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Bachelor Thesis

Collaborative Governance in Transformation

A comparison of the collaboration on regional Berlin refugee politics between 2015/16 and 2022/23 as judged from the perspective of organized civil society.

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1. Abstract

This thesis examines the perceptions of civil society actors on three aspects of their cooperation with the state of Berlin on Refugee Governance. It compares the perceptions of Trust, Interdependence, and the Process of Cooperation in the context of the 2015/16-, to that of the 2022/23 Mass Migration. Both contexts had tens of thousands of refugees enter Berlin, and Civil Society Actors played a vital role in the process surrounding their arrival and accommodation.

Analyzing CSA's statements from interviews, press-releases, news articles, and social media posts, this thesis finds that perceptions have not changed significantly, and the actors still rate it negatively. It argues that there is a difference in perceptions between different actor groups within civil society and that especially refugee-relief organizations don't feel adequately included in the decision-making process. Berlins' chaotic administration and the state institutions' lack of willingness for meaningful cooperation are reasons for this. Still, perceptions of formal inclusion in decision-making processes and communication of interdependence by administrative actors have risen. The study shows that there is potential to improve the cooperation process to gain more positive perceptions and calls for more in-depth studies once more data is available on the recent crisis.

2. Introduction

In 2015, over 40.000 refugees arrived in Berlin following the civil war in Syria (Schönball, 2015). The city was unprepared to host such volumes of people, and civil society actors played a famously big part in aiding the arrival and accommodation processes, establishing what is now called "Willkommenskultur." It is agreed upon that without their help, Berlin would not have been able to handle the 'crisis of administration.' Still, during and after, civil society actors (CSAs) spoke out about the poor work of official institutions, poor conditions, and not beinBerlin'sg adequately included. In the following years, the city attempted to establish more participatory forums and structures to become more open to civil society actors. However, did they succeed in improving CSA's perception of the cooperation?

Starting in early 2022, a similar, if not more drastic, situation emerged following the Russian declaration of war on Ukraine, with approximately 100.000 refugees arriving in the city in 2022 alone (Official Website of Berlin, undated, e). Again, refugee relief and supporting organizations are vital in Berlins' handling of the situation. This poses an opportunity for comparison of the CSA's perceptions and to find out whether they have changed and why or why not. As this thesis does not offer space to discuss general perceptions as a whole, the scope has been limited to the factors of trust, interdependence, and the process of cooperation.

The management of these crises can be discussed from the viewpoint of Collaborative Governance Theory. This theory analyses political processes with complex stakeholder constellations beyond the state (Ansell & Gash, 2008). Refugee governance in Berlin is a policy area where the state relies on other actors, especially in times of crisis, so it is a fitting example for a context where Collaborative

Governance should be in place. The theory is instrumental in examining new and inclusive modes of government, their limits, and their potential.

In 2008, the researchers Ansell and Gash drew up the definition for the most widely used concept today and established a corresponding model, which will be explored in the theory section (Ansell & Gash, 2008). A big chunk of the literature on Collaborative Governance (CG) consists of case studies that look at the application in one specific policy sector and adopt the Ansell & Gash definition. Next to that, several reputable publications discuss the theoretical concept itself (Emerson, Nabatchi, 2015. Batory, Svennson, 2019. Ran, Qi. 2018).

Collaborative Governance publications rarely consider how a Collaborative Governance regime develops over time and its transformative aspect. The published case studies mainly limit their focus to one instance of collaboration. In 2020, Ulibarri et al. published a case comparison on the evolution of Collaborative Governance and stated a need for more data on this. This bachelor's thesis focuses on the transformative process of CG, on the development of cooperation in one sector, by analyzing it at two separate times of crisis. The question is not 'How well does collaboration work in refugee governance in Berlin?' but more "How has it transformed since 2015 and why (not)?". Ulibarri et al. contest the "need for a better accounting of how CGRs develop, sustain, evolve, and decline over time." (CGR= Collaborative Governance Regimes) (Ulibarri et al., 2020). This thesis aims to contribute insights to the academic debate over the transformative process of CG.

Factors such as Climate Change and Wars may trigger new waves of refugees arriving in the city, making smoothy operating refugee governance in crisis essential for the future. According to Aumüller et al. and Speth & Becker, "The ability of all those involved to cooperate within the framework of a functioning collaboration is of great importance for mastering this challenge for society as a whole." (Edlefsen &Staemmler, 2018; Aumüller et al., 2015; Speth &Becker, 2016).

Therefore, ensuring effective collaboration is a question of securing a properly functioning administration. Daphi and Haman & Karayali suggest that "If resources and know-how are pooled in this way, this not only improves the accommodation and care of refugees but also has positive effects on the civic perception of them." (Daphi, 2016; Haman & Karakayali, 2016).

Effective refugee relief administration is about the well-being of people who have just fled crises. Whether stakeholder collaboration runs smoothly decides the living conditions of this vulnerable group. Finding out how the perceptions developed and which factors facilitated and obstructed the process may help to point towards specific points in the system that, following civil society's perceptions, need the attention of Berlins regional institutions to ensure better collaboration and, thereby, better and more efficient refugee governance.

Spoken on a more abstract level, there has been an upsurge in instances of new governance structures, often on the local level, with the numbers set to rise (Peters et al., 2022). Local Governments are often overwhelmed with their tasks and responsibilities and look to new stakeholders to share the burden. As this becomes a more established mode of governing, research on it is critical. Questions about democratic legitimacy and participation arise. Specifically, understanding how these arrangements change over time and which factors lead to them being perceived more positively can facilitate the establishment of more effective forms of governance in the future.

These explanations motivate the examination of the following Research Question:

How do civil society's perceptions of its trust in, interdependence between, and process of cooperation with Berlins' regional government in responding to the Ukrainian Refugee Crisis of 2022 differ from those during the Syrian Refugee Crisis of 2015, and which factors led to this variation?

To ensure workability, the question is split up into four subquestions.

SQ1: How did Berlins civil society actors perceive their trust in, interdependence between, and process of cooperation with the regional government in creating a response to Syrian Refugees in 2015?

SQ2: How did Berlins civil society actors perceive their trust in, interdependence between, and process of cooperation with the regional government in creating a response to Ukrainian Refugees in 2022?

SQ3: To what extent do these perceptions align, and where are their differences?

SQ4: Which factors contributed to these variations in perception?

The rest of this thesis starts with a look at the theory underlying the study. At first, key concepts are defined, followed by an explanation of the theoretical framework and an introduction to the factors of it that the study explores. Following that there is a chapter introducing the different actors, the institutional framework, and the societal background. Closing the theory part are the hypotheses for the research results.

The following section introduces the thesis' methodology. The nature of the research design and choice of methods is motivated, followed by an explanation of how the collected data was processed.

The subsequent chapter presents the atlas.ti analysis results of the different factors back to back and each followed by a comparison that builds up the answer to the third subquestion. Next, the counter-transformative and transformative factors found within are explained, thereby building up to answer the fourth subquestion. This is followed by the conclusion, summarizing the results and answering the main research question, as well as drawing up the most important results of the study next to their meaning for future research. The thesis is ended with references and an appendix.

3. Theory

3.1 Definitions

Berlins Civil Society

"Civil society refers to the social sphere in which people collectively try to shape and represent their concerns." (Hummel et al., 2022). In this thesis, civil society actors are abbreviated as CSAs. The subjects of analysis include refugee-relief organizations and welfare associations (WA), which in German are the so-called "Wohlfahrtsverbände." In the German corporatist welfare system, they work nationwide as service providers under contracts with the state (Backhaus-Maul, 2002). In Berlin, many of them acted as host organizations for emergency accommodations.

In 2015, there was a differentiation between "organized" and "spontaneous" civil society. Many newly-founded refugee-relief organizations were then counted as 'spontaneous' (Speth & Becker, 2016), but this dichotomy is not applicable anymore in 2022/23. To be eligible for this study, the organization must have been operating in Berlin in the context of refugee relief in 2015/16 and 2022/23.

Response

The term 'response' used in the Research Question refers to the comprehensive strategy of the city of Berlin to face and handle the mass migration of 2015/16 and 2022/23. It is equivalent to the refugee politics of the city during this time. This includes the policy-making process as well as the service delivery but concentrates mainly on arrival and accommodation, say, the "first steps," as a way to keep the subject of analysis graspable and manageable for a bachelor's thesis.

Perceptions

Cambridge Dictionary defines perception as "an idea, a belief, or an image you have as a result of how you see or understand something" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023). This thesis follows that definition and relates it to civil society representatives' ideas and beliefs on the cooperation processes. As the definition is very broad, this research narrows its point of interest down to the ideas and beliefs about specific, preselected factors out of the theoretical framework that are explained later on.

3.2 Theoretic Framework

This thesis understands Collaborative Governance as a fluid concept instead of a clear dichotomy, but the definition of Ansell and Gash describes the ideal design of the process:

"*A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.*" (Ansell & Gash, 2008)

The three factors analyzed in this thesis are extracted from the framework of Collaborative Governance Regimes by Ansell and Gash (Ansell & Gash, 2008). They give an excellent overview of

different factors that play into the success of Collaborative Governance, emphasizing that these factors of the Collaborate Process are not happening one after the other but rather happen simultaneously and influence each other. Beyond this immediate process, other factors, like certain starting conditions, institutional design choices, and different types of leadership, influence the success of a CG attempt, according to scholars. The three factors this thesis explores are explained shortly in the following. They were chosen in the beginning along with multiple other factors, but through the interviews were found to be the most promising regarding feasible results through research. They also shed light on different parts of the framework that Ansell and Gash define as crucial.

1) Process of Cooperation

- Initiative

This factor measures which side sought out cooperation. A prerequisite for Collaborative Governance, according to Ansell and Gash, is that the official side establishes the communication forum. This is not always the case in reality.

- Participatory Inclusiveness

Another essential factor that is measured with questions such as "Do you think every important actor has had the chance to be involved in the process and has had the chance and the capacity to be heard?". Ansell and Gash write about the importance of designing a Collaborative Governance Process as inclusive as possible. The analysis looks at inclusivity for refugees as well as for CSAs.

- Inclusion in Political Decision-making vs. Service Delivery

Historically, in Germany, CSAs are often associated with working as service providers for government offices. A collaborative governance effort goes beyond this understanding, so it is essential to count to which extent CSAs actually felt sufficiently involved in Political decision-making.

2) Interdependence

Ansell and Gash write that Collaborative efforts are more likely to be effective when all actors are dependent on one another and acknowledge such interdependence. For that reason, one of the factors that this study explores is to which degree the CSA feel they depend on the Regional Government to reach their goals, and vice versa.

- Acknowledgement of Interdependence

In relation to this, it is counted whether the Regional Government acknowledged its dependence on the CSAs openly.

<u>3) Trust</u>

The question "Did the actors [the CSAs and the government] trust each other?" is explored. Trust is defined here as reliability and the belief that the opposing side is speaking the truth. Ansell and Gash write about the importance of mutual trust as a basis for the process.

It was also attempted to analyze whether the CSAs hold the opinion that the 2015/16 cooperation had a positive, a negative, or no influence on the trust values, as well as whether the CSAs perceived stereotyped by official institutions at the start of the cooperation, but these factors did not yield satisfactory results and are therefore not included in the analysis.

3.3 Institutional Framework and Societal Context

3.3.1 The Political System of Berlin

Berlins' existence as a city-state brings two levels of government to the city: The regional government refers to the governance of Berlin as a federal state, while the local governments oversee Berlins' 12 districts (Official Berlin Website, undated, a). Berlins state government is called the "Senat" (Senate) and is made up of the mayor, who is voted by the regional parliament, and up to ten 'senators' of the mayor's choosing, responsible for different policy areas. These senators then overlook the regional Senate Administrations, which deal with policy areas that relate to the entire city, like police, justice, and migration. They function like regional ministries (Official Berlin Website, undated, a).

Most of the time, two (or more) parties share the governing responsibility (Official Berlin Website, undated, a). The arrival and accommodation of refugees is a task of the regional government. As both political officials (the legislative branch) and the administration (the executive branch) are part of organizing this policy area, the CSAs had to communicate, compromise and work with both (Gesamtkonzept zur Integration und Partizipation Geflüchteter, 2018) and, therefore those are equally included in this study's concept of 'regional government.' Furthermore, in 2015/16 as well as 2022/23, the lines between administrational and political actors were discovered to not be clearly distinguishable (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018).

3.3.2 2015/16

3.3.2.1 Institutional Framework

<u>Actors of Refugee Governance in Berlin – 2015</u>

The *State Office for Health and Social Affairs (Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales or: LAGESO)* was responsible for the initial registration, accommodation, and care for asylum seekers up until the end of the individual asylum process for the entirety of the state of Berlin (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018).
It was supervised by the Senate Administration for Health and Social Affairs, led by State Senator Mario Czaja (Official Berlin Website, undated f).

The *Berlin-wide Coordinating Staff Refugee Management (LKF)* was a cross-departmental working group supporting the LAGESO in the areas of specialist and administrative coordination. Among other things, they had a subgroup for coordination of volunteer work that had weekly meetings with civil society representatives (Parliament of Berlin, 2015b).

The *Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate* is officially tasked with the Coordination and Design of Berlin Refugee Politics. They work cross-departmental and influence the design process of integration politics in the Senate as well as coordinate this with other regional administrations and CSAs. Next to this regional post, there is an Integration Commissioner in every district.

The welfare organizations were organized in the LIGA and the Paritiätischer Wohlfahrtverband. Some of the most significant organizations helping at the train stations with medical care and operating emergency and group shelters were: Deutsches Rote Kreuz Berlin-Brandenburg, Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund, Johanniter, Malteser e.V. and Caritas Berlin. A number of refugee relief organizations were organized under the Flüchtlingsrat e.V., a forum that is specifically involved in attempting to influence political decision-making (Flüchtlingsrat e.V., undated). Especially for service delivery, the network Berlin hilft e.V. united numerous organizations. Some of them were moabit hilft e.V., schöneberg hilft e.V. be an angel and Willkommen im Westend all of which were either newly founded or founded in the context of the crisis.
Multiple forums for cooperation were founded during the time of the crisis, such as:
The "*Round Table for the Support of Refugees*" was founded in May 2015 and tasked with strengthening cooperation between all societal actors on securing adequate accommodation and health care for asylum seekers through starting a discussion between actors of politics, churches, and CSAs (Berlin Senate, 2015). Until April 2016, the round table met six times with between 40 and 50 participants. However, the involved CSAs criticized that they were not appropriately heard and that the politicians and administration were not actually interested in seriously considering their input for the Decision-Making Process (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018).
The "*Working Group for Emergency Accommodation*" was established in October of 2015 (Morgenpost, 2015) to work out an overall concept for the refugees' accommodation. This was under the supervision of the State Secretary for Social Affairs, Dirk Gerstle, of the CDU (Berlin Senate, 2015*).*
The *"Berliner Beirat für Zusammenhalt"* was a forum meant to address and negotiate with the public about accommodating and supporting arriving refugees across party boundaries, as it was made up of former Politicians from the CDU, SPD, the Greens, and the Left (Parliament of Berlin, 2015a).

3.2.2.2 Background and Societal Context
The number of arriving migrants in Berlin has been high for years prior to 2015. Strikes by refugees from 2012 to 2014 politicized the issue of refugee governance in the city (Speth & Becker, 2016). Over the following years, the accommodation and care situation worsened, leading to a work overload for the employees, missing resources, and even the temporary shutdown of parts of the LAGESO. From the first months of 2015 onwards, refugee relief organizations like moabit hilft e.V. played a crucial part in supporting the waiting people with food, clothes, and other necessities (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018). In September 2015, Germany opened its borders to Syrian refugees, suspending the Dublin Regulations for Syrians (Ayoub, 2019). This sparked big waves of solidarity, but along with it came criticism by the CSAs about the administration's incapability of handling the crisis without them (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018). Scholars speak of a "crisis of administration" (Hanewinkel, 2015), as the agencies were not prepared for this volume of arrivals. The LAGESO became a national symbol of

the administrative crisis (Reimann, 2017). It is widely agreed upon that only through the assistance of refugee-relief organizations like moabit hilft e.V. did the situation not escalate entirely. (Gathman et al. 2016). In December, LAGESO workers came forward about the chaotic working conditions within their agency and were joined by CSAs, bringing the head of the agency to resign. In August 2016, the State Office for Refugee Affairs Berlin (LAF) was opened and took the tasks of registration and accommodation for refugees from the LAGESO (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018). There was widespread hope that the restructuring of the administration and strengthening of interdepartmental cooperation would lead to overall improvement (Siebert, 2016). A month later, regional elections led to a change in government.

3.3.3 2022/23

3.2.3.1 Institutional Framework

In 2018, the Senate introduced a new Integration framework, significantly restructuring responsibilities for refugee governance. The Senate prides itself on the inclusion of CSAs into the design process (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate. (2023). The new comprehensive program understands refugee policy as several different sub-fields, which it divides into nine fields of action under the remit of six different senate administrations. Coordination of the measures on both local and regional level is the responsibility of the District Integration Commissioner, the Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, and the Refugee Management Coordination Office situated with the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs.

Actors of Refugee Governance

The *Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten* (LAF) is the highest responsible agency for the initial reception of asylum seekers, their care, and accommodation in emergency shelters. They operate as an agency for the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs and employ several operators for the respective facilities. Over the years, the agency has seen a high fluctuation in staff and leadership and has had to deal with massive negative feedback like the one the LAGESO endured.

The responsibilities of the *Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate* stayed the same. The role of the *District Integration Commissioners* was strengthened by the "Integrationsfond," sponsoring integration projects for things like culture, living, and language (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, 2020).

Established in 2017, the *Koordinierungsstelle Flüchtlingsmanagement* (Refugee Management Coordination Office) is a staff unit at the Senate Administration of Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs. It coordinates the participation of refugees cross-departmentally and, for that, is actively networking with all actors of refugee governance, such as administrations on the regional and local level, Berlins society, CSAs, and contractors. The KoordFM cooperates with the LAF on finding accommodation solutions and organizes Round Tables and expert panels to strengthen the visibility and networking of the topic. One example is the establishment of the BuBs (Berlin unabhängige Beschwerdestelle), a complaint office for refugees (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, 2020).

The actors of the welfare organizations stayed more or less the same, although some had threatened to terminate their cooperation with the city after negative experiences in 2015/16. The Flüchtlingsrat e.V. also stayed the most important political forum for refugee relief organizations. Some of the organisations active in 2015/16 dissolved, but moabit hilft e.V. and schöneberg hilft e.V. steadied their engagemt over the years. Other organizations like Ukraine-Hilfe-Berlin e.V. were established as a response to the war.

In the summer of 2022, the Senate brought to life an "Action plan Ukraine", which explores the measures to be taken for the specific needs of Ukranian refugees. In March 2023, they released an interim report. Immediately following the war on Ukraine, the Senate Administration for Integration, Labour, and Social Affairs created a crisis team to coordinate arrivals and primary care. The mayor founded a Civil-Society Advisory Board to help communication of Civil Society and Administration on topics like the arrival and accommodation of Ukranian refugees (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, 2023).

3.2.3.2 Background and Societal Context

In the years after 2016, the number of arriving migrants stayed low. Starting in the Spring of 2022, Russia declared war on Ukraine, and the EU opened its borders, granting every Ukrainian refugee asylum by default to keep the process quick and unbureaucratic. (DStGB, 2022). Berlin quickly became a popular destination and place for transit. Therefore, the city was an essential actor in the primary care and further distribution of refugees; it had to form a response quickly. Germany experienced countless volunteers supporting the arriving with donations, accommodation, and other forms of assistance. In Berlin, CSAs brought to life the first support structures at train stations in a matter of hours. The city then helped expand and steady these structures and processes but admitted that the situation could not have been mastered without CSA's contribution (Reimann & Hoffmeister, 2022).

Temporary accommodation was quickly built, and meetings were held to discuss the current situation together with the CSAs. Most refugees found private accommodation, but over the summer, the housing for volunteers became less available. A month after the war started, a new Ukraine-Arrival Center was opened on the site of the former airport Tegel (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, 2023), which was expanded in October (Fahrun, 2022), and although people were only supposed to sleep there for three days, the tendency was that people stayed longer, which sparked criticism (Fahrun, 2022). By the end of the year, Berlin had no capacity for shelters anymore (Tagesspiegel, 2022). The city built tents for up to 10.000 refugees but lacked long-term solutions (Hilgert & Garus, 2022). In December om 2022, the President of the LAF resigned (Official Berlin Website, undated d). In February 2023, Berlin voted for a new Parliament, at which point, around 60.000 Ukrainians were living in Berlin. (rbb24, 23). The Senator of Social Affairs Katja Kipping claimed, later that month, that the city handled the crisis way better than in 2015 (Tagesspiegel, 2023), but the severe lack of accommodation capacities continues. Especially the situation at the Tegel Airport, severely lacking privacy and structure, is criticized harshly by refugee-relief organizations (Rushton, 2023).

3.4 Hypotheses and Expectations

New forums for communication and discourse between the actors were established between 2015 and 2022, and the administration was fundamentally restructured (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018). Both of which altered the institutional design. Per the theoretical framework, this greatly influences the chances of success for the CG process and, therefore, also the stakeholders' perception of it. It is expected to have improved the CSA's feeling of Participatory Inclusiveness.

It is likely that there is a difference in the perceptions between 2015/16 and 2022/23 due to the different time frames of cooperation. In 2015/16, there was a severe lack of time to prepare an adequate strategy. Ansell and Gash suggest that CG is often successful in contexts where the process is ongoing and it can be time intensive. Therefore, cooperation in 2022/23 may be perceived as more successful, as the stakeholders could use their strategies and structures built in and following 2015.

Another expectation is that Participatory Inclusiveness will be higher in 2022/23 than it was in 2015/16, as the regional institutions may have learned about the benefits of cooperation from the former experiences. Still, that cooperation is expected to be more intensive on Service Delivery than on Political Decision Making both in 2015/16 and 2022/23, following the classic pattern of Government-civil society cooperation in Germany (Backhaus-Maul, 2002).

Furthermore, the specific contexts of the mass migrations have changed significantly as two demographically very different groups of people arrive. This, as well as the political context, is expected to have an influence. Especially the higher legal standing of the Ukrainian refugees in Berlin may have facilitated the administrative processes and thereby created a more positively perceived cooperation process.

There may also be differences in the perceptions of refugee-relief organizations and support organizations, as they serve different purposes and may have been treated differently. The long-year cooperation of the support organizations with the government is likely to have facilitated cooperation in both instances.

4. Methods

4.1 Research Design

The Research Design is that of a qualitative textual analysis. As the focus lies on investigating and comparing a specific group of actors' perceptions of cooperation, qualitative research is the best-suited approach. The qualitative textual analysis allows careful examination of statements as well as the contexts in which these statements have been made (Han-Broich, 2012). To find these statements, self-conducted as well as pre-held interviews, news articles, and press releases are analyzed. The dominant research tradition is Interpretivism.

'Perceptions' and their transformations over time are a complex and detailed subject of analysis, which make in-depth interviews the data collection method of choice, as it allows to go deeper than surface-level research. The language of the interviews is German, as it is the researchers' and the interviewees' mother tongue and therefore facilitates communication.
Due to the scope of research being only a bachelor's thesis and therefore having limited time and resources, the coding scheme and hypothesis are, to a certain extent, speculative. Qualitative research can balance this by being flexible.

After holding three structured, in-depth interviews, the prepared questions and schemes were revised to focus better on the aspects that inspired the answers most promising to have a high explaining value. As the volume of questions was found to be too grand, several questions were eliminated as well. The revised Coding Schemes are modeled to explore the Process of Cooperation, Interdependence, and Trust, as well as (Counter-) Transformative Factors.

A limitation of the research is the difficulty in proving causality in qualitative research, as well as the limited number of possible participants that makes it difficult to reach a saturation point in all examined factors. To reach this point in as many points as possible was still a clear goal taken into careful consideration.
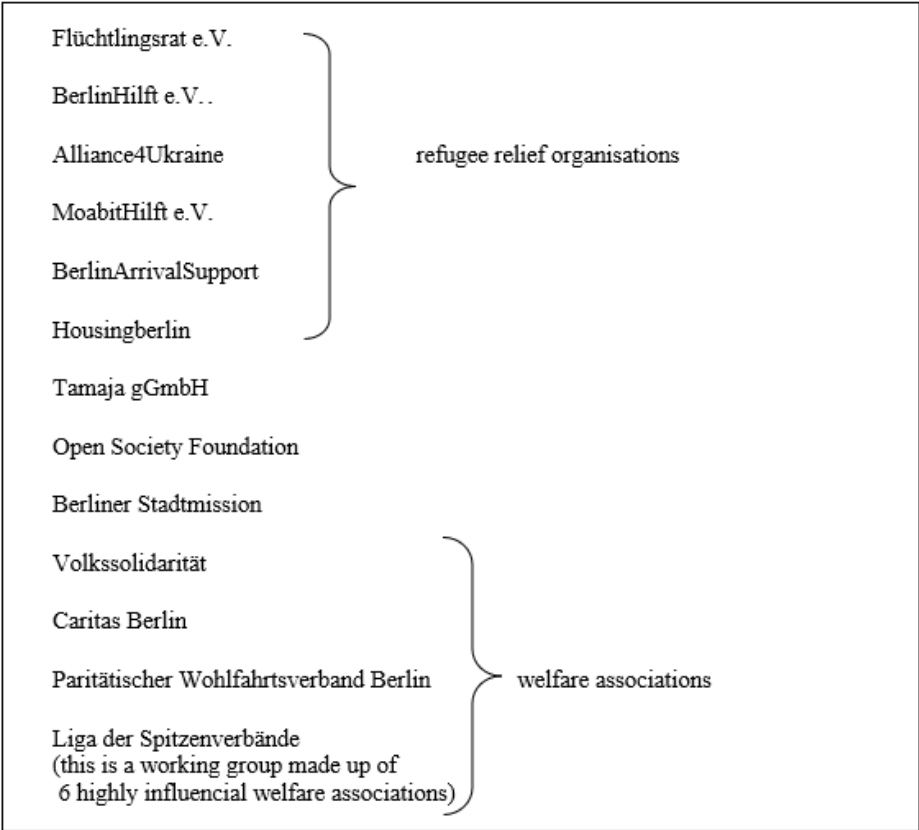
4.2 Methods of Data Collection

Data has been gathered in the form of interviews with and press releases as well as public statements by civil society actors on social media and through news articles.

To properly understand the perceptions of civil society actors, it is essential to analyze statements made by them directly. For the 2015/16 situation, there are interviews and statements available in local media. However, for the more recent situation since the beginning of 2022, it is valuable to ask actors directly when there is the possibility of formulating questions and already considering the coding schemes instead of relying on already present data. Also, what is available in media is rarely the entire interview script and instead just the parts of the interview the paper wanted to be published.

The most influential and most involved refugee relief and support organizations were extracted by literature research and contacted with requests for semi-structured interviews. As a guideline for the interview questions, factors of the conceptual model of Collaborative Governance by Ansell and Gash were used. After reaching out to about 30 potential interview partners, only three wrote back and gave

an interview. A second round of e-mails was sent out, this time giving the option to answer the questionnaire in written form or to answer a shortened version, but no further organization was willing to contribute.

The other sources of data are press releases as well as public statements made by civil society actors on the civil society and state cooperation for the 2015/16 and the 2022/23 processes. This complements the perceptions of the interviewees and sets them into context (Schmid et al., 2019). For this purpose, structured online research was performed. For the following organizations, their website as well as (when available) their Twitter presence. Furthermore, through the Google "News" feature, all available news articles containing interviews and direct quotes of them from the time between February 2022 and May 2023 were examined.

Flüchtlingsrat e.V.

BerlinHilft e.V..

Alliance4Ukraine   refugee relief organisations

MoabitHilft e.V.

BerlinArrivalSupport

Housingberlin

Tamaja gGmbH

Open Society Foundation

Berliner Stadtmission

Volkssolidarität

Caritas Berlin

Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Berlin   welfare associations

Liga der Spitzenverbände
(this is a working group made up of
 6 highly influencial welfare associations)

Overview of the Researched Organisations

Additionally, after discovering the establishment of the "Civil Society Advisory Board on Ukraine Crisis-Management" and the "Advisory Board for Migration," these terms were systematically researched. An overview of the analyzed sources is found in the Appendix. In total, four open letters, six press releases, 15 news articles, and 17 social media posts were transferred to atlas.ai. One of the main scientific sources employed for contextualising the analysis is the 2018 paper *Aufnahme und Betreuung geflüchteter Menschen in Berlin: zur Kooperation zwischen Verwaltung und Zivilgesellschaft* by Edlefsen and Staemmler. The first three interviews were analyzed by hand and according to the first draft of the coding scheme. The codes were sought out, and patterns were searched for in the answers. After this, the coding scheme was adjusted.

4.3 Methods of Data Analysis

To analyze the collected data, the method of Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) in accordance with the model of Philipp Mayring is employed. It is a widely used way to examine perceptions laid down in textual data (Julien, 2008) that works by finding themes and codes and fitting them into frameworks, which are modeled to answer the research questions. The analysis in this thesis focuses on Structuring Analysis, one of Mayrings three subforms of Analysis, which aims at categorizing the data in some more in-depth form through nominal and ordinal deductive category assignments.

The first three interviews were analyzed by hand and according to the first draft of the coding scheme. Through this, it became clear that the codes had to be revised, and factors for which there had been no or little potential were removed. The new coding scheme was transferred to atlas.ti and applied to the sources acquired through online research. A list of these sources can be found in the Appendix. The end results were checked to eliminate any factors that did not yield noteworthy results. Afterward, the dominant perceptions of 2015/16 were compared to those of 2022/23. Patterns in the replies were analyzed to extract factors explaining the differences in the obtained answers using Structuring Interpretation.

5. Analysis

5.1 Process of Cooperation

5.1.1   Initiative for Cooperation

5.1.1.1   2015

In 2015, the official sites only initiated cooperation with CSAs to request aid in service delivery, specifically the accommodation of refugees, the Unionshilswerk and Stadtmission say. Requests regarding Decision-Making were made by the organizations, and in the case of Moabit hilft e.V., cooperation was actively avoided by the institutions. Following pressure from the WAs, conferences between the organizations operating accommodations and the Senate Administration were created. Before that, no official forum had existed.

5.1.1.2   2022

The research shows that in the CSA's perceptions, although the city took the initiative in approaching them on several occasions, those were mainly aimed at receiving aid in service delivery from the WAs. Organizations perceive the initiation regarding service delivery as founded in the structures for aid-giving that are at the WA's disposal. Their longstanding cooperation on these services facilitates the initiative. Out of the analyzed sources, three WAs perceive they have been approached for their service structure, while one of them also initiated cooperation once. Moabit hilft e.V. says that they have also been approached by the state secretaries about exchange and cooperation but never by the city government. Statements reveal that refugee-relief organizations attempted to initiate formal cooperation with the official sites multiple times but saw numerous of their attempts as fruitless. Many of the sources were found demanding political action or the opening of cooperation channels with civil society. Seven out of the nine analyzed initiations came from the organizations' side, and only twice did non-WA actors report having been approached by state actors.

5.1.1.3 Conclusions

In the CSA's view, both in 2015 and 2022, the main reason for official institutions initiating cooperation with civil society is to take advantage of their abilities and resources in Service Delivery. In both contexts, WAs are approached more often than more political refugee relief organizations, Moreover, specifically, in 2022, the latter attempted to initiate cooperation frequently. However, in 2022, civil society perceived there to be attempts at cooperating with them on a more policy-relevant level as well, although these attempts mostly came from the administrations. Evidence suggests that civil society, more often than not, felt they were the party putting effort into being included in the city's political planning and actions, not always successfully. This may be in part due to the different motivations for approaching. WAs hold resources and structures for Service-Delivery that are of interest to the state actors, making them feel likely to be approached. The political refugee-relief organizations are likely to perceive their initiation attempts as more prominent since they demand as well as offer. Also, as the sources are partly in the form of open letters, it makes sense that public demands are more frequently found than evidence of initiation by the state. Overall, the perceptions have improved slightly, seeing the institutions as slightly more active than before.

5.1.2 Participatory Inclusiveness

5.1.2.1 2015

The issue of participatory inclusiveness quickly yielded two different results: Lack of Inclusiveness towards Refugees and Lack of Inclusiveness towards civil society. Two interviewees criticized that the decision-making process was not inclusive of refugees themselves, and one even suggested that the refugees' interests were represented by the wrong actors. This perception is supported by a study by Bertelsmann Stiftung which found that there was no meaningful inclusion of refugees in the 2015 governance process (Hamann et al., 2016). Regarding Civil Society, an open letter sent by 15 refugee-relief organizations to the Senate in 2017 called for better inclusion of them in communication and cooperation. As most organizations signed the letter, it can be deduced that they collectively felt the Senate's political processes were not inclusive to them. In particular, moabit hilft e.V. mentioned in the interview that the LAF themselves would choose which refugee-relief organizations to invite to "Round Tables" and chose organizations that would not criticize them too harshly, thus rendering the participatory inclusiveness very low. However, two sources by established welfare organizations attest to positive perceptions, and Berlin hilft e.V. criticizes the differences in treatment between them and welfare organizations. This shows that there is a division between purely refugee-relief organizations and established welfare actors. Beyond the analyzed documents, scientific publications (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018) support the claim that in 2015/2016, the decision-making process was not inclusive, neither to refugees themselves nor to CSAs.

5.1.2.2 2022

The Lack of Inclusiveness toward Refugees is perceived as less drastic than in 2015, although the interviewee did not want to judge whether the inclusion was sufficient. According to the interviewee, this was due to their heightened level of self-organization. Regarding CSAs, the analyzed documents show that numerous refugee relief organizations regard the governance process as very uninclusive. They report that, at times, there was no communication at all and that tries for cooperation were declined. However, especially berlin hilft e.V. and moabit hilft e.V. reported communication with political actors that were very frequent at times. In the case of moabit hilft e.V., they were in part successful, but both organizations also reported disappointment at the lack of meaningful results. The only two reports of welfare associations speak of positive experiences, suggesting a division between refugee-relief organizations and them. Moabit hilft e.V. further reports that the participating organizations for a shared forum are now drawn, so it is a matter of chance and, therefore, not as selective anymore.

5.1.2.3 Conclusions

The perceptions of the issue of Participatory Inclusiveness regarding the migrating community themselves appear to have become less severe in the recent crisis. This perception is due to contextual factors and is not directly related to the cooperation between CSAs and state actors. Regarding the participatory inclusiveness of civil society actors, the accounts suggest a slight improvement. While for 2015, next to no refugee-relief organization felt sufficiently included, in 2022, there is evidence of such perception. While several organizations did acknowledge that cooperation was present at times, it was still not judged as nearly sufficient. In both years, there is a difference between the inclusion of established welfare organizations and refugee relief. While welfare organizations are more likely to view the cooperation as positive, refugee-relief organizations are more likely to criticize it. This may be due to the differences in the inclusion they wish for. While the welfare organizations' focus lies on judging whether there is communication about the direct provision of services, the more political refugee-relief organizations aim for more in-depth inclusion.

Another reason for this may be the nature of refugee relief organizations as seeing themselves as critics of the state. They are more likely to speak out. Literature supports the impression of the CSA's, stating that there was more intense cooperation with and inclusion of established welfare actors than of the newer refugee-relief organizations. (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018, Daphi, 2016, Speth & Becker, 2016).

5.1.3 Political Decision-Making vs. Service Delivery

5.1.3.1 2015

The analysis delivered precise results in the interviews. In 2015, all three played significant roles in Service Delivery to the refugees but were not involved in the Political Decision-Making Process. Important to note are their different ambitions. While the Stadtmission did not aim to partake in PDM, the Unionshilfswerk greatly appreciated the establishment of conferences for the accommodation operators. According to them, the institutions see them only as service providers, while their self-image extends this. Moabit Hilft e.V., as a political organization, aimed to be included in more aspects of PDM early on but felt they were actively excluded or had no influence on the process outcomes. This changed with the new Government in place. Over the years, according to them, they were included more and more due to their own professionalization. „[The administration] knows they cannot shoot against us anymore, they have to talk to us." They say. Edlefsen & Staemmler, and Daphi write that when inclusion was happening, the civil society actors often did not feel heard enough. Their paper concludes that the actors were relied on in Service Delivery but not adequately included in Political Decision Making.

5.1.3.2 2022

When analyzing the research, it becomes clear that in the eyes of the CSAs, Service Delivery still makes up the majority of the work that civil society does in terms of refugee governance. 10 CSAs report helping in that way, and none claim the opposite. This was an expected result, as the WAs especially has service structures for the city to rely on, and creating service offers for refugees is a primary goal of CSAs. A number of sources present the role of the CSAs as complementary to the official structures, while others see it as necessary to keep the city's system from collapsing. CSA's inclusion in Political-Decision Making is mainly mentioned in the context of negative examples. Organizations such as moabit hilft e.V. and Berlin hilft e.V. do report communication with officials, but most accounts tell stories of when the CSAs did not feel heard. Most accounts on this stem from refugee-relief organizations, they aim for inclusion in Decision-Making more often than welfare organizations.

What is interesting is that the Civil Society Advisory Board for Ukraine Crisis-Management, which was created by the mayor, is left entirely without a trace in civil society's statements. Neither the interviewees nor any literature research mentions it after one post is made on Facebook about its constituting session by the mayor's office, commented by Volkssolidarität.

There is no other footage on the work or results of the forum either. Therefore, it can be assumed that it stayed without significant results. Another forum is the "Advisory Board for Migration," founded in November of 2022, which also has not been commented on by the investigated organizations (Official Berlin Website, undated g).

5.1.3.3 Conclusions

In 2015 as well as 2022, Service Delivery made up the central part of CSA's inclusion in the Refugee Governance Process of Berlin. Regarding their inclusion in the Political Decision-Making process, there is progress in the number of times the CSAs feel they are being included in the process, but interestingly they are still very unhappy with the results that their inclusion brings. The forums to strengthen the inclusion of civil society into policy-making, which were established after 2015, and in the context of this recent crisis, have shown to yield next to no public statements on results. In the context of this factor, it is essential to look at the differences in self-understanding of the different actors. Daphi sees a dilemma for the refugee-relief organization, which views themselves as service deliverers to the refugees but at the same time as political actors. Generally, she continues, civil society actors prefer cooperation with the administration when they get opportunities to co-design (Daphi, 2016). This may be a reason for their negative perception, as the administration was not as open to their feedback as they may have wanted. Even though they were formally included, they did not have the influence that they had wished for. It is, therefore, important to differentiate between mere formal and meaningful inclusion.

5.2 Interdependence

5.2.1 Dependence Organisations on Berlin

5.2.1.1 2015

The interviews suggest that the WAs were highly financially dependent on the administration. This is because the official institutions finance the WA's projects, but on a lot of occasions, the organizations are forced to spend the money first before being reimbursed later. It has been a common point of criticism by the organizations that the money comes too late, and they suffer significant financial consequences up to bankruptcy. Political initiatives like moabit hilft e.V. function on the base of donations and are therefore financially independent. Still, all of them depended on the different policy decisions by the political actors, which influenced their ability to work.

5.2.1.2 2022

In the current crisis, these dependencies remain unchanged. The WAs stay very financially dependent on the administrations and raise the same criticisms about the tardiness of the payments. Furthermore, CSAs rely significantly on the willingness of official structures to cooperate when they want to have influence. Even direct service-making was revealed to be obstructed when official structures were against it. All researched material supports the hypothesis that civil society is dependent on political and administrational Berlin, financially as well as policy-related.

5.2.1.3 Conclusions

The perception of the clear dependence of the CSAs on the willingness of political and administrational Berlin does not appear to have changed between the two situations.

5.2.2 Dependence Berlin on Organisations

5.2.2.1 2015

All interviewees suggest that the official institutions were dependent on their work in service delivery and "could not have done it without them" (UHW). The representative of Stadtmission e.V. says that the reasons for this are the lack of personnel in the administration which, especially the WAs, can compensate with flexible human resources. The common discourse agrees with this, as p.e. Edlefsen and Staemmler (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018).

5.2.2.2 2022

Regarding the dependence of the Berlin administration and politics on CSAs in 2022, the results of the research are precise: All three interviewees agree that the administration could not handle the volume of arrivals without their help. The representative of the Stadtmission highlighted that, especially in modes of crisis, civil society makes for flexible personnel that the city needs because they themselves lack planning and are understaffed. In total, six different representatives have reported that they perceive the state of Berlin as dependent on them and generally CSAs in the handling of refugee governance, mainly in Service Delivery aspects. The leader of the LAF publicly agreed with this in a shared press conference in December 2022.

5.2.2.3 Conclusions

The CSA feel that the dependency of the official structures of Berlin on civil society in handling, especially the Service Delivery to arriving migrants, has not changed. It is still unanimously judged as very high.

5.2.3 Communication of Interdependence

5.2.3.1 2015

In 2015, there was no evidence of any communication of interdependence by the city. The analyzed articles focused on 2022/23, but in two of the interviews, it was said there was no communication of this part in the eyes of the interviewees.

5.2.3.2 2022

For 2022, there were contradictory impressions. Two interviewees claim that the Senate Administrations do communicate their dependency and express their thanks. Moabit hilft calls this an "admission of failure" that the administration needs their help. They further experienced that the Mayor's Office has not and would not communicate this, which the organization sees as a lack of appreciation.

Other sources of moabit hilft e.V. suggest that the city falsely claims to have the situation under control. A deputy government spokesman (of the national government) even claimed that the situation at Berlin's main station would not be chaotic without the help of CSAs, dementing dependence. Several refugee-relief organizations, among them the Flüchtlingsnetzwerk, replied to this, enraged, and spoke out about the amount of work they perform. There were multiple occasions where representatives of the city and its agencies openly spoke about their dependency on and cooperation with the CSAs. This was, however, repeatedly interpreted as purely performative.

5.2.3.3 Conclusions

While in 2015, there was no perceived communication of dependence whatsoever, the analysis suggests that there is a general upward trend of perceived interdependence communication within the administrations, but not one within the political offices that goes beyond performative public statements.

5.3 Trust

5.3.1 2015

For 2015, not much data could be collected on trust. All three interviewees claim that trust was present, but moabit hilft e.V. spoke of the political actors losing their trust through „antagonistic attitudes" and the lack of appreciation for them. The coordinator of W I R, Hansjörg Behrend, describes a situation in which the administration would have mistreated a refugee family if it were not for his organisations' help and suggests that this is the standard. Therefore, the two welfare associations did not indicate losing their trust, while the two refugee-relief organizations did. Again, there is a divide in the perceptions of these actor groups.

5.3.2 2022

Only the Stadtmission claims that the trust levels are still intact. The interviewee from the Unionshilfswerk claims that there is still trust but no appreciation, although she continued speaking about their organization ending the cooperation with the official institutions due to the poor treatment, which opens questions about how reliable the institutions can really be seen as. In the literature research, the factor of trust turned out to be only analyzable through context analysis, as it was not mentioned naturally. Some rare sources mention welfare organizations' positive attitude regarding the institutions and their reliability, but they are easily outweighed by numerous accounts of instances in which organizations display distrust in the institutions in 2022/23. The organizations see many mistakes in the official institutions' acts, some even legally wrong, some after they attempted to steer the senator away from the line of policy in question or felt the government promised other actions. Especially moabit hilft e.V. is very actively open about their distrust.

5.3.3 Conclusions

Clearly, the majority of organizations do not trust institutions to be reliable or communicate truthfully. This was mainly so because they were not seen as reliable, and their course of action was seen as wrong in many ways. If the organizations felt more meaningfully included, this may change. The hypothesis that trust levels in 2022/23 are low due to negative experiences in 2015 cannot be answered, but it is a possible explaining factor. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell, by the research results, how many of the organizations formerly had trust in the institutions in the first place and lost it. Furthermore, it must be added that the factor has been analyzed through wide contextual analysis, and generally, more statements were made to criticize the governments' actions than to comment positively on them, which may distort the weight of the answers. Interestingly, it also became apparent that there was a distrust present between the Rotes Kreuz Berlin which managed the Tegel arrival center, and other organizations, such as berlin hilft e.V. and moabit hilft e.V.

5.4 Transformative Factors

5.4.1 Better Structures

One aspect potentially leading to more positive perceptions of the cooperation was that of better structures within administrations. The responsibilities in Refugee Governance in Berlin were restructured between 2015 and 2022, and sub-tasks were distributed to more senate administrations. Two interviewees specifically mentioned this restructuring as a reason for the improvement in the administration's functionality. However, they do not always see the potential of better structures translating to better policy decisions. The Paritätische shares this view, claiming the administrations had learned to act faster and more coordinated and with better, centralized steering. However, the UHW interviewee also mentions that the restructuring went hand in hand with a high fluctuation of personnel, which caused new cooperation problems. As is explained in 5.5.1, the structure had a negative influence more than a positive.

5.4.2 Infrastructure of Civil Society

Over the years after 2015, a process of professionalization and structuring happened in Berlins civil society regarding refugee relief. Many organizations that had only been founded in 2015 or soon before gained expertise, experience, and engagement perpetuated. Mrs. Henniges claims: *"There is such a huge gap of knowledge from those who are responsible to those who execute it that we automatically signal reputation just by doing that." (*Interview with Mrs. Henniges). Network structures have been built, and over the years, many refugee relief organizations collaborated on open letters to the politically responsible demanding change. Edlefsen and Staemmler state that in 2015/16, a reason for the low inclusion of refugee-relief organizations was the lack of network structure and an organized, shared standpoint. Although the different organizations to this day do not agree on every point and make contradictory statements at times, it is clearly visible that they often unite behind their cause to gain political influence. The networks "Flüchtlingsrat eV" as well as "Berlin hilft e.V." functioned as speakers to unite member organizations. This factor may facilitate the administration to approach them and lead to an increase in the CSA's perceptions of such. Seeing refugee-relief organizations as a more organized and professional stakeholder is likely to be a reason for their increased inclusion in governance forums, as well as their perception of the administration communicating their interdependence more openly. Their own professionalization is also likely to be a reason for their expectation to have a more significant impact on policy outcomes. This factor does not, however, extend to the WAs and the refugee-relief organizations. Although there seems to be a sense of appreciation for each other a lot of the time, there are still antagonisms, especially between the refugee relief organizations and the operating organizations of the accommodations.

5.4.3 Increase in Appreciation for CSAs

After the negative experiences of 2015/16, many wished there to be more appreciation for the work of the CSAs. Several sources speak about the administrations learning from the crisis and being more aware of the necessity of civil society in times of crisis. This could be seen in the increase in communication of interdependence by the administrations. Interviewees speak of more effort not to offend the operating organizations and that they were being thanked for their work in conferences. This trend is seen very clearly in the shared press conference the new head of the LAF, Carina Harms, held with the refugee-relief organizations in December 2022. She admits that the agency cannot handle the situation without refugee-relief organizations' help and actively includes them in the process of

public communication by her side. This communication is very likely to be responsible for the CSAs perceiving this factor as increased. Compared to the perception the CSAs had of the agency before, this is a sign of drastically increased appreciation. The organizations such as moabit hilft e.V., view this step skeptically regarding their past but hope for positive change. An increase in appreciation for the CSA's work, WAs, as well as refugee-relief organizations, is visible in the administration and by certain political actors. Strengthened appreciation may have also contributed to CSA's feeling approached slightly more often as well as perceiving communication as having increased. This factor closely relates to the created infrastructure of CSAs, as that may have been a reason for the heightened appreciation.

5.4.4 Increase in Cooperation

After 2015, a call for more communication and inclusion of the CSAs was made. After that crisis, several forums for cooperation between civil society and the political and administrational actors of Berlin were created. In 2022, the "Civil Society Advisory Board for Ukraine Crisis Management" and the "Advisory Board for Migration" were added, both with representatives of the WAs and refugee relief organizations. Neither of these has delivered any publicly known results, but the state actively created more ways of communication. In 2018, Edlefsen & Staemmler commented on this trend by opening the question of how well the states' effort for more inclusiveness of civil society would play out in the future (Edlefsen & Staemmler, 2018). The research shows that a number of CSAs agree that there was more communication with the official institutions in this process. Mrs. Henniges sees big differences between the different actors and agencies in their frequency and depths of communication. Especially the LEA is categorized as very cooperative, as well as the state secretaries, while the mayor and her office, however, are seen as the opposite. This factor depends significantly on the people and parties in power. This increase in cooperation would generally speak for a more positive perception of Participatory Inclusiveness and Inclusion in Political Decision-Making. The organizations see two main sources for this increase in communication: Public Pressure and the Learning Process.

Especially Mrs. Henniges has mentioned the role that media and publicity play in her organization's influence. She, among other political refugee-relief organizations, uses public pressure to put weight into their demands and urge official institutions to act. This pressure is also manifested in the network of refugee relief organizations. When administration or politics mistreat one of them, then other CSAs often speak up against it. Another piece of evidence for this is the number of open letters that the organizations sent to the Senate and Senator of Social Affairs demanding action publicly. Henniges and Jost suggest that the heightened pressure was the reason for the administration to open up to them and allow more communication. It can therefore be seen as a reason for more communication and, at the same time reason for higher perceptions of participatory Inclusiveness and communication of Interdependence.

The other factor responsible for an increase in cooperation is the official institutions' higher willingness to admit failures and learn from them. The state has, in quite a few instances, admitted that they need CSAs to help handle the crisis. This does not always translate into the perceptions of the actors, who are still missing more recognition, as seen in the analysis above. Still, a number of statements show that WAs especially perceive an admittance of past mistakes and a learning process by official institutions. The Learning Process being acknowledged as one factor for the increase in cooperation and therefore seen as a positive influence confirms one of the thesis' hypotheses. This is closely related to the factor of higher appreciation for the CSAs, as the appreciation is rooted in the CSAs learning from their mistakes.

These factors are most likely not mutually exclusive and instead contribute simultaneously. It is important to note that CSAs, as well as official institutions, therefore, both, play a part in the improvement of communication.

5.4.5 Contextual Factors

Although not often discussed by the CSAs themselves, it is apparent that the situation is also very much influenced by changes in contextual factors. Quite a few of them have been explained above, but especially the legal standing, the demography, and the different European strategy in welcoming the refugees has led to very different forms of cooperation between the CSA's and the administration. In 2015, a large part of the work that, for example, moabit hilft e.V., was to help people fill out applications for asylum which is not necessary for Ukrainians. Other problems arose, such as the questions of social benefits, but generally, a lot of obstacles that were in the way for Syrian refugees in 2015 were not present for Ukrainians. This likelily led to a higher perceived Participatory Inclusiveness towards the affected, as they had less of a language barrier and quicker legal recognition.

5.5 Counter-Transformative Factors

5.5.1 Structural Deficiencies

Many complaints of the CSAs concentrate on the structure of the Berlins administration being less than ideal. In their view, this leads to processes of all kinds taking up too much time. According to CSAs, the agencies in question take too long to pay the open bills to the WAs, which leads to unnecessary financial difficulties. Furthermore, they answer requests with severe delay, take too long to make decisions, and processes of negotiation with them take too long. This leads to frustration with the CSAs and negative consequences for the affected refugees.

There are two main reasons for dissatisfaction that can be identified from the sources: A Lack of Staff in the administrations and Unclarity about responsibilities. Many statements blame the length of processes on the lack of staff in the agencies. The remaining staff is overwhelmed and cannot handle the incoming requests satisfactorily. This has been an area of concern since 2015, and it has not changed since then. Furthermore, accounts show that the responsibilities for refugee governance are split in complicated fashions between different agencies, which leads to confusing processes, unnecessary bureaucracy, and ultimately even longer processes. CSAs do, however, acknowledge that the "LEA" (Landesamt für Einwanderungsangelegenheiten, State Agency for Matters of Immigration) attempts their best to overcome these deficiencies and sometimes actively mention that they do not connect this failure of the agencies to a lack of willpower.

This area of complaint is an issue that has remained basically unchanged in comparison to 2015. Although there have been structural adjustments to the administration in the meantime, the results of their work are still less than satisfactory to the CSAs. This stagnation clearly contributes to the CSA's negative perceptions of the Process of Cooperation and negatively impacts their trust, as administrations are not seen as reliable partners. One hypothesis of this thesis expected the utilization of time to build better structures for a response. This can be seen as confirmed in parts. There was an attempt at restructuring perceived by the CSAs, but the city did not succeed in changes of the scale necessary to have their administrative structure seen as less problematic in the cooperation.

5.5.2 Lack of Interest in Cooperation

Many statements show that CSAs question the official institiutions honest interest in establishing communication channels with them. Firstly, there are multiple accounts of the administration not answering to CSAs, as well as the Senate not responding to an open letter by the refugee relief organizations. Moreover, it is critiqued that the official institutions would not be communicating their policy plans and strategies openly so that civil society could react accordingly. In two cases, it is even reported that decisions made by the state severely negatively impacted the ability of an organization to deliver services. The organizations were left out of the decision-making process and faced with a fait accompli. In two other cases, the LAF actively declined projects and input designed by CSAs. Furthermore, in many CSA's eyes, there was no initiative to establish a meaningful, long-term involvement in Political Decision-Making. The efforts of the institutions to create the Civil Society Advisory Board and the Advisory Board for Migration were therefore not perceived as meaningful. To conclude, actions, or sometimes the lack of them, by administration and politics made CSAs perceive their help as unwanted and therefore discouraged a positive change of perceptions. Especially refugee-relief organizations felt met with an unwillingness to cooperate multiple times, both in 2015/16 and 2022/23. This clearly is an explaining factor for their low levels of trust. When cooperation is perceived as actively avoided, the other actor can not be seen as reliable.

5.5.3 Lack of Meaningful Inclusion

Beyond analyzing to what extent CSAs felt they were included in the political and administrative processes, it is important to analyze to which extent they felt the inclusion was meaningful. There were instances in which cooperation with official institutions existed, either directly or through forums. However, multiple accounts show that in these cases, oftentimes, the refugee-relief organizations did not feel heard or that their participation made a difference. They experienced inclusion, especially by political actors, as performative. It is essential to say that these accounts are all from refugee-relief organizations and volunteers. No comment by the WAs was found. Furthermore, moabit hilft e.V. suggested that the WAs were more seriously included, so this perception extends only to refugee-relief organizations. According to P. Daphi, civil society actors' willingness to cooperate drops significantly when they feel that cooperation is only sought out performatively (Daphi, 2016). Efforts of the official institutions did not directly translate into improved perceptions of the civil society partners; there is a visible difference between creating channels of participation and viewing that inclusion as meaningful. This led to decreased trust levels and low perception of inclusion in Decision-Making.

5.5.4 Lack of Inclusiveness to Refugees

The perception of the inclusion of the refugees themselves has improved compared to 2015, but this is likely to be due to contextual factors, not the administrative and political Berlins Policy Learning. It is criticized that they are still not included soon enough and that the city lacks structure for their inclusion, for example, "Betroffenenrats-Sitzungen," a Council for Affected People as it exists in other German cities.

6 Conclusion

Having finished the analysis, it is now possible to present the most important results and answer the research question:

How do civil society's perceptions of its trust in, interdependence between, and process of cooperation with Berlins' regional government in responding to the Ukrainian Refugee Crisis of 2022 differ from those during the Syrian Refugee Crisis of 2015, and which factors led to this variation?

Overall, no drastic change in the perceptions of either of these factors can be seen. In some of the individual factors, slight improvements of the perceptions in a positive direction are noticeable, however, the perception of each is still seen as relatively low. One reason for this is the chaotic structure within the Berlin administration, efforts to change which have not been perceived as successful. The processes within are still seen as very lengthy, and areas of responsibility are not communicated clearly. Therefore the organizations perceive working with the administrations as tedious and time-consuming, which in term is also responsible for their low levels of trust in the official institutions. Furthermore, although there is an increase in the formal inclusion of civil society organizations in the decision-making process through forums and increased communication, CSAs often do not perceive these as genuine efforts for long-term cooperation and are criticizing a lack of input, meaning they perceive themselves as having little to no actual influence. There is a visible difference between having areas of participation created and actually viewing that inclusion as meaningful, confirming the thesis of Edlefsen & Staemmler from 2018. The increase in perceived cooperation is something, however, that CSAs attribute to their process of professionalization, a learning process in the administration as well as the pressure put on the institutions by them and the media. There are significant differences in the inclusion of different actor groups within civil society. While established welfare organizations report, all in all, more positive perceptions, refugee-relief organizations' perceptions are more critical. This can be explained due to the different natures of the actor groups. Refugee-relief organizations have a higher ambition to be included in the political process, while many welfare organizations are less prone to open criticism and have more elaborate structures and closer connections to the state organizations stemming from other areas of cooperation. Civil Society Actors are an essential part of the city's system of service delivery to refugees but still do not perceive themselves as satisfactorily involved in the governance process. Additionally, contextual factors have contributed to a change in perception, as the situation of arriving Ukrainians is legally, demographically, and politically different from that of Syrians.

The most important takeaway from the analysis is that there were no major changes in the examined aspects of the Governance Process. Civil Society Actors are still far from viewing the cooperation on refugee governance in Berlin as positive. Following Ansell and Gashs' definition, neither process would be qualified as full Collaborative Governance Regimes in the CSA's eyes. However, the acknowledgment of interdependence by the administrations and the formal creation of inclusive forums are steps in the right direction.

This research has shown that the stakeholder network of the Berlin Refugee Governance is very complex and that a lot of contextual factors play into the transformation of a collaborative governance regime. The lines between political and administrational actors are frequently blurred. Finding clear causal relationships for changes proves to be nearly impossible, with a high number of different forums, a very dynamic situation, changes in legislative periods, and high fluctuation in administrative offices. It also showed that the divide between refugee-relief organizations and welfare associations is

an essential factor and that the self-perception of the actor plays a significant role in determining how they will judge the cooperation. Transformation of Collaborative Governance is a very captivating field and deserves further attention in the scientific community, although especially when combined with 'Perceptions,' it poses a challenging field to do meaningful research on.

In the future, a functional Refugee Governance system will stay highly relevant to Berlin, and Civil Society Actors will stay crucial stakeholders. As already seen in the introduction, cooperation between all actors is crucial to the success of the process. This thesis has shown that perceptions have not improved by much and that, in the eyes of the CSAs, the state of Berlin still has much potential for deepening and improving cooperation. A list of recommendations for this purpose was made in 2016 by Hamann et. Al., which can be found in the bibliography. After analyzing the statements present for the current cooperation, a grand majority of them still appear relevant today and may be a good starting point for state actors if they seek to improve CSA's perceptions of the process of cooperation, trust, and communication of interdependence.

For future research, it would be interesting to conduct a similar analysis at a later point in time on a bigger scale, including more factors of Ansell and Gashs' framework and perhaps without the lens of CSA's perceptions. This would help to understand the transformation on a larger scale, from different viewpoints, and allow the stakeholders to review the process ex-post. For the sake of this analysis, the topicality of the process was helpful, as the perceptions were seen as "fresh," but if one aims at a bigger-scaled analysis, hindsight would be helpful. Moreover, the willingness to hold interviews may be more considerable once the urgency of the situation has reduced and more clarity is gained. Furthermore, the Senate releases handy data on the execution of refugee governance yearly, which could not be obtained for this analysis yet. The lack of willingness to conduct interviews for this research is its most significant limitation. With a greater number of direct answers to the questions coded for, more factors could have been coded on a more secure database. For example, the factor of "Influence of Performance 2015 on current Trust Levels" could not be adequately examined due to a lack of statements. This study could, to a great extent, only rely on public statements made by the actors, which may not be coherent with personal sentiments. Furthermore, those who did not speak out could not be included in the analysis, which may have skewed the analysis in a negative direction. Especially refugee-relief organizations, which see themselves as political actors and "critics" of the state, are more prone to publishing negative sentiments. However, it was managed to hold an interview with moabit hilft e.V., one of the most prominent critics, establishing more context to their perceptions. The researcher of this thesis is an active member of Amnesty International, which includes work for refugee rights. This may have presented a bias in the direction of favoring inclusive refugee governance, but no bias towards specific stakeholders or organizations was present or corrupted the research process.

Generally, analyzing the consequences of negative collaborative governance experiences on future instances of collaboration is a promising area to concentrate further research on. It would also be interesting to dive further into the differences between different non-state actors, specifically refugee-relief organizations and welfare organizations, and investigate their cooperation and antagonisms for each other, as this research has shown that their standing in refugee governance did differ. Furthermore, it should be explored how the actors' perceptions deviate from the objective cooperation efforts and which reasons this discrepancy might have.

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8 Appendix

8.1. Overview of changing contextual factors between 2015 and 2023

Changed Contextual Factors	2015/16	2022/23
Religion	Mostly Muslim (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016)	Mostly Christian (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 2022)
Demography	Majority is young men (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2016)	Majority is Women, Children & Elderly (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, (2023)
Berlin Government	Social Democrats / Christian Democrats	Social Democrats / the Greens / the Left
Responsibility in the Berlin Administration	LAGESO is responsible. (Edlefsen, Staemmer, 2018)	LAF is responsible, but field is spread out to different Senate Administrations and Refugee Policy has been severely restructured. (Esposito, 2022)
European Strategy	Most other countries defensive, Germany Open Arms but more restrictive from 2016 on. (Esposito, 2022)	Pan-European Open Arms Strategy
Reason for Flight	Complex civil wars in Syria and instability in its neighbouring states. (Lehmann, 2015)	Russias invasion of Ukraine (24.02.2022)
Legal Standing of Refugees (Asylum)	Refugees have to apply for Asylum individually. (Esposito, 2022)	Refugees are granted Asylum by default. (Esposito, 2022)
Accommodation	Grand majority in emergency- and group shelters. (Flüchtlingsrat Berlin e.V., 2015)	Up to 90% in private accommodations. (Commissioner for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, 2023)
Civil Society Capacities	Refugee relief is a non-organised field, many organisations are forming right before or over the course of the crisis	Refugee relief is a professionalized field, organisations still exist from 2015 and there is an infrastructure of CSOs.
Racism	Many European people saw (non-white, non christian) refugees as a threat to their culture.	Many Europeans see (white) Ukrainians as their people. POC Ukranians still experience Racial Profiling. (Esposito, 2022)
Learning process?	Berlins Politics/Administration was entirely overwhelmed, the situation was unprecedented.	Berlins Politics/Administration could (potentially) make use of negative experiences form 2015/2016.

8.2. Overview of the analyzed sources

Open Letters (4)	Press Releases (6)
- Collection of Political refugee organisations. (28.04.2017). Offener Brief der flüchtlingspolitischen Initiativen an den neuen Berliner Senat. Open Letter of the political-refugee organisations to the new Berlin Senate - Collection of Political Refugee Organisations. (04.04.2022). Letter to the Mayor and the Senator of Social Affairs & Integration. - Collection of Political Refugee Organisations. (20.05.2022) Leistungs-Chaos in Berlin. – Open Letter to Political Berlin. - Collection of Politicsl Refugee Organisations. (24.11.2022). Wohnungen statt Zelte und Hangars. Lösungsvorschläge zur aktuellen Unterbringungsnotlage. (Open Letter to the Senate)	- Caritas. (25.02.2022). Press Release: Caritas ruft zu Hilfe für Menschen in der Ukraine auf. -Moabit hilft e.V. (12.03.2022). Press Release. Aufruf an den Berliner Senat: Handeln Sie – mit uns zusammen! (Call to the Berlin Senate: Act with us!) - Paritätischer Rundbrief 2.2022: Der Krieg und die Folgen für alle. - Moabit hilft e.V. (08.03.2022) Press Release. Einblicke in die Politik und Engagement der Initiativen. - Moabit hilft e.V. (09.04.2022). Gegen die Wand: Mal Problem, mal Lösungsansatz. - Moabit hilft e.V. (09.11.2022). Kinderschutz in Berlin jetzt gewährleisten!
Social Media Posts (17)	**Interviews (3)**
- 7 Tweets by Berlin.hilft e.V. - 7 Tweets by Moabit Hilft e.V. - One Tweet by the Flüchtlingsrat e.V. - One Exchange of Katja Kipping and a member of the "Paritätische" - One Facebook Post by Franziska Giffey (the Mayor), and the Volkssolidaritäts reaction	- Moabit Hilft e.V. - Unionshilswerk - Berliner Stadtmission

News Articles (15)

- Memarnia, S. (24.02.2023). Viel Engagement. Viel Frust. In: TAZ
- Tagesspiegel (05.05.2022). 90 Prozent weniger Spenden als vor einem Monat. Ehrenamtliche Hilfe für Ukraine-Flüchtlinge in Berlin lässt massiv nach.
- Springer. (11.2022). Beirat für Migration nimmt seine Tätigkeit auf.
- Schubert, T. (30.03.2022) Pankow: Ukraine-Zentrum öffnet in historischem Seniorenheim. In: Berliner Morgenpost
- Volkssolidarität Berlin. (25.05.2022) Besuch von Franziska Giffey bei pflegebedürftigen Geflüchteten.
- Fricke, T. (16.02.2023) Caritas kritisiert Flüchtlingspolitik der Bundesregierung "Weg mit dieser Projektitis". In: Domradio.
- Tagesspiegel. (08.04.2022). Chaos im Berliner Flüchtlings-Ankunftszentrum „Die Verantwortlichen ducken sich weg".
- Hofman, K. (01.04.2022). Frust bei Flüchtlingshelfer. „Wir haben die Kontrolle verloren". In: ZDF online.
- Rushton, E. (15.03.2023) Flüchtlingsorganisationen fordern Schließung der Notunterkunft am Flughafen Tegel. In: Tagesspiegel.
- Evangelisch.de (09.02.2023) Diakonie-Bilanz zur Hilfe für Ukrainer. Lilie: Verbände an Flüchtlingsgipfel beteiligen.
- Tagesspiegel (13.06.2023). Statt Sammelunterkünfte. Berliner Flüchtlingsrat fordert mehr Wohnungen für Geflüchtete.
- Reimann, A. Hoffmeister, H. (16.03.2022). Ukrainische Flüchtlinge in der Hauptstadt. Was Berlin gerade schafft. In: Spiegel Online.
- Alberti, S. Memarnia, S. (08.11.2022). Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen in Berlin. Zurück zu den Zelten. In: TAZ
- Memarnia, S. (12.10.2022). Unterbringung von Geflüchteten in Berlin. „Die Hilfsbereitschaft ist noch da". Interview with Maria Huber of housing.berlin. In: TAZ
- Memarnia, S. (19.12.2022) Versorgung von Geflüchteten. Ein Amt ist verzweifelt.