



BACHELOR THESIS

# URBAN HETEROTOPIAS — A CONSTRAINT FOR INTEGRATION?

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## Abstract

Often urban separation is criticized in the media because it would represent a visual indicator for failed integration. Not specifically referring to integration, Michel Foucault (1967) converges in “Of Other Spaces” to the impact of space in an implicit manner, depicting heterotopias as a location for people with deviant behavior. This approach serves as a starting point for this study. The following thesis will set up a theory, examining the research question: in what ways does living in an urban heterotopia affect integration affects integration?

Hartmut Häußermann (2009) ascertains that there is no difference in the integration process caused by the choice of residence except for the attainment of language. His assumption serves as a null-hypothesis for a qualitative case study of Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord.

This thesis focusses on the point of view of ten female migrants. Five women live in Innenstadt-Nord, a so called deprived area, the other five in Aplerbeck, a district with one of the lowest shares of migrants and social welfare receivers. After conducting narrative interviews, the grounded theory is utilized to code statements and develop categories. Subsequently, a theory is advanced, which illustrates that language is the core category and can not be isolated. Furthermore, three interviewees describe a “comfort factor”, living in a migrant shaped neighborhood. Hence, the hypothesis that integration proceeds differently in an urban heterotopia beyond the attainment of language skills can be affirmed.

However, at last, the fact that all categories are connected leads to the conclusion that the influence of space on integration and the influence of integration on space can not be discerned.

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## 1. Introduction

*“At the moment there are a lot of refugees here in Germany.. (...) And I understand the families, what they are thinking, how they feel, what they are expecting of other people. I understand them better. Okay, all people can understand them, but I experienced all of that myself.”*

(Interviewee A5)

For months, one topic has been continuously making headlines in the international media: migration. Germany is at the center of the current political controversies, as its politics have led to divided reactions (Markward 2016). While the German “welcome–culture” attracted much attention in the beginning and Angela Merkel's courage was often praised (Joffe 2016), critical voices, especially after New Year Eve in Cologne, are emerging now (Markward 2016). In addition, the European Union can not seem to agree on a unified approach.<sup>1</sup>

With a view to these controversial topics, one fact seems to remain clear: one million refugees arrived in Germany since 2014 (German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2015). There is a vast number of issues with no easy solutions at hand to solve this major challenge. Time to take a closer look at those who already cleared this hurdle.

Germany has a long history of immigration. In the 17th-19th century people from France (Huguenots), Poland and Italy moved to the cities and to the Ruhr region (Bade 2010: 149-152.). One seventh of the population settled to Germany during this time (Ibid.). After the Second World War, between 1945 and 1949, 11 million people were fleeing (Bade 2010: 155). Between 1948 and 1961, 2,7 million refugees arrived from East Germany (Bade 2010: 159). Afterwards, from 1955 to 1966, the so-called “Guest Worker Immigration” happened in West-Germany (Ibid.). From 1989 ongoing, there was a flow from East Germans and Eastern Europeans former to West-Germany (Bade/Oltmer 2004: 112). As Europe was confronted with the Yugoslav Wars, especially from 1991 to 1993, refugees from the civil war regions on the Balkan fled to Germany (Ibid.). This history of immigration places the issue how integration proceeded in Germany so far.

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<sup>1</sup> Published in March 2016 for Goethe-Institut Boston.

## 1. Introduction

Although there had been a lot of research on integration, the key to success was yet not found. Often urban separation is criticized in the media because it would represent a visual indicator for failed integration (Häußermann 2005). However, difficulties arise, when an attempt is made to implement policy spatial integration. Restructuring of urban space or the building of refugee hostels in housing estates has been widely discussed, if not refused (Ibid.). So the question arises, to what extent the spatial and the actual integration are compulsory interlinked.

Dortmund-Innenstadt-Nord is labeled as a deprived district. Catching a glimpse of the media coverage, it seems to differ from the rest of the city to a considerably extent: “Caught in the Ghetto” (Zeit 2000), “Why the drug war at Borsigplatz escalates” (Ruhrnachrichten 2015) or “Alarm in the Ghetto Dortmund North (Frankfurter Allgemeine 2013) are just three of many examples. Former managing editor of the Westfälische Nachrichten Alexander Völkel started the voluntary project “nordstadtblogger.de” to present a new image of the district to oppose the “one-dimensionality” of the established media (Nordstadtblogger 2016).

Whether the media are conveying the right image of the North of Dortmund, can not be assessed in this thesis. Instead, in what ways it changes integration, living in the district Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord, will be examined in the following thesis.

In the last ten years, social-scientific as well as political research has provided ample support for the assertion that the impact of urban segregation is overvalued (Häußermann 2009). This contradicts the current media coverage, which regularly presents deprived districts with a high share of migrants. With reference to Foucault’s approach of heterotopias in “Of Other Spaces”, Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord can be defined as a space that differentiates itself from the rest of the city of Dortmund. With that a connection between the concept of space and integration will be drawn.

Hence, the issue under scrutiny is the impact of residence on the integration performance. Consequently, the underlying research question of this thesis reads as follows:

**RQ: In what ways does living in an urban heterotopia affect integration?**

## 1. Introduction

As there could not be found a theory in order to come closer to answering the research question, this thesis aims to advance a theory itself.

Therefore, two groups of five female migrants were formed, one in Aplerbeck and one in Innenstadt-Nord. It will be examined, how they describe their experience of immigrating to Dortmund, which crucial objectives they had in order to integrate and which obstacles they met.

By utilizing the grounded theory, the narrative interviews will be coded and statements will be classified in categories. The core categories will be determined and their properties and dimensions will be connected in a systematically oriented manner. Due to a theoretical grit answers about differences and similarities of integration in an urban heterotopia will be given.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

Two problems emerge when thinking of the theoretical framework: first, what are the measurements to determine an individual level of integration, second, on what terms to specifically distinguish two spaces of a city.

The first issue asks for a valuation of an individual integration performance. The integration theories of Esser (1980) and Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000) will be introduced, as they structure the process of integration and provide aspects to consider when comparing individual experiences of integration.

In order to meet the second aspect, this study draws on research conducted by Michel Foucault and (1999) Häußermann (2009). Foucault is different from Häußermann in a number of respects and though they are not contradictory to one another. Michel Foucault provides an open theory, embodying different concepts of urban separation and offering a theoretical approach to differ two specific spaces of a city. His theory of urban heterotopias serves as a starting point for this thesis. Häußermann, on the other hand, gives a comprehensive overview of recent research on urban segregation, concluding that there is no difference in integration, except for the language skills. By taking his conclusion into account, the thesis will align with current research. However, it will be derived why this theoretical framework is insufficient to answer the research question and stated that the purpose of the following thesis is to advance a theory itself.

### 2.1 Defining Integration

*“Integration is a long-term process. It’s aim is to include everyone in society who lives in Germany on a permanent and legal basis. Immigrants should have the opportunity to participate fully in all areas of society on an equal standing. Their responsibility is to learn German and to respect and abide by the constitution and its laws.”*

(German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees 2016)



## 2. Theoretical Framework

This definition predetermines the targets of integration and formulates two responsibilities of the migrants: learning the language and respecting the laws. In the following, further steps for integration will be scrutinized.

Literature on integration shows a variety of approaches. However, research particularizes between two general perspectives: the social–scientific and the normative–political.

The social–scientific concept comprises the adjustment of the access conditions of immigrants to social subsystems, namely: education, economy, politics and culture (Schubert/ Klein 2016). This culminates in the development of a common collective identity. The normative-political concept implies in contrast the assimilation of the immigrants to the dominant national leading culture, the acceptance of ethnic and cultural pluralism, the adaptation of the language and the constitutional principles and laws, as well as the intercultural draught consisting of hybrid cultural new creations (Ibid.).

For the purpose of giving a prospect of the individuality of this multilevel process, two theories drawing from the social-scientific perspective will be introduced: Esser's Four Dimensions and Anhut's and Heitmeyer's Three Systems of Integration.

### 2.1.1 Esser (1980): Four Dimensions of Integration

To begin with the theory of Esser (1980), his four dimensions of integration will be presented. The first dimension is the *cognitive assimilation* consisting of (exterior) cultural adaptation (Esser 1980: 221). This covers linguistic acquisition, norm knowledge, recognition of situations and control competence for customs and practices (Ibid.). The *structural assimilation* is according to Esser the second dimension of integration, which embodies equal distribution on the social position system incorporating education, apprenticeship, occupation, income, living, culture and social services or protection (Ibid.). All in all, immigrants should have the same vertical and horizontal mobility chances (Esser 1980: 222). Subsequently, attached to the structural is the *social assimilation*, the third dimension, which embraces access to private traffic circles of the majority society, which includes the neighborhood, circles of acquaintances and circles of friends, access to

## 2. Theoretical Framework

marriage markets and to associations etc. (Ibid.). Lastly, the *identifying assimilation* can be distinguished, which describes the development of a collective sense of belonging to the country with an open immigration policy (Ibid.). Esser labels this “my country” or “We”-feeling, containing identification with the unified society (Ibid.).

### 2.1.2 Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000): Three Systems of Integration

Another related theory, examined by Anhut and Heitmeyer (2000), differentiates three systems of integration. The first system is the individual-functional system, which embodies the integration in the educational system, apprenticeship system and occupation system and moreover the equalization at the flat-market (Anhut et al. 2000: 48). Another system is the communicative-interactive social integration (Ibid.). Regarding participation, both- the objective and subjective–willingness to participate in the political discourse and decision-making processes, the fair contact with the negotiations of conflicts of interests, as well as justice and solidarity are taken into account (Ibid.). Most recently the system of cultural-expressive social integration can be discerned, which includes recognition of personal identity by the significant other and social environment and acceptance of collective identities and their symbolism by other groups (Ibid.).

These theories do not state a chronological phase-model, instead they aim to structure the different components concerning integration in a foreign society. Nevertheless, critics point out that it is more or less impracticable to access the process of integration for it is highly individual and the dimensions and systems respectively are related. For instance, the language skills or the circle of acquaintances exerts influence on education. This is the key limitation of both theories.

A closer look at both theories reveals that one has to distinguish carefully structural and social components from the development of a national identity. Structural integration comprises among others living, education and employment. Social integration includes the circle of friends, behavior in coherence with the locals or communication in the neighborhood. All factors are kind of measureable and could actually form a category system in order

## 2. Theoretical Framework

to compare two spaces of a city. Whereas the identity of a person is not quantifiable, neither judgmental. Because of that, the identity of the interviewees will not be taken into account. The next chapter will examine the connection of integration and space.

### 2.2 Michel Foucault and Space

Interconnections between natural environment and human culture has since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century been one of the central subjects of geographical investigations (Antonsich 2009: 121). Yet, a more systematic exploration of the organic interaction between people and space developed. In the following Michel Foucault's approach of space from 1967 will be introduced. Especially his apprehension of heterotopias as a location for people with deviant behavior will be explained. Subsequently studies and publications in connection with the concept of heterotopias will be presented, for the purpose of conceiving the presuppositions of this thesis. Following this, Häußermann (2009) will be implemented in order to define the place of this thesis in the certain discourse.

Looking for an overview of the work of Michel Foucault, his publications emerge as an outcome of sequential modifications. He summed up that his work was formed within three axes of his holistic thinking: knowledge, power and self (Hamenstädt 2014: 77-78). Regarding this, where can the concept of space be located in Foucault's comprehensive work?

*“The traditional sociology, the sociology of the kind of Durkheim, constituted the problem as follows: How is a society of individuals able to cohere? (...) I'm interested in the quite opposite problem, or if you like, the opposite answer to this problem, namely: Due to which exclusion system, through the excision of whom, by the drawing of which borders, by means of which play from negation and exclusion, can a society start to function?”*

(Foucault in Treibel 2006: 64).

This quote indicates the choice to implement Foucault as one of the theoretical pillars. As the author states, his thinking and as a consequence

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his publications are dedicated to people who are excluded from the society. Foucault provides a many-faceted theoretical basis. In the limelight is the construction of urban space and its input on social relations.

As Füller and Michel (2012) state, questions about space and its meaning for the specific discourses run like a common thread in different intensity through the overall work of Foucault (Füller/ Michel 2012: 9). Nevertheless, two approaches can be differentiated (Ibid.). Initially, Foucault describes space as a product of social negotiation processes, a discourse of power and cultural or social practices in order to distinguish it from the materially physically term (Ibid.). Over and above space forms an analytical grid. Space, therefore, is not just an object of analysis to be studied, but a method of analysis itself (Elden 2001: 151). This thesis makes use of the second approach of Foucault. Though the presumption that space is a product of social negotiation processes will be taken into consideration, the concept of space as a method of analysis shapes the research design of this thesis.

In particular Michel Foucault's framework of heterotopias in "Of Other Spaces" serves as a starting point for this case study. It is an essay based on a lecture given by Foucault in 1967 (Foucault 1999). The central theme is heterotopias as realized spaces of significant others, which occur in every society (Foucault 1999: 149). These spaces are clearly linked to other spaces, as they reflect, neutralize, suspend or oppose whose conditions (Ibid.). Hence heterotopias can be defined as dissociations from the norm and underlying formation of power and knowledge (Dirks 2012: 183). Nevertheless, heterotopias do not act autonomously, as they are characterized by their depending relationship to their spatial counterpart (Foucault 1999: 150). The dissociation is consequently a process in which spaces for people with a deviant behavior are formed (Ibid.).

Foucault names the heterotopia a mirror (Foucault 2005: 121). It is constantly shaped by the significant other (Ibid). Nevertheless, characteristics could be formulated, which comprise most notably the complexity of heterotopias.

The five principles of heterotopias are:

## 2. Theoretical Framework

1. Heterotopias occur in various forms and they are not universal.
2. Heterotopias are alterable.
3. Heterotopias can unite several incompatible meanings.
4. Heterotopias can be linked to a different time.
5. A heterotopia is not simply to be accessed.

As Foucault describes the (deviant- or crisis) heterotopia, he eventually wrote several studies and publications connecting to his approach “Of Other Spaces” as an analytical grid.

In most cases these five principles are used in order to correlate the term heterotopia to a specific space (Dirks 2012: 183). For instance, subsequent to Foucault’s concept of heterotopias, Anke Breitung conducts a discourse analyses of Nürnberg-Südstadt, coining the term “urban heterotopia” as a description for a stigmatized district (Breitung 2013: 76-77). But as Dirks points out in his research, it appears to be too simple to find spaces, which comprise these principles. Thus the author claims that heterotopias should be defined in their proportion to the opposite (Ibid.). Furthermore, the characteristics of the heterotopia should be derived from its development (Ibid.). Thus Dirks’ interpretation of Foucault’s heterotopia is taken into consideration for the purpose of structuring the following case study. Furthermore, since the title of this thesis already provides an indication, the term urban heterotopia will, too, be incorporated in the formation of this thesis.

### 2.3 Häußermann (2009): Urban Segregation

However, Hartmut Häußermann (2009) provides an overview of recent segregation studies of German cities (Oberwittler 2004, Drever 2004, Salentin 2004 and Zdrojewski/ Schirner 2005). Based on this, he explains that there is no difference in the process of integration caused by residence, except for the attainment of the language skills.

Starting point for his reflections is a study by Oberwittler from 2004, who expounds that a general effect of the neighborhood can not be affirmed

## 2. Theoretical Framework

(Oberwittler 2004: 135-170). In his research investigating the correlation between propensity towards violence and influence of the neighborhood, Oberwittler exhibits that there is one specific group, which applied to the general thesis: male adolescents (Ibid.). However, several preconditions had to converge. If their circle of friends was just within the district, if they were attending the main school and if they did not move beyond the borders of the district within the last years, he unveils that there might be an influence of the neighborhood to a certain extent (Ibid.). However, a general effect regarding all inhabitants of the district, is not recognizable (Ibid.). Therefore, the author disproves the assumption that there is an adoption of the thinking and acting within a neighborhood (Ibid.). Another interesting research from 2004, introduced by Häußermann, is Drever's. Drever examined, to what extent ethnical neighborhood can be labeled as economically, socially and culturally isolated zones (Drever 2004: 1423-1439). By doing so, she contradicted the thesis that citizens of ethnical neighborhoods were more likely to maintain their traditions because they would experience more religious influence (Ibid.). In a similar way did Salentin scrutinize the causal relationship between being highly integrated in the community of the country of origin and being isolated within the majority society (Salentin 2004: 97-114). As a result, Salentin formulated that the two variables are not mutually exclusive (Ibid.). It showed that people establishing many contacts within the own ethnic network, would likewise associate more with the host society (Ibid.). The thesis of a competitive relation could be refuted. Another approach for the purpose of examining spatial segregation is the assimilation-process. Zdrojewski and Schirner observed the spatial mobility of Turkish migrants in Nürnberg (Zdrojewski/ Schirner 2005: 75-115). Districts with a high share of migrants are according to their study only "way or transit stations" (Ibid.). With rising income and professional status, the Turkish immigrants gradually decided to move away (Ibid.).

Häußermann subsequently states that there is no relation between ethnic segregation and establishing contact with indigenous people (Häußermann 2009: 242). Moreover, deviating behavior would just be conveyed under specific conditions (Ibid.). Correspondingly, the migrants living in an ethnic segregated district would not remain in the culture of their country of origin in

## 2. Theoretical Framework

excess of migrants living in the borough (Ibid.). Despite the author acknowledges that migrants living in a segregated district have a lack of language skills (Ibid.).

As Häußermann summarizes these insights, he explains that there has to be a distinction between socio-economic segregation and ethnical segregation in explicit terms (Häußermann 2009: 243). He comes to the conclusion that the migrants who live in an ethnical segregated district lack social and economical mobility (Ibid.). Therefore, the author states that integration and especially it's policy shape urban heterotopias (Ibid.). However, urban heterotopias themselves would exert no influence on the integration on migrants beyond the language skills of the migrants (Häußermann 2009: 242). Hence, Häußermann establishes a more or less unilateral relation between integration and urban heterotopias.

### 2.4 Interim Conclusion

In this chapter different approaches were introduced and discussed. Firstly, it was tried to define integration. As a result, it was explained that though the theories of Anhut and Heitmeyer and Esser combine different aspects of integration, the multilevel process can not be utterly captured. Therefore, the theories can not be used to determine in what ways integration differentiates in an urban heterotopia.

Subsequently, integration was related to space. The concept of heterotopias in "Of Other Spaces", presented by Michel Foucault in 1967, was in the limelight. It was stated that the depiction of heterotopias can be associated with various social situations. Thus, different studies working with Foucault's concept were presented. Nevertheless, a profound theoretical base, which can be utilized to answer the research question could neither be found in Foucault's "Of Other Spaces".

The ensuing summary of Häußermann's article of 2009 reflected the current scientific discourse. Several studies presented by Häußermann raised the question, if there is an influence exerted by space on integration, or exclusively the other way around. Häußermann answered that the influence of integration on the choice of residence is by far higher than vice versa.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

Moreover, he postulated that there is no difference when living in an urban heterotopia beside the attainment of the language skills. However, Häußermann does not provide a theoretical explanation, he just gives an overview of current German studies. Therefore, his article will not serve as theoretical base, but as a starting point for the main hypothesis.

All in all, it can be concluded that there could not be found a conclusively substantiated theoretical base to answer to the research question. Hence, the aspiration for this study will be to set up a theory itself, examining, in what ways living in an urban heterotopia affects integration.

Yet, the theories discussed in this chapter can be used to integrate the research question of this study in the current discourse on urban heterotopias.

When comparing Foucault's (1967) and Häußermann's approach, it becomes obvious that this is simply unrewarding. Foucault presents an open concept, which might be suitable to all kind of excluding social processes. Häußermann postulates a hypothesis about the influence from urban heterotopias on integration.

However, with respect to Foucault's "Of Other Spaces", the hypothesis that integration shapes urban heterotopias can not be denied. Therefore, Häußermann's supposition deriving from the specified studies that urban heterotopias would not affect the experience of integration, contradicts Foucault's depiction of heterotopias as a space, which dissociates from the retaining city. At this point the development of the research question and the main hypothesis draws on. It is inferred that there is a difference in the integration performance caused by space.



## 3. Methodology

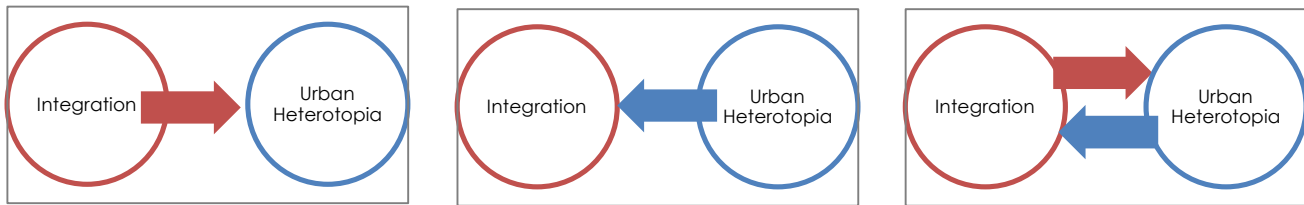
As presented in the introduction, the research question of this study is: in what ways does living in an urban heterotopia affect integration? In the following, the issue how to answer to this question will be addressed. As discussed in the theoretical framework, there is no underlying concept for integration, which captures the process in all its manifoldness. Thus, a case study comprising ten narrative interviews with female migrants and an inductive approach for coding the data will be implemented.

Firstly, the hypothesis, integration proceeds differently in an urban heterotopia, will be derived. In order to examine the hypothesis two groups of female migrants were formed, one group in Aplerbeck and one in Innenstadt-Nord. In the following chapter, it will be discussed how the selection of the interviewees proceeded and how the interviews were structured and conducted. Furthermore, the grounded theory as data analysis will be introduced.

### 4.1 Research Design and Development of the Main Hypothesis

To illustrate the connection between urban heterotopias and integration, the following sketches are provided. One of the main limitations of this thesis is that the analysis does not enable to determine both – the influence of the factor integration and of urban heterotopias. However, this does not mean that influence from integration can not be assumed. Quite contrary, it is conceivable. This is in line with Foucault and Häußermann. Foucault does not provide solid evidence in his theory, but as the exclusion of people is in the centerpiece of his work, he would at least not deny it. Häußermann completely affirms that failed integration leads to urban heterotopias. This thesis will not discuss the influence of integration and its policy on urban heterotopias, hence, it will not be denied or affirmed. Therefore, all three sketches presented, could actually illustrate the influence of integration on urban heterotopias (marked as red).

### 3. Methodology



*Fig. 1 (Own Illustration): Research Design – Context of Integration and Urban Heterotopias*

Instead the urban heterotopia as an integration-shaping element will be investigated (marked as blue). It will be examined, if the distinction between urban heterotopias and the remaining city has an influence on integration or if Häußermann can be affirmed that urban heterotopias have no effect beside the acquisition of the language. The purpose of the following thesis is to fill this theoretical gap, by utilizing a qualitative case study.

As already stated, the theoretical framework defines not only the starting point of the reflection preceding this thesis, but exerts influence on the implementation of the study, too. Therefore, a main hypothesis is developed, which will be tested by means of the following case study of the city of Dortmund.

The main hypothesis functioning as a null hypothesis to Häußermann's reads as follows:

**Integration proceeds differently in an urban heterotopia beyond the attainment of the language skills.**

As illustrated above, in this case study the focus is on the impact of the "space" and the outcome of "integration". Therefore, the multilevel correlations will be a metaphorically "Black Box", when it comes to inductively investigating this process. The complexity of the process will be adequately taken into account by implementing qualitative narrative interviews and deriving categories from these to analyze the content.

The thesis will break down the theoretical framework to its core statement. Hence, the perspective will be narrowed down to the city Dortmund, specifically ten migrants, who live in Innenstadt-Nord and Aplerbeck, respectively. Therefore, a case study is drafted as a research design. This is a form of qualitative descriptive research and will be utilized in this thesis to examine two groups of five female interviewees.

### 3. Methodology

#### 4.2 Method of Data Gathering

In the following the proceeding of the case study will be discussed. The approach of the interviews will be described particular with regard to the choice of biographical semi-structured interviews and the implementation of the grounded theory to create a theoretical approach based on the data gathered.

##### 4.2.1 Selection of the Interviewees

The selection of the interviewees turned out to be controversial. Firstly, it was tried to establish contact to the MIA DO, the communal integration center Dortmund. Since the secretary of the administration declared that they are not allowed to give information or to establish contacts to migrants, they passed on to their list of all organizations led by migrants, which can be found on website of the MIA DO. Afterwards, all local (migrant-) organizations in Aplerbeck and Innenstadt- Nord were contacted by phone and mail.

Particularly significant in order to find interviewees was to establish confidence. Eight organizations had reservations concerning what data is planned to be gathered and how the interviews would proceed. At last, two organizations of female migrants agreed with the preconditions. The agreement includes that a declaration of confidence is handed, which says that the names of the migrants will render anonymous, narrative interviews are conducted and the interviews are performed one-on-one. Furthermore, the organization names as well as will render anonymous.

The sample consists of ten women of different cultural background and age, who live in Germany for 1 ½ to 8 years. The core sample of Aplerbeck comprises five women aged between twenty-four and forty-nine years from Russia, Syria and Turkey. Whereas the core sample of Innenstadt-Nord includes five women aged between twenty-nine and fifty-two. Four of the five women migrated from Turkey. One interviewee comes from Algeria.

### 3. Methodology

#### 4.2.2 Construction and Implementation of the Interviews

The implementation of the interviews took place in Dortmund. At first the interviews with five women in Aplerbeck were conducted in a Café on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November. We cooked together a Syrian meal. After the eating I talked one-on-one with each woman. While the other women stayed in the kitchen, we sat down in the café-area.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November the Interviews in Innenstadt-Nord also comprising five women, were performed in the Dietrich-Keuning Haus, a cultural center.

Before the interviews started, the interviewees were given an explanation that the interviews are conducted in order to write a thesis concerning integration in Dortmund. Furthermore, it was explained that in the limelight are the experiences of the migrants. The other sample was not mentioned. Neither was described that the thesis will examine the influence of space. Afterwards the procedure of the interview was clarified and a declaration relating to the protection of confidence was signed by the interviewer.

As the organizations as well as the interviewees questioned the intentions of the interview and feared to be examined or judged, a valuation of the integration performance according to social and structural assimilation is not employed. This thesis will not be able to determine and evaluate an individual lifestyle. Instead factors that were crucial in order to achieve structural and social integration are examined. Moreover, it will be questioned, how the interviewee assesses the possibility to integrate in the specific neighborhood. In consultation with the contact persons, it was decided to utilize narrative interviews.

The construction of the interviews was geared to create an open and trustworthy setting, thus, it comprised only three parts and was highly concentrated on a narrate-generating question. The first part consists of four questions, which were asked in order to gather general information, to ensure that the interviewee applies to the selection as described above and to have a modest start in the interview situation. Subsequently the narrate-generating question was posed on the interviewee. Some interviewees had initial difficulties when answering, as the narrate-generating question was formulated fairly general. Nevertheless, the interviews evolved during the

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part of speech. For the purpose of assisting the interviewees in their answer without distorting these, sub-questions were asked. However, the questions were posed depending on, if the answers were not already provided in first place.

The narrative-generating question should keep the influence of the interviewer within the limit, as the interviewee was free to tell whatever “crosses her mind”. Nevertheless, an effect becomes apparent, since the interviewer as a German seemed to represent the “Germans”, just like the interviewees personify the “Migrants”. This was clearly recognizable, when several interviewees appealed to the interviewer as a non-migrant, in order to making their experiences clearer. But just as the advantage could be extracted of an authentic insight of integration, the disadvantage became apparent: to what extent can the outcome of this study be guided, if its implementation is more or less completely kept open. This will be explained in the data analysis.

#### 4.2.3 Evaluation of the Interviews

The evaluation of the interviews ensued in two proceeding steps. The interviews were recorded, additionally transcribed and translated into English — except for Interview A3, since the interviewee preferred to speak in English. Especially the process of transcribing and translating was quite difficult, because the migrants spoke in their second language and made grammatical and spelling mistakes. In order to leave the data as unmodified as possible, it was decided to translate as direct as possible. So grammatical and spelling mistakes were adopted into the translation of the transcripts. Moreover, the transcripts serve as a preparation for the analysis.

The lengths of the interviews varied between 7:22 and 31:13 Minutes. All interviews are completely attached to the Appendix.

#### 4.3 Method of Data Analysis

“How categories are defined (...) is an art. Little is written about it.”

(Krippendorff 1980: 76)

As a method of data analysis, this thesis utilizes a hermeneutic approach. This approach comprises a logically consistent set of data collection and analytic procedures aimed to develop theory. Grounded theory methods consist of a set of inductive strategies for analyzing data (Charmaz 1996: 28). That means the researcher starts with individual cases and experiences and develops progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesize, to explain and to understand the data and lastly, to identify patterned relationships within it (Böhm 2004: 270). Most fundamentally, grounded theory methods explicitly unite the research process with theoretical development (Ibid.).

The first major analytic phase of the research consists of coding the data. In short, coding is the process of defining what the data is all about. The process runs within three phases: open, axial and selective coding (Ibid.). The crucial phase of coding leads directly to developing theoretical categories, some may be defined in the initial codes.

##### 4.3.1 The Grounded Theory

As explained in the previous chapter, the research design of this thesis resembles a black box. In this chapter will be clarified how this black box will be assessed. To meet this challenge, it is conceivable to make use of an inductive approach. In this case study the analysis will be performed by implementing the grounded theory. In the following the techniques of coding will be described.

As a first step in order to interpret the data, an **open coding** will be performed. In open coding data are subdivided analytically, and in this the concept of grounded theory shows itself: from the interviews a draft of categories is developed that may solely be used as building a base for the model (Charmaz 1996: 37).

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To begin the grounded theory analysis, each line of data has to be examined for defining the actions that occur in it or as represented by it (Böhm 2004: 271.). Subsequently larger paragraphs or even whole texts may be coded. In order to avoid simple paraphrasing, the following ‘theory-generating’ questions are asked of the text.

- What? What is at issue here? What phenomenon is being addressed?
- Who? What persons or actors are involved? What roles do they play? How do they interact?
- How? What aspects of the phenomenon are addressed (or not addressed)?
- When? How long? Where? How much? How strongly?
- Why? What reasons are given or may be deduced?
- For what reason? With what intention, and for what purpose?
- By what means? What methods, tactics and strategies are used to achieve the goal?

(Böhm 2004: 271)

*Open coding* is an expanding procedure in the sense that considerable quantities of interpretative text can be added to a small segment of an original text (Ibid.).

In ordering the preliminary results it will become clear what concepts are important for the research question and therefore require deeper analysis, and what results should not be pursued in greater depth (Ibid.).

**Axial coding** will be a following step in order to analyze the data. This step serves to refine and differentiate concepts that are already examined and label them category or subcategory (Strübing 2014:16). One category is located at the center and a network of relationships is developed around it (Ibid.). Hence, axial coding is used particularly in the middle and later stages of the analysis (Strübing 2014: 18). In the same way as open coding, axial coding is applied to very short paragraphs, to larger extracts and to the entire text. The development of connections between the axial categories and the concepts, which can be assigned to them, are of particular importance for postulating a theory (Böhm 2004: 272). Different relationships between the

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categories can be differentiated. For instance, the axial category is developed in its temporal and spatial relationships, in connections of cause and effect, in means–ends relationships or in terms of argumentative and motivational connections (Böhm 2004: 272.). A further incentive in *axial coding* can be found in an overview of theoretical framing concepts, or so-called coding families (Ibid.). The C-family (causes, contexts, consequences, conditions, etc.) corresponds to the coding network, as depicted above. For Glaser (1978: 74) this coding family is the central part for analyzing social structures (the ‘bread and butter theoretical code of sociology’).

In the last phase, the **selective coding**, the researcher is particularly active as an author on the basis of the categories, coding notes, memos, networks and diagrams so far developed (Strübing 2014: 18). As a starting point for establishing the main phenomenon of the analysis, it is advisable to look at coding lists, summarizing memos and representations of networks (Ibid.). The main phenomenon is described as the core category and is possibly already present in the formulation of the research question of the particular investigation (Böhm 2004: 274). There are indeed such shifts in a research perspective in the course of data collection and interpretation, which lead to new and surprising discoveries (Ibid.). For this reason, it should be asked repeatedly, in the course of an investigation, which phenomena are central. (Ibid.). Subsequently, the main story unfolds around a core category because it illustrates various relationships to other important categories (Strübing 2014: 18). After determining the core category, its properties and dimensions and other relevant categories are connected in a systematically oriented manner to the core category (Ibid.). Once the relationships to the main categories have been established, their particular properties and dimensions will be compared with regard to regularities and patterns (Ibid.).

#### 4.3.2 Memo Writing

“Memo-writing is the intermediate phase between coding and the first draft of the completed analysis.” (Charmaz 1996: 43) When *memo-writing*, the focus changes. The researcher looks at the coding as processes to explore rather than a methodology to eventually sort data into categories (Ibid.).



### 3. Methodology

Grounded theory methods aim for discovering and defining processes. Along these lines, it is crucial to look for connections, even when the focus is on one single case or individual (Strauss/ Glaser 1967). Because they stress identifying patterns, in the grounded theory respondents' stories are typically used to illustrate patterns themselves (Charmaz 1996: 43). It will be intended on bringing the raw data right into the memo, in order to preserve the most telling examples of the ideas from the start of the analytic work (Ibid.). Hence, sufficient verbatim material to ground the abstract analysis fully has to be conducted. By providing verbatim material from different individuals into the *memo-writing*, it is possible to make accurate comparisons (Charmaz 1996: 44).

*Memo-writing* consists of construing the categories by subdividing them into their components. Thus, categories are defined as carefully as possible. That implies, their characteristics should be identified and their underlying approvals should be found in order to illustrate how and when the category developed and changed (Ibid.).

## 4. Background Innenstadt-Nord and Aplerbeck

In the following chapter will be discussed, why Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord can be defined as a heterotopia and why Aplerbeck is used as its counterpart. The selection of these spaces can be justified by taking a closer look to their history and development.

Since the mid-1950 and early 1960's migrating to Germany has been incrementally transformed from a temporary guest worker system to the enduring settlement of newcomers and their families in the early 1970's (Hanley 2008: 242). But the big twist here was that the transformation from guest workers to settlers also coincided with the reduction of industrial manufacturing jobs (Ibid.). As a result, the unemployment rate of guest workers rose steeply in the 1980s and has remained constantly higher with concern of the following generations (Hanley 2008: 243).

Innenstadt-Nord is since 1843 with the invention of the railway from Dortmund to Duisburg an industry shaped district, as railways demand coal and steel (Stadt Dortmund 2015b). In remembrance of its industrial background, Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord is located in the city center, however, simultaneously split off from the southern city by train rails. By the manpower shortage of the Ruhr area industry in the 1960s many foreign "guest workers"



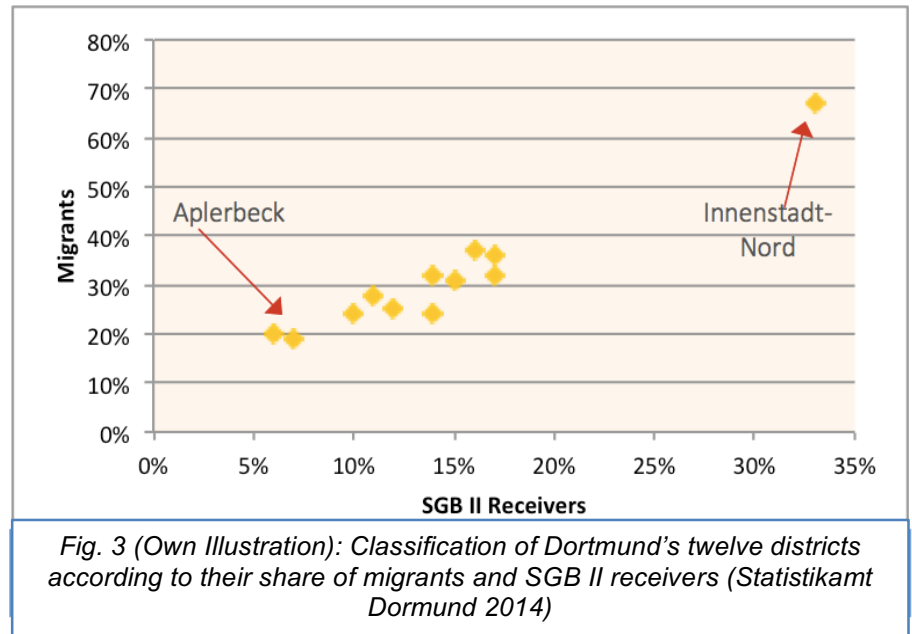
Fig. 2: Districts of Dortmund (Wikipedia)

came to the Dortmund north town (Ibid.). Firstly, these were mainly people from Italy, Greece, Portugal or Spain, in following decades Turkish working migrants increasingly arrived, later also people from North Africa (Ibid.). With the promulgation of the law of war in Poland in 1981 various Polish immigrants reached to the north town, they are called "late emigrants" (Ibid.).

#### 4. Background Innenstadt-Nord and Aplerbeck

The enterprise of Hoesch, founded in 1870, was considered to be one of the biggest steel industries of Germany (Ebert/ Hartzfeld 1989: 71). The largest of its four factories, the "Westfalenhütte", located at the Borsigplatz in the north of Dortmund was its flagship (Ibid.). But after the coalescence with Thyssen-Krupp in 1997 the factory was closed in 2001 and abandoned thus the steel production in Dortmund (RuhrRevue 2008). The coal mining was, too, a regressing economy

sector as from the late 1970s (Ebert/ Hartzfeld 1989: 76). The unemployment numbers rose and though the people stayed (Ibid.). According to the annual report 2014 of the City of Dortmund the share of migrants in Innenstadt-Nord amounts to 69%, while Aplerbeck comes to less than 20% (Statistik Dortmund 2014).



Nevertheless, Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord has to embody the five principles of a heterotopia, in order to be labeled as an urban heterotopia. As illustrated in figure two, Innenstadt-Nord discerns from the other districts in terms of its share of migrants and social welfare receivers. The migrants come from different countries with various cultural background, though the majority of the people came from Turkey. And though, it can be derived that the living environments occur in various forms and that Innenstadt-Nord is not universal. Moreover, it is alterable and hence unites several incompatible meanings because Innenstadt-Nord changed within the past years and is both stigmatized as a deprived district and a creative center of students and artists (Nordstadtblogger 2016). However, it was merely known as the worker district, establishing the industrial sector, but the biggest industries either closed or moved. This would indicate that Innenstadt-Nord is linked to a different time as well. For it is cut off by train rails, it can be allocated that it is

#### 4. Background Innenstadt-Nord and Aplerbeck

a location, which is not “simply” to be accessed. Thus, Dortmund Innenstadt-Nord can be labeled an urban heterotopia.

*„Existing networks give orientation. The Dortmund north has even today not only on account of the business development a special attraction for many immigrants. Another important reason are the already existing networks of the respective ethnic groups which allow cultural support, orientation and therefore a lighter entrance in the foreign society.“*

(Stadt Dortmund 2015a)

This quote of the city of Dortmund incorporates the attitude of the local authority towards the segregated district. The following case study will inductively investigate, whether the respective ethnic group exerts influence on the experience of integration or not. But as already stated before, this can only be examined by contrasting the urban heterotopia to its mirror, in this case study: Aplerbeck.

Aplerbeck has developed from a rural structure and the industrialization in the 19th century with mining and metallurgical engineering now in the 21st century to a town district which distinguishes itself by high residential and leisure quality (Stadt Dortmund 2015c). The district developed as a location for IT technology, call center and logistics center (Ibid.). Aplerbeck shows an exceptionally high buying power and an unemployment low in comparison (Ibid.). The annual police statistics expels the town district as very sure (Ibid.). Moreover, it disposes of excellent local traffic binding and of direct connections with the B 1 and the highway A 1 (Ibid.). The airport with his tourism area and business division with international destinations lies in close vicinity (Ibid.).

Simultaneously, Aplerbeck distinguishes itself by a very active association life. More than 200 associations offer a wide spectrum for activities in the leisure area, for instance mountain bike driving, beach-volleyball or an indoor swimming pool (Ibid.). Central big events, like the artist's market in May, the Aplerbecker apple market in autumn or three Advent markets in the town district are a popular meeting place (Ibid.).

### 5. Results

In the following chapter codes and categories, developed by implementing the methodology, will be first presented and subsequently discussed. Whereas the first part of the analysis will define the categories in general and their interconnections, the discussion in the second part will focus on the research question: to what extent does living in an urban heterotopia affect integration. Moreover, a bridge between the results of the case study and Foucault and Häußermann will be built.

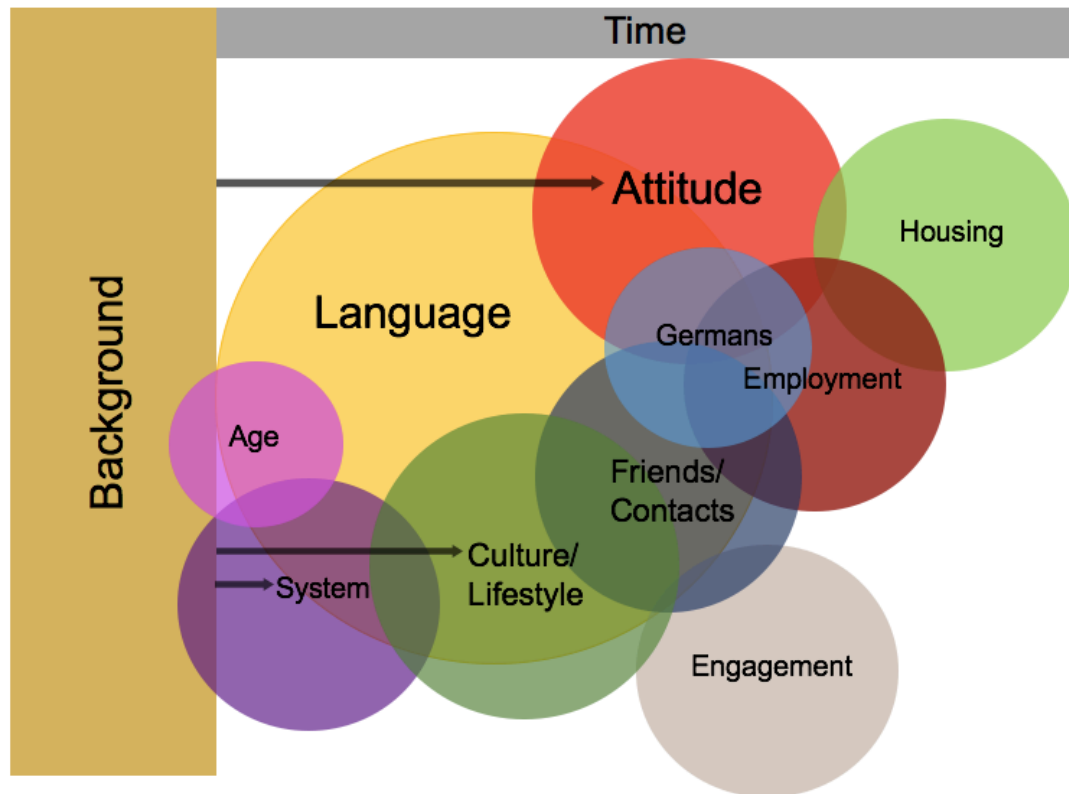
#### 5.1 Categories of Integration

In the open coding several unstructured integration factors were elaborated. A chart was used to conceive line-by-line the material. It could be differentiated between situational anecdotes and the assessment of situations, which are universally applicable to the process of integration.

During the axial coding, keywords could be framed, which would already form a category. "Learning the language" would eventually become the central category, since all ten migrants mentioned it as a factor. Nine interviewees determined it as the most crucial achievement in order to integrate. Other catchphrases such as "attitude", "employment", "background", "lifestyle" (German lifestyle) and "family/ circle of friends and acquaintances" were frequently mentioned but could not be completely separated. Already at this point of the analysis a net appeared. This became obvious during the process of the axial coding. In order to assign the codes to categories, they were colored. But in a lot of times two or three colors were added, as the codes could match to different categories. For instance, some codes assessing the migrants background (Did the migrant come on own choice? Which were the crucial demands/ wishes, when the migrant arrived in Germany) seemed to be connected with codes, describing the attitude. Whereas many codes ascribed to the attitude are crucial for the category "learning the language". The language skills in fact affect the chances for employment. These references were part of the memo writing.

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In the selective coding, the links between the categories were developed and elaborated to create a figure.



*Fig. 4 (Own Illustration): Visualization of the Categories of Integration*

As mentioned above and illustrated in this sketch, language became the central factor. The differences in the category language became apparent already before the interviews started. For instance, at the international breakfast in Aplerbeck all women were told to chat in German. They even admonished each other to stop talking in their first language. In Innenstadt-Nord, on the contrary, all women conversed in Turkish. If some sentences were spoken in German, they had to be translated to the rest of the group. Into the bargain, four of twelve women, who were present at the 25<sup>th</sup> November, could not communicate in German at all. As an example the interview of interviewee IN3 varies tremendously in length and content because of a lack of communication skills of both the interviewee and the interviewer.

This impression strengthened throughout the process of the analysis. When memo-writing, “language” developed towards a core category because eight

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interviewees labeled language the base for everything else to grow. *“First of all, I have to learn the language.”* (A3); *“I started with nothing. Nothing means the language.”* (A4); *“Everywhere you go, appears a wall. This wall is named language.”* (A4); *“And without knowing the language, I don’t know, you have nothing at all.”* (A5); *“Without language we couldn’t solve our problems.”* (IN1); *“At first you have to learn the language.”* (IN2); *“By speaking the same language one can talk to each other and listen and comprehend what the people think of one another. And I can talk about my wishes, too.”* (IN5). Four interviewees said that German was their second language. Never learned a second language before, it was extremely hard for them to get used to the new sound and spelling.

Referring to Häußermann and his assessment that migrants would “lack only language skills” his hypothesis becomes unrealistic, if language functions as basis for employment, contacts and all other categories.

However, Häußermann’s assumption that migrants, living in an urban heterotopia, lack language skills, can be affirmed. The language skills of the interviewees in Innenstadt-Nord appeared to be worse, compared to the interviewees in Aplerbeck. One argument is that language needs practice. The neighborhood could be a crucial factor. As interviewee IN5 pointed out: *“But you can see as we do it here. People are always tending to choose the easy way. We are mostly Turkish women here and so we talk in Turkish. Because it is easier. I guess this is negative. One says it is easier to express yourself in your mother tongue.”*

Though the language was seen by most interviewees as a starting point, the category background seemed to exert influence on the core category, too. The background of the migrant is a precondition for the integration performance. Especially two women talked about their traumatic experiences, as they were Kurdish living in Turkey (A4, IN1). Interviewee IN1 explained that her situation kind of paralyzed her to start a life: *“I started a German lecture, when I got here, but I could not learn anything, I always had to think of my son.”* What is more, a vicious circle could be drawn. The background of the migrant affects the attitude and the attitude influences the attainment of language. Bad language skills are a bad condition for finding an employment. No job leads would to less self-confidence, which affects the

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attitude. This result was unattached of residence. So, employment often depends on the attainment of the language. But moreover a frustration appeared because it is mostly not possible to work in the same profession as the migrant worked before. Therefore, the categories attitude and language could be identified as correlating factors. While the individual background preconditions the other categories. The importance of the attitude became obvious in several quotes: *"Why should they integrate themselves? If they don't need to, they won't do."* (A1) *"Because if everything is new, it's a really big challenge. One is always afraid of something new. This is normal. But somehow you have to overcome this."* (A1); *"Why always staying at home? Re-thinking and so on."* (A2); *"It wasn't so difficult for me, because I always, I'm always curious and want to know more about other cultures, what other people think."* (A3) *"I have to improve. When you are weak, you are too weak to make it here. I tried to be a better version of me. To be more self-confident."* (IN1)

Another category is the development of friends and acquaintances. In most cases socio-economic factors were deciding when finding new contacts. The circle of friends developed within the people one shares a lifestyle with. This was independent of the district. A sense of home can be developed by being surrounded by like-minded people. As described above, friendships develop within the circle of people you share a lifestyle with. Just like interviewee IN4 explains how a friendship with a Russian woman started: *"And so we began to talk. It is somehow easier, because you experience the same."*

Therefore, a "German" neighborhood like Aplerbeck is not a guarantee for contact with Germans. As Interviewee A1 described her relation with German neighbors: *"We say 'Hello' and 'Goodbye' to each other. Close enough."* *"They do not mix with us, do you understand? These are two separate worlds, which run parallel to each other."* Yet, two migrants living in Aplerbeck stated to stay in contact with German neighbors (A2, A4). German people were mainly described by 7 of 10 interviewees as "withdrawn" and "reserved". They described a lack of interest and questioned Germany's welcome culture. Interviewee IN4 said: *"People are not open-minded here. They don't know you at all. But they have this gigantic wall. This great wall. You can not reach them."* One has to be self-initiative and self-confident was



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one of the main subcategories related to contacts with Germans. Interviewee IN4 further described her experiences: *“I forced them to let me take part in their group. Whenever they went anywhere, I would be there. And I asked them: “Hello, what are you doing today? And how are you?” and so on“.* Interviewee A1 supports the assumption that one has to act stubborn in order to befriend with Germans, by stating: *“they were interested to know Germans, but this was hard to achieve for the people, do you understand? Nobody comes to you, not to foreigner and not to a German, nobody comes and says: “Hello Lena (interviewer) we want to get to know you!” Nobody makes this. This is always on self-initiative and you have this or you haven’t.”* Three women pointed out that one has to gain the respect of the Germans (A1, A3, IN1). However, three interviewees (both samples) emphasized that the locals are as central for integration as the migrants. *“But these are not only the foreigners who can integrate.” (A2;)* *“It depends on both sides. It depends on the foreigners – do they want to integrate themselves or do they not want to integrate. And this also depends on the locals” (A1);* *“But there are always two sides. Germans and this society and the others and both sides have to try, not one side, not always I, as a migrant. Both sides have to.” (IN1).* It can be adhered to the statements that the impression of and the contact with Germans seems to be similar for the most part.

Two categories exerting influence on all other categories were “age” and “time”. The beginning was described by 7 interviewees as the hardest part, as one has to start from the scratch. Integration takes time. But at the same time, migrating becomes harder the older you are. This was explained by interviewee A1, when she described the reaction of her mother when she arrived in Germany. *“For my Mutzi it had been quite a shock, she has crept away in our room.”* But also other women took age in consideration when they decided to move to Germany. *“Maybe I was too old to learn everything anew.” (IN1);* *“I always thought, I can do this better. Because I am younger and I can integrate better” (IN4).*

Interviewee A1 differs from the rest of the interviews, when she describes how she had to get to know the German system. *“And with Russian people it is always like this: As much as you get on the papers, you get in the pocket. In Russia there is not such a bureaucracy system like here, there is not such*

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*a thing. Everything is easier regulated and mostly with small presents, it works better. Chocolate is enough. Everybody will be happy. Here such a thing is not looked with pleasure. Here papers are even more important.*" This can be related to her country of origin. Interviewee A1 comes from Russia, a communistic system, whereas the other interviewees were born and raised in Turkey, Syria and Algeria.

However, the system, in particular the city of Dortmund, got another meaning in the interview with IN1. She declared that the system is in charge to integrate the migrants, especially with concern to employment. *"All people are the same, Turks, Kurds, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, it is mostly the job. It gives you the feeling that you are needed. Self-confidence. People told me that here was the Hoesch-factory and coal mining etc. and than the migrants came and now Hoesch has moved into a better district. But the people stayed. The Germans moved, too. Now everyone says it is criminal here. But it is not criminal. But you have to see this different. The city (Dortmund) has to solve this. Not the people have to solve this. Now I have said so much."*

Another important category is "culture and lifestyle". As stated before, Germans were mostly described "reserved" and "withdrawn". But also traditions like Christmas, pork in the supermarket, eating on the streets or gardens with fences were named by the interviewees (IN4, IN5). However, the process of getting to know a new culture was not called a major problem in order to integrate.

However, it was argued that it is easier to feel home in a neighborhood, if you are surrounded by other migrants. This was an argument, established by three interviewees from Innenstadt-Nord (IN2, IN4, IN5). More life and people outside would have some kind of "comfort factor". Interviewee IN5 pointed out: *"But it is not hard to feel home here, even if everything is so big. Here are so many people on the streets, and I think that is why other people think that it is a bad place. But you can make your life so much easier, when you go to these people and are interested in them. Why not? Here are so many people who live in apartments, so it is normal that these people are on the streets."*

## 5. Results

### 5.2 Discussion

All in all, several categories could be framed how integration proceeds, but only two of them were directly dependent on the choice of residence. Firstly, the attainment of the German language and second the “home-feeling” in the neighborhood. However, by taking a closer look, it can be concluded that since all categories are connected in the theoretical grid, there can be no distinction between influence of space on integration and the other way around.

During the process of coding, a new aspect of space and integration appeared: “the feeling-good factor”. It was not mentioned in any of the theories presented in the theoretical framework because how migrants assess their district was not considered by Häußermann or Foucault. Three of five migrants pointed out that they prefer the cultural life in Innenstadt-Nord. Therefore, another disparity between living in Aplerbeck and living in Innenstadt-Nord appeared. Being surrounded by people, one shares a lifestyle with, can convey a “home-feeling”. So, there might be a benefit, when living in an urban heterotopia.

As stated above, language functions as a core category and exerts influence on employment, contacts, attitude and culture. As one can see in figure four, the categories of integration are connected and language serves as their base. Therefore, Häußermann can be approved and denied. The five women living in Innenstadt-Nord couldn’t speak German as well as the women living in Aplerbeck. Nevertheless, it seems impossible to take the category language out of the structure and isolate it from the other categories. For instance, living in an urban heterotopia influences the language skills of a migrant. Thus, it can be assumed that living in an urban heterotopia particularly preconditions the chances of finding a job because speaking German is a basic requirement for most jobs. Employment, however, is connected to attitude, contacts and housing. So, changing one category has great impact on all other categories. Häußermann seems to misinterpret integration, when he is not examining a structure, but categories apart from one another.

## 5. Results

Foucault's approach in "Of Other Spaces" might comprise the coherent structure of integration, as his definition of heterotopias remains open regarding several aspects. Nevertheless, it can not be fully approved because integration proceeds not completely different in the two districts. Aplerbeck is not Innenstadt-Nord's mirror. Just as differences, similarities appeared. For instance, the women shared their view on Germans. Moreover, all of them explained that the integration performance is highly connected to the attitude, which is independent from the neighborhood.

The specific impact of an urban heterotopia regarding each category seems not measureable. Especially as the background affects all of categories. For example, traumatic experiences like many Syrian people might have witnessed, have a great influence on the attitude. As IN1 pointed out, she felt too powerless to learn the language as she could not focus.

Nevertheless, as language is the starting point for all other categories to develop, more consequences can be derived. For example, Häußermann comes to the conclusion that migrants who live in an ethnical segregated district lack social and economical mobility. It could be questioned, if the attainment of language affects employment insofar as this could be one explanation that people living in an urban heterotopia seem to be in a worse financial position (Statistikamt Dortmund 2014).

However, one could argue that this thesis has to consider the interaction between integration and space. Therefore, the category language should not be overvalued. Hartmut Häußermann could be right in his assumption that integration exerts more influence on space than the other way around. This became apparent with regard to the alarming depictions concerning the relationship between Germans and migrants. These statements could also be a clarification for the "comfort-feeling" in Innenstadt-Nord. Failed integration could lead to avoidance. But the fact that all categories are connected leads to the conclusion that influence of space on integration and influence of integration on space can not be discerned. Changing one aspect (space) in the structure (figure four), will ultimately lead to a different outcome.

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As a result, another conclusion can be drawn. The categories formed in this thesis can not only be assigned to the influence of urban heterotopias on integration, as shown in figure one. This also means that Häußermann, just as this thesis, was wrong to differentiate between the influence of integration on space and the influence of space on integration. It is compulsory connected and can not be clearly separated.

Nevertheless, the main hypothesis that integration proceeds differently in an urban heterotopia beyond the attainment of language skills can be affirmed. Because though the influence of space and integration can not be discerned, one can at least conclude from the theoretical grid that there is a connection between space and integration.

## 6. Conclusion

*"I tell you another funny story. My mother-in-law has grown up as a local in Germany. She was born here - a typical German. As I once visited her, she was interested in a Russian salad. (...) So I was at her place to cook the Russian salad together. And I cooked just like I always do. You know, this had been a shock for my mother-in-law. Because she cooks differently. She cooks every vegetable in a special pot. Russian people would never do this. You have one big pot. You put the carrots and all vegetables in it and the potatoes, too. You will put everything together and on the top of that you will use the same water to cook the eggs. (Laughs) If you cook everything special, it will take forever. So she looked at me and said: "How can you just cook like this?" But then time went by and she told me lastly: "You know what, now I'm doing everything in one big pot, too!" (Laughs)*

(Interviewee A1)

Time is for sure a central factor for integration. However, when looking back to the research question of this thesis: in what ways does living in an urban heterotopia affect integration, which answer can be framed.

In first glance, language serves as a central factor for integration. With reference to Häußermann, his hypothesis that migrants living in an urban heterotopia "lack only language skills" seems unrealistic because language is the base for all other categories to develop during the process of integration. As a correlating factor for several other variables such as employment, attitude or contacts, it's influence can not be isolated from the other categories.

Therefore, it can be concluded that living in an urban heterotopia has an impact on integration. Employment, lifestyle, career options, German contacts are all related to the language skills.

But on the other hand, a second category directly dependent on the neighborhood occurred. A German neighborhood is not a guarantee for contact with Germans. Germans were described as "reserved", although integration would depend on both sides, the migrants and the locals. Hence, the impact of a migrant shaped district is not only to the detriment. Some interviewees described a "comfort factor" or a "home feeling" because in Innenstadt-Nord a lot of migrants share a lifestyle. However, this can lead

## 6. Conclusion

to a identity conflict for the second generation. As a teacher in Innenstadt-Nord described her experiences, a lot of pupils chatted in Turkish during the classes, though they were born in Germany. As Interviewee K pointed out, it is easier for the women to talk in Turkish, especially as there is mostly no need to speak German. There was not one interviewee who was not willing to learn German. It was just not ultimately necessary.

At last, it became obvious that Häußermann and this thesis made a mistake in their considerations by distinguishing between the influence of integration on space and the influence of space on integration.

However, the inseparable connection between integration and space leads, too, to the affirmation of the main hypothesis because the theory advanced from the case study illustrates that there is a relation between integration and space. All categories are connected. Hence, one change of a category has an influence of the others. Integration does proceed differently in an urban heterotopia beyond the attainment of language skills.

Critics could state that the character of grounded theory renders its learnability more difficult, and makes too particular demands of researchers in respect of their creativity. Therefore, it could be questioned, how the scientific process of research is connected to creativity. The requirement, which seems initially to be liberating that one should distance oneself from existing theories and allow the theory to grow out of the data, causes insecurity. Particularly in respect of decisions about the transition points between the different phases of coding, there are scarcely any fixed rules (Flick 2002: 185).

Another critical point is the degree of generalizability of a theory developed with this approach because it depends upon a process of abstraction. The more abstract the formulation of the developed categories, the more widely the theory may be applied. But on the contrary, it could lack comprehensibility how the theory is connected to the data collected. This study is not applicable for all cities in Germany, it is not even representative for Dortmund. But it can be a starting point to discuss the connection of space and integration.

## 6. Conclusion

On basis of this study, a greater study could be performed in order to analyze language skills as correlating variable for other categories, as well as failed integration, socially and economically, as factor for the development of urban heterotopias. Consideration should also be given to policy that offers more incentives to learn and first and foremost to practice German, but also to attract Germans to take part in the integration process. The description of Germans was alarming. There seems to be a great need for meeting places in order to boost the communication between locals and migrants.



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## Appendix

## Questionnaire

Preliminary questions:

Q1: How old are you?

Q2: Since when do you live in Germany?

Q3: What is your country of origin?

Q4: In which district do you live?

Narrate-generating question

Q5: What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?

Sub-questions

Q6: Did you meet obstacles? Can you term them?

Q7: What are the crucial objectives in order to integrate in a foreign society?

Q8: Can you tell me about your everyday life?

## Coding Interviews Aplerbeck

System	Germans	Language	Time
Culture/Lifestyle	Engagement	Housing	Employment
Age	Friends/Contacts	Attitude	Background

Interview	Passages	Codes	Category
A1	“Okay, you have to bear in my mind that we have quiet a different lifestyle. The flats are substantially less expensive than here. This doesn't take too much. And with Russian people it is always like this: As much as you get on the papers, you get in the pocket. This is not like in Germany.” P.2	You have to get used to another system and living conditions.	System
	“For my Mutzi (nickname of the interviewee's mother) it had been quite a shock, she has crept away in our room.”	Integration becomes harder, the older you are.	Age

<p>"Integration is always funny. (Laughs) You can look at the things one way or another and I am of the opinion it's better to look at it with some humor, because you will have more than enough lows in life."</p>	Integration depends on your attitude.	Attitude
<p>"And when we asked: 'We would want to leave this place as fast as possible. Please take us away from here', they told us: 'We are sorry, but Dortmund has enough empty flats. So please take care of yourself.' And, besides, Dortmund had council housing. But nevertheless this meant we must look for ourselves. With my German at that time - have fun with that!"</p>	You are dependent on help, when it comes to housing, because you are overwhelmed with the foreign language and the foreign system.	Housing Language
<p>"The good man has looked at us, has seen what we are and has said immediately: 'The flat is not there.' If I had been alone with Mutzi at that time, I would have turned around and would have gone home. But the employee, she was German, she said: 'What? Why is the flat not there? We have called you two days ago. We have made this appointment. We have arranged all that. Where is the flat now? Disappeared? What is this about?' Then he has seen that he does not get out of this situation this easily, so he showed us a gigantic bag, a shopping bag, which was full of keys with the numbers of the flats on it. He gave us one of these and said: 'If you don't like this one, I'll show you another one.'. And this is how we ended in Aplerbeck."</p>	You are dependent on help, when it comes to housing, because landlords have prejudices towards migrants.	Housing Germans (Language)
<p>"The greatest difficulty in general is to accept everything because this was an absolutely other style of the life, do you understand? As in Russia. For example: In Russia you are born, you are born in a family. You have mutje, fatje, grannies, grandpas etc. And if you have no money, this community lives on. Together etc. then you have two generations together, three generations and so on. This is your circle of people."</p>	You have to get used to another culture and lifestyle. You have to accept the foreign lifestyle. In Russia family is more important.	Culture/ Lifestyle Friends
<p>"In Russia there is not such a bureaucracy system like here, there is not such a thing. Everything is easier regulated and mostly with small presents, it works better. Chocolate is enough. Everybody will be happy. Here such a thing is not looked with pleasure. Here papers are even more important."</p>	You have to get used to another system and living conditions. In Russia a bureaucracy system like in Germany does not exist.	System
<p>"Here the people look around. In the former Soviet Union this is not how it works. They live in their corner and mostly they remain there their whole life. If they move, it is mostly because of marriage. And if they move, the second partner's family is already living there. So in Russia there are rules. You can get a job if you are registered here. And you can not be registered here if you have no flat. A free market for flats does not exist in Russia."</p>	You have to get used to another culture and lifestyle. In Germany people live more self-determined, but maybe also more self-centered.	Culture/Lifestyle
<p>"And German people, so is my experience, live substantially more withdrawn."</p>	German people are more withdrawn.	Germans Culture/Lifestyle

<p>"You know, I'll tell you, it depends on both sides. This depends on foreigners, do they want to integrate themselves or do they not want to integrate. And this also depends on the locals."</p>	Locals are as central involved in the integration performance as migrants.	Germans
<p>"However, afterwards we were the best friends ever. She respected me."</p>	You have to gain respect.	Germans (respect)
<p>"We say "Hello" and "Goodbye" to each other. Close enough." "They do not mix with us, do you understand? These are two separate worlds, which run parallel to each other."</p>	The life of German people and the life of migrants are two separate roads, running parallel to each other.	Germans
<p>"You do not need German people. In Germany everything is organized so well. We have Russian shops where Russian food is sold. We have Russian hairdressers, Russian doctors who can speak Russian, we have Russian television. There is nothing missing. Why should they integrate themselves? If they don't need to, they won't do."</p>	There is no reason to integrate, because you are not dependent on German people.	(Germans) Attitude System
<p>"Because if everything is new, it's a really big challenge. One is always afraid of something new. This is normal. But somehow you have to overcome this."</p>	Integration depends on your attitude.	Attitude
<p>"Also in the Nordstadt, there are several stores, because this is, too, a district, where a lot of Russian people live. The rent is cheaper."</p>	More Russians live in Nordstadt, because the rent is cheaper there.	Housing
<p>"And there are also organizations everywhere. You can ask the Caritas or "das rote Kreuz". They all offer translations into thousand languages. This doesn't cost a cent. And they also offer appointments escorts."</p>	Organizations help with translations and appointments escorts, when you are not able to speak German.	Language (System)
<p>"Or you make contacts in the German classes. Because in German classes, it's mostly a unilaterally group of foreigners, who share the same lifestyle. Then of course people get to know each other, they share information and so does a circle of friends arise, when people come on their own."</p>	The circle of friends develops with the people you share a lifestyle with, for example in German and Integration Courses.	Friends
<p>"So you got a systematic circle and if you want to get to know other people, then you have to go beyond this circle and make it on your own. For example, if there is an older German lady living in your house, you can try to establish a contact. But German ladies are mostly withdrawn. Everybody. Both sides must be interested and on top of that you got to speak a little German, because in all probability granny won't be able to speak Russian. (Laughs) So this might be tricky. However (laughs) with need and trouble it might work out."</p>	In most cases it takes self-reliant effort to befriend with Germans.	Attitude Friends Germans Language
<p>"I know people who have contact with Germans at old age and they have established the contact, because they were interested to know Germans, but this was hard to achieve for the people, do you understand? Nobody comes to you, not to foreigner and not to a German, nobody comes and says: "Hello Lena (interviewer) we want to get to know you!" Nobody makes this. (Laughs) This is always</p>	It takes self-reliant effort to befriend with Germans, not all people are motivated and confident to do so.	Attitude Friends Germans



	on self-initiative and you have this or you haven't. This depends on the person, on the interests, on the education. How intelligent are you, how interested are you in getting to know other people and can you accept that the other people's mentality is different to yours?"		
	"Particularly old people, they are so hardened in her views. This has to be there, this there and this there and something new is difficult to understand for them."	Integration becomes harder, the older you are, because it is difficult to understand and accept differences.	Attitude Age
	"But then time went by and she told me lastly: "You know, now I'm doing everything in one big pot, too!"	Integration takes time. When time passes, it becomes easier to accept and adapt.	Time
A2	"I moved here, but I left everything in Syria: my family, my job, I studied engineering economics."	You leave your whole life, job, family, career behind.	Background
	"Since I'm here, I tried to find a job. I was at the job-center, here a job-creating- measure, here an English course, here a computer course. But I got to say that the computer course helped me to improve myself. Yes and, nevertheless, no chance."	It is hard to find a job.	Employment
	"Maybe it is just for me, but finding a place to work in your profession is very difficult. Yes. I guess, I have a certificate and notion of balances and stuff and this is expensive here, they do not want to pay to me so much. This is too much. Yes. I guess my job is too expensive to them."	It is hard to find a job, especially compare-able to the job you used to have. It is hard to accept that your former life is gone. You can not continue where you left.	Employment (Background)
	"But things have changed I got a child, then another one. And then I got ill. Okay? In 2010 I have got the first multiple sclerosis episode, the second immediately followed. And I guess now I'm even less interesting for the most companies."	Illness and founding a family make it even harder to find a job.	Employment
	"I always wanted a job. But now I think I'll surrender. This was my wish. But another wish was to have children on my own. Now I have two children."	When you can not find a job, you have to find new goals in life.	(Employment) Attitude
	"They grow up here. What I couldn't do, my children will do. They will make it better."	The second generation gives hope to the first, because they might fulfill what their parents could not.	2. Generation (Attitude)
	"I have made my life, I am for many years here and I have always tried to find a work. In my native country I have always worked. For example, at a college, this was a nice job. But I have left everything behind and I have come here. I thought it will become even better here. But then it didn't."	It is hard to accept that your former life is gone. You can not continue where you left. You have to find new goals in life.	Background Attitude
	"But I mean I am integrated here. Integration and such things. Such a project like this here, we do breakfast together, we cook together. I'm doing something. Why always staying at home? Re-thinking and so on. That is not my kind of life."	Integration depends on your attitude. You have to find a new lifestyle yourself.	Attitude Culture/Lifestyle Friends

A3	"I have friends in the neighborhood. We like to meet and drink a tea."	Friendships develop in the neighborhood.	Friends (Neighborhood)
	"One of my neighbors is here too; maybe you already got to meet her. She got me into this project and told me to come to the international breakfast, meet other people. And so I come here for two years now. When I first got here I thought, well, that's a good idea. Why not?"	The circle of friends develops within the people you share a lifestyle with.	Friends (Neighborhood)
	"Yes. It does not go overnight. It is not to be easy here. But I look at the other people, the other cultures and what I like, I take and what I don't like, I leave. This is no problem. When I meet people and I don't like how they live, I always think they do not live at my home, so I can cope with that."	Integration takes time.	Time Attitude
	"But these are not only the foreigners who can integrate."	Locals are as central for integration as migrants.	Germans
	"my children now, I have tried to teach them my language. They hear both (languages) parallel. I have speak only in Arabic and my husband only German since they are born. I wanted that my children are able to speak Arabic when they meet my parents."	You have to make a compromise regarding the languages, in order to teach both, German and your own language.	Language
	"When I first came to Germany, I thought that it is almost impossible to learn this language. But then after I met some people and learned a few words and then I participated in the "Integrationskurs" and that helped me to learn the language more and then somehow I started to love it."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
	"So my time in Germany was always full. So there was no time to feel bored or I could cope with all the people."	Integration depends on your attitude. Engagement and a positive attitude help to cope with people	Attitude Engagement
	"It wasn't so difficult for me, because I always, I'm always curious and want to know more about other cultures, what other people think."	When you are curious and interested in different cultures, it is easier to integrate.	Attitude
	"I didn't face any difficulties coming here, because the coincidence was my husband is half Syrian and half German. So it was easy for us to come here. One part of his family is from here and we live all together now in Aplerbeck. We didn't have to go through a lot of things like other people from my country. So I didn't face any difficulties."	Having German relatives makes integration a lot easier.	Germans Friends
	"First of all I have to learn the language, cope with other people."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language Culture/Lifestyle
	"I also need to work."	Work is important for integration.	Employment
	"To improve myself and get well into the society and I guess you have to earn their respect."	Migrating is a chance to improve yourself. But you also have to gain the respect of the society.	Attitude Germans (Respect)
	"And help them as well. Because I live, so when I live in their country, I also have to participate."	You can help the society and participate.	Engagement Germans

	<p>“Well, I find it a very nice idea, because we can learn from each other and we can help each other. So I was always intending to travel to other countries even before the war had started, before all that I already wanted to improve myself more. I always wanted to go beyond my comfort zone. When I met my husband, it was clear for both of us that we will move to Germany. And maybe that is why I enjoy living here so much. I learn new things every day. Maybe I can find a better job.”</p>	Integration can be a win-win-situation for both sides. You have to go beyond your comfort zones and maybe you will have great opportunities.	Engagement Germans Attitude
	<p>“I don't have an everyday-life yet. I go to classes, I get to know more organizations and people and I play a lot with my daughter. (Laughs) I hope I will be a teacher again and that I will have an everyday-life.”</p>	In the beginning of the time in Germany there is no everyday-life. One has to set into the new habitat, by attending courses, organizations and meeting people.	Time
A4	<p>“I did not come here of my own choice. My children were here. My husband was here, because of political issues. So first he moved to Germany. We are from Turkey, but we are Kurdish. We lived in the East of Turkey. So for political reasons my husband stayed in Germany.”</p>	The background is crucial.	Background (Attitude)
	<p>“And I left my job. I was a nurse. We had our own house. We had our own everything. I always worked as a nurse. I got good money. There was nothing missing back then.”</p>	It is hard to leave your life behind and start anew.	Background
	<p>“We were often insulted by the Turkish police. We were awake at nights, because we feared that something might happen. So the children were afraid. The children, they understood everything at that time. And so it was better for the children to stay here.”</p>	Traumatic experiences can shape a person's life.	Background
	<p>“So for me it was not that easy to come here. To be in a foreign country, not speaking the foreign language, I did not know anything at all for a long time. You have to get used to this.”</p>	It takes time to get to know the language and the system.	Language System Time
	<p>“And this was one or two hours a week for three month, and after this time the job-center would not pay them anymore and so I quit. Yes. And after this I tried to learn it myself. I read the school-books of my children.”</p>	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language (Time)
	<p>“My husband and I separated. And my daughters stayed at my place. I did not know the language. I had no job. I was depending on the government-aid. So after this I really had to find a job.”</p>		Language  Employment
	<p>“So I started to work at a bakery. So I worked there the last years. And yes, the shop was not good. So they closed. And I am jobless again. So then I worked at this organization and helped to organize the project “xxx”.”</p>	You have to be flexible to find a new job. Often it is not possible to work in the same profession	Employment
	<p>“Well, finding a flat was not that hard. At the beginning we had just one room for the four of us. One room for all four. And with the help of the social- assistance-center we found a flat with three rooms nearby.”</p>	You are dependent on governments help to organize housing.	Housing System

"And finding contacts - were at the beginning mostly people of my own country. And they helped. For example, when we moved. They helped me renovate. And when we had to buy anything, the Kurds helped us. They had a car, because we did not have one. Because of that, yes, they helped us."	In the beginning, people from the country of origin helped to start a life.	Friends Time
"So, you need help. It is like that."	You are dependent on support.	Friends Time System
"I was prepared for everything because my husband had already been here for years."	The conditions for integration dependent on the individual background	Background
"So when you live in a foreign country, you have to learn the language first. That is important. That is not only in Germany like this. It depends on where you go."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
"I had to make an effort myself. What I have done in order to take care was first learning the language. The spelling is still hard for me. But I understand really well. That is all, I did my best, but it was a tough time for me."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
"But it was hard. Because it was my first time to learn a language."	It is harder to learn a language, if it is the first language you learn.	Language
"The neighbors came at my place and they ask for something or they want to know something about me like where am I from, how old am I and because of that I had to learn this."	You have to learn the language to talk to your neighbors	Friends Germans Language
"I started with nothing. Nothing means the language."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
"In Germany you have to work, you have to take care of yourself."	You have to act self-reliant.	Employment (Attitude)
"You have to stay in contact with the people."		Germans
"This changed when my husband left. Before that we had mostly contact to Kurdish people. Now I have only few friends of my home country."	Swifts in life can lead to new contacts.	Time
"So I established new contacts. My neighbor is a German. So I thought this would be better. Because when I talk to them, I always learn two words more."		Germans Friends
"I had my German colleagues at the bakery. And when you talk to the German clientele on a daily basis, you learn new words every day, too. And I'm still not that good, but at least I can talk to somebody. I am glad and I am proud of that."	You have to practice your language skills.	Language
"Everywhere you go, appears a wall. This wall is named language."	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
"But I found one with the help of the job-center. I have to thank them a thousand times. They are looking for the right job for you."		Employment System

	<p>“And you are not alone. I do not feel left alone. Because my adviser is really nice He knows that I do the best that I can. He always sends me offers and I will send the application.”</p>	Social assistance for example the job center makes you feel left alone	System (Support) Employment
A5	<p>“And when you want to find an apartment or something, it is easier because of the help of the social- assistance- center and the job- center.”</p>	You are dependent on help, when it comes to housing.	Housing System
	<p>“I’m very content to be here.”</p>		Attitude
	<p>“So at the beginning the language was really difficult for me. Yeah, German language is with articles and so on. Even if I speak now, well I do not know but I make a lot of mistakes.”</p>	The German language is hard to learn, but the most crucial objective in order to integrate.	Language
	<p>“I knew what was expecting me here. But nevertheless, I thought that the parents, the family, are most important.”</p>		Background
	<p>“I already studied, but, however, I came here. Because of that I really wanted to do something here, going to school, learning the language. And I got this, but I’m better in writing.”</p>	It takes a lot of effort to reach the level of education, you attended in your country of origin.	Background Attitude
	<p>“the first three, four months are the most difficult ones You always think about your home, your friends, your school, I don’t know, your job. When you get up in the morning, you will ask yourself every day, where am I? Overnight it is all right. You think you are still home. But in the morning when you get up, in the first minute, you will think, where am I. It is really hard.”</p>	It is hard to accept that your former life is gone. You can not continue where you left. You have to find new goals in life.	Time (Background) (Attitude)
	<p>“At the beginning the language. And without knowing the language, I don’t know, you have nothing at all.”</p>		Language
	<p>“I know different people from different countries. And yes, I have now friends from more or less all from different countries. Germans, too. My colleagues – both are German.”</p>	The circle of friends develops within the people you share a lifestyle with, or the people you work with	Germans Friends
	<p>“I work five hours a day as a child- minder. Now I understand a lot of stuff. At the moment there are a lot of refugees here in Germany. And I understand. I already told you I work as a child- minder, but the children are mostly the children of refugees. I mind the children and I like doing this. And I understand the families, what they are thinking, how they feel, yeah, what they are expecting ... of other people. I understand them better. Okay, all people can understand them, but I experienced all of that myself.”</p>		Attitude Employment

## Coding Interviews Innenstadt-Nord

Interview	Passages	Codes	Category
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N1	<p>“My husband had problems in Turkey. He came here first. Two years later I came here, too. And this was difficult. I am here for eight years and it is hard to live in a foreign country. It doesn't matter, if you are a woman or a man. We lived illegal in our country for 20 years, because of the political situation. And afterwards we came here. How was it? It was hard. We lived illegal in our country, however we could do anything. We worked and we could speak the language. We know the culture. Or this, or that.”</p>	Though you are legally in a country, you are not used to live here.	Background
	<p>“But here, we came here, you think it is a free country. It is a free country, here is no suppression from the state. But we did not know the language. We had a big problem. We were unemployed for more than three years.”</p>	It is not easy to start a life, though you are living in a free country.	System Language Employment
	<p>“And we always worked in our country. We always worked. I am a graphic designer. I worked for a newspaper. My husband worked as a leather-worker. We had problems in Turkey, but nevertheless we worked and worked. We came here, simply unemployed. That is really hard, when you are used to work your whole life. You receive your own money.”</p>	It is hard when you don't work, when you are used to be a self-reliant worker.	Employment Background
	<p>“So unemployed and without language (skills). Without language we couldn't solve our problems. We always needed anybody to translate. For every bagatelle you need a translator. This was too hard. Afterwards we find a job together. I work. My husband works, too.”</p>	You are dependent on help, when it comes to housing, because you are overwhelmed with the foreign language and the foreign system.	Language Employment
	<p>“But what was really hard is our son. We have a son. When I came here, my son was seventeen years old. (Starts crying) He stayed there. And that hurts. He is older now. But it always hurts. It is the hardest when I talk about it. That I had to leave him is the hardest. First came my husband, the I came, but my son stayed. This hurts. And now when you listen to the news and all the bad things, which happen these days, everywhere is war. Mothers loose their children. Everyone knows.”</p>	Traumatic experiences back home exert influence on your current life.	Background
	<p>“Because of that, our experiences here are good. We do well here. But can you live even better? How can we live even better? No suppression. As a woman it is not easy to live in Turkey, because of the political situation. Everyone is in prison there. Torture. They will get into problems. I work here in this association of female migrants. This is a great work. I got stronger by doing this. Working with women, with female migrants, I feel even better. And what I want to achieve is working here.”</p>	Traumatic experiences can be a trigger for social engagement which helps to integrate.	Engagement (Background)
	<p>“The language is really important. Without any words, I had to start. I started a German lecture, when I got here, but I could not learn anything, I always had to think of my son.”</p>	Traumatic experiences can paralyze you.	Language Background
	<p>“Afterwards I made my secondary modern school qualification (originally: Hauptschulabschluss). I</p>	You have to be self-confident. Self-	Attitude Language

thought I have to live here now. I have to improve. When you are weak, you are too weak to make it here. I tried to be a better version of me. To be more self-confident. Self-confidence evolves by learning the language and learning the German culture. To work together with the German society.”	confidence evolves by learning the language and learning the German culture.	Culture/Lifestyle
“The German society makes great work. We work together with a German women association.”	Locals are as central involved in integration as migrants.	Germans Engagement
“But I am still not good in speaking German. But you can not learn this all at once. It was too hard. Maybe I was too old to learn everything anew. But I came here on my own choice. Because of that, I did not accomplished the language.”	It might be harder to learn a new language when you are older.	Language Age
“But Integration, what I think you are interested in, is not easy. When you find a job and you receive your own money. When you do something together with the German society. That is not that easy. But when you stay at home, doing nothing, you can not integrate yourself.”	An employment can lead to more self-confidence.	Employment Germans Attitude
“But there are always two sides. Germans and this society and the others and both sides have to try, not one side, not always I, as a migrant. Both sides have to. And we are here in the xxx and here it is integration. It is a culture-house. And they do a lot of events here. The German society, too. And here you can integrate. When you have in Germany the same problems. Yesterday we went to an event in the town hall. It was an event to talk about domestic abuse against women. That doesn't matter at such an event if you are a German or a Turk or another country. We all talk about the same themes. And these are general issues. We talk together about it and so we integrate because of these contacts.	Locals are as central involved in integration as migrants. Culture and Engagement can be a good connection.	Germans Culture/Lifestyle Engagement
“But it is hard to get there. I am glad I found this association, because Nordstadt is a ghetto- city (originally: ghetto-city). And I think the city (Dortmund) is doing it on purpose to have all the migrants at one place. And integration, when you do something together you can integrate, but if you isolate the people you can not integrate. Ghetto, when you experience living in a ghetto that is discrimination. That is sad.	The System is central for the situation in urban heterotopias.	System
“This house here (Dietrich-Keune Haus) is a good example of the Nordstadt. They are doing good things for people who are living here, for the adolescents, for the children and for the women. We meet here every week.”	There a good examples for integration in Innenstadt-Nord.	Culture/Lifestyle Engagement
“when you live in the South, you have a good income. But I guess the migrants living there are feeling even more excluded because of that. The people will feel even more foreign.”	Just because you share a neighborhood, does not imply that you share a lifestyle.	Housing System
“But it is all about the culture. This is integration. Doing something together. And doing something against discrimination and racism. You always	The circle of friends develops with the people you share a lifestyle with,	Culture Engagement Attitude

	have to do something in order to integrate. When you are always at home, when you have no job, there is no integration.”	for example at your work place.	Employment
	“When you are at a job, you get to learn Germans, you speak with one another, you work together, and you will learn from the culture. It will be faster when you have a job, Integration.”	In most cases it takes self-reliant effort to befriend with Germans. It becomes easier when you work together.	Germans Employment
	“But when you have one side north and one side south, this problem will live on. We will always try to establish contact with different women. Germans, too. We are in Germany now, and I want to live here. I am originally a Turkish woman, a Kurdish woman.”	It takes self-reliant effort to befriend with Germans, not all people are motivated and confident to do so.	System Attitude
	“All people are the same, Turks, Kurds, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, it is mostly the job. It gives you the feeling that you are needed. Self-confidence. People told me that here was the Hoesch- factory and coal mining etc. and then the migrants came and now Hoesch has moved into a better district. But the people stayed. The Germans moved, too. Now everyone says it is criminal here. But it is not criminal. But you have to see this different. The city (Dortmund) has to solve this. Not the people have to solve this. Now I have said so much.”	It is crucial for you to work. The system is in charge to take care of that.	Employment System
N2	“Certainly the beginning will always be very hard. You have to reorganize yourself. This country, the mentality everything is new. And in the beginning, yes, that is why I understand all this people who come here the last months. Everybody keeps saying, well, they have to learn, they have to change, but it takes time. In my case, too. I had to learn a lot. You have to adjust the law and everything.”	The beginning is the hardest part when immigrating to another country. Integration takes time.	Time
	“the different mentality, as I said. The manners, I guess. The language. At first you have to learn the language. But I said to myself when I got here, if I stay I have to immediately learn the language. If I stay. Or I have to leave. But I decided to stay. In the first year, I stayed here, I made a pretty intensive German course. I learned a lot. How to speak with people, reading, writing, to comprehend.”	Attitude is crucial in order to start a life.	Culture/Lifestyle Language Attitude
	“But for example establishing contacts was no problem for me. Because I already worked in Algeria in a hospital as a nurse. When I worked there, I learned how to have contact with people. It has always been my social environment. I come from a family where everyone is a teacher or a doctor, midwife or nurse. We always have to do with social work.”	It might be easier to establish contacts when you come from a background of social workers.	Friends Employment Background
	“But at the beginning it is hard, but when you do your German course, you get to learn a lot of foreigners from different countries. I still call some of them. At the beginning we tried to establish	Firstly, you befriend with people, you share a lifestyle with.	Friends Language



	contact by using our hands, and using easy words. It was a great time. We met often and sit together in the evenings.”		
	“But the rest with housing and so on, it was easier for me as I was married to a German man. Now I am divorced, it would not work out. But I did not have a big problem, because he took care of everything. He could speak French. We could talk so good. But, we separated.”	Wit is easier to start a life, when you have relatives in Germany or you are married to a local.	Background
	“At the moment I work for the xxx, I organize a meeting once a week for the senior citizens in the Nordstadt. But all neighbors are invited. Seniors come, elderly women come there and we make coffee and tea. And we will sew and crochet. I know those things. There are Germans, too. And Moroccans and Turks. And we are all together, it is great. It is amazing. This is a great group. They like each other so much. They learn from each other.”	Social engagement brings together people from different countries and ages, who can learn from one another.	Engagement Culture/Lifestyle
	“I am tutoring French. Some women ask me. Some of here. And earlier I worked as a French teacher in the Europe School (originally: Europa-Schule). And I helped everyone. I was tutoring children and elderly and women, too. I am doing this here in this association. But not so long. Since I got divorced.”		Employment Engagement
	“My former husband lives now in Wickede. But I like it here. In Nordstadt you have immediately this feeling of integration. When I visit him in Wickede, there is no problem. He has nice neighbors. But there are only Germans and Polish and Russians. This is a different world. But I love the Nordstadt. I have written an article about the Nordstadt. You can read it online.”	There is some kind of “home-feeling” in IN.	Housing
	“Integration. You have to explain, getting to know and listen to people. Give the people a chance to talk. Not always I, I, I. The people have to get to know each other and explain one another.”	Friendships develop in the neighborhood.	Friends (Neighborhood)
N3	“I am really bad at German. I’m so sorry. You want to know what is important for me here in Germany?”	The German language is hard to learn.	Language
	“My family is the most important. I am married and I have four children. They are most important. My brother and his family live here, too. That is why I came here. My brother lives here.”	Integration depends on your attitude and your goals.	Friends/ Contacts Attitude
	“I don’t know. I like it here. My family is here. And I have friends here. And we drink tea together. And we cook together. Here are many Turks. So I am a Turk. And (points her finger to different women in the room) She is a Turk. She is a Turk. And she. And she. And she. And she. (Laughs) So they know me. And they can understand me. And so I am good.”	“ “	Friends/Contacts (Attitude)
	“I know that I have to learn German. It is just very difficult to learn. My children speak better German. But I am good. My husband can speak German. He has to at work.”		Language Employment

	"I cook and I drink tea with other women. Like I said before. Sometimes we cook all together. Or I go here and we talk	Friendships develop within the circle of people you share a lifestyle with.	Friends/Contacts Culture/Lifestyle
	"A lot changed. I did not know how to go shopping here. Or where everything is. But now I know. And I understand German. I can not speak so much. But I can understand. And I have a family now. I am a mother now."		Culture/Lifestyle Language
	"I like it here in Germany. But I have to speak German, I know."		
N4	"So for me it is really hard. Because my family is not here. And you are all alone in this country. And I had no contacts with people from here, before I got here	The background is crucial. When you arrive all alone in a foreign country, it is much harder.	Background
	"And I was a teacher in Turkey. And firstly I have no job. And I have to study anew. But I am 36 and to learn from scratch is not easy."	It is hard to leave your life behind and start anew.	Background Employment
	"And secondly the German language. I mean I was a German teacher in Turkey. But nevertheless it is not mother tongue. And I did not work much as a German teacher."	Though you have already rudimentary knowledge of the language, it will still be not enough.	Language
	"Secondly the circle of friends. You leave your whole life in Turkey. It is like being re-born. You are like a small child in this foreign country. And everything is new. I feel like a bird without wings. You know, you can not do anything as you want at the beginning."	Arriving in a foreign country is like being reborn.	Friends Attitude
	"A big problem is you have to be self-confident. You have to be self-reliant. I could not go anywhere, because I did not know how to get there. For example with trains. As I came here, I have seen a train for the first time in my life. Think about it. And I did not know anything about the tickets. I always bought the wrong one and paid too much money. But I could not differentiate the different tickets."	You have to be self-confident, though you are simultaneously completely overwhelmed.	Attitude System
	"The people are so different. Not here, but in other places where only Germans live. My husband used to live there. He is German. The people are so reserved. I felt all-alone. Totally alone. And though I don't think that only Turks and Turks should meet. Or Arabic with Arabic. Or Kurds with Kurds. And all the others. I think it should be a mixture. I like mixtures. Because mixture means color and color makes happy."	It is hard to get in touch with Germans.	Germans Background Attitude

<p>"But sadly the people are not open- minded here. They don't know you at all. But they have this gigantic wall. This great wall. You can not reach them. They don't give any gap. This great problem that I have seen here is for example in this district where my husband used to live, everyone's house has a garden and the gardens have bushes for the one neighbor won't see the other neighbor. What is that about? Or every morning they say "Good morning" but they don't mean that. They just they sad formally. Because they have seen a person and they have to say "Good morning". You can tell from their gestures. They are not interested in telling you "Hello, how are you?". "</p>	<p>It is hard to get in touch with Germans. They live withdrawn and talk mainly formally.</p>	<p>Germans Culture/Lifestyle</p>
<p>"I come from Antalya. Antalya is a city where people are always talking and laughing and they are always outside. They won't sit at home. Antalya is a warm city. From March till November it is a warm city. And no one sit inside the house. People sit on their balcony or in their gardens. And they go to drink a coffee. Or they go to the beach. And so on. And you would never do this on your own. You do this always, you have always five, six, seven friends who will join you. You make a picnic. And silly and funny stuff. We will always tell each other jokes."</p>	<p>The different mentality of the locals can be a big challenge.</p>	<p>Background</p>
<p>"For example I have never met a German who will make a joke, when we meet for the first time, for we can laugh together. I have not met anyone at all. Never ever. But at Antalya it is like that. So we get to know each others and I will ask you "Hello, how are you? Is everything alright?" and so on. So we know each other for a few hours now, but we would talk next time as if we would know each other for months. But now after two years here, I can tell, it is not how it works here. I have no contact to Germans"</p>	<p>The manners are completely different. (reserved and formally)</p>	<p>Germans Background</p>
<p>"There was one neighbor. It is the daughter of our houses owner. And they have two children. And I mean I work with children. And I like children. And when I met them I talked to them and we played together. And the next day, the children, they would see me and they turned around. And I did not understand what was wrong. Why is that? At the end I talked to my husband and asked him. And what did he tell me: "They are not allowed to talk to foreigners". Hello? We are directly near you. We are not foreigners. Foreigner for me is when somebody would walk there and you don't know him. And then we would they to our children don't talk to them, don't take their food and so on. But that you have no trust in your neighbors? I have never heard of that before. I don't know. I have not</p>	<p>There might be a lack of trust between German neighbors and migrants.</p>	<p>Culture/Lifestyle</p>

heard much.”		
“But I see that in the university, too. Turks are always with Turks. They don't know Germans. I have met a Russian in one lecture. She was sitting there, too. I recognized her spelling and I saw her talking Russian on the phone. So I knew she was a foreigner, too. And so we began to talk. It is somehow easier, because you experience the same.”	It is easier to befriend with people you share a lifestyle with.	Friends/Contacts
“Or another thing is how people would eat their food. Maybe it is taught like that in Turkish families. But we would not just stand around in the middle of a city and eat. It is not that easy. You need a table, or you just sit down on the floor. But you have to sit down. When I saw the people on the streets of Dortmund, I could not believe my eyes. They were eating a currywurst and I asked my husband “Why do they eat like that?”. My husband just laughed at me. It was funny for him. Because it is normal to him, but for me it is extraordinarily.”	You have to get used to a different culture and lifestyle.	Culture/Lifestyle
“All that pork in the shops. Muslims would never eat pork. But in the supermarket there is everything with pork. Although I am not that kind of person to be religious. But I would never eat it though. It is a habit. My habit tells me no. Not because you believe that and you are convinced of this. It is all about your habits, too.”	“ “	Culture/Lifestyle
“For example at the university there are some study colleagues and they said that I completely fit into their group. But not most of the people would be like this. And I told them that they have to get to know the people. Because they didn't take me in their group at first place. I forced them to take part in their group. Whenever they went anywhere, I would be there. And I asked them: “Hello, what are you doing today? And how are you?” and so on.”	Sometimes you have to be stubborn to befriend with people.	Friends/Contacts Attitude
“So I was not allowed to work. I could not work. I am glad that my husband has enough income for the both of us. He has a good job and we can somehow live from that”	You can be lucky when your partner has a job to finance the both of you.	Employment
“And now I try to study new. I study German and psychology. But I don't know, if I will have a job in the future. I wanted to study psychology in Turkey, too. But you will not find a job, if you do this. That is different in Germany. And as I always wanted to study psychology, I am glad that I can do this now. I guess I will not find a job when I finish my study. Because I will be older than 40.”	Migrating can be an incentive to start anew with something you always wanted to achieve. Though the job expectations might not be good.	Employment Attitude
“And I guess no one is interested in foreigner that teaches German, too. I think myself I would not employ. But at least I try. And I don't know. It is really not easy. There are advantages when come to a different country.”	“ “	Employment Attitude
“I know a lot of people who have relatives over here. Family, uncle, aunts and so on. It was easier	It is easier to start a life when your family is with	Background

	for them to get used to live here.”	you.	
	<p>“But when you come on your own, it is pretty hard. And when people ask me: “Why are you still here?” I think that love is a great feeling. I am here because of my husband. I was asked a lot. Because I had a great life in Antalya. And I miss my life. But I think my husband would face the same problems in Turkey. I always thought, I can do this better. Because I am younger and I can integrate better. I will get used to this and have my new circle of friends and for him, I guess, it would be harder because he is fifteen years older than me. And so I keep going.”</p>	With running age, it can be harder to start a new life.	Background Age Time Attitude
	<p>“I found friends over here, but just like here today, most of them are Turks. Come back in two years and ask me again, maybe some things have changed then.”</p>	It is easier to befriend with other migrants. But maybe this only takes some time.	Friends Time
N5	<p>“The first experience is that you are afraid. You are in a foreign country. I was twenty- seven.”</p>		Time
	<p>“I grew up in a small village and then I came here in this gigantic big city. And it was Christmas- time and my mother was not here. But my father and my brother were already here. I was afraid to leave my home. ”</p>	You can be overwhelmed by all new traditions and systems.	Background System Culture
	<p>“But that changed quickly because after the Christmas time and New years, I started with my German course. When I was there for one month, I knew that I was totally different to all Germans. But here are a lot of guest workers’ children and I was not all alone.”</p>	Having role models, gives hope for the future.	Germans Friends/Contacts
	<p>“Everything was so foreign for me. Here are really big houses and there are so many people. The streets here are so big, I feared that I might get lost here.”</p>		Background
	<p>“I had to learn the language. And I thought I will never understand and never have this feeling that this is my home now. I have never even heard a foreign language before, because of that it felt all so strange and new. As I came from a really small village, I thought this is all so strange here. I will not be able to learn this. I thought this for a long time.”</p>	You can be overwhelmed by all the new impressions. It takes time to develop self-confidence.	Time Background
	<p>“But in my German course, I met people from Turkey who arrived here a few weeks before I got here. And they could already speak a little German. So I thought I will learn this, too. And so I did.”</p>	People who experienced the same can be role models.	Friends/Contacts Language
	<p>“I mean, they always say that, language is the most important. By speaking the same language one can talk to each other and listen and comprehend what the people think of one another. And I can talk about my wishes, too.”</p>	Language is most important.	Language



<p>When I came here, my neighbors came to our house, Germans too, and they warmly welcomed us and ask if we need anything. This is really important that you have this feeling there is someone who is glad that you came. This is really good. I mean there are a lot of migrants here, so it might be easier. ”</p>	<p>The circle of friends develops within the people you share a lifestyle with, or the people you work with</p>	<p>Germans Friends</p>
<p>“But the people always say that it is a deprived area here, so when I had my first job interviews, I thought maybe I should move and there is a better place to live in Dortmund. But I refused that thinking, because I don't believe that there is a deprived area. And so I even work here, too. And here is so much variety and simply life. You should not be afraid of that. And when you are part of it, it feels great. You learn that there is no need to be afraid. Before I had reservations, because I wanted to work and I thought I would be in better hands somewhere else. But it is not hard to feel home here, even if everything is so big. Here are so many people on the streets, and I think that is why other people think that it is a bad place. But you can make your life so much easier, when you go to these people and are interested in them. Why not? Here are so many people who live in apartments, so it is normal that these people are on the streets, too.”</p>	<p>There is a kind of comfort-factor in IN. People are on the streets, but you have to meet them interested and open-minded .</p>	<p>Employment Attitude Culture/Lifestyle</p>
<p>“When I see this here and everything is so alive, I visit my colleague who lives in the south and there are no people on the streets. Everyone stays in there houses and this is not so nice. I mean sometimes you need a rest, but not always. And I think it is not bad to be surrounded by all this life. And here are so many young people and they like it here.”</p>	<p>“ ”</p>	<p>Culture/Lifestyle</p>
<p>“You should walk around later, I like it here. Here are all kind of people from different countries. And I have this feeling that people can better integrate here. I recognize this because of the refugee flows. When there are people arriving in the south, all people have to discuss and to plan with their neighborhood and community. I wanted to help and so I went there and I witnessed a discussion. They are preparing so much. On the one hand, I think it is nice, when you prepare for new guests. But on the other hand, here in the north there was no big preparation and planning. The people in the south are not preparing so much materially, but mentally. So we will meet foreign people what are we going to do. They were thinking about that. And here in the north, I had the feeling, people arrived and they were accepted That is the difference. You are always worrying so much. Sometimes unnecessary worries.”</p>	<p>People in IN are more open-minded when it comes to migration and integration.</p>	<p>Culture/Lifestyle Attitude</p>

<p>“But you can see as we do it here. People are always tend to choose the easy way. We are mostly Turkish women here and so we talk in Turkish. Because it is easier. I guess this is negative. One says it is easier to express yourself in your mother tongue. I mean I am in favor of languages. Everywhere in this world people should speak their language. But as we live here in Germany, we have to learn German as a second language. I mean it is always nice to learn a new language, but we should force ourselves to learn German, as we live here. I mean it is easier to talk to our fellow countrymen in our language, but we have our children here and they have to take part in this country. And so we should be better in speaking German. It will make our own life easier, too. I think one should always be interested in learning and learning a language as well.”</p>	<p>You speak more Turkish because it is easier.</p>	<p>Language</p>
<p>“This sums it up. Learning is good. German should learn, too. Just like Hildegard she is retired and not married and now she comes here every week. She wants to learn Turkish, too.”</p>	<p>Locals are also part of the integration process.</p>	<p>Attitude Germans (Culture/Lifestyle)</p>

## Memos

- Language as the central factor
  - Reference to Häußermann: “lack only language skills” – unrealistic: language as basis
  - Language needs practice: crucial factor neighborhood?!
  - Influence of background on attitude and influence of attitude on language: unattached of residence
  - Employment dependent on the attainment of the language, frustration because it is mostly not possible to work in the same profession as the migrant worked before: attitude and language as correlating factors
- Development of friends and acquaintances:
  - socio-economic factors – people you share a lifestyle with: independent of neighborhood (see: Interviews Aplerbeck)

## Appendix

- German neighborhood not a guarantee for contact with Germans: lack of interest? Questioning Germany's welcome culture
- Language skills are crucial for understanding – can also be understood as a delimitation /insecurity
- Sense of home – surrounded by like-minded people?
  - More life and people outside – “comfort factor”?
- Living in an urban heterotopia has an impact on integration!
  - Employment, lifestyle, career options, German contacts related to language skills
  - BUT: German neighborhood not a guarantee for contact with Germans
    - Impact not only to the detriment: “comfort factor!” – share a lifestyle!
  - Identity conflict for second generation? (Interview Teacher)

## Transcripts Interviews Aplerbeck

24.11.2015

Interview	Country of Origin	Age	District	Lives in Germany
Interviewee A1	Russia	49	Aplerbeck	8 years
Interviewee A2	Syria	38	Aplerbeck	7 years
Interviewee A3	Syria	24	Aplerbeck	1 ½ years
Interviewee A4	Turkey [Kurdish]	44	Aplerbeck	8 years
Interviewee A5	Turkey	29	Aplerbeck	8 years

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Interview A

31:13 Min.

I: “How old are you?”

A1: “49”



## Appendix

I: "What is your country of origin?"

A1: "Russia. The former Soviet Union."

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

A1: "Eight years."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

A1: "I live in Aplerbeck. This is a small district near Brachel. It's a quiet area and an expensive area. But there are big blocks of flats where you can find council housings. But there are mostly single-family houses of course."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

A1: Respectively what? Experience in the field of what? (Break) OK, so quite in general? I guess you are rather interested in the relation between foreigners and Germans, and less in paperwork ["Papierkrimskrums"]. (Break) So let me start from the beginning. You know, we have come here just like many people from Russia and the former Soviet Union have come here. Most have come for monetary reasons. Life in the former Soviet Union is hardly payable if you have a normal job. Of course if you have your own company, or if you are part somewhere of a private enterprise and make a packet of money, in that case you can finance this anyhow. But in my case, it has been quiet different. I have worked. I have had three jobs. This means I hardly had spare time. I had to work, work, work. Because I have had half-time employment as an engineer, I have had a half-time employment as a teacher and on the weekends (Break) I have still worked at a weekend school for children. (Laughs) At the end, all in all - let me think about it, I'm not sure about the former quotation - but I guess it must be around eighty Euro. That was it. My salary. (Laughs) Okay, you have to bear in my mind that we have quiet a different lifestyle. The flats are substantially less expensive than here. This doesn't take too much. And with Russian people it is always like this: As much as you get on the papers, you get in the pocket. This is not like in Germany. (Laughs) Afterwards I have decided to come to Germany. However, we first thought about moving to Israel. I am a Jewess, I could move there, if I wanted. We have been there to see how our relatives live there. And they have said to us: "Don't do that!" because the flats are very expensive and you get social help, but you get it as debts written up for the next three years. That means you are bound and must not move in another city until you paid the debts back. And this is how we ended up here. This (laughs) was also funny because we have had blessing in disguise as I use to say. At that time if you have come here as a Jewish immigrant, you have been taken to the admission center. And Germany has decided in which country you are going to live (meant

here: Federal state). And every country (in this case: NRW) has its own admission centers. At that time it had been like this. It's eight years ago. So it might have changed. So we stayed there. And of course we arrived two days after the last decisions about where the people go had been spoken. This meant we would have to wait one and a half months till the next decision comes. (Laughs) For my Mutzi (nickname of the interviewee's mother) it had been quite a shock, she has crept away in our room. Because these are former barracks with many, many rooms. The whole area was bounded by a fence. There are also guards there. You would have made such big eyes (laughs) just like my Mutzi. (Laughs) However, they only stand there. As this is also very nice made. In a distinguished area where are only single-family houses. And there in the middle they stand, laga, they are also glad particularly about our people. We have well talked in the evenings, we have walked through the neighborhood just to get a look of the nice houses of these people. Oh, and which nice gardens they have, I have never seen this before. You know, with these figurines, with these little animals, with whatever you can imagine. This was our work-plan. (Laughs) However, in the admission center were many rooms, a gigantic hallway and a gigantic kitchen for all people, where everybody has had his own little place. And the room – in our room stood one double-storied bed. But for Mutzi this was already enough. She had a shock. When she walked in the kitchen after a few weeks, the others told her to stay away from my cooking place. So I (laughs) had to go there and tell the people: "This is my mother. So please, she is allowed to cook here!" This was quite funny. Integration is always funny. (Laughs) You can look at the things one way or another and I am of the opinion it's better to look at it with some humor, because you will have more than enough lows in life. (Smiles) So then we have come to Dortmund. The old home was closed and they have rented a new home. A new one... you should have seen this dosshouse. A disaster cubed. [German saying: "Eine Katastrophe hoch drei"] (Sighs) In comparison to this our cooking place had been great because this was a three-story building. Totally dilapidated! Just like after the World War II. A man bought this and rented it for good money to the city of Dortmund. And the City simply sent all newcomers there. But we have had luck again. We were the first one who arrived at the building. This means at that time we were six people in this three-story building. Thank God, so one would still be able to live there. We had there three floors, in every floor we had a kitchen with a cooking place with four cooking places (meant here: hot places) . Then we had in every floor a toilet. We had one for men and one for women and at the main floor five showers and three washing machines. That was all we had back then. I must not tell this how many hours we had to brush off the dirt. This was a disaster. And when we asked: "We would want to leave this

place as fast as possible. Please take us away from here", they told us: "We are sorry, but Dortmund has enough empty flats. So please take care of yourself." And, besides, Dortmund had council housing. But nevertheless this meant we must look for ourselves. With my German at that time - have fun with that! But at that time we knew two employees who would have taken care of the foreigners. There were two ladies who cared for our worries. In our building they had Russian people with Arabian people with people from Africa and so on mixed and this was a disaster cubed [German saying: "Katastrophe hoch drei"]. The third employee was a man. He was German, too. However, he was a complete alcoholic who would sweep everything under the carpet for a bottle of vodka. He wouldn't give a shit. Well. And after a while we found an offer for a flat and at that time I had been clever, so I asked the employees with please, please, please, please, please to date the inspection appointment for us and to accompany us to our appointment. The good man has looked at us, has seen what we are and has said immediately: "The flat is not there." If I had been alone with Mutzi at that time, I would have turned around and would have gone home. But the employee, she was German, she said: "What? Why is the flat not there? We have called you two days ago. We have made this appointment. We have arranged all that. Where is the flat now? Disappeared? What is this about?" Then he has seen that he does not get out of this situation this easily, so he showed us a gigantic bag, a shopping bag, which was full of keys with the numbers of the flats on it. He gave us one of these and said: "If you don't like this one, I'll show you another one.". And this is how we ended in Aplerbeck. (Laughs)

I: "So finding a flat has been an obstacle? Did you meet other obstacles?"

A1: "The greatest difficulty in general is to accept everything because this was an absolutely other style of the life, do you understand? As in Russia. For example: In Russia you are born, you are born in a family. You have mutje, fatje, grannies, grandpas etc. And if you have no money, this community lives on. Together etc. then you have two generations together, three generations and so on. This is your circle of people. In Russia there is not such a bureaucracy system like here, there is not such a thing. Everything is easier regulated and mostly with small presents, it works better. Chocolate is enough. Everybody will be happy. Here such a thing is not looked with pleasure. Here papers are even more important. Here the people look around. In the former Soviet Union this is not how it works. They live in their corner and mostly they remain there their whole life. If they move, it is mostly because of marriage. And if they move, the second partner's family is already living there. So in Russia there are rules. You can get a job if you are registered here. And you can not be registered here if you have no flat. A free market for flats does not

exist in Russia. There are new buildings built. This is, yes, but this is really expensive. Not everybody can afford this. And an old state of flats, these are mostly private flats. The people themselves live there, they do not want to sublet them. And this is the circle where the person runs. And then the people have a different mentality. For Russian people friends and family are very important. And German people, so is my experience, live substantially more withdrawn. They cook with their family, pair of friends, maybe. But it must not be too many people. Do you understand? And what is important for Russian people, is not important for Germans and vice versa. After my experiences with German men, I guess i will not be interested in Russian men anymore and they will not be interested in me. Yes. These are other standards. People are raised and anyhow there is a standard. There is a certain standard, which is lived almost in every family and in these standards are expected from man and woman. And if expectations are too different, we come to the little problem. That's why several Russian men bring themselves women from Russia. Sometimes this does not go well and sometimes it does. Everybody is looking for happiness, you know?"

I: Concerning your own experiences on integration, what are the crucial objectives?

A1: "You know, I'll tell you, it depends on both sides. This depends on foreigners, do they want to integrate themselves or do they not want to integrate. And this also depends on the locals. They can make it easier, they can go along or cry off "No, no". I tell you one more story. When we still lived at the first home, we had to fetch our passports at the social office and there we met our adviser. Everybody knew her and everybody feared her. This lady came from Russia and married a German. She was already almost German. But she had gigantic hatred on Russian people. Why? I do not know. But she has made everything what she could to the Russian people, so that they would not live so well. And all our people had had great fear of her. And she was our adviser. Well, we (laugh) had already taken German classes. And she has presented a paper to us and told Mutzi to sign it. And she was talking in German really fast. I have only understood two-thirds of it. So I asked her to read and translate the paper. She wouldn't do this. We were three months here. I have read and understood that she wanted to have access to Mutzi's accounts. So she wanted the permission. She wanted to check if Mutzi has still hidden somewhere money from father's state. But she didn't. She had never had much money. And I told Mutzi what she was told to sign there. And so she signed this. And then I have told in German to the lady that Mutzi has nothing against the fact that she has access to her accounts. You should have seen the ladys reaction, as she

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understood that I understand everything she says. (Laughs), However, afterwards we were the best friends ever. She respected me. (Laughs)"

I: "What can you tell me about your current life? Can you tell me about your everyday-life?"

A1: "It's quiet. We live in a house with six families. We say "Hello" and "Goodbye" to each other. Close enough. And the high rises which stand beside us they stand there and live on the people who live there. They do not mix with us, do you understand? These are two separate worlds, which run parallel to each other. They must not mix. I know Russian people who live here already, oh my God, twenty-five years, thirty years. They live in their own world, do you understand?"

I: "Hmmm".

A1: "You do not need German people. In Germany everything is organized so well. We have Russian shops where Russian food is sold. We have Russian hairdressers, Russian doctors who can speak Russian, we have Russian television. There is nothing missing. Why should they integrate themselves? If they don't need to, they won't do. And if they get a letter, or they have to go to the social office, if the family is big, there are always children, grandchildren who are able to do this. And if this it's not the case, there are thousands of organizations, which will do this for you. You don't need to integrate yourself, do you understand? My opinion is not asked. (laugh) I would condemn people more to integrate themselves. For example, I know some people who have not passed B1 in German yet, while they live fifteen years here. They do not want this. They are sent constantly there, do the test and receive a six. (German grade) They go home with a six and life goes on, do you understand? Or, for example, the people get social help lifelong. I refuse this for Germans and for foreigners even more. I think this is not a good system. Germans are at least integrated. And Russian people, if one gets money for nothing, then no one must move. Because if everything is new, it's a really great challenge. One is always afraid of something new. This is normal. But somehow you have to overcome this. This is of course better for the children, for adolescents. They must make an education. They must stand anyhow. But, for example, I also totally refuse that the German state give the people who come from Russia, but are originally Germans simply a passports without knowing and testing, if they speak German or not. And this means if they have a passport, they can come here without making anything at all better. This should always be the check for foreigners, the language. So they move here theoretically, but it's all Greek for them. (German saying: "Sie verstehen nur Bahnhof.") (Laughs) That is why I won't go to the Russian stores. (Laughs) I know, for example, that in Dortmund in one district there are a lot of

Russian people. This is, in my opinion, the east corner and there are gigantic big Russian shops. However, look, for example, if you go to a normal German discounter, Kaufland or Edeka, there are small little corners where they sell Russian things, not many. But there are small little corners. Also in the Nordstadt, there are several stores, because this is, too, a district, where a lot of Russian people live. The rent is cheaper. And one must also say Russian hairdressers are a dime a dozen. (German saying: "Wie Sand am Meer") The clientele are mostly Russians. It is all of course about word-of-mouth-advertising. And there are also organizations everywhere. You can ask the Caritas or "das rote Kreuz". They all offer translations into thousand languages. This doesn't cost a cent. And they also offer appointments escorts. This also costs no cent. Well, so sometimes you get somebody, who understands less German than you do, but he is persuaded that he knows everything. I have already experienced this. (Laughs), However, you can always use this. For example when you are new, they can help you to make new contacts, beyond the first admission place, do you understand? Or you make contacts in the German classes. Because in German classes, it's mostly an unilaterally group of foreigners, who share the same lifestyle. Then of course people get to know each other, they share information and so does a circle of friends arise, when people come on their own. Okay but you got to say in addition to that, it depends on the character, too. Because I know a person who lives here fifteen years, but has no friend to the present day, only dog, but he has a character- Mamamia! (Laughs) But in a normal case, this is how the circle of friends, family arises. So you got a systematic circle and if you want to get to know other people, then you have to go beyond this circle and make it on your own. For example, if there is an older German lady living in your house, you can try to establish a contact. But German ladies are mostly withdrawn. Everybody. Both sides must be interested and on top of that you got to speak a little German, because in all probability granny won't be able to speak Russian. (Laughs) So this might be tricky. However (laughs) with need and trouble it might work out. I know people who have contact with Germans at old age and they have established the contact, because they were interested to know Germans, but this was hard to achieve for the people, do you understand? Nobody comes to you, not to foreigner and not to a German, nobody comes and says: "Hello Lena (interviewer) we want to get to know you!" Nobody makes this. (Laughs) This is always on self-initiative and you have this or you haven't. This depends on the person, on the interests, on the education. How intelligent are you, how interested are you in getting to know other people and can you accept that the other people's mentality is different to yours? For example, I know some Germans and for it seems hard for them to accept other behaviors, do you understand?

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Particularly old people, they are so hardened in her views. This has to be there, this there and this there and something new is difficult to understand for them. I tell you another funny story. My mother-in-law has grown up as a normal-German here. She was born here: a typical German. As I once visited her, she was interested in a Russian salad. It is almost like your potato salad, you only need more vegetables and sausage. I have already brought this to her once. She has tried it and she said that she is interested in cooking it herself. So I was at her place to cook the Russian salad together. And I cooked just like I always do. You know, this had been a shock for my mother-in-law. Because she cooks differently. She cooks every vegetable in a special pot. Russian people would never do this. You have one big pot. You put the carrots and all vegetables in it and the potatoes, too. You will put everything together and on the top of that you will use the same water to cook the eggs. (Laughs) If you cook everything special, it will take forever. So she looked at me and said: "How can you just cook like this?". But then time went by and she told me lastly: "You know, now I'm doing everything in one big pot, too!" (Laughs) I believe you have already more than enough of me."

I: "Thank you so, so much. It was a great pleasure to listen to your stories!"

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### Interview A2

11: 18 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

A2: "38"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

A2: "Syria"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

A2: "For seven years now."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

A2: "Aplerbeck".

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

A2: "I came here because my husband has studied here. Yes. He has studied here, then he came back to Syria and married me and then I moved here, but I left everything in Syria: my family, my job, I studied engineering economics. And I have

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tried to work here, but it wouldn't happen. Since I'm here, I tried to find a job. I was at the job- center, here a job-creating- measure, here an English course, here a computer course. But I got to say that the computer course helped me to improve myself. Yes and, nevertheless, no chance. There comes the first refusal. Okay. Then there comes the second refusal. Okay. But it never ever changed. No chance. I don't know. i wish I would have found a job, but in fact I didn't." (Keeps quiet)

I: "So when you look back on these seven years, which obstacles did you meet? Was finding an employment the major obstacle so far?"

A2: Yes. Maybe it is just for me, but finding a place to work in your profession is very difficult. Yes. I guess, I have a certificate and notion of balances and stuff and this is expensive here, they do not want to pay to me so much. This is too much. Yes. I guess my job is too expensive to them. But things have changed I got a child, then another one. And then I got ill. Okay? In 2010 I have got the first multiple sclerosis episode, the second immediately followed. And I guess now I'm even less interesting for the most companies."

I: "I'm sorry!"

A2: "You don't have to be sorry! I'm okay." (Laughs)

I: "Concerning your experience, what were the essential objectives in order to integrate in a foreign society?"

A2: "I always wanted a job. But now I think I'll surrender. This was my wish. But another wish was to have children on my own. Now I have two children. They grow up here. What I couldn't do, my children will do. They will make it better. I have made my life, I am for many years here and I have always tried to find a work. In my native country I have always worked. For example, at a college, this was a nice job. But I have left everything behind and I have come here. I thought it will become even better here. But then it didn't. But I mean I am integrated here. Integration and such things. Such a project like this here, we do breakfast together, we cook together. I'm doing something. Why always staying at home? Re-thinking and so on. That is not my kind of life. No, no. At that time when I have worked, I always thought 24 hours are not enough for one day. I was ten hours here, ten hours there. You know 24 hours were not enough. But here, everything is different."

I: "Can you tell me about your current situation? How is your everyday life?"

A2: "I have friends in the neighborhood. We like to meet and drink a tea. One of my neighbors is here, too, maybe you already got to meet her. She got me into this project and told me to come to the international breakfast, meet other people. And



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so I come here for two years now. When I first got here I thought, well, that's a good idea. Why not? Since then I came here once a week, but now it is only two times a month. That's a little sad. Yes. It was every week, every week breakfast and talking, reading and laughing together. Yes. It was always fun. Because I got to know so many different people, there were always new people from different countries, each week. (Pause) Yes. It does not go overnight. It is not to be easy here. But I look at the other people, the other cultures and what I like, I take and what I don't like, I leave. This is no problem. When I meet people and I don't like how they live, I always think they do not live at my home, so can cope with that. You know, we know that our life has been previously like this, but know it's different. But we know that we are in Germany. We live here. Not in Syria or in Turkey, our life is here and we know this. Integrate us in such a way. But these are not only the foreigners who can integrate. You know, my children now, I have tried to teach them my language. They hear both (languages) parallel. I have speak only in Arabic and my husband only German since they are born. I wanted that my children are able to speak Arabic when they meet my parents. Yes, we speak with our children our language. But German, too. At school they have also German. My older daughter is already in school. She has German, math everything one or two (one/two = grades). My girl is really good in math. I have studied also mathematics. I don't know. I try to help her, when I see her math things, I say oh, this is this and this is this. When they (the tasks) become more difficult, I still know this. The son of my neighbor said: "What? You know about Pythagoras?" (Laughs) Is that enough? I have to go back to the kitchen."

I: "Yes, for sure! Thank you so, so much!"

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Interview A3

10: 08 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

A3: "24"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

A3: "Syria"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

A3: "I'm here since one year (Break) and six month."

I: "One and a half year? You're German is really good!"

A3: "Thank you! But I still need to learn more."

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I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

A3: "I live in, it's hard to spell (laughs): Aplerbeck."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

A3: "When I first came to Germany, I thought that it is almost impossible to learn this language. But then after I met some people and learned a few words and then I participated in the "Integrationskurs" and that helped me to learn the language more and then somehow I started to love it. And at the same time I was also improving my English, cause I'm an English teacher. So I used to be an English teacher back home. I was also preparing for an English exam. So my time in Germany was always full. So there was no time to feel bored or I could cope with all the people. It wasn't so difficult for me, because I always, I'm always curious and want to know more about other cultures, what other people think."

I: "Did you meet any obstacles so far?"

A3: "Hmm. I didn't face any actually. Everything was good. I didn't face any at all. I didn't face any difficulties coming here, because the coincidence was my husband is half Syrian and half German. So it was easy for us to come here. One part of his family is from here and we live all together now in Aplerbeck. We didn't have to go through a lot of things like other people from my country. So I didn't face any difficulties."

I: "What are the crucial objectives when you integrate in a foreign country?"

(Daughter is crying)

A3: "I think it is difficult to continue like this. Just a second."

I: "Yes. Sure!"

(Break)

A3: "Can you repeat the question?"

I: "Sure, the question was: what are the crucial objectives when you integrate in a foreign country?"

A3: "First of all I have to learn the language, cope with other people. I have also - I also need to work. To improve myself and get well into the society and I guess you have to earn their respect. And help them as well. Because I live, so when I live in their country, I also have to participate. Well, I guess I'm new to all of that. I don't know what else can I say about Integration. Well, I find it a very nice idea, because we can learn from each other and we can help each other. So I was always intending to travel to other countries even before the war had started, before all that

## Appendix

I already wanted to improve myself more. I always wanted to go beyond my comfort zone. When I met my husband, it was clear for both of us that we will move to Germany. And maybe that is why I enjoy to live here so much. I learn new things everyday. Maybe I can find a better job.”

I: “ Can you tell me about your current life? About your everyday-life?”

A3: “Well, that is not an easy question, because I don’t have an everyday-life yet. I go to classes, I get to know more organizations and people and I play a lot with my daughter. (Laughs) I hope I will be a teacher again and that I will have an everyday-life. (Laughs) You know, I have not experienced much yet, maybe you should ask someone else?”

I: “Okay, so thank you for this Interview!”

A3: “ Thank you for coming today, it’s always great to meet new people.”

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### Interview A4

17: 01 Min.

I: “How old are you?”

A4: “I am 44 years old.”

I: “What is your country of origin?”

A4: “Turkey“

I: “How long do you live in Germany?”

A4: “I arrived in 2007. Eight, Eight years, I think.“

I: “In which district of Dortmund do you live?”

A4: “I live near this place. It is in Aplerbeck, too.“

I: “What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?”

A4: “How I feel being here? What do you mean?”

I: “Yes, for example.“

A4: “I did not come here of my own choice. My children were here. My husband was here, because of political issues. So first he moved to Germany. We are from Turkey, but we are Kurdish. We lived in the East of Turkey. So for political reasons my husband stayed in Germany. And after this my children would come here for vacation. I send them here in the summertime, because their father has not seen them for a while. That was really hard for him. He missed them so much, but he

couldn't visit us. He called very often and he told me that he wanted to see our children for one month in the summertime. So I send them, so that he could finally see them. But after I send them, they would never return to me. He kept them in Germany. So years later I decided to come here, too. I wanted to be in the near of my children. Yes, they called me often and they cried. They told me: "Mom, please come, we miss you here!" They are both girls and being here in a foreign country was hard for them. And I left my job. I was a nurse. We had our own house. We had our own everything. I always worked as a nurse. I got good money. There was nothing missing back then. We were often insulted by the Turkish police. We were awake at nights, because we feared that something might happen. So the children were afraid. The children, they understood everything at that time. And so it was better for the children to stay here. So I did not regret that I send them here. But my husband did not tell me before. Yes. (Break) So for me it was not that easy to come here. To be in a foreign country, not speaking the foreign language, I did not know anything at all for a long time. You have to get used to this. Yes. Yes. And then, well, I tried to learn the language a little. Because of my family, I was here. So the job- center did not offer me a German class at first place. Instead I took German classes for three month at the Volkshochschule. And this was one or two hours a week for three month, and after this time the job- center would not pay them anymore and so I quit. Yes. And after this I tried to learn it myself. I read the school-books of my children. And after this I had to work. Because everything changed. My husband and I separated. And my daughters stayed at my place. I did not know the language. I had no job. I was depending on the government- aid. So after this I really had to find a job. Well first I had to make a job- searching- measurement. Because of my diploma, they had to acknowledge it, so that I could work over here. So I started with my bad German. And so I made this measurement and I got the acknowledgement of my diploma. But I still did not find a job. The German language was hard for me. So I started to work at a bakery. So I worked there the last years. And yes, the shop was not good. So they closed. And I am jobless again. So then I worked at this organization and helped to organize the project "xxx". (Break)

I: "So finding a job was not that easy so far. Did you meet other obstacles?"

A4: "Well, finding a flat was not that hard. At the beginning we had just one room for the four of us. One room for all four. And with the help of the social- assistance- center we found a flat with three rooms nearby. So we lived for two years in one room. And then we moved. The girls got older. Yes. So we found a three- room apartment. Again in Aplerbeck. We had luck. So the social- assistance- center helped really good, they were really nice. And I still live here. The father directly left.

And I guess my children will not stay forever. (Break) Well, yes. And finding contacts - were at the beginning mostly people of my own country. And they helped. For example, when we moved. They helped me renovate. And when we had to buy anything, the Kurds helped us. They had a car, because we did not have one. Because of that, yes, they helped us. So, you need help. It is like that. So you see, if you would go to America or Africa, you would have to do something on your own, too. And that is not easy in this world. You will not find a job from the beginning and the right flat. It is like that. (Break) So my children were here. And when you go shopping for example, I was prepared for everything because my husband had already been here for years. He already established contacts. But he did not find a job. He was depending a long time on the social-assistance-center. And because of that everything was prepared. For me it was not that hard. It just changed when he left. After the divorce when I was alone with my children, my German was not good enough. So when you live in a foreign country, you have to learn the language first. That is important. That is not only in Germany like this. It depends on where you go. When you go to America or England, you have to speak English, or? When you go to the Netherlands, you have to speak Dutch, or? Because of that and that was hard for me, I had to learn the language. I was not of young age anymore. And I did a measurement. In the first three month I took German classes. And not the whole week, it was only once a week. I had to make an effort myself. What I have done in order to take care was first learning the language. The spelling is still hard for me. But I understand really well. That is all, I did my best, but it was a tough time for me. And I had to learn the language. Otherwise I could not talk to my neighbors. When I had to ask somebody the way, for example, how do I get to the central station, I had to learn specific things directly. Because of that I read books three hours, four hours, six hours daily. The books were expensive. I brought a book from Turkey: "German-Turkish". So I read that and I tried to learn. But it was hard. Because it was my first time to learn a language. The neighbors came at my place and they ask for something or they want to know something about me like where am I from, how old am I and because of that I had to learn this. But for me it is really hard. In the first and second year I learned a lot. And I was proud of myself. Oh my god. Now I can ask and answer, when somebody will talk to me, I will not just look at him. That is important. Have you been in a foreign country before? In Greece or somewhere?"

I: "Yes."

A4: "So you know this, right? Yes. I started with nothing. Nothing means the language. In Germany you have to work, you have to take care of yourself. You have to stay in contact with the people. Yes. This changed when my husband left.

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Before that we had mostly contact to Kurdish people. Now I have only few friends of my home country. So I had them at the beginning and now I have, so when my man left and we divorced, it just changed. So I established new contacts. My neighbor is a German. So I thought this would be better. Because when I talk to them, I always learn two words more. That was my goal. I had to learn German. I had to. Yes. And then I started at the bakery. I had my German colleagues at the bakery. And when you talk to the German clientele on a daily basis, you learn new words every day, too. And I'm still not that good, but at least I can talk to somebody. I am glad and I am proud of that."

I: "I think that sounds great! So how would you describe your current situation? How is your everyday-life?"

A4: "Yes, now I like it here. But not from the beginning. It was always hard. It was a foreign country, it was a foreign language, everywhere you go, appears a wall. This wall is named language. When I went shopping at Rewe or I do not know, I did not understand the price I had to pay. At that time I did not know that you can see the price there. That it is shown to you, you know what I mean? Or when I was asked: "Is this yours, too?", you have to answer yourself and know the money and give that to them. After all this years I can do this now. So the language is really hard. And then finding a job. But I found one with the help of the job-center. I have to thank them a thousand times. They are looking for the right job for you. And you are not alone. I do not feel left alone. Because my adviser is really nice. He knows that I do the best that I can. He always sends me offers and I will send the application. And yes, but I am a little older now. But I want to work again. It is just hard to find a job. Because a lot of young people are unemployed, too. I do not know. But I hope to find something. Because I do not want to be depending on job-center and of other people. (Break) I can work. Are there any open questions? Is that all?" (Laughs)

I: "Yes, I guess. (Laughs) Thank you so much!"

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### Interview A5

10: 18 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

A5: "I am 29 years old."

I: "What is your country of origin?"

A5: "Turkey"

## Appendix

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

A5: "About eight years."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

A5: "In Aplerbeck with my family. My apartment is not far from here."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

A5: "How? So I tell you my story first?"

I: "Yes, that would be great."

A5: "I did my Abitur in Turkey and I studied on year. I wanted to become an elementary teacher. After this I got here. And I did my advanced technical certificate (originally: "Fachhochschulreife"). And I took German classes at the integration courses. And I have two children. I am married. And, well, I'm very content to be here. So at the beginning when I came here, I had to stay two years at an asylum seekers' hostel. Yeah, so I lived there. Because at that time it was hard to get your own apartment. Or, I do not know. It was really very difficult. But I guess now it is easier. And when you want to find an apartment or something, it is easier because of the help of the social- assistance- center and the job- center. But previously it was not like that. Yeah I was there with about hundred other people – all together. Yeah. Just my room, I lived alone. No, I lived with my family, so we shared our bath, window and everything with all people. So I received my permit of residence. And we found an apartment. So we moved. So at the beginning the language was really difficult for me. Yeah, German language is with articles and so on. Even if I speak now, well I do not know but I make a lot of mistakes. However, my family lives in Frankfurt now. And I got married. So I ended up here. My husband lived here. So it is because of that. So I had to be here, too. (Laughs) I met my husband here in Germany. At the beginning my father would move to Germany. After this my mother and my siblings came here, too. And my brother and I would be alone in Turkey. I had to decide: Staying in Turkey or moving to Germany? I thought: "I'm all alone here. Without my mother, without my siblings, without my father, okay, I was old enough, but I knew when I go to Germany I will not know the language. I know what was expecting me here. But nevertheless, I thought that the parents, the family, is most important. Okay I already studied, but, however, I came here. Because of that I really wanted to do something here, going to school, learning the language. And I got this, but I'm better in writing. (Laughs)"

I: "So concerning your experience to the present day, what are the crucial objective in order to integrate in a foreign society?"

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A5: "Yeah, the first three, four months are the most difficult ones. You always think about your home, your friends, your school, I don't know, your job. When you get up in the morning, you will ask yourself everyday, where am I? Overnight it is all right. You think you are still home. But in the morning when you get up, in the first minute, you will think, where am I. It is really hard. The new country is completely foreign for you. You don't know anything about the, yeah, yeah, their culture. And just everything. At the beginning the language. And without knowing the language, I don't know, you have nothing at all. Back in Turkey, my foreign language was French. And for that, I had nothing, too. (Break) So at the beginning my father worked at a factory, but he did not have a permission to do so. And it took us three years with family and so on to live here. Without permit of residence we were not allowed to have our own apartment. And after every one of us received the permit of residence, after this the state said: "Okay, you are allowed to live here and to have your own apartment!"

I: " So how is your current life? Can you tell me about your everyday-life?

A5: "Now I am really content. I know different people from different countries. And yes, I have now friends from more or less all from different countries. Germans, too. My colleagues – both are German. I work five hours a day as a child- minder. Now I understand a lot of stuff. At the moment there are a lot of refugees here in Germany. And I understand. I already told you I work as a child- minder, but the children are mostly the children of refugees. I mind the children and I like doing this. And I understand the families, what they are thinking, how they feel, yeah, what they are expecting ... of other people. I understand them better. Okay, all people can understand them, but I experienced all of that myself. Because of that. Yeah. If you want, you can come to our place next week. (Break) My work is great, I'm so glad I got there. Yes. But I wanted to introduce you to (Interviewee C). She is an English teacher. Do you have any further question?"

I: "No, thank you for your help!"

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## Transcripts Interviews Innenstadt-Nord

25.11.2015

Interview	Country of Origin	Age	District	Lives in Germany
Interviewee IN1	Turkey [Kurdish]	52	Innenstadt-Nord	7 years



Interviewee IN2	Algeria	47	Innenstadt-Nord	6 years
Interviewee IN3	Turkey	29	Innenstadt-Nord	8 years
Interviewee IN4	Turkey	36	Innenstadt-Nord	2 years
Interviewee IN5	Turkey [Kurdish]	31	Innenstadt-Nord	5 years

### Interview IN1

14: 46 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

IN1: "52"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

IN1: "Turkey"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

IN1: "Since 2008."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

IN1: "In Nordstadt".

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

IN1: "What experiences? How I came here, shall I start with that? In 2008 I came here, because of the political situation. We are not guest workers. My husband had problems in Turkey. He came here first. Two years later I came here, too. And this was difficult. I am here for eight years and it is hard to live in a foreign country. It doesn't matter, if you are a woman or a man. We lived illegal in our country for 20 years, because of the political situation. And afterwards we came here. How was it? It was hard. We lived illegal in our country, however we could do anything. We worked and we could speak the language. We know the culture. Or this, or that. But here, we came here, you think it is a free country. It is a free country, here is no suppression from the state. But we did not know the language. We had a big problem. We were unemployed for more than three years. And we always worked in our country. We always worked. I am a graphic designer. I worked for a newspaper. My husband worked as a leather-worker. We had problems in Turkey, but nevertheless we worked and worked. We came here, simply unemployed. That is really hard, when you are used to work your whole life. You receive your own money. So unemployed and without language (skills). Without language we couldn't solve our problems. We always needed anybody to translate. For every bagatelle

you need a translator. This was too hard. Afterwards we find a job together. I work. My husband works, too. But what was really hard is our son. We have a son. When I came here, my son was seventeen years old. (Starts crying) He stayed there. And that hurts. He is older now. But it always hurts. It is the hardest when I talk about it. That I had to leave him is the hardest. First came my husband, then I came, but my son stayed. This hurts. And now when you listen to the news and all the bad things, which happen these days, everywhere is war. Mothers lose their children. Everyone knows. Because of that, our experiences here are good. We do well here. But can you live even better? How can we live even better? No suppression. As a woman it is not easy to live in Turkey, because of the political situation. Everyone is in prison there. Torture. They will get into problems. I work here in this association of female migrants. This is a great work. I got stronger by doing this. Working with women, with female migrants, I feel even better. And what I want to achieve is working here.“

I: "So finding a job was a crucial objective? Did you have other crucial objectives?"

IN1: "The language is really important. Without any words, I had to start. I started a German lecture, when I got here, but I could not learn anything, I always had to think of my son. Afterwards I made my secondary modern school qualification (originally: Hauptschulabschluss). I thought I have to live here now. I have to improve. When you are weak, you are too weak to make it here. I tried to be a better version of me. To be more self-confident. Self-confidence evolves by learning the language and learning the German culture. To work together with the German society. The German society makes great work. We work together with a German women association. But I am still not good in speaking German. But you can not learn this all at once. It was too hard. Maybe I was too old to learn everything anew. But I came here on my own choice. Because of that, I did not accomplish the language. But Integration, what I think you are interested in, is not easy. When you find a job and you receive your own money. When you do something together with the German society. That is not that easy. But when you stay at home, doing nothing, you can not integrate yourself. But there are always two sides. Germans and this society and the others and both sides have to try, not one side, not always I, as a migrant. Both sides have to. And we are here in the xxx and here it is integration. It is a culture-house. I don't know if you this. And they do a lot of events here. The German society, too. And here you can integrate. When you have in Germany the same problems. Yesterday we went to an event in the town hall. It was an event to talk about domestic abuse against women. That doesn't matter at such an event if you are a German or a Turk or another country. We all talk about the

same themes. And these are general issues. We talk together about it and so we integrate because of these contacts. But it is hard to get there. I am glad I found this association, because Nordstadt is a ghetto- city (originally: ghetto-city). And I think the city (Dortmund) is doing it on purpose to have all the migrants at one place. And integration, when you do something together you can integrate, but if you isolate the people you can not integrate. Ghetto, when you experience living in a ghetto that is discrimination. That is sad. This house here is a good example of the Nordstadt. They are doing good things for people who are living here, for the adolescents, for the children and for the women. We meet here every week. Integration, when you live in the South, you have a good income. But I guess the migrants living there are feeling even more excluded because of that. The people will feel even more foreign. But it is all about the culture. This is integration. Doing something together. And doing something against discrimination and racism. You always have to do something in order to integrate. When you are always at home, when you have no job, there is no integration. When you are at a job, you get to learn Germans, you speak with one another, you work together, and you will learn from the culture. It will be faster when you have a job, Integration. But when you have one side north and one side south, this problem will live on. We will always try to establish contact with different women. Germans, too. We are in Germany now, and I want to live here. I am originally a Turkish woman, a Kurdish woman. And how can I explain that to you. All people are the same, Turks, Kurds, Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, it is mostly the job. It gives you the feeling that you are needed. Self-confidence. People told me that here was the Hoesch- factory and coal mining etc. and than the migrants came and now Hoesch has moved into a better district. But the people stayed. The Germans moved, too. Now everyone says it is criminal here. But it is not criminal. But you have to see this different. The city (Dortmund) has to solve this. Not the people have to solve this. Now I have said so much. (Laughs) I need to get a cup of tea."

I: "Thank you so much!"

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Interview IN2

10: 07 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

IN2: "47"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

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IN2: "Algeria"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

IN2: "Six years."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

IN2: "In Hafen".

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

IN2: "My experience, what was that? I have time. (Laughs) I was a refugee, too, if you mean that. I have a lot of experience. I have worked as a social worker. So but my experience as a refugee or migrant, or how you would call it. It is hard with the different cultures I think. Certainly the beginning will always be very hard. You have to reorganize yourself. This country, the mentality everything is new. And in the beginning, yes, that is why I understand all this people who come here the last months. Everybody keeps saying, well, they have to learn, they have to change, but it takes time. In my case, too. I had to learn a lot. You have to adjust the law and everything."

I: "So can you term obstacles, which you met?"

IN2: "Yes, yes, the different mentality, as I said. The manners, I guess. The language. At first you have to learn the language. But I said to myself when I got here, if I stay I have to immediately learn the language. If I stay. Or I have to leave. But I decided to stay. In the first year, I stayed here, I made a pretty intensive German course. I learned a lot. How to speak with people, reading, writing, to comprehend. But for example establishing contacts was no problem for me. Because I already worked in Algeria in a hospital as a nurse. When I worked there, I learned how to have contact with people. It has always been my social environment. I come from a family where everyone is a teacher or a doctor, midwife or nurse. We always have to do with social work. But at the beginning it is hard, but when you do your German course, you get to learn a lot of foreigners from different countries. I still call some of them. At the beginning we tried to establish contact by using our hands, and using easy words. It was a great time. We met often and sit together in the evenings. But the rest with housing and so on, it was easier for me as I was married to a German man. Now I am divorced, it would not work out. But I did not have a big problem, because he took care of everything. He could speak French. We could talk so good. But, we separated."

I: "Can you tell me about your current life? How is your everyday-life?"

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IN2: "At the moment I work for the xxx, I organize a meeting once a week for the senior citizens in the Nordstadt. But all neighbors are invited. Seniors come, elderly women come there and we make coffee and tea. And we will sew and crochet. I know those things. There are Germans, too. And Moroccans and Turks. And we are all together, it is great. It is amazing. This is a great group. They like each other so much. They learn from each other. And the Germans enjoy it, too. Sadly I can only do this once a week. But what else. I am tutoring French. Some women ask me. Some of here. And earlier I worked as a French teacher in the Europe School (originally: Europa-Schule). And I helped everyone. I was tutoring children and elderly and women, too. I am doing this here in this association. But not so long. Since I got divorced. My former husband lives now in Wickede. But I like it here. In Nordstadt you have immediately this feeling of integration. When I visit him in Wickede, there is no problem. He has nice neighbors. But there are only Germans and Polish and Russians. This is a different world. But I love the Nordstadt. I have written in article about the Nordstadt. You can read it online. Here is everything, what I do for a living and all the people that I know, too. So I don't think I would have a problem living in Wickede, but I like it here."

I: "So what are the crucial objectives in order to integrate?"

IN2: "Integration. You have to explain, getting to know and listen to people. Give the people a chance to talk. Not always I, I, I. The people have to get to know each other and explain on another. Yeah."

I: "Thank you so much for your insights!"

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### Interview IN3

7: 22 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

IN3: "29"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

IN3: "I'm a Turk."

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

IN3: "I came in 2007."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

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IN3: "I live in Dortmund. How do you mean?"

I: "Oh, I just wanted to know in which of the different parts of the city do you live."

IN3: "In, in the north."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

IN3: "I don't understand." (Laughs)

I: "Okay, maybe I should get more into detail. Since you arrived in Germany, what was important for you in order to arrive not only physically in this foreign country?"

IN3: "I am really bad at German. I'm sorry. You want to know what is important for me here in Germany?"

I: "Yeah, absolutely!"

IN3: "My family is the most important. I am married and I have four children. They are most important. My brother and his family live here, too. That is why I came here. My brother lives here."

I: "And did you meet any obstacles?"

IN3: "(Break) I don't know. I like it here. My family is here. And I have friends here. And we drink tea together. And we cook together. Here are many Turks. So I am a Turk. And (points her finger to different women in the room) She is a Turk. She is a Turk. And she. And she. And she. And she. (Laughs) So they know me. And they can understand me. And I am good. I know that I have to learn German. It is just very difficult to learn. My children speak better German. But I am good. My husband can speak German. He has to at work."

I: "Can you tell me about your everyday-life?"

IN3: "I cook and I drink tea with other women. Like I said before. Sometimes we cook all together. Or I go here and we talk."

I: "What has changed in your life when you came here?"

IN3: "A lot changed. I did not know how to go shopping here. Or where everything is. But now I know. And I understand German. I can not speak so much. But I can understand. And I have a family now. I am a mother now. I like it here in Germany. But I have to speak German, I know."

I: "Is there anything you would like to say about your experiences of integration?"

IN3: "Integration. I don't know. I don't know Germans. I think. I think can not say much about that. Because I don't know Germans."

I: "Okay, thank you so much!"

Interview IN4

13: 23 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

IN4: "36"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

IN4: "Turkey"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

IN4: "Just for two years."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

IN4: "I live in the Nordstadt."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

IN4: "This is a big question. So for me it is really hard. Because my family is not here. And you are all alone in this country. And I had no contacts with people from here, before I got here. And I was a teacher in Turkey. And firstly I have no job. And I have to study anew. But I am 36 and to learn from scratch is not easy. And secondly the German language. I mean I was a German teacher in Turkey. But nevertheless it is not mother tongue. And I did not work much as a German teacher. Secondly the circle of friends. You leave your whole life in Turkey. It is like being re-born. You are like a small child in this foreign country. And everything is new. I feel like a bird without wings. You know, you can not do anything as you want at the beginning. A big problem is you have to be self-confident. You have to be self-reliant. I could not go anywhere, because I did not know how to get there. For example with trains. As I came here, I have seen a train for the first time in my life. Think about it. And I did not know anything about the tickets. I always bought the wrong one and paid too much money. But I could not differentiate the different tickets. And then, what is more? The people are so different. Not here, but in other places where only Germans live. My husband used to live there. He is German. The people are so reserved. I felt all-alone. Totally alone. And though I don't think that only Turks and Turks should meet. Or Arabic with Arabic. Or Kurds with Kurds. And all the others. I think it should be a mixture. I like mixtures. Because mixture means color and color makes happy. But sadly the people are not open-minded here. They don't know you at all. But they have this gigantic wall. This great wall. You can not reach them. They don't left any gap. This great problem that I have seen here is for

example in this district where my husband used to live, everyone's house has a garden and the gardens have bushes for the one neighbor won't see the other neighbor. What is that about? Or every morning they say "Good morning" but they don't mean that. They just say it formally. Because they have seen a person and they have to say "Good morning". You can tell from their gestures. They are not interested in telling you "Hello, how are you?". I don't know. I come from Turkey, I come from Antalya. Antalya is a city where people are always talking and laughing and they are always outside. They won't sit at home. Antalya is a warm city. From March till November it is a warm city. And no one sits inside the house. People sit on their balcony or in their gardens. And they go to drink a coffee. Or they go to the beach. And so on. And you would never do this on your own. You do this always, you have always five, six, seven friends who will join you. You make a picnic. And silly and funny stuff. We will always tell each other jokes. For example I have never met a German who will make a joke, when we meet for the first time, for we can laugh together. I have not met anyone at all. Never ever. But at Antalya it is like that. So we get to know each other and I will ask you "Hello, how are you? Is everything alright?" and so on. So we know each other for a few hours now, but we would talk next time as if we would know each other for months. But now after two years here, I can tell, it is not how it works here. I have no contact to Germans. There was one neighbor. It is the daughter of our house's owner. And they have two children. And I mean I work with children. And I like children. And when I met them I talked to them and we played together. And the next day, the children, they would see me and they turned around. And I understood that is so wrong. Why is that?. At the end I talked to my husband and asked him. And what did he tell me: "They are not allowed to talk to foreigners". Hello? We are directly near you. We are not foreigners. Foreigner for me is when somebody would walk there and you don't know him. And then we would tell our children don't talk to them, don't take their food and so on. But that you have no trust in your neighbors? I have never heard of that before. I don't know. I have not heard much. But I see that in the university, too. Turks are always with Turks. They don't know Germans. I have met a Russian in one lecture. She was sitting there, too. I recognized her spelling and I saw her talking Russian on the phone. So I knew she was a foreigner, too. And so we began to talk. It is somehow easier, because you experience the same. Or another thing is how people would eat their food. Maybe it is taught like that in Turkish families. But we would not just stand around in the middle of a city and eat. It is not that easy. You need a table, or you just sit down on the floor. But you have to sit down. When I saw the people on the streets of Dortmund, I could not believe my eyes. They were eating a currywurst and I asked my husband "Why do they eat like that?". My husband just laughed at me. It



was funny for him. Because it is normal to him, but for me it is extraordinarily. Or, I don't know. When we talk about food. All that pork in the shops. Muslims would never eat pork. But in the supermarket there is everything with pork. Although I am not that kind of person to be religious. But I would never eat it though. It is a habit. My habit tells me no. Not because you believe that and you are convinced of this. It is all about your habits, too. It does not matter, if it is eating or how you are dressed. I had no problems with dressing differently. Because there was no difference at all. It is all the same. For example at the university there are some study colleagues and they said that I completely fit into their group. But not most of the people would be like this. And I told them that they have to get to know the people. Because they didn't take me in their group at first place. I forced them to take part in their group. Whenever they went anywhere, I would be there. And I asked them: "Hello, what are you doing today? And how are you?" and so on."

I: "So how is your current situation? Can you tell me about your everyday- life?"

IN4: "So I was not allowed to work. I could not work. I am glad that my husband has enough income for the both of us. He has a good job and we can somehow live from that. And now I try to study new. I study German and psychology. But I don't know, if I will have a job in the future. I wanted to study psychology in Turkey, too. But you will not find a job, if you do this. That is different in Germany. And as I always wanted to study psychology, I am glad that I can do this now. I guess I will not find a job when I finish my study. Because I will be older than 40. And no one will be interested in a forty-year-old teacher. And I guess no one is interested in foreigner that teaches German, too. I think myself I would not employ. But at least I try. And I don't know. It is really not easy. There are advantages when come to a different country. I know a lot of people who have relatives over here. Family, uncle, aunts and so on. It was easier for them to get used to live here. But when you come on your own, it is pretty hard. And when people ask me: "Why are you still here?" I think that love is a great feeling. I am here because of my husband. I was asked a lot. Because I had a great life in Antalya. And I miss my life. But I think my husband would face the same problems in Turkey. I always thought, I can do this better. Because I am younger and I can integrate better. I will get used to this and have my new circle of friends and for him, I guess, it would be harder because he is fifteen years older than me. And so I keep going. And I found friends over here, but just like here today, most of them are Turks. Come back in two years and ask me again, maybe some things have changed then. (Laughs)"

I: "Maybe I will. Thank you that was so interesting to listen to!"

Interview IN5

11: 13 Min.

I: "How old are you?"

IN5: "31"

I: "What is your country of origin?"

IN5: "Turkey"

I: "How long do you live in Germany?"

IN5: "Five years."

I: "In which district of Dortmund do you live?"

IN5: "In the north of the city, but it's pretty near to the city center."

I: "What can you tell me about your experience on immigrating to Germany?"

IN5: "Can I tell you one after the other?"

I: "As you like."

IN5: "The first experiences is that you are afraid. You are in a foreign country. I was twenty- seven. I grew up in a small village and then I came here in this gigantic big city. And it was Christmas- time and my mother was not here. But my father and my brother were already here. I was afraid to leave my home. But that changed quickly because after the Christmas time and New years, I started with my German course. When I was there for one month, I knew that I was totally different to all Germans. But here are a lot of guest workers' children and I was not all alone. But my father was here, too. But he left quickly after I arrived. At first I had to learn the language. Everything was so foreign for me. Here are really big houses and there are so many people. The streets here are so big, I feared that I might get lost here. But so I had to learn the language. And I thought I will never understand and never have this feeling that this is my home now. I have never even heard a foreign language before, because of that it felt all so strange and new. As I came from a really small village, I thought this is all so strange here, I will not be able to learn this. I thought this for a long time. But in my German course, I met people from Turkey who arrived here a few weeks before I got here. And they could already speak a little German. So I thought I will learn this, too. And so I did."

I: "So what are the crucial objectives when you come to an foreign country?"

IN5: "I mean, they always say that, language is the most important. By speaking the same language one can talk to each other and listen and comprehend what the people think of one another. And I can talk about my wishes, too. When I came here, my neighbors came to our house, Germans too, and they warmly welcomed us and ask if we need anything. This is really important that you have this feeling, there is someone who is glad that you came. This is really good. I mean there are a lot of migrants here, so it might be easier. But the people always that it is a deprived area here, so when I had my first job interviews, I thought maybe I should move and there is a better place to live in Dortmund. But I refused that thinking, because I don't believe that there is a deprived area. And so I even work here, too. And here is so much variety and simply life. You should not be afraid of that. And when you are part of it, it feels great. You learn that there is no need to be afraid. Before I had reservations, because I wanted to work and I thought I would be in better hands somewhere else. But it is not hard to feel home here, even if everything is so big. Here are so many people on the streets, and I think that is why other people think that it is a bad place. But you can make your life so much easier, when you go to these people and are interested in them. Why not? Here are so many people who live in apartments, so it is normal that these people are on the streets, too. When I see this here and everything is so alive, I visit my colleague who lives in the south and there are no people on the streets. Everyone stays in there houses and this is not so nice. I mean sometimes you need a rest, but not always. And I think it is not bad to be surrounded by all this life. And here are so many young people and they like it here. Or?"

I: "I am from Münster. I don't know (Laughs)"

IN5: "Okay, so you are not from here. You should walk around later, I like it here. Here are all kind of people from different countries. And I have this feeling that people can better integrate here. I recognize this because of the refugee flows. When there are people arriving in the south, all people have to discuss and to plan with their neighborhood and community. I wanted to help and so I went there and I witnessed a discussion. They are preparing so much. On the one hand, I think it is nice, when you prepare for new guests. But on the other hand, here in the north there was no big preparation and planning. The people in the south are not preparing so much materially, but mentally. So we will meet foreign people what are we going to do. They were thinking about that. And here in the north, I had the feeling, people arrived and they were accepted. That is the difference. You are always worrying so much. Sometimes unnecessary worries. It is always positive and negative. I can't decide. But you can see as we do it here. People are always tend

## Appendix

to the easy way. We are mostly Turkish women here and so we talk in Turkish. Because it is easier. I guess this is negative. One say it is easier to express yourself in your mother tongue. I mean I am in favor of languages. Everywhere in this world people should speak their language. But as we live here in Germany, we have to learn German as a second language. I mean it is always nice to learn a new language, but we should force ourselves to learn German, as we live here. I mean it is easier to talk to our fellow countrymen in our language, but we have our children here and they have to take part in this country. And so we should be better in speaking German. It will make our own life easier, too. I think one should always be interested in learning and learning a language as well. Learning is good. (Laughs) I don't know. This sums it up. Learning is good. German should learn, too. Just like Hildegard she is retired and not married and now she comes here every week. She wants to learn Turkish, too. Have you talked to her?"

I: "Yes, I did."

IN5: "She is great. So could I answer your question? Do you know now what integration is? (Laughs) No, I am just joking."

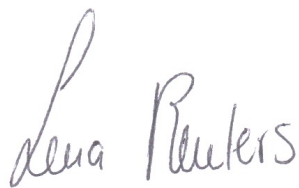
I: "You all make it easier to understand. Thank you so much!"

## Declaration of Academic Honesty

I hereby declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the bachelor thesis in hand on the topic

Urban Heterotopias – a Constraint for Integration?

is the result of my own independent work and does not make use of other sources or materials than those referenced and that quotations and paraphrases obtained from the work of others are indicated as such.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Lena Reuters". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Münster, 11.07.2016