. The concept emphasizes the participation and contributions of both target groups, adopting a bottom-up approach that shifts the focus away from initiatives, which are only responsible for the project provision and management. The outcome is a pilot project that can be replicated in different neighborhoods to promote mutual integration and adaptation.

This method addresses challenges and barriers in the interaction between refugees who feel unsafe due to xenophobic attacks, and as well as locals, who feel fear, disadvantaged, and have prejudices due to the factors such as economic competition, security concerns, threats to national identity, and the impact of politics and media. By adopting the mutual integration and adaptation approach, I aim to reduce

shared fear among target groups, the so-called “fear of the unknown” and social polarization resulting from cultural clashes or xenophobic behaviors in the local society. The focus is on creating mutual benefits, particularly in areas with high social polarization.

The analysis of socio spatial and political dynamics of Marzahn resulted in the urgency of spatial interventions for integration strategies on a neighborhood scale. The findings raised concerns about how neighbors approach accommodating refugees and the areas requiring action at the intersection of high right-leaning voters, socio-economically disadvantaged people, and refugee population. Therefore, Marzahn was selected as a potential district with societal divisions and prejudices, and led to collaboration with the neighborhood initiative BENN, which works toward similar objectives.

With the intention of establishing a space of co-existence and collaboration to generate mutual benefits, it was important to find the strategic location and activity needs of the neighborhood population in Marzahn. As a result of different quantitative and qualitative research methods concerning their fear, challenge, need, wish and collaboration possibilities, the collaborative design approach in the fieldwork helped most to figure out the neighborhood demands for creating a mutual space. Interviews in a personal and trustful environment contributed to get in touch with people, hear their experiences and draw important conclusions for the project. Beyond

this it led to an empowerment by including them in the decision-making process.

Identification of the area was provided through translation of collected data into spatiality (neighborhood plan). The selected site’s significance lies in its easy accessibility, proximity to potential users, and its role as a meeting point for a densely populated residential area with frequently used community spaces. Another factor to consider is the neighbors’ travel patterns, which can contribute to spontaneous interactions in the intersection points of pathways, as well as the densely populated areas of neighbors to create safe places. This architectural experiment aims to create an appropriation process and hubs for meaningful and unplanned encounters with diverse backgrounds who might not naturally come together.

The choice of a scaffolding concept provides a practical solution, creating a flexible, adaptable, and temporary structure. The space becomes a meeting point, promoting mutual benefits and addressing fears among both refugees and locals. The result was the creation of a layout for presenting one possibility of a toolkit which can be changed and adapted according to location and the neighbors’ needs regarding activities. Consequently, it is not a framework limiting spatial scenarios, but rather acts as a starting point for stimulating interaction with the space.

7.2. PROSPECTS AND REFLECTION

The project concept was developed by facing the challenges of integration and immigration within a neighborhood. The theoretical concept of mutuality was applied practically, transforming a space into a meeting point that promotes both mutual benefits and a safe zone.

The realization of this concept can face challenges and open questions such as financial constraints, the need for support from neighborhood initiatives like BENN and the state, and the difficulty of reaching target groups with prejudices and neighbors, who are willing to contribute. These are the unpredictable variables that can only be verified when it comes to realization. The success of the concept lies in the testing through the temporary implementation of the pilot project and the evaluation of the acceptance and positive impacts. The effectiveness of the method can only be measured through practical implementation on a small scale, with the possibility of transferring it to urban conditions if successful.

Future research could investigate the impact of community-driven initiatives on the integration process and finding ways to enhance local and refugee participation in these initiatives and how the most difficult target group, the xenophobic right-wing milieus, can be reached sustainably and comprehensively.

In conclusion, this research contributed to the development of more cohesive communities, where refugees and locals can thrive together,

by presenting a new model for mutual integration and adaptation with the importance of inclusive public spaces and neighborhood-driven initiatives fostering a sense of community among diverse populations. The research has shown that urban spaces can act as mediators and foster connections between different groups who are not accustomed to everyday encounters with each other, thereby reducing prevalent prejudices and derogatory attitudes.

If the pilot project is successful, it could be an important step towards integration and social cohesion. A local urban intervention cannot claim to solve the general problems of integration, but it can help to look at the challenges of migration in heterogeneous societies from a different perspective. Every step is a step forward on the way to a multicultural, diverse and tolerant society, to reach a maximum in terms of mutual integration and adaptation of refugees and locals.

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