Cities are at the forefront of responding to forced migration and do so in highly varied ways. Only one third of the world’s more than 20 million refugees presently live in camps; the majority settle in urban areas and peri-urban settlements, largely in developing regions in the Global South. An even larger amount of internally displaced people live in cities. Due to a universal trend towards protracted displacement, cities are becoming increasingly important spaces of integration. This is also recognised at the level of global policies. For example, the New Urban Agenda (2016) promulgated at the Habitat III Conference stressed the responsibility of cities to promoting the rights of migrants and refugees, and the UN’s Global Compact of Refugees (2018) called for ‘out-of-camp’ solutions to forced migration.

While the importance of cities and urban areas for people who seek protection, means of livelihood and passage has been highlighted for some time, many questions remain unanswered. This special issue enquires into the degree to which policies at global, national and local level acknowledge the urbanisation of displacement, as well as into the interdependencies between different actors and levels of governance. Moreover, strategies and motivations of local urban stakeholders in a multi-level governance context are of interest. This issue further asks how climate and environmental stress, inter- and intra-state conflict, and digitisation influence people’s movement decisions, trajectories, and their experiences in urban arrival areas.

The main focus of this special issue is cities and urbanising areas – including camps – in the Global South. This, however, does not imply that we ignore refugee movements in the Global North. After all, TRIALOG is published in Germany, a country in which the domestic policy discourse of recent years has been heavily shaped by the massive influx of refugees in 2015. Thus, three articles in this issue relate to the German scene.

In the first article of this issue of TRIALOG, **Eva Dick** uses the case of Kalobeyei settlement in the north of Kenya to disentangle how stakeholders of different levels came to embrace local integration as a ‘novel’ approach to refugee management. From the national and regional governments’ perspective, security interests and a rising gap in humanitarian funding were key factors. For the local government it was about promoting economic development.

In contrast to the common alarmist scenarios of millions of refugees that could soon migrate to Europe, **Benjamin Schraven** gives an overview of recent research on the climate-migration nexus that emphasises the complexity of the interplay between ecology and mobility. The conclusion drawn is that climate change is more likely to lead to more internal and intraregional migration and forced displacement in the Global South. Urban areas play an essential role in that regard, both as actors and as hotspots of mobility and climate change.

The third article of this issue juxtaposes three interviews conducted at the local level in different parts of the world. Chairman **Hamidul Hoque Chowdhury** from Cox’s Bazar in Bangladesh, **Ullrich Sierau**, the former Lord Mayor of the City of Dortmund in Germany, and **Patrick Lokewan Nabwel**, a GIZ expert posted to Kakuma in Northern Kenya, share first-hand experiences in dealing with the integration of large refugee flows within short and longer periods.

**Einhard Schmidt-Kallert**’s reportage recounts the unlikely story of the squatters of the house at Obere Maschstraße 10 in the city centre of Göttingen. What had started as an emergency project to assist and empower refugees gradually took shape as a housing project, though with special features: autonomous, multi-generational and multi-cultural.

**Janina Stürner**’s article shows that African cities engage in different forms of city diplomacy, among other ways by demanding a seat at migration policy-making tables. The author concludes that African city diplomacy pursues practical, symbolic and jurisgenerative purposes.

The article by **Hasan Sinemillioğlu, Furat Kuti and Salah Hhadeeda** depicts the situation and perspectives of the Êzîdî [Yazidis] in Iraq, most of whom are currently living in refugee camps in the Duhok region in Northern Iraq, following the exodus from the Sinjar region in August 2014. The article is mainly composed of authentic voices from the Êzîdî themselves, leaving a rather gloomy outlook towards their future.

**Salam Alhaj** investigates differences in work and education for Syrian refugees in Jordan between the Zaatri camp and the city of Amman. The author discusses the effect of residing in the camp on labour participation, engagement in formal work and having work permits, and the variations between Zaatri and Amman.

**Ayham Dalal** and **Philipp Misselwitz**’s article draws the attention to the role of shelter and how it is appropriated by refugees in their daily life. The authors compiled and interpreted architectural and ethnographic data from two camps: Zaatri in Jordan, and Tempohomes in Germany. The authors conclude that no matter how well designed the shelters are, they will always be appropriated for the purpose of dwelling.

The article by **M. Suresh Babu** sheds light on the vulnerabilities of migrants, especially due to the COVID-19 pandemic. His study is based on interviews with migrant workers employed in Chennai in Southern India. According to M. Suresh Babu’s findings, key challenges all migrant workers are faced with, such as lack of social security and poor access to basic amenities, have been aggravated by the impact of the pandemic.

Point of departure for **Charles Martin-Shields’** article is the transportation disadvantages faced by many refugees. Drawing on fieldwork in Kuala Lumpur, in his article he evaluates the potential of ride sharing for making refugees’ daily lives easier.

**Kathrin Golda-Pongratz**’s essay is based on long-term research in self-built neighbourhoods on the urban fringes of the Peruvian capital Lima and describes the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the population working in the informal sector. The author posits that displacement and uprooting have become a double condition for migrants who had built their homes decades ago but were forced to return to their places of rural origin during the pandemic.

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**Editorial**

**Eva Dick, Einhard Schmidt-Kallert**

and **Benjamin Schraven** as volume editors

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Cities and Displacement
Eva Dick, Einhard Schmidt-Kallert and Benjamin Schraven

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OM10 in Göttingen: From Squatting to a Beacon of New Urbanism

Einhard Schmidt-Kallert

This reportage recounts the unlikely story of the squatters of the house at Obere Maschstraße 10, a former administrative building of the German Trade Union Congress in the city centre of Göttingen. At the height of the influx of refugees to Germany in 2015, a group of 50 activists occupied the vacant building to transform it into a transit stop and resting spot for newly arriving refugees.

What had started as a temporary, possibly symbolic, act emerged over time as a story of legalisation and consolidation. Public opinion swung in favour of the squatters, and internal discussions within the trade unions paved the way for negotiations between the Trade Union Congress and the activists. With the help of a crowdfunding campaign, an association formed by the activists was able to buy the building. Subsequently, the squatters busied themselves to convert the office spaces into living quarters. What had started as an emergency project to assist and empower refugees gradually took shape as a housing project, though with special features: autonomous, multi-generational and multi-cultural.

The main door of the vacant office block at Obere-Masch-Straße 10 was already open when some activists cautiously entered the building to occupy the premises as squatters. Others, out of a total of more than 50 activists and sympathisers, stayed outside, guarding the door and distributing flyers to the new neighbours. Within minutes, the entire building was decorated with banners to inform the onlookers what was happening. The squatters themselves informed the local press and the city authorities. But there were no barricades.

That was on 5 November 2015, following a summer of what became known in government statements and the mainstream press as the ‘refugee crisis’, and which leftwing groups in Germany prefer to call ‘the long summer of migration’: when the Balkan route was open for a few months, when Germany opened its borders to refugees, and when thousands – during peak periods, tens of thousands – of refugees, many of them full of expectations, crossed the border into Germany every day. They were Syrians fleeing from the civil war, and North Africans and refugees from many other countries.
sub-Saharan African countries who had their own reasons to leave their countries. Nearly all of the over fifty activists who entered Obere-Masch-Straße 10 (which soon became known by the acronym ‘OM10’), or just ‘Omze’ were somehow or other involved in solidarity and support of the incoming refugees. They were a loose, non-partisan network of leftwing activists of all ages, appalled and moved by the reports of what was happening at the outside borders of the European Union, but also impressed by the courage and perseverance of the refugees along the Balkan route. Closer to home, they knew of the difficult conditions in ‘Friedland’, Germany’s oldest reception camp for newly arrived refugees and asylum-seekers, which is located near Göttingen. Facilities there were completely overstretched, with up to five times the number of occupants for which the camp had been built (3,500 to 4,000 people instead of the normal capacity of 700). And every night there were more newly arriving refugees at Göttingen’s central station, none of whom could continue their journey to ‘Friedland’ because they had missed the last train.

A transit stop for refugees

The urge to do something concrete to ease the plight of the newly arriving refugees was perhaps the strongest common denominator among the people who decided to occupy OM10. The occupation was not completely spontaneous; there had been some planning ahead, though no long-term preparations. The activists were aware of vacant buildings in the centre of Göttingen, a medium-sized university town in the state of Lower Saxony. The former regional headquarters of the German Trade Union Congress, a four-storey building just 500 metres away from the main railway station, was found to be the most suitable object. And indeed, what the activists-turned-squatters did from the beginning went far beyond just informing the local press and the neighbourhood: from the very first day, members of the group went to the railway station to pick up refugees who were stuck there and invite them to Omze. The occupied house quickly became a transit stop, a decent resting spot for newly arriving refugees. Some of them spent just one night at OMze, others stayed for weeks. On average, the house gave shelter to 20 to 25 transit-refugees every night. The activists quickly organised mattresses, bedsteads and linen; they also set up a makeshift food and kitchen facilities. Neighbours from the same area volunteered to wash linen, and donated food. Some of the activists decided to move with their belongings into the house, and a few refugees resolved to stay longer. So a kind of spontaneous and transitory residential community emerged.

Obviously, what the OMze activists did was not completely novel. Occupying vacant land or premises without legal title has a tradition in nearly all countries of the world. Sometimes squatting is considered a phenomenon of the Global South, where even today up to half of the total population of major metropolises is made up of squatters. But there have been similar movements in countries of the Global North, especially since the 1970s, in the US, Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and many other European countries. In terms of numbers, there have never been as many squatters in Germany as, for example, in Britain, due to differences in the legal system. In Germany, the law of ‘Hausfriedensbruch’ (breaking the peace of a building or a piece of land) is a serious obstacle for would-be squatters. Owners can easily obtain an eviction order, which can be executed with help from the police. After eviction, the squatters can be charged with ‘Hausfriedensbruch’. And yet, there have been waves of squatting in Germany’s recent history. The first known squat after WW2 took place in Frankfurt’s West End, when 23 tenement buildings were occupied. The squatters lived in the occupied houses for a number of years, until they were evicted three or four years after the initial occupation. Since the early 1980s, Berlin-Kreuzberg has experienced a spate of squats. There were similar occupations in Hamburg and Munich. Another wave of squats followed in Berlin shortly after the reunification of Germany. There were a lot of squats in Göttingen as well. Some of the squatted houses (about half a dozen) have been under the administration of the ‘Studentenwerk’, which now is assigning the property to self-organised student associations.

As early as 1982, there was a case in the city of Dortmund somewhat similar to OMze: the occupation of a disused former training centre of the powerful Metal Workers’ Union, known as the ‘Heidehof’, by a group of 35 young activists and their supporters. Their intention was to use the premises for practising an alternative lifestyle and to find affordable living space in a period of growing housing shortage. After half a year, their experiment came to an abrupt end when all squatters were evicted by riot police and the building was demolished.

On balance, one can say that there have been few success stories of legalised squats in Germany. Though ‘Hafenstraße’ and ‘Rote Flora’ in Hamburg have survived for many decades, the dominance of neoliberalism since the 1990s has discouraged many would-be squatters. Only last autumn, in early October, the German media reported about the eviction of long-term squatters from the house Liebigstraße 34 in Berlin-Friedrichshain, which had been an icon of resistance in the struggle for shelter in Germany for over thirty years.

Uncertainty and negotiations

So, what made the OMze people so sure they would eventually be successful? ‘Nothing,’ recalls Marcus bluntly, one of the early occupants, who has been active in the squat from the very first day: ‘For the first few days, we were constantly expecting an eviction order. But when after three days no message from the house owner was forthcoming, we felt a little more secure. We decided to contact the Trade Union Congress Executive Board for talks, but for a start they sent representatives of their real estate division. These delegates actually came a few days later, and we invited them to have coffee and cake with us inside the house. We clearly explained that we had occupied the house to stay here for good. But it was obvious that the visitors had no real mandate to make any promises or to enter into real negotiations. So after coffee, cake and some polite exchange, they returned to their limousines.

There was good media coverage on the occupation, both locally and nationally. The local newspaper gave a fairly balanced coverage on the squatters’ point of view, but they also reported about the Trade Union’s intentions to sell the building to potential investors. Numerous letters to the editor, which sympathised with the squatters and the cause they were fighting for, were published. But initially the group of activists was not entirely clear regarding what course of action they seriously wanted to pursue: some favoured a more symbolic occupation of the building over a few weeks, others strongly advocated negotiations with the owners and a long-term perspective.
There was a tipping point in the public opinion when, in January 2016, the local newspaper published an article with quotes from an interview with the Chairman of the Trade Union Congress in charge of Lower Saxony.  The trade unionist was quoted as referring to the squatters as ‘starry-eyed idealists’ (Gutmenschen) who ‘had nothing but nonsence in their head’ (haben Flausen im Kopf), and he went on to explain that ‘people in the old town centre of Göttingen were not really inclined to receive more refugees’. This last statement, which essentially was an allusion to everyday racism, was definitely not taken kindly by the citizens of Göttingen, a town that is proud of its democratic tradition spanning back to the early 19th century. And it is quite possible that this interview eventually backfired on the Trade Union Congress and its position in the ensuing negotiations. What is for sure is that this interview was to instigate more internal discussions within the trade unions as well.

What followed were internal discussions on both sides, among the squat-activists of OMze as well as within the trade unions. In their plenary meetings, the squatters discussed whether or not to enter into real negotiations with the Trade Union Congress. Initially, many were reluctant to talk to the “big people” within the congress because, given the general political climate in the country, they were not sure whether they would be able to maintain their position and to win in the conflict. But over the course of spring, more activists slowly realised that through negotiations they could safeguard what they had already achieved. Simultaneously, internal discussions within the trade unions ensued. A seasoned local trade unionist remembers that at a delegates’ convention of the Metal Workers’ Union in Lower Saxony that had originally been devoted to the question of how to integrate refugees at the factory level, a motion was introduced urging the Trade Union Congress (at federal level, the rightful owner of OMze) to enter into ‘serious negotiations with the squatters’, it was supported by nearly all delegates present at the meeting.

In the process, even the Executive Board members of the Trade Union Congress at federal level realised that, given public opinion and internal pressure within individual trade unions, an eviction order would definitely taint the unions’ image. Thus, they authorised a delegation to negotiate with the OMze squatters, who had also elected a negotiation team. At the first meeting in April 2016, the trade unionists were satisfied that the squatters were non-partisan. Moreover, some of the congress’s negotiators were somewhat puzzled when the round of introductions even revealed that there were trade union members on the side of the OMze negotiating team as well. After several rounds of negotiations, a price for the building was agreed upon: clearly a political price. Subsequently, the activists started a crowdfunding campaign, which was successful beyond expectations. They registered as an association, and shortly afterwards as a limited liability company, so as to be able to act as a legal entity in the contract negotiations. The contract was eventually signed in March 2018. A year and a half later, OMze joined the ‘Mietshäuser-Syndikat’ (Tenement Syndicate), a conglomerate of autonomous collective-housing projects in Germany, in order to protect the project in the future from being acquired by commercial investors.

The success story of OMze, one of legalisation and consolidation, is an improbable one that most of the activists who entered the house in November 2015 for the first time would not have imagined coming true. But what matters, apart from the legal consolidation, is what has happened inside the house: how the initial desire to welcome refugees has been transformed into a new form of living together in the house – “Our house,” as the OMze activists have emphasised right from the beginning of the project.

Apart from fighting for security of tenure, the OMze activists have, from the very first day, busied themselves to make the building habitable. There is a tradition in the German squatter movement since the early 1980s that has been dubbed ‘Instandbesetzung’, meaning occupation combined with renovation or rehabilitation of dilapidated flats. This was the programme of the squatter movement in Berlin-Kreuzberg in those years, and the OMze activists likewise immediately started to convert the office spaces they found in the house into living quarters fit for residential uses. This was obviously an enormous task for the group: rehabilitating a four-storey building with a total floor space of nearly 800 square metres. Bathrooms and kitchens had to be introduced, electrical fittings had to be changed, floor plans needed to be adjusted by tearing down separating walls and building new ones. It was a fortunate coincidence that the group of activists was fairly diverse in terms of professional background and experience. There were trained carpenters and masons in the team. Initially, especially as long as the tenure arrangement was still unclear, rehabilitation was somewhat incremental, meaning that some of the fittings installed at the beginning had to be removed again after the long-term floor plans emerged. Once the purchase agreement with the Trade Union Congress had been signed, new modern insulated windows could be installed and the rooftop could be sealed. Over the years, the residents have contributed thousands of hours of unpaid labour into the effort to rehabilitate and eventually beautify the building. Labour, personal effort and dedication were the capital that all the people who now live in OM10 generously gave to the project. This type of capital is at least as important as the monetary contributions collected through crowdfunding.

The inside story

In a way, the OMze project also changed its character in the process of consolidation. What had started as an emergency project to assist and empower refugees...
gradually took shape as a housing project, though with special features: autonomous, multi-generational and multi-cultural.

The internal democratic decision-making structure has helped in this transition. From the beginning, all important decisions have been taken by a plenary, which in the early days met three times a week and presently still meets once every week. This refers, for example, to decision on renovations, on the internal layout of the building, and on the allocation of rooms or flats to new residents. Every future resident has to introduce himself/herself to the plenary. The plenary has also passed a set of house-keeping rules.

The project started as a temporary shelter for refugees. Now, most residents have tenancy agreements. There is no strict quota, but the plenary takes care of gender balance and, of course, maintaining a mix of refugees, migrants and Germans. Currently, there are 24 residents, more women than men, and only four of them hold a German passport. There are Iranians, Sudanese, Syrians and many other nationalities in the group. They live in two flat-sharing communities and a few family flats. More than half of the total floor space of 800 square metres is used for residential purposes, 180 square metres is for offices, and on the first floor there is a large hall for public meetings and performances.

Office space is rented out to the football fan club Göttingen 05, to an international women's club, a medical counselling and treatment centre for refugees, and to the socialist youth organisation 'die Falken'. At one time, German language courses were also offered at OMze.

To be sure, everyday life for the long-term OMze residents has never been without challenges. The motives to move into the house as well as the personal experiences differ greatly from one person to another. "There is bound to be conflict in this setting," admits Marcus, "just think of the different cultures, just think of the psychic stress of the newly arrived refugees... Simple things matter, like noise levels... Being mindful with each other is not always easy, but matters a lot." And there have been more-serious cases: in two instances, the plenary decided that a resident had to leave the community.

There is also a perennial conflict between the desire to consolidate life in the flat-sharing communities with frequent requests for short-term shelter. Not everybody who needs and deserves a head over his or her head can be considered by the plenary.

In addition, there have been challenges from outside the microcosm. Many OMze residents recall 25 May 2018 as the saddest day in the history of their community: the day that Willard Gondo was deported by the police. Willard hailed from Zimbabwe, and everybody who knew him would say he...
was well-integrated in Göttingen. He had even found a job as a football coach for the youth team of the local club ‘SC Hainberg’. All the same, without notice he was deported under the regulations of the Dublin Regulation. His flatmates and the OMze plenary mobilised local solidarity, including a well-attended demonstration against what they considered an act of caprice by the powers that be. But the worst thing was: there was no way of contacting their former flatmate; for a long time they could not even reach him by phone, which left them feeling so utterly helpless.

In spite of all challenges, OM10 has developed into a focal point of urban counter-culture in Göttingen. And as such, it is attractive to outsiders. Daphne, a young carpentry apprentice, narrates: ‘I used to live in another flat-sharing community. But the other people were so apolitical. I myself didn’t know much about refugees and migration. Then I got in touch with people in OM10; that was so cool, everybody was building, renovating, so I wanted to live in one of the flat shares. There was work in progress... And once I had moved in, I got drawn into the multi-cultural environment, the people, with their unbelievable life-stories... There are language barriers, but I am still feeling close to the others. And it’s so cool that it’s working. Before, I believed we had to integrate the migrants. But that’s bullshit, we are all individuals, each of us has his or her own personal story; integration can only happen through living together...’

‘We are here to stay, to stay for good’ is what the OMze squatters said in their first encounter with representatives of the Trade Union Congress. This strong desire to make an impact on the urban fabric of Göttingen is perhaps best epitomised by a huge wall painting that now adorns the width and breadth of the house at Obere-Masch-Straße 10: it depicts a hydra, the serpentine water monster in Greek mythology that grows two new heads for every head chopped off. The OMze residents, in the first place, see it as a symbol of the many heads of resistance.


Im Gegensatz zu gängigen alarmistischen Szenarien von zig Millionen „Klimaflüchtlingen“, die schon bald in Richtung Eu- ropa ziehen könnten, kommt Benjamin Schraven in sei- nem Überblick über die Forschung zum Klima-Migrations- Nexus zum Schluss, dass die Wechselwirkungen von Ökologie auf menschliche Mobilität sehr komplex sind und dass der Klimawandel wahrscheinlich in erster Linie zu mehr innerstaatlicher und intraregionaler (Zwangs-)Migrati- on im globalen Süden führen wird. Städte können in diesem Zusammenhang sowohl als politischen Akteuren aber auch als Mobilitätschauplätzen und Hotspots des Klimawandels eine ganz besondere Rolle zu.


Salam Alkh untersucht Unterschiede im Zugang zu Ar- beit und Bildung bei syrischen Geflüchteten im jordani- schen Lager Zaatria und Jordaniens Hauptstadt Amman und vergleicht diese beiden Aufenthalts- und Integrations- kultur mit der Unterschiede in Bezug auf Teilnahme an (formel- len) Erwerbsleben.


Suresh Babu bezieht sich in seinem Beitrag die Vulnerabi- lität von Migrant*innen, insbesondere aufgrund der CO- VID-19-Pandemie. Seine Studie basiert auf Interviews mit Wanderarbeiter*innen, die im südlichen Tamil Nadu ar- beiten und leben. Er kommt zu dem Schluss, dass die zen- tralen Herausforderungen der Wanderarbeiter*innen feh- lende soziale Sicherheit und ein unzureichender Zugang zur Grundversorgung sind, was durch die Auswirkun- gen der Pandemie noch weiter verschärft wurde.


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