CONTESTED RIGHTS TO GRIEF IN NARRATIVES OF FORCED MIGRANTS LIVING IN NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN (GERMANY)

Doctoral Thesis

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March 2022

To my grandmother,

Elisabeth Maria Schönborn.

Thank you for surviving.

TABLE OF CONTENT

1. INTRODUCTION

This research offers an analysis of the losses involved in forced migration and particularly of the ways in which these losses continue to shape forced migrants' experiences, lives and possibilities to construct a future after their migration. It analyzes their processes and experiences of settling down in a new place, and how they get acquainted with and impressed by local practices and discourses. Furthemore, it deals with the ways in which their reciprocal relations with local people, practices, discourses, and taken-for-grantedness co-shape their grieving process as well as their possibilities of mourning their losses. Thus, it investigates how forced migrants' relations to their social environment shape their possibilities to actively engage in living with their losses and with their new experiences, memories, new and old acquaintances, fears, hopes, and imaginaries of the future.

Back in 2017, for a previous research project, I conducted open autobiographical interviews focusing on the experiences of the economic crisis 2007/2008 in Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW, Germany). Without being asked about it, several interviewees mentioned migration and the threat of terrorism as something that worried them and as something that shaped how they imagined their personal futures and the future of society. In the year 2017 migration to Germany had significantly increased and received a remarkable amount of attention in the political and public spheres. These narratives about immigration, and even about immigration waves, appeared in the interviews related to concerns, projections and/or expectations regarding the future (personal and collective). Moreover, the interviews showed an important emotional dimension attached to the way interviewees related to the issue of migration, being worry the most frequently mentioned emotion. Since migration to what has come to be known as "the West" is expected to continue rather than disappear in the following decades (Münz 2013) and will continue to (increasingly) shape social life, I was intrigued by the ways in which migration (and particularly immigration to Germany) formed people's imagination of a (shared) future.

This interest grew stronger after I conducted pilot interviews with migrants, forced migrants, and German citizens living in NRW, asking them open questions concerning their lives as well as hopes, fears, projections, desires and plans for the future. While analyzing their future projections, I realized that forced migrant participants talked about and appeared to be grieving past futures, for example, futures they had imagined, even taken for granted, that they would experience as an almost natural continuation of their lives before their forced migration. These futures, however, were lost when they were forced to escape, hence leaving these lives behind. After their forced migration, these imagined futures turned unreachable, becoming thus past before they could ever make it to the present. Thus, even when the forced migrant interviewees wanted to talk only about their future in NRW, they frequently and

recurrently mentioned what they had lost due to forced migration. At the same time, migrants who had arrived in NRW with valid visas did not narrate losses and grieving involved in migration in any comparable way.

This preliminary finding of the pilot interviews (intended for a research that aimed at mapping imaginaries of the future in general terms) became the focus of my doctoral research. Intrigued and moved by these preliminary results, and the many questions that these results arose, I decided to investigate processes of loss, grieving and mourning involved in forced migration. Hence, I came to explore how these processes are narrated by forced migrants, how they play out in their lives and how people already established in the place are implied in the shaping of these processes.

I have come to understand (forced) migration as a process that exceeds crossing of territorial borders. It is a process which begins before a person departs and can take years. The process of (forced) migration involves not only (forced) migrants, but also people who are already established in the place. As a (forced) migrant it is important to establish temporary and more durable relations with others so that the place where one lives becomes more accessible, a place to live instead of just a place where one can survive. Being a (forced) migrant one has to establish a new life in the city, village or town where one settles down and this involves contact and cooperation with others and institutions. In this sense both migrants and locals are involved in the processes of (forced) migration and play a part in the ways in which migrants become part of social life and local practices. Based on this relational understanding of migration, I decided to interview not only forced migrants, but also German citizens, as both perspectives are necessary to capture the process of migration.

In this work I offer an analysis of how young forced migrants (aged 18 to 30 years) living in NRW narrate their experiences of loss and grieving, and how locals and experts relate to these experiences. In this sense, this research is a case study on young forced migrants living in NRW. I do not claim that the findings of this study are easily generalizable to other geographical places and relational contexts. Similarly however, I do not consider all dynamics I found to be exclusive to the case of forced migrants living in NRW. Yet, how the findings of this study relate to and can be applied to other contexts needs further research and a dialogue I would gladly partake in.

I chose to concentrate on the case of NRW, because it is a densely populated area where many (forced) migrants live and continue to settle down[1]. This lets us suspect that in NRW (forced) migration shapes many people's everyday life and, thus, their discussions with others and future projections.

Moreover, the experience of migration is understood to be shaped by emotions as meeting unfamiliar people, establishing contacts and getting to know an environment involves many different

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[1] https://www.it.nrw/statistik/eckdaten/bevoelkerung-privathaushalten-nach-geschlecht-altersgruppen-und (13.10.2020)

emotions from joy and excitement to fear and uncertainty. Emotions are understood to happen in reciprocal relations among people (Ahmed 2004). Emotions move people away and towards each other and thus also play an important role in processes that involve leaving one's home, traveling across territorial borders, settling down and establishing contacts, relations and ties with already locally established people. Putting the focus on emotions when researching forced migrants' experiences is necessary, as emotions have been relatively left out by migration studies.

Migration whether planned or unplanned, voluntarily or forced involves many small or far reaching changes of various kinds. These turbulences involve many different emotions and, in fact, research on emotions and migration shows that migrants state to be excited and joyful about learning and experiencing new things, while there are also huge losses and insecurities involved in the experience (Casado, Hong and Harrington 2010). These losses might be particularly intense, when the person was forced to leave. Which concrete emotions are involved in the experience of migration and in which ways and to what extent depends on many factors, e.g. whether one migrates alone or with family/friends, the circumstances involved in leaving, in arriving and settling down as well as the journey itself. Moreover, when one has to leave for economic or safety reasons, emotional needs might have to be ignored (Albrecht 2018).

Even though there has been a boom in sociological studies of migration, emotions involved in the process of migration have been largely ignored (Albrecht 2018). Scholars of sociology of emotions have claimed to approach migrants' emotional life not only with a clinical and therapeutic lense, and thus questioning beyond the usual focusing on trauma, depression and neurosis, and assuming that migrants develop these illnesses because of negative feelings involved in migration (Lindqvist 2013). Moreover, migrants should not only be understood as victims of circumstances, who are damned to passivity and psychopathology (Albrecht 2016). These scholars claim that there should be room to voice migrants' capacity to interact with a possibly profoundly unknown environment, their ability to manage uncertainties with great creativity and their patience and endurance in their contact with the locals of the new place.

Recent research reports that locals meet migrants with fear, unease, and hostility (Giorgi and Vitale 2017) and migration becomes increasingly framed in the context of security and protection (Yuvial-Davis 2011). There are also momentary manifestations of enthusiasm, as for example, the Welcoming Culture (Willkommenskultur) in Germany in 2015/2016 when thousands of volunteers mobilized to support the accommodation of forced migrants. This suggests that both, migrants and locals, are emotionally involved in the process of (forced) migration. These emotions shape how (forced) migrants and locals interact and relate and, thus, form the process of (forced) migrants' becoming part of

everyday life. Following these ideas, it is necessary to explore the emotional experience of migration from a sociological perspective and acknowledge the reciprocity of the migratory process.

After having introduced my research, in the second chapter, I present the theoretical and methodological foundation of this research. In this chapter I propose to take a relational approach to social life, forced migration, emotions, and loss and will explain what this means and why this is fruitful in order to study grief involved in forced migration. Furthermore this chapter contains a presentation of the open autobiographical interviews which I have conducted with German citizens and forced migrants aged 18 to 30 years living in NRW and which I have analyzed following a Grounded Theory inspired approach. I have opted for qualitative research methods using a Grounded theory inspired approach, as it needs a method which is flexible enough to capture processes implied in the contact between forced migrants and locals, paying particular attention to the emotions involved in this process. Interviews show that when trying to become part of social life forced migrant participants distinguish between "Germans" (people holding German citizenship and whose parents and grandparents were born in Germany) and other "people with a migration background" (people holding German citizenship whose parents and/or grandparents originate in a foreign country).

The third chapter offers a definition of loss in forced migration which is based on and derived from forced migrants' (life and future) narrations. I find it necessary to first define the losses involved in forced migration, as they are largely ignored in academic literature and in everyday life. Loss is understood relationally where every instance of loss is conceived as involving a loss of reciprocal relations to something or someone dear, which influences all other relations a person is involved in. Forced migration involves the loss of feeling connected to and embedded within a locality which means to lose a sense of security and safety with others and the environment, losing support from one's family and friends, losing familiar practices of (re)creation of everyday life and losing the feeling of being recognized by others as a participant in this social life. Even though forced migration implies uncountable losses, they go relatively unnoticed by locals. I will analyze what forced migrants' losses involve and how they shape forced migrants' lives and their possibilities to partake in social life.

In the fourth chapter, I propose to conceive of forced migrants as "strangers" (Simmel 1992) and based on this concept and Ahmed's (2013) discussion of it, I investigate how forced migrants and locals perceive each other and how forced migrants can participate and become part of everyday reciprocal relations. I considered it important to analyze how forced migrants and locals reciprocally relate in order to illustrate the relations which frame forced migrants' grieving and possible processes of mourning. How forced migrants and locals see each other is mediated by predefined labels, judgements and interpretations. These labels and assumptions are not necessarily formed on the basis of personal contacts with the other, but are based on stories which circulate in conversations and/or the media. The analysis

shows that these assumptions and labels stick to certain physical features and pieces of clothing so that the one (without personally meeting a forced migrant/local) assumes to know something about the other. Forced migrants, as strangers, depend on locals' recognition in order to be able to establish meaningful connections giving access to recognition, resources and legitimacy, while locals do not need forced migrants to live their lives. I will analyze what these sticky labels and interpretations consist of and how they enforce the asymmetry between forced migrants and locals and, thus, shape forced migrants' opportunities to partake in social life and to construct a new life and future within it.

The fifth chapter concentrates on grief where I refer to conventional definitions of grief and propose to understand this emotion relationally constituting a continuous relation to the lost. With this I show how I build on and distance myself from psychiatric and psychological theories of grief. I believe this to be necessary, since grieving has primarily been understood in the context of a loss of a loved one, but rarely applied to forced migrant's experience. Forced migrants grieve futures they had imagined for themselves while still living in their hometowns and it appears that this loss continues to shape their lives in NRW. Similar to losses involved in forced migration, locals remain relatively untouched by forced migrants' grieving and interpret possible emotional trouble forced migrants might be experiencing as psychological trauma. I will explore how this loss and its grieving is narrated, which emotions are involved in it, which external forces prologue grieving and which strategies forced migrants develop to live with grief.

In the sixth chapter, I discuss mourning. Following the conceptualization of grief, I will put forward a relational understanding of this emotional process. Morning involves agreeing to the transformation of losing meaning to construct reciprocal relations to the lost and, hence, to all others. For mourning to take place, others have to recognize the loss and its worth for the mourner. It is other's recognition which allows for impressions by the lost to be displayed, touched and changed, so that the lost becomes part of the mourner's everyday reciprocal relating. Since loss and grieving of forced migrants is little recognized, mourning is rare and hardly possible to do. This chapter shows in which ways forced migrants' losses and grieving are derecognized and analyzes how mourning takes place and what other strategies forced migrants develop to move on.

The last chapter analyzes the relationship between forced migrants and locals through the lense of hospitality following Derrida's (2000) definition of conditional and unconditional hospitality and Yeğenoğlu's (2012) discussion of it in the context of migration. Derrida's (2000) concept of hospitality helps to illustrate the power relations and social hierarchies between (forced) migrants and locals and based on this illustration it is possible to think how these relations can be changed. (Forced) migrants, strangers and/or foreigners are often thought of as guests by the local population while they see themselves as hosts. This guest-host dynamic implies and enforces social hierarchies and power

imbalance between forced migrants and locals. I analyze how forced migrants are received by locals and how locals intend to keep power relations in place. I propose to understand the reception of forced migrants as a reciprocal engagement which takes place in everyday contacts, so that hospitality can happen potentially everywhere where people meet and not only in confined spaces such as houses, countries, cities, and/or organizations. This mutual reception would allow for forced migrants and locals to create meaningful connections supporting and/or evidencing mourning.

I conclude by pointing out how by taking the perspective of grief one can understand what forced migrants have lost, how their losses shape their current lives and which responsibilities locals have in these processes. Thinking of forced migrants as grieving rather than as psychologically traumatized, brings their experiences closer. It allows one to empathize (to a certain extent) with their experiences and perceive them as people who have lost a lot and people who struggle to live with their losses while constructing a new life somewhere else.

This study in its current form was born from my observations of narrations of loss and grieving when I was actually searching for future projections. However, I am not trying to say that one can not live a "new" future and life as long as the lost life and future are forgotten and/or mourned. Forgetting, suppressing, grieving and mourning constitute different reciprocal relations to loss and are interrelated processes and, thus, shape a griever's life. After the experience of an important loss, we might have the impression that life stops for a while, but quickly we go back to life routines and continue to follow the flow of life, while we still might be grieving, suppressing and/or actively forgetting our loss. In this sense, grieving and mourning are understood as ways in which a person relates to her losses and, thus, not as processes which stop or interrupt life, but as processes which are part of life.

2. FOUNDATION CHAPTER

2.1. Loss and grief involved in forced migration

This research explores and analyzes the relational emotions and processes of grief involved in forced migration. For this, I want to start with explaining how I approach forced migration and grief. Since my understanding of forced migration and involved relational processes of grief is deeply indebted to the people who have shared their feelings, experiences and time with me, I would like to begin with a quote. When asked about her experience of arriving in the place where she and her family applied for asylum (a town in the western region of NRW, Germany), Samah, a forced migrant, said:

> "I couldn't accept that I should make new friends and should forget my old friends. And that I should forget all my stories. And now I have to plan something new that I didn't choose. I was angry with my parents for bringing us to Germany." (Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) " Ich konnte nicht akzeptieren, dass ich neue Freunde kennen lernen soll und meine alten Freunde vergessen soll. Und alle meine Geschichten vergessen soll. Und jetzt etwas neues planen, das ich nicht gewählt habe. Ich war immer böse auf meine Eltern, dass die uns nach Deutschland gebracht haben."

Samah's words show how she thought that being forced to leave her home entailed being forced to forget old friends and stories. The loss of friends and stories, as she told me, does not imply a material loss, but a loss in terms of social relations and connections. Samah's loss comes paired with the imperative to replace it by making new friends and planning something new. It will be crucial in this work, from this very first quote to its final sentence, to stick to the witness and experience of forced migrants, as they have shared them with me. My aim is to understand, narrate and at the end of this process explain the relational constellations that embed their experiences of grief and loss within the wider context of the story of their migration. In the quote above, Samah clearly states that living in NRW meant for her that she had to plan for something she didn't want, hence underlining her experience of loss. Instead of having to plan for something new, she would have prefered to live the imagined futures of her old stories together with her "old" friends. In this sense, forced migration implies an unwanted negotiation of past and future, of here and there, of "them" and "us/me". Moreover, Samah says that she is angry about these changes, which already hints at how forced migration involves emotions. Understanding forced migration as entailing a relational loss, as being past and future orientated (and not only oriented in a dimension of "here and there") and as an emotional matter are fundamental assumptions of this study. I conceive of forced migration as a life changing step entailing emotions and imposed negotiations of stories, places, pasts and futures which involve the life they left behind and the place where they settle down.

Samah's words contain the core of what this study is dedicated to investigate: how the processes of losses involved in forced migration and the imperative of planning something new are negotiated narratively. I am interested in the emotions involved in this negotiation and most importantly in the role of grief. Grief is understood as the natural reaction to loss and mostly discussed as the reaction to the loss of a loved one (Klass, Silverman and Nickman, 2014). However, other losses (e.g. of employment or of a pet) have been recognized as involving grieving. Also forced migration has been thought of as entailing numerous losses and as involving processes of grieving (Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010). In this study, I consider grief not as an internal state but as something that emerges from a relationship to a person, object, and/or belief that is no longer part of the grievers' material reality. Grief plays out relationally, as the continuous relationship to something lost shapes other reciprocal relations grievers are involved in (Ahmed 2004).

Ahmed proposes to conceive the experience of loss as meaning that what is lost must have existed within the subject (Ahmed 2004, 160), hence implying that we only grieve over what we value and love. Samah says that she had to give up old friends and stories. Friends and stories imply uncountable reciprocal relations, so that more than perceiving them as a part of us, they relationally define who we are. Since her forced displacement, Samah no longer shares the same social environment with them and as a result she cannot relate to her friends as she used to and the future of their stories has become impossible. In fact, the pain of grief emerges from the realization of an impossible shared future. Thus, grief is past and future orientated as it evidences a common past with the loss and the impossibility of a shared future.

In addition to the impossible future of stories and friendships set in the place forced migrants have to escape from, Samah links arriving in a new place to the need to plan for a new life. The planning of this new life is imperative. As I will argue in the course of this study, institutional procedures and support in these 'new' places wherein forced migrants settle down leave little room and recognition for forced migrants' past experiences. Instead, they focus on preparing forced migrants' futures, as it is the future engagement of these forced migrants that institutions are interested in.[2] As if the arrival of forced migrants meant a break in the rhythm of life and only getting them settled and ready to start a new life allowed these migrants (and all that surrounds them) to start moving forward again.

Moreover, this emphasis on planning something new suggests forced migrants' future to be important for their becoming part of the social constellations where they arrived. Planning a new life is always set in a place and is a deeply relational endeavor: imaginaries of the future are always set in a social environment and, thus, co-authored by these environments (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015). Thus, forced migrants' becoming part of the place where they plan to settle down (or have already settled down) is not a unidirectional process. It is a relational quest involving not only newcomers but also those already

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[2] This is a central hypothesis of this study, which will be discussed and argued for in following chapters.

established in the place as well as the whole social and material environment within which these processes are taking place.

Following this, I understand losses involved in forced migration, their grieving and the process of arriving and becoming part of a new place as relational and related processes. And these processes in the experience of forced migration will be the main object of this research. The losses implied in forced migration, the processes of grief and their role for forced migrants' lives have been little researched and are therefore poorly understood (Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010). Therefore, I will investigate what constitutes the losses involved in forced migration and how their grieving is narrated by forced migrants and perceived by already established people.

2.2. A qualitative approach

Doing justice to the relational complexity of negotiating loss and novelty due to forced migration and the grief that possibly accompanies it demands data and a method flexible and open enough to capture not only these relational processes but also the way they are experienced by individuals. As these relational processes have been little researched, qualitative investigation prioritizing in-depth analysis is necessary. Autobiographical narrative and open-ended interviews leave participants the room to narrate the meaning of life events, linking them to other experiences and imagined futures in a way that would not be possible without their narration. This narrative freedom is needed to explore and analyze how forced migration plays out in participants' lives and in the possible processes of grieving involved in their lives.

Following this premise, I have opted for conducting autobiographical narrative interviews with forced migrants and German citizens living in NRW (Nordrhein Westfalen) aged between 18 and 30 years. Because most forced migrants living in Germany are aged between 18 and 30 years (Ausländerzahlenregister, 2020[3]), this research focuses on this age group. Since I understand loss and its grieving relationally and as shaping the process of arriving at and settling down in a new social and material environment, it is important to consider the voices of people who are already established in these places. Thus, forced migrants' narratives are co-framed by interviews with German citizens and experts (people working with forced migrants). Interviews with forced migrants and German citizens follow the same structure and consist of open questions about their life stories, imaginaries of the future and their

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[3]

https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Tabellen/auslaendische-bevoelkerung-altersgruppen.html (30.10.2020)

experience of migration. Interviews with experts are semi-structured interviews and focus on their professional experiences of accompanying forced migrants.

Sociologically, I understand forced migrants as "strangers" (Simmel 1992, 509), meaning as people who have arrived and plan their mid-term or long-term future in NRW. I understand citizens as people who hold German citizenship regardless of their or their parents' place of births - a controversial understanding of germanhood for German everyday life standards. Experts are considered people who work with forced migrants.

Allowing for an open engagement with forced migrants' autobiographical narratives, I follow a Grounded Theory inspired approach, which aims to develop theory inductively, rather than applying already defined frameworks. Grounded Theory investigation begins with broad, initial questions and postulates little theoretical knowledge about these questions (Corbin and Strauss 2014). However, induction does not mean improvisation and each step of the way has been accounted for and argued for, hence ensuring the traceability of my results and conclusions.

Following this inductive approach, I started with a broad question about the influence of recent migration on the construction of imaginaries of the future in NRW. Academic literature is considered data, as my reading of these theories influences my understanding of the interviews and vice versa. Moreover, theories about imaginaries of the future (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015) and Ahmed's (2004) understanding of emotions have shaped my reading and analysis of processes of loss and grief involved in forced migration from the beginning of this research. Futures are understood to be always imagined within a social environment (Adam 2008) and hence imaginaries of the future are constructed within a web of infinite reciprocal relations making up society (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015). They are the realm of plans, goals and wishes, which are in a constant flux of change reflecting a person's social environment and personal life history (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015).

Understanding grief as a relational phenomena happening in reciprocal relations among people rather than as originating "inside" people (Ahmed 2004) allows capturing how this emotion shapes the experience of forced migration, a life transforming experience that involves all aspects and dimensions of one's biography. Thus, I analyze grief not as an internal state measurable through certain predefined mental and/or emotional states. Instead, I analyze how this emotion expresses a relationship to something or someone lost, which/who despite not being part of material reality continues to shape forced migrants' reciprocal relations. Autobiographical interviews are well suited for this research endeavor, since they allow exploring and analyzing grief involved in forced migration as reciprocal phenomena shaping people's past and futures.

2.3. Data

In the course of this research, I conducted interviews and read relevant literature simultaneously. First interviews revealed forced migration, strangeness, grief, and imaginaries of the future as important themes which steered my choice of literature. My readings about these topics informed my understanding of participants' accounts and shaped how I presented myself and behaved in interviews. Important themes and questions arising in the interviews have not only led my biographical research but have also steered sampling criteria of this study. In this sense, concepts rather than people are sampled which is a fundamental technique of Grounded Theory analysis and referred to as theoretical sampling (Corbin and Strauss 2014). This defines data collection of this study as a constant back and forth between data, literature and newly derived theory.

2.3.1. Forced migration

All participants, forced migrants, German citizens and experts referred to forced migrants as "refugees" (in German: Flüchtlinge or Geflüchtete), suggesting that this concept frames how forced migrants are perceived. "Refugee" is a legal concept and an accepted category widely used in statistics and academic literature (Martin -Willett 2015). "Refugees" are people who have been granted "refugee" status based on an application for asylum, which is the only way to obtain a residency permit following illegal entry into German territory. However, asylum applicants in Germany might also be granted subsidiary protection or receive a Duldung (temporary toleration). The latter is a legal status unique to the German system, which, while it protects a person from being deported, is not a residency permit and grants little rights in terms of social security. In fact, not all forced migrants participating in this study held refugee status at the time of the interview, however, they themselves and others consistently referred to them as refugees. Who is eligible for the status of a refugee is determined by the 1951 UN Refugee Convention which was amended in 1967. This convention defines refugees as people who were forced to escape due to political circumstances such as war, violence, persecution or natural disaster (Weis 1995). Thus, refugees are defined through the experience of certain hardships mainly due to political instability. However, reasons forcing people to leave their homes and loved ones behind cannot be reduced to political circumstances and certain extreme natural disasters.

As Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working in assisted housing for refugee youth, stated:

"But currently, refugees come from 150 different countries. How should one know everything about it? And it is no longer only political refugees[4], but refugees with all kinds of stories and reasons for emigrating." (Mr. Lohmann, social worker) (my translation) "Aber mittlerweile kommen die Flüchtlinge ja wirklich aus 150 verschiedenen Ländern, wie soll man da alles wissen. Und es sind ja auch nicht mehr nur politische Flüchtlinge, sondern mit allen möglichen Geschichten und Gründen."

Mr. Lohmann points out that the "refugee" population is more and more diverse in terms of nationalities and motivations of forced migration. Since asylum entails more than one legal status and reasons forcing people to migrate are more varied than proposed by the legal definition of a refugee, I conceive newcomers arriving illegally in Germany not as refugees, but as forced migrants, meaning as people who have not experienced migration as a choice but as something that they were forced to do in order to survive.

Migration, forced and voluntary, evidences global connections and processes and is not a new phenomenon, but something inherent to population development (Castles 2003). The dynamics of these global processes and connections differ across contexts reflecting structural power relations and individual capacities. Forced migration refers to "refugee flows, asylum seekers, internally displaced people and development-induced displacement" (Castles 2003). However, law only recognizes people holding refugee status as having been forced to migrate. The Refugee and Asylum Act became part of EU legislation in 1990 and aimed to secure refugee's status, obliging states to grant all people residing on their territory basic human rights (Yuvail-Davis 2011). At the same time, The EU passed more regulations to make asylum applications more difficult and paid efforts to externalize responsibility for receiving forced migrants outside the European borders (Faist 2018). States within the EU have the authority to define precise conditions for asylum in their territory and e.g. Germany has restrictive policies concerning the definition of a 'safe country' (Monsutti and Balci 2014). Safe countries are countries where "on basis of a legal situation, generally and consistently no persecution, no torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and no threat by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict" (Costello 2016, 606). Whether a country is considered safe can be driven by how specific domestic legal contexts, for example discriminatory policies, are defined and interpreted.

In general, the definition of a safe country focuses on the dangers of war, so that not all people who are forced to leave their homes can gain refugee status or another form of asylum. The definition of a safe country is subject to debate, because it is the basis of the distinction between forced and voluntary/labor migration and therefore has important legal and social implications. Critics of this legal separation claim that it is difficult to distinguish political from economic or environmental causes because

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[4] Mr. Lohmann's definition of the political is narrow and reflects the general understanding of "political refugees" being people escaping from the experience of direct persecution or violence. However, many reasons for escape (e.g. natural disaster, hunger) could be understood as political and I will discuss this definition shortly.

unstable economies imply weak states and often numerous human rights abuses (Castles 2003). People generally migrate with the aspiration for a better future (or a better future for their children) which can be motivated by multiple and varied reasons. Leaving one's familiar habitat, friends and family behind is unlikely to be a simple decision and always pushed by serious concerns. The fact that migration can be motivated by numerous related reasons is recognized by some scholars. They discuss mixed migration (Van Hear 2014) which acknowledges the fact that mobility has mixed motivations and migration flows are mixed, as migration can imply several destinations and every move might be motivated by different reasons. From this perspective, migration is perceived relationally and on a continuum from voluntary to involuntary, meaning totally voluntary or absolutely forced are not being conceived as bipolar categories, but as the two poles of a continuum.

The distinction between voluntary migration, labor orientated migration, refugee migration or mixed migration allows governments to separate migrants into segments that are either eligible for asylum or that would require other types of visas. This makes it possible for governments to control the number of asylum claims which have to be accepted according to human rights conventions (Faist 2018). Moreover, these categories of migration facilitate downplaying migrants' struggles for survival if they imply economic, social or environmental hardship, rather than persecution, war and/or extreme discrimination. Limiting the definition of "forced migrants" solely to refugees as a category that is separate from other types of migrants acknowledges their particular struggle of war, persecution and/or extreme discrimination in their home country. However, being considered a refugee is often a reason for exclusion and disempowerment in the society where they settle down - and this motivates some scholars to oppose separating refugees into a distinct legal category (Faist 2018).

There are reasons to argue that focusing on concrete motivations is not sufficient to differentiate between different types of migrants. As for any life decision, motivations are numerous and it is difficult to separate and categorize them. War, perscecution and extreme discrimination are certainly extreme conditions, which can motivate people to migrate. However, also natural disasters, poverty and hunger are reasons pushing people to leave their homes. The frames within which people can migrate are often defined more by international relationships and agreements between states than by their concrete motivations. International agreements define people's possibilities to legally move across state borders and determine the rights migrants have in the countries where they settle down. Above this, education and economic resources impact people's access to legal ways of leaving and settling in a different state. For example, study or business related visas are reserved to people who have access to education and/or considerable financial resources. In this sense, arriving in any state as a forced migrant mirrors international agreements between the forced migrant's state of origin and state of arrival (and/or settlement) and her socio-economic background.

Choosing to cross borders illegally in a world organized in states framed by legal systems implies threats of personal security and safety. By leaving their country of citizenship without having a valid visa or residency permit at the new destination, forced migrants lose the security of membership in a social, legal, and political system of a state. Moreover, crossing a border without a valid visa is illegal, thus, entails being perceived as a criminal in the place where the migrant wants to settle down. Illegal movements are often difficult to plan in terms of how to move, where to settle down, and how to start an existence in the new place. Forced migrants have no working contracts or study courses which would allow them (temporary) legal residency and economic and social securities, which makes illegal border crossing a dangerous and risky quest.

Taking into consideration these arguments and facts about illegal border crossing, I propose an extended definition of forced migrants as people who seek to save their lives and do not have the option to cross state borders legally. Reasons for border crossing may be political, environmental, developmental, social, economic or a combination of these. Thus, forced migration is configured through the endured hardships in the place people emigrated from which condition any future. Above this, forced migration is understood as being forged by international relations and agreements which leave people with the only option of illegal border crossing. Following this definition, forced migrants participating in this study are not only people holding refugee status.

Generally, research on forced migration and any type of migration focuses on migrants' lives and impact on the countries where they settle down. This perspective disregards the relational nature and reciprocity of migration and forced migration. When people are forced to migrate this influences equally the place where they settle down, the place they left behind and the places they might pass through as all of them are shaped by forced migrants' (temporary) participation. Emigration causes social transformation in the left behind places, as the departure of people influences production of economic resources, ways of life and communities (Castles 2003). Forced migrants engage with the places they live in and influence the social life of these places. A forced migrant arriving somewhere implies that she left from someplace else. Her presence in the place of arrival affects its social life just as much as her absence from the place she was forced to leave influences the place's social relating. Thus, forced migration (and any other type of migration) is a relational process, as it shapes reciprocal relations defining social life in the place forced migrants settle down and social life in places they left behind and passed through.

2.3.2. Asylum application in Germany

All forced migrant participants had applied for asylum regardless which legal status (refugee, subsidiary protection, Duldung or none of these) they were granted and holding at the time of the interview. The application process can be a long and exhausting procedure which always frames the beginning of their

lives in NRW/Germany. Asylum applications follow EU guidelines and regulations implying similar procedures of asylum applications in all EU member states. In Germany, people who entered German territory illegally have to contact a state institution (e.g. police) and inform them that they want to make an application for asylum. The institution will send asylum seekers to a refugee camp where they obtain an attestation of their asylum application. Asylum seekers cannot choose the region and the camp where their asylum application will be processed. The idea is to spread them out evenly within the 16 state regions (Länder). In the allocated region, asylum seekers have to apply for asylum at the federal office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge). A photograph and fingerprint will be taken to identify the person in further processes and the federal office checks whether the German state is responsible for the processing of the asylum application. According to the Dublin agreement, asylum seekers have to register and apply for asylum in the first EU member state through which they entered the EU. This agreement aims to prevent a person from making asylum applications in more than one country (De Blouw 2009).

The most important part of an asylum application is the official hearing in which the person is asked about her reasons for escaping. Asylum seekers have the right of legal assistance and an interpreter for this procedure. After a hearing the federal office decides to grant or refuse asylum. If the response is positive, forced migrants receive residency permits of one, two or three years in the form of refugee status, subsidiary protection or Duldung. People who are not granted asylum have to return to their home country. Moreover, if the federal office considers the threat forming the basis of the asylum request has vanished, refugees have to return to their home country even before their residency permit expires (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge[5]).

The depiction of this procedure might seem straightforward. However, interviews with experts suggest that the government's practice has some shortcomings and it is often exhausting and humiliating for forced migrants. One of the experts I interviewed is a lawyer working for an NGO charged with the task of supporting the preparation of asylum applications. She especially criticizes the concept of a "safe country":

> "Yes. I also think that this construct of "safe countries" is horrible and these accelerated procedures are really bad. I don't believe that this is still a fair procedure that takes the individual into account, giving people a real chance to present their reasons. [...] "Safe countries" are defined by law. There is a list of countries, which are per se classified as safe. Generally this means that there is no threat in these countries, so that these countries are considered safe. All West Balkan countries are considered "safe", and you may ask whether these countries are really safe or whether this is about not wanting people from there to come here." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Ja. Ich finde auch das Konstrukt von den "sicheren Herkunftsländern" ganz fürchterlich und diese beschleunigten Verfahren finde ich auch ganz schlimm. Ich glaube nicht, dass das noch ein faires und diesen einzelnen Menschen in den Blick

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[5] https://www.bamf.de/DE/Themen/AsylFluechtlingsschutz/asylfluechtlingsschutz-node.html (14.02.2021)

nehmendes Verfahren ist, wo die Menschen ein relle Chance haben ihre Gründe vorzutrage. [...] Sichere Ländern sind per Gesetz bestimmt. Es gibt eine Liste von Ländern, die per se als sicher eingestuft worden sind. Das bedeutet in der Regel, dass in diesen Ländern keine Bedrohung herrscht, sondern dass diese Länder als sicher angesehen werden. Da gehören die ganzen Westbalkan Länder dazu und da fragt man sich natürlich direkt, ob das damit zutun hat ob diese Länder wirklich sicher sind, oder ob das damit zutun hat dass da viele Leute herkommen, die man nicht möchte."

Similar to what has been said above, Mrs. Schwan says that "safe countries" are defined by the absence of threat. She questions whether this classification is always used with a humanitarian goal of protecting people from persecution, discrimination and/or war. She suggests that not wanting more immigrants originating e.g. from the Western Balkans motivates states to consider these countries safe. She further explains in the interview that for all asylum seekers that are citizens of 'safe countries', asylum applications are accelerated and in most cases denied. This accelerated procedure generally takes less than a week, so that asylum seekers have no time to hand in all documents. In fact, in 2016 the German government introduced state-wide the so-called "integrated refugee management system" which clustered asylum applications depending on their prospects to remain and aimed to accelerate the bureaucratic procedure (Kosyakova and Brenzel 2020). According to Mrs. Schwan, this leads to forced migrants' cases not being considered individually. When discussing accelerated procedures, she further suggests:

> "I have the impression that this (the use of accelerated procedures) is utilized, as it grants a frame in which more asylum applications can be denied, rather than accepted. (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Ich habe auch schon das Gefühl, man nutzt das so ein bisschen aus, weil das ja auch dazu führt, dass mehr abgelehnt werden als anerkennt werden müssten."

Thus, Mrs. Schwan believes that the definition of "safe countries" and acceleration of asylum applications are used to reduce the number of asylum applications which have to be accepted. It allows to classify asylum applications and not to consider them individually respecting every forced migrants' story and reasons for escape. In the interviews, German citizens neither commented on any legal issues involving forced migration and asylum applications, nor did they seem concerned with the discussion about categories of refugee or forced migrants. Being fully accepted members of the German state, all those concerns and struggles which are involved in application for asylum may not be part of their reality.

2.3.3. German citizens

German citizens are people holding German citizenship. Citizenship legally implies full membership in a state, however, the practical understanding and application of this category might not always be as clear cut as its legal definition.

Giorgi and Vitale (2017) state that the perception of newcomers and their rights for participation can be shaped in very different ways and is often intertwined with a country's concept of citizenship

(Giorgi and Vitale 2017). Given this claim, it might be interesting to briefly consider German citizenship regulations. Germany historically stresses the principle of *ius sanguinis*, citizenship through blood (Brubaker 1992). It is possible to obtain naturalization based on residency, however, with important restrictions. It is also possible to obtain citizenship through birth even if parents do not hold German citizenship. The latter was granted only recently (2000) and allows many people born in Germany with families of foreign origin (mainly Turkish) to obtain German citizenship. In Germany, to be eligible for naturalization a person must have paid social security for eight years and must have passed a naturalization test, which examines knowledge about the German constitution, values, way of life and German language.[6]

In German everyday life and language, someone who holds German nationality and has been born in Germany can still be perceived as a foreigner mainly based on physical appearance or a non-German last name. The categories of "people with migration background" or "immigrants of second or third generation" reflect this perception and show that holding German citizenship does not always directly translate into being perceived as "German" meaning a full member of society. Adam (2015) points out that "people with migration background" is a uniquely German official category used in statistics. He sees this category as problematic as it homogenizes a diverse social category and creates new boundaries with which some citizens are subtly excluded from the imagined state community (Adam 2015). The category shows that origin (may it be the person's origin, her parents' or even her grandparents') is crucial for people's understanding of themselves and others, as it functions as a marker of inclusion and exclusion.

Interviews with forced migrants and German citizens confirm that the category "people with a migration background" shapes how people perceive each other. An interviewee holding German citizenship whose parents were born in Turkey says:

> "You are always asked whether you feel more German or Turkish." (Zayneb,18, German citizen) (my translation) "Man wird ja immer gefragt fühlst du dich eher deutsch oder türkisch."

Even though Zayneb is a German citizen and was born in Germany, some people seem to suspect that she feels connected to and identifies with the place where her parents have been born. Furthermore, they seem to assume that this existent or nonexistent connection to Turkey diminishes or conflicts her connection to Germany or to a German identity.

The category of "people with migration background" became important during the recruitment process of this study. One of the interviewed German citizens was presented to me as an immigrant from Turkey. He invited me to his home for the interview. When I asked him about his life story, he began his life story with his grandfather's migration from Turkey to Germany. I had told him that my research

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[6] http://www.bundesauslaenderbeauftragte.de/einbuergerun (20.10.2020)

project was about imaginaries of the future and migration, but I had not specified that I wanted to interview him as "an immigrant". His life story reveals that the migrant had been his grandfather, while he, himself and his father are German citizens and born in Germany. Since he started his life story with his grand-father's migration, his grandfather's story of border crossing seems to stick with him. It appears to shape his self-image and also how he is perceived by the person who presented him to me.

Given that since the second World War migration to Germany has increased steadily, an important number of migrants and their descent live in Germany today (32,7 million)[7]. Even though about two thirds of these are German citizens, interviews suggest that they are perceived differently to German citizens whose ancestors originate from the German territory. In this study, not only German citizens made this differentiation, but also forced migrants. Cario, a forced migrant, says:

> "The people who I got to know most are people, who are, who are born here, but have a migration background. They are a bit more open, so to say." (Cario, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Die Leute die ich kennen gelernt haben am meisten sind die Leute, die hier, die hier geboren sind, aber die Leute mit Migrationshintergrund. Die sind so ein bisschen offener so, so zu sagen."

He and other forced migrant participants saw "Germans" to be different from "people with a migration background" and usually perceive them as being more open towards them than "Germans". This suggests that these categories have implications for social life, as they appear to describe different reciprocal relations between people. Even though I do not agree with these subcategories of German citizens, they seem to meaningfully shape forced migrants' experience of living in NRW. I find it difficult to distance myself from these everyday language classifications in the discussion of the interviews, while respecting forced migrants' experiences.

Therefore, when referring to direct quotes, I employ the terms interviewees used in order to respect and be faithful to their narration and, thus, to use their terms to analyze their perception of themselves and others. When using my own words, I refer to German citizens with German ancestors as "locals". They seem to be the people whose participation in social life is uncontested and unrestricted and they seem to enjoy most freedoms and acceptance. The experience of German citizens with ancestors originating from foreign countries are a reference group in the narration of forced migrants and German citizens, but in this study their experience is not investigated in depth. Therefore, I rarely refer to them in my own discussion independently from a direct quote. When I talk about both locals and "people with a migration background", I say German citizens.

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[7] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/_node.html (03.03.2021)

2.3.4. Locals

Finally, I would like to define locals as German citizens with German ancestors. As mentioned, interviews show that "people with a migration background" - German citizens with ancestors originating in a foreign country - are an important category for social life. In the interviews, the contrast to these and forced migrants are German cizines with German ancestors. All German citizens have full political rights, however, locals profit from uncontested social recognition to participate in social processes and in the definition of German society which grants them unquestioned legitimacy: Their presence and movement in social spaces tends to be uncontested, generally allowing them to live their lives without having to justify their presence and participation. These people are usually referred to as "Germans" in the interviews. Eyüp, a forced migrant, explains what he means when he says "German".

> "If someone is born here and functions effortless in the society. This does not mean that they are an ideal or have no problems in society, but for example, a native is someone whose political outlook is not shaped so much by being a refugee or a migrant." (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant, NRW) "Wenn jemand hier geboren ist und wenn jemand hier in der Gesellschaft reibungslos agiert. Das heißt nicht, dass man Vorbild ist oder überhaupt keine Probleme mit der Gesellschaft hat, sondern z.B. Einheimisch ist jemand, dessen politische Anschauung nicht so stark davon geprägt ist, dass man ein Flüchtling oder ein Migrant ist."

In his perception, "natives" (locals) function effortlessly in society, meaning their participation and access to resources and spaces is uncontested. They did not migrate, so that their world view is not shaped by this experience. Moreover, their families have no migrants meaning that narratives of migration are not part of their self-image. Interviews suggest that given their uncontested autochthonism, their recognition is especially important for forced migrants as it is locals' acknowledgment of being "one of us" or "one like us" which grants access to participation in society and recognition as an equal human being. Few "people with a migration background" and no "migrants of second or third generation" migrated themselves, however, everyday German language and my experience during participant recruitment suggest that the experience of migration sticks to migrants' descendants and thus influences their political opinion and their self-perception[8]. Thus, for participants, I differentiate between forced migrants, German citizens (all German citizens) and locals (German citizens with German ancestors), as these categories showed to be meaningful for forced migrants' experience of settling down and becoming part of society in NRW.

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[8] The category of stickiness will become very important in this study and will be elaborated on in chapter three.

2.3.5. Age

German citizens and forced migrants participating in this study were aged between 18 and 30. Most forced migrants living in Germany are between 18 and 30 years old (Ausländerzahlenregister, 2020[9]), so this age range reflects the dominant demographic age group within this population. Members of the citizen comparison group are also between 18 and 30 years old. Starting from late adolescence, people grow to understand the complexity of society and the social world. They form political opinions, values and develop cognitive skills to understand social stratification (Flanagan 2013). Generally, political opinions are developed around "hot" topics as they are subject of private and public discussion. Before the COVID crisis, migration had been the top concern in Germany (Eurobarometer 2019) and the young generation might be especially targeted and concerned by claims about some immigrants and especially refugees threatening "our" future (Handelsbaltt 2018[10]). Thus, the topic of migration might have helped adolescent and young adults to form and experiment with their political and ethical views concerning society.

2.3.6. Other important intersectional variables: gender, place of origin, religion, social class

Main sampling categories for this study were age and legal status and beside these, no category determined sampling. I aimed for gender parity for German citizen participants, while for forced migrants more men participated than women. This is in line with the demography of forced migrants aged between 18 and 30 years living in Germany.[11] Moreover, religious orientation was not a category I deemed important for participation in this study and I did not ask participants about their religious beliefs and practices. Interviews gave them the freedom to narrate whether and how religion shaped their lives. Similarly, interviewees' place of birth did not determine their eligibility for this study. As mentioned above, I consider forced migration an experience not determined by the category of a "safe country" (defining forced migration through origin from "unsafe countries") but by the desire to save one's life and not having the possibility to cross state borders legally. Also for German citizen participants their place of birth was not a reason to exclude them from participating, however, as stated earlier, German citizens

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[9]

https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Tabellen/auslaendische-bevoelkerung-altersgruppen.html (30.10.2020)

[10]

https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/fluechtlingskrise-migranten-in-deutschland-fuerchten-zukunft/13844470.html?ticket=ST-2278363-0XcCpbk9tvLTflHwxbW5-ap2 (13.10.2020)

[11]

https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/452165/umfrage/asylbewerber-in-deutschland-nach-geschlecht-innerhalb-altersgruppen/ (18.07.2021)

born outside of Germany were usually perceived as "people with a migration background" limiting their legitimacy and recognition as full participants in society. Moreover, I decided to anonymize forced migrants' country of origin. I believe the place of birth and/or country of origin do not significantly shape the experience of loss, grief and mourning. Besides this, people often associate ideas, memories, stereotypes, clichés and/or traditions with countries. Thus, by anonymizing forced migrants' country of origin, I want to prevent quotes being read and understood in relation to predefined ideas and judgements about participants' countries of origin. Last but not least, I aimed for an equal distribution of social class among forced migrant and German citizen participants, which was assessed by several short-answer questions and their life and future narration.

2.3.7. Experts

As mentioned earlier, interviews with experts helped to frame forced migrants' narratives. Six expert interviews were conducted in NRW: one teacher of an international class (Internationale Klasse[12]); one school principal of a vocational college (Berufskolleg), who specialized in the teaching of migrant students; one lawer accompaining asylum claims; one psychologist working in a home for assisted living for underaged refugees; one psychologist working with traumatized refugee youth; and, finally, one organizer of a charity program aiming to foster inclusion of young refugees through after school activities.

Two interviewed experts are migrants themselves. They mentioned being migrants in the interviews and compared the experience of the forced migrant youth they worked with to their own. Even though their migration story was not directly analyzed, it shapes their understanding of the problems forced migrants face. Age, social class, years of experience in their field and gender were not considered for eligibility to interview.

2.3.8. Nordrhein-Westfalen

In order to explore loss and grief involved in the experience of forced migration, I selected Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW) as a case study. This region experienced the strongest immigration in Germany in 2019 seeing 206.232 people arriving of which 38.792 were asylum seekers .[13] In total, 2.710.795 foreigners were living in NRW with an estimated population of 17.93 million in 2019. In this sense, in NRW immigration and living together shape everyday life and are, therefore, interesting for

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[12] Class for students whose command of the German language is not native.
[13] https://www.it.nrw/statistik/eckdaten/bevoelkerung-privathaushalten-nach-geschlecht-altersgruppen-und (13.10.2020)

social science research. The most updated official immigration numbers for NRW concerned the year 2019, since regional statistics are not updated as regularly as state ones.

The experience of immigration in NRW is framed by the state level, since media reports on migration usually concern the state territory. In 2019, an estimated 1.6 million people immigrated to Germany while 1.2 million emigrated.[14] In total, about 11.5 million immigrants lived in Germany in December 2020 by a total population of an estimated 83 million.[15] In the period of January 2019 to April 2021, 344.795 asylum applications were made of which 113.037 (33%) were refused and 231.758 (67%) were granted asylum, refugee status, subsidiary protection or a Duldung.[16] In total, about 1.1 million refugees lived in Germany in 2020[17] and most of them holding refugee status were citizens of Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Since 2014 Germany is the country which accepted most refugee applications in Europe (Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration 2018).[18] However, in respect to 2015 and 2016 when 441.899 and 722.370 asylum seekers arrived, asylum applications have decreased considerably.[19] In this period, Germany temporarily suspended the Dublin agreement for refugees coming from Syria. The Dublin agreement regulates that forced migrants have to apply for asylum in the country where they arrive and are registered first. This suspension allowed Syrian asylum seekers living in Greece, Italy and other arrival countries to continue their way to Germany and apply for asylum (Griese 2017). Most of the forced migrant participants of this study arrived in Germany during the peak years of 2015/16. This sudden increase in forced migration was and still is an institutional and societal challenge (Kosyakova and Brenzel 2020). In this context it is crucial to investigate how forced migrants were and are able to construct lives in NRW and which role possible grieving of past lives and impossible futures play in this construction.

2.4. Taking a relational approach

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[14] Statistische Bundesamt https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration/Tables/migration-total.html;jsessionid=C79AD6EC206DFDEF85553E867CD4469A.live721 (13.10.2020)

[15] Statistische Bundesamt https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration-Integration/Tables/foreigner-gender.html;jsessionid=5FFCF3A478F232FDF33B8AADA0EE7706.live722 (17.10.2020)

[16] https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Statistik/Asylgeschaeftsstatistik/hkl-antrags-entscheidungs-bestandsstatistikl-kumuliert-2019.html (15.10.2020)

[17] https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/ (15.10.2020)

[18] https://www.svr-migration.de/publikationen/fakten-zur-asylpolitik/ (30.10.2020)

[19] https://www.destatis.de/EN/Themes/Society-Environment/Population/Migration/Tables/migration-foreign-citizens-between-germany-foreign-countries.html?nn=23816 (27.10.2020)

As mentioned earlier I approach forced migration relationally. Hence migration is considered one of many reciprocal processes happening in and shaping social life. This relational approach follows Simmel (1992) and all relational scholarship based on and compatible with his work (Deperto 2018; Pyyhtinen 2010; Cantó-Milà 2013). He sees society as made up of uncountable *reciprocal relations* (Wechselwirkungen), which exist among people and between people, living beings, objects and infrastructures and make up society (Simmel 1992). They are the basis of association (Vergesellschaftung), which is the process that turns an individual into an associated member of a society (Simmel 1992). Reciprocal relations are created, altered and terminated and differ in stability and durability (Depelteau 2018). Every person can simultaneously be engaged in numerous reciprocal relations and this highly dynamic, vibrant webbing is understood as the social space embedding everyone and everything that is engaged in it.

According to Simmel (1992), reciprocal relations can develop certain patterns and thus evolve into forms of association or social forms: e.g. competition, marriage, subordination and supra-ordination. These social forms turn possibly loose reciprocal relations into more organized and standardized interactions thereby structuring people's interacting and relational patterns. Resulting social structures and inequalities may materialize into institutions, laws, or norms. However, they always remain dynamic and, thus, are receptive to the specific individuals and groups enacting them.

2.4.1. Emotions

Moreover, reciprocal relations and social structures deriving from it are understood as affective processes. For this, I propose to follow Ahmed's (2004) understanding of emotions. She proposes that emotions do not originate in people or bodies, cannot be possessed and are not caused by objects or other people (Ahmed 2004). Instead Ahmed (2004) believes emotions to be relational and processual and, thus, happening in reciprocal relations among people or between people and objects. More specifically, Ahmed (2004) believes that in every contact people's bodies impress up on each other's body surface and this impression is formed by the emotion involved in it. According to Ahmed (2004), bodies are ontologically open meaning they are affectible by their surroundings. Body surfaces are not fixed, but dynamic and shaped by contacts with their surroundings. Past impressions are readable on body surfaces and these past impressions dynamically interrelate with new ones.

This plasticity is led by emotions. Ahmed (2004) proposes emotions to be the flesh of time, as emotion keeps past impressions alive on a person's body surface, so that they shape possible future contacts and reciprocal relations. Emotions involved in the impressions on a body surface result from the history of contacts of that body and others as well as from stories about past contacts told by other people. More than just keeping past impressions alive, emotions involved in contacts move bodies. How two

bodies can impress upon one another depends on the emotions involved in the contact. These emotions stem from past impressions of both bodies and move them away or towards each other. These movements define the bodies' orientation towards future contacts and thus prepare a person's future possibilities. In this sense, reciprocal relating is affective. Even though people might not be consciously aware of it, emotions mediate a person's reciprocal relations, as they conserve personal history of contacts and stories about contacts with others and objects (Ahmed 2004).

2.4.2. Locality

This affective reciprocal relating makes up "localities" as defined by Appadurai (1996). Locality, according to Appadurai (1996), results from the phenomenological quality of inhabiting a place. Social structures are experienced and enacted in interactions, reciprocal relations and social practices of people sharing the same social reality (Appadurai 1996). Thus, social space is not only conceived geographically and materially, but also relationally, enacted and participatory. Appadurai (1996) suggests that social practices and reciprocal relations making up locality entail a particular structure of feelings. Following Ahmed's (2004) concept of emotions, localities are conceived not only as constituting a structure of feelings, but as being bodily and emotionally experienced. Interactions and social practices making up a locality form a person's body surface and, thus, her reciprocal relations. A person's reciprocal relations impressed by and tuned to a locality marks her as a participant of it. The idea that people become tuned to localities through the shaping of their reciprocal relations in social practices and interactions among people and objects circulating in the locality is a fundamental premise of this study. Moreover, this shaping of body surfaces and reciprocal relations is understood to be led by emotions involved in the contacts of interactions.

2.4.3. Grief

This study focuses on the exploration and analysis of grief and how it is involved in forced migrants' reciprocal relations to the locality in which they settle down. I understand grief as an emotion within the wider concept of emotion proposed by Ahmed (2004). It is not analyzed as an intrapersonal phenomenon, but as constitutive of and happening in the reciprocal relations grievers are engaged in. In fact, grief is understood to evidence a continuous and continued relationship to the loss even though it is no longer part of grievers' material reality. In this sense, grief evidences a shared past and an impossible shared future. Even though a shared future is impossible, in grief, the impressions left by the loss are kept alive on grievers' body surfaces (Ahmed 2004) and continue to shape their reciprocal relations.

Grief is generally conceived as the natural reaction to a loss of a loved one (Klass, Silverman and Nickman 2014). In this study, not only the loss of a loved person is believed to involve grieving, but also the involuntary separation from a dear person, object, idea, belief or place. Similar to grief, I conceive of loss as a relational phenomenon, which cannot be reduced to concrete instances of loss, but affects the broader reciprocal relations a person is involved in. Grief is understood to find relief in mourning practices (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006). Similar to grief, I conceive of mourning as exceeding internality and being a relational process shaping and being shaped by the social. Mourning implies accepting the loss and is associated with personal growth and liberation (Klass, Silverman and Nickman 2014). It is often linked to mourning rituals which help grievers find meaning facing their loss. Since I understand grieving as the holding on to impressions by the loss, mourning involves moving and changing these impressions so that the griever forms new reciprocal relations to the loss and others. In this sense, mourning implies a transformation implying an opening up to a future without the loss.

2.4.4. Imaginaries of the future

Exploring imaginaries of the future of forced migrants and German citizens was the original research question of this study - but it no longer is. Regardless, future imaginaries continue to play an important part in this analysis, as the future is always directly or indirectly implied in grieving processes and relations as well as in the search for a new place one can call home. In this study, imaginaries of the future are understood as Social Imaginaries (Castoriadis 1997) focusing on the projection of personal and societal futures. Personal imaginaries of the future always build on an individual's personal life history, but they are never only individual since they are negotiated. Personal construction of imaginaries of the future lean on social significations. This implies that personal future imaginaries are always co-authored within a web of reciprocal relations.

2.5. Exploring grief in forced migrants' narratives

When forced migrants arrive in the place where they apply for asylum they enter a new locality. Since they are new to this locality their bodies are not tuned to its affective interactions and reciprocal relating. Forced migrants have to plan a new future set within the locality where they settled, while they are still impressioned of their former place of residence. Slowly learning how to participate in the new locality is understood as a deeply relational and affective practice in which I suspect grief to play an important role. The study of emotion in migration is scarce (Albrecht 2018) and the experience of loss and grief in migration is neither recognized nor well understood (Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010).

This suggests that exploratory investigation is needed. For this undertaking, I have conducted autobiographical interviews with 27 forced migrants, 20 German citizens, and eight experts. Of all interviews, six with forced migrants and three with German citizens are pilot interviews, as explained below. The interviews conducted are all autobiographical, as this interview format has proven to be a fruitful data source for the study of emotion in migration (Albrecht 2018). Moreover, this interview form enables the researcher to investigate emotions not only as states, but also as processes, which makes it particularly relevant for this study that approaches emotions relationally and procedurally.

2.5.1. Pilot interviews

As with every explorative study, I started conducting pilot interviews. Originally the study explored how migration has shaped imaginaries of the future targeting citizens of Germany, migrants and forced migrants living in NRW. During the pilot phase, I conducted two focus group discussions with young students holding refugee status in Germany. Additionally, I interviewed six forced migrants, two migrants, and three German citizens asking four open questions: the first question concerned the participant's life story; the second question targeted imaginaries of her personal future; the third question asked about her imaginaries of the future of society; and the fourth question was about her experience of migration either from the perspective of a newcomer (forced migrant, migrant) or from the perspective of a German citizen.

Pilot interviews showed that loss and grief involved in migration were only narrated by forced migrants, which led me to wonder why grief was part of forced migrants' experience of migration and was not addressed by other migrants. Besides different emotions involved in the experience of migration, forced migrants and other migrants were perceived differently by German citizen participants. They distinguished between forced migrants and other European or skilled migrants when asked about their experience of recent migration. This suggests different reciprocal relations between German citizens and forced migrants and migrants respectively. Moreover, as I interviewed German citizens aged between 18 and 30 living in or close to cities with big universities, the international student was an intuitive reference group when thinking about migration. Furthermore, all German citizens interviewed during the pilot phase had studied abroad and, thus, had had the experience of being temporarily skilled/academic migrants themselves.

The pilot interviews with forced migrants showed that education, apprenticeship or an employment contract had great importance for them, as it grants legal, financial and social security. This illustrates how forced migrants' experiences involve particular insecurities so that they feel the need to stabilize their position in society. Furthermore, pilot interviews suggested that the experience of migration is different for forced migrants and other migrants, as they seem to relate differently to German citizens,

have diverse and unequal experiences of their security in society and, of particular importance for this work, loss and grief appear to play a particular role in forced migrants' experiences of migration. Since grief has been little researched in the context of forced migration, I focus my PhD on the role of this emotion in forced migrants' narrated experiences. As I understand grief relationally, it is important to consider not only forced migrants' narrations, but also narrations of people they relate to. As mentioned above, interviews suggest that "Germans" are an important reference group for forced migrants, which led me to focus the analysis, and thus, my main data collection on forced migrants' and German citizens' narrations.

2.5.2. Final interviews

Besides defining the focus of this research, pilot interviews were useful in order to select the input questions that were more likely to enhance long and detailed answers. During the pilot phase it became apparent that constructing a coherent and elaborate life story in a language other than one's native language can be challenging. Besides, forced migrants often have experienced intense and destabilizing events, which are difficult or perhaps even impossible to put into words. Trying to make the interview situation as comfortable as possible and showing the maximum respect for forced migrants' experiences, the final interview structure was designed combining several short answer questions and open questions targeting participants' life stories, imaginaries of personal and societal future and their experience of migration.

The interviews begin with a few short answer questions about participants' socioeconomic situation allowing to create a basis for comparison. These questions ask about place of birth, age, current place of residency, education, living situation, language use, current occupation, occupation of parents and best friends, vacation habits (and experiences), and some material possessions. Some of the short-answered questions serve to register and document the interviewee's eligibility for the study (age, place of residency, place of birth). Other questions about language use, living situation, occupation of significant others, education, material possessions and vacation habits served to sketch participants' economic, educational and social possibilities, based on their trajectories and relations. Unexpectedly, questions about material possessions and occupation of best friends have given valuable information about the locality in which participants spontaneously imagine themselves being part of. Answering these questions, many forced migrant participants have asked me whether I was interested in knowing about their material possessions and friends in their hometown or in NRW. This spontaneous insecurity about the locality in which they ground themselves is a basis of further analysis.

Open-ended questions targeted participants' present life situations, their life trajectories and their imaginaries of the future in terms of dreams, plans and any possible difficulties they imagine for

themselves. I also asked them how they believed their current peers imagined the future and about their experience of arriving in NRW or how they experienced recent migration (s. Appendix for complete list of questions). Following Rosethal's (2004) procedure of autobiographical interviews, these questions are broad and open. These open questions served as the basis of the interview and I have at times asked more questions for clarification. Predefined questions focus the interview, however, they do not impose particular associations or reflections on the interviewees. Participants were free to reveal information about themselves to the extent they felt comfortable.

Forced migration involves many changes in the social environment, social relations and potentially in the overall self-understanding of both the moving migrant and those seeing newcomers arrive in their usual habitat. Therefore, forced migration drives a vast array of possible experiences and every person is the only expert of her experience. Respecting this individuality demands an interview format leaving room for personal meaning making. Open-ended autobiographical interviews grant this freedom - while talking about their lives and future imaginations, participants automatically reveal internal dialogues and meaning-making processes of their experiences (Rosenthal, 2004). In fact, participants can narrate the meaning of life events and relate them to other memories or imagined futures. This narrative freedom is necessary to capture grieving, as grief is understood as being past and future orientated. Grief would not be comprehensible if the interview did not give participants the freedom to relate past experiences and future imaginaries in a way that reflects their emotional reality. In fact, it might be due to the open-ended, past and future oriented biographical format of the pilot interviews that grief could be narrated and detected.

Life and future narrations are reconstructions or imaginations usually organized concerning social referent points e.g. other people, events, or objects (Fuchs-Heinitz 2001). These interpretations of the past and future must be relationally secured, meaning that others have to approve of them or might have motivated them in the first place. In fact, telling stories about one's life allows people to define their self-image and to align it with not only how they are perceived by others but also general practices and norms of the social context they live in (Fuchs-Heinritz 2015). Thus, analyzing life and future narration makes it possible to study the social context within which they are told. Since forced migration implies a change of social context, it demands of newcomers to align their stories with established social practices of the locality where they settled down. This makes autobiographical interviews an essential tool for this research project as they allow researching how forced migrants relate to the social environment they inhabit and the emotional processes involved in it. Thus, autobiographical interviews allow for the study of loss, grief and mourning as part of forced migrants' experience of settling down and relating to a new social context.

Due to their reconstructed nature, narrations of current life as well as past and future are interpretations delivered at a particular moment in space and time. The same applies to expert interviews. Responses are a product of participants' present self-understanding reflecting their remembered past and anticipated future as well as the interview situation (Rosenthal 2004). With every new memory, other memories are potentially reorganized and remembered reciprocally, so life narrations are always dynamic processes. Moreover, interview situations frame participants' narration. They are shaped by very personal and context-related factors, e.g. the current well-being of the interviewer and the interviewees, the place where the interview is conducted as well as structural factors e.g. profession, language, citizenship and resulting power dynamics between the participants and the interviewer. Forced migrants' lives in NRW are not secured through permanent residency or citizenship. Having problems with institutions and the complexity and opacity of bureaucratic procedures is a profoundly destabilizing and frustrating experience. Whether and how forced migrant participants are involved in such bureaucratic procedures at the time of the interview, is likely to shape their narration. Similarly, their educational and professional backgrounds are important factors contributing to forced migrants' sense of stability and safety in NRW, which also shapes their responses about their lives and imaginaries of the future. It is impossible to define and control all factors configuring interview situations, however, it is crucial to keep the key factors in mind during analysis.

Truth and completeness are neither aims nor actual possibilities of stories told in interviews. Moreover, stories' content is usually reduced to the tellable (Fuchs-Heinlitz 2001). This is especially important as forced migration entails untellable experiences of war, escape, illegality, life in refugee camps and the struggle of becoming part of a new locality. Respecting interviewees' privacy and dignity, I did not ask participants specifically to tell me about war, their escape or any other particular experiences. If difficult or emotionally charged situations were described, I listened in silence without further questioning, paraphrasing or commenting.

After all, open-ended autobiographical interviews capture not more than the interviewees' self-understanding particular to the moment and setting when the narration is delivered. However, such interviews give valuable insights about the social context and reciprocal relations by which participants' stories and self-understanding are framed. Autobiographical data are not objective, but allow for the capturing of individual experiences and the reciprocal processes they involve. As my study takes a relational approach to social space and emotions and aims to explore whether and how grief is involved in forced migrants' participation in the locality they settle down, autobiographical interviews are the most adequate data format.

2.5.3. Expert interviews

The initial pilot interviews with forced migrants revealed to me that comprehensive analysis of their answers requires even more detailed understanding of the social and institutional context of forced migrants' lives. I decided to do interviews with people who work daily with forced migrants, as they have insights that can help me to contextualize forced migrants' personal narratives. I consider these people to be experts in this study as they have numerous experiences and inside knowledge concerning forced migrants' lives and legal context. Expert interviews are not focused on individual biographies, but on the interviewees' expertise of forced migrants' lives based on their experience working with them. I asked experts about their experience of working with forced migrants, the difficulties faced by forced migrants, forced migrants' possibilities to construct a future and how they saw forced migrants' quest of becoming part of the reciprocal relating producing the locality where they settle (s.Appendix for complete list of questions). Besides a few general questions, I followed their narration and asked more questions for clarification. The interviewed experts worked in different fields with diverse experiences (, for example, a lawyer accompanying asylum applications or a vocational school teacher) and, as a result, interviews differed.

Upon arrival in NRW, forced migrants receive institutional and non-institutional (NGO) support, which means that experts accompany and mediate forced migrants' way into the reciprocal relating making up locality. These experts assist with institutional procedures, everyday life problems, emotional difficulties and future planning. They accompany many forced migrants' journeys and know the institutional or legal framing involved in their tasks. Therefore, their experiences and opinions go beyond an individual experience of being a forced migrant and help frame the understanding of individual experiences. This allows results to go beyond the accumulation of and abstraction from personal stories and to be more grounded in the social and institutional context.

2.5.4. Contacting participants

In the process of recruiting participants, I relied on the help of friends, acquaintances and experts. Once the potential participants granted me access to their contact details, I contacted all participants directly. Further participants were recruited through snowball sampling and were friends or acquaintances of former participants. Most of the forced migrant participants attended school (vocational college, apprenticeship or high school) or university at the time of the interview. This might not fully reflect the living situation of all forced migrants currently living in NRW - those who have not yet obtained asylum or have no resources to access institutional support may not have access to the education system or job centers (which grant access to educational possibilities). Since forced migrants without access to

education are seldom in contact with supporting institutions or NGOs, it was difficult to establish contact with them.

2.5.5. Interview setting

For the interview, I met participants in public spaces of schools, universities, cafés, and job centers, or at their homes. The choice of the place was always left to the participant. Before starting with the questions and recording, I explained the purpose and scope of the interview and informed the interviewees that their participation is voluntary, that they are free to respond only to those questions that they feel comfortable answering, and that they could withdraw from the interview at any point. I emphasized that I consider them the experts of their lives, so that their answers are always "right", no matter how they answered (or not answered) the questions. I underlined that I valued and recognized them and their experiences for what they are in order to establish a sense of equality. Giving participants the role of the expert of their experience allows counterbalancing part of the possibly perceived power difference between me as a scientist researcher and the interviewee. Before we started the interview, the participant and I signed an informed consent, which functions as a contract of confidentiality. It obliges me to protect personal data of all participants (forced migrants, German citizens and experts) and to keep the recordings and transcriptions confidential and anonymous. It gives the participant the possibility to withdraw from the study at any time during as well as after the interview. All participants have my contact information, so that they can contact me in case of any concerns about their interview and the way it might be used.

Throughout the interview, I followed the participants' narrations and occasionally asked further questions for clarification, where necessary. Once I had asked all interview questions, participants were given the possibility to add, comment or ask something. In case the interviewee continued her narration, I followed it and again asked further questions only for clarification.

2.5.6. Recording

The interviews lasted between 20 and 80 minutes and were recorded with an offline voice recorder. Once I had stored the files on an external hard drive, I deleted the original recordings. I started recording once the informed consent was signed and the participant had agreed to begin the interview. When I had asked all questions and the participant had nothing more to add, comment or ask, I ended the recording.

2.5.7. Transcription

In order to facilitate further analysis, I transcribed all interviews in their original language (German). Grammar or vocabulary mistakes were not corrected. I decided to transcribe verbal, non-word expressions

as phonetically accurate as possible. Long silences were written down as "...". Laughter was indicated in the transcription as "(laughs)". Names of the participants are not indicated in the transcription. I differentiated the two speakers with Q (Question) and R (Response), where I was always Q and the participant always R, even if the participant asked a question.

2.5.8. Translation

As stated above, I transcribed the interviews in their original language, however, I coded all interviews in English. When I quote an interview for presentations, publications and the thesis, I translate the quote into English. All translations were done by me and corrected by an English native speaker. I translated grammar and vocabulary mistakes as closely as possible to the original while ensuring understandability. I endeavor to keep the original tone and wording of the participant as much as possible, since I want to respect participants' choices and capabilities of expressing their thoughts and feelings in the language chosen for the interview. For newcomers, speaking the language of the locality is a step towards participating in it and I sought to acknowledge these efforts in the translations. When citing, I reproduced all quotes in English and their original language in order to recognize participants' voices. Moreover, this allows readers, who understand the original language of the quote, to follow the voice of the participant.

2.5.9. Grounded theory

For the analysis of interviews I followed a Grounded Theory inspired approach (Corbin and Strauss, 2014). This method grants flexible and open engagement with data and allows for theory development rather than imposing predefined concepts. Autobiographical interviews are rich qualitative data full of individual meanings and experiences. Analysis in the Grounded Theory fashion respects the complexity of rich qualitative data, because analysis involves several steps from the level of almost verbatim codes to abstraction and because data collection and analysis are intertwined processes allowing to explore the complexity of the data.

Following the Grounded Theory, data analysis is structured by the *constant comparative* method which proposes a back and forth between data and newly derived theory (Corbin and Strauss 2014). Thus, data collection and analysis processes are interrelated and performed at the same time, allowing for the derived theory to be constantly verified with new data. Results of the analysis guide further data collection, which means sample characteristics might change throughout the analysis. This sampling technique is referred to as *theoretical sampling*, as concepts, rather than participants, are sampled (Corbin and Strauss 2014). This technique gives room to explore questions that come up during analysis and allows for the focus of the research to evolve. Since grief involved in forced migration has been little

researched and conceptualized there is little predefined theory justifying confirmatory analysis. Data collection led by parallel on-going analysis allows exploring the phenomenon in depth facilitating initial theorizing.

For in depth analysis, the Grounded Theory proposes three coding phases. The initial coding phase is called *open coding* as it is open to topics and processes surfacing in the data and it is not led by predefined ideas. During open coding, data is broken down into small pieces. The ideas expressed in each piece of raw data are captured in a code, which helps uncover the key themes and processes captured in the data. The next step is *comparative coding* in which the researcher looks for systematic differences and similarities between sets of data. These potential meaningful differences and similarities in the data might define groups of codes important for its organization and analysis (Corbin and Strauss 2014). They might be in line with categories such as gender, age, SES, origin, language, political orientation etc., but they might also be particular to the data or the participants. Thus, categories are not imposed from the beginning as units of analysis, but are derived from the data, enabling data comparison between interviews without necessarily comparing individuals.

In the last coding phase, *theoretical coding*, the most significant codes are clustered into larger groups or families. These clusters might be turned into a structure or model, which aim to explain important dynamics in the data and should describe relationships among code clusters (Corbin and Strauss 2014). In this sense, Grounded Theory is not about creating a mere list of codes. However, it is about defining concepts, the relationships among them and about how these codes relate to and explain social processes and dynamics explored in the study (Corbin and Strauss 2014). Since little is known about grief involved in the experience of forced migration, such a profound engagement is needed in order to derive concepts inductively and validate these as part of data analysis.

The number of studied cases (25 forced migrants, 20 German citizens, eight experts) does not grant objective and generalizable results. With the help of the Grounded Theory techniques, I develop a perspective on forced migrants' experiences of living in NRW based on the voices of my interviewees. The different perspectives analyzed contribute to a relational understanding of forced migrants' quest for becoming part of the locality where they settled while negotiating their losses involved in forced migration and their possible grieving.

2.5.10. Memos

In addition to coding, memo writing is an important part of the Grounded Theory analysis. Memos give me a space to note down all my thoughts and ideas involved in reading, data collection and analysis as well as conversations about the research with colleagues and friends. I took notes during research group discussions, private conversations and while watching documentaries or other forms of media reports on

topics of migration, forced migrants living in NRW (or Germany), grief, and strangeness. Collecting this information helped to grasp the general sentiment about forced migration, framing newcomers' arrival and participation in NRW.

In addition, I took notes during data collection and analysis. I wrote down remarks interviewees made before or after the recording, as sometimes a conversation continued after the interview and/or had started before the interview. Interviewees often shared further thoughts and impressions provoked by the interview questions, which I considered valuable and saved in memos. Moreover, I captured impressions I had during interviews that were not specifically worded. These notes enriched the coding processes, as these additional pieces of information helped frame participants' experiences and narrations. Memos allowed for reflections about the emotions described by participants and what these emotions do and mean for their position in locality. In this sense, memo writing supports defining concepts, as they provide me with a space to experiment with ideas and impressions about the data. I can materialize initial and raw impressions which allows me to progress analysis and to monitor my trains of thought as the research progresses.

Moreover, memos help me reflect on my role as a researcher and in particular on the biases and assumptions I might have. Biases and assumptions reflect my personal life history and social position in relation to participants and may have an impact on data collection and analysis.

2.5.11. Role of researcher

Being aware of my biases and assumptions is crucial for data analysis. In qualitative research, the researcher is an instrument of data collection since the data is mediated by her (Lincoln and Denzin 2003). As mentioned earlier, interviews are social situations producing subjective data, which are shaped equally by the interviewee and the interviewer's well-being at the time of the interview and their reciprocal positioning within a specific social context.

The first contact with interviewees was generally organized by experts, former participants or friends and acquaintances of mine. I was introduced or I introduced myself as a PhD student at a university in Barcelona conducting field work in NRW. This identifies me as an academic scholar and as a migrant even though I am a citizen of the state where field work took place. Being an academic can be associated with authority based on knowledge and might establish distance between me and participants. Introducing my research project, I explained that I am interested in their life stories and imaginaries of the future, because I seek to investigate how people with different experiences can live together and imagine a shared future. Pointing to the possible societal benefit, I aimed to stress a shared interest in this study rather than giving participants the impression of being an object of study.

Holding German citizenship and having fair complexion might create the impression that I do not know much about life outside Germany or Central Europe. Identifying myself as living in Barcelona does not take away the fact that I am a citizen of Germany where I conducted the interviews. However, it does indicate that I have experienced living in a foreign country. In fact, I have lived in several countries and speak six languages, one of them being Levantine Arabic. Most of the forced migrant participants speak Arabic. It is not always their mother tongue, but for most of them it is one of the languages they grew up with. Living in NRW and functioning with the German society demands great effort of adaptation and learning of newcomers, which can make them resentful against people who live more privileged (and monocultural) lives. I had the impression that being able to have a conversation in Arabic and identifying myself as someone with international experiences created trust and a degree of mutuality between me and Arabic speaking forced migrant participants. Being able to speak one of the languages they grew up with and having lived in a country where Arabic is the first language shows that I know something about their background and might be more understanding of who they are. In fact, I sensed that talking in Arabic and talking about my experience of living abroad allowed for some mutuality and familiarity to grow between forced migrant participants and me. Even though I spoke one of the mother tongues of many forced migrant participants, most of them decided to conduct the interview in German. Given that learning German is fundamental for forced migrants to participate in social life in NRW, it appeared obvious to them to conduct the interview in German.

I was not always aware of how reciprocal positioning based on legal status, gender, place of origin, language proficiency, academic and social status shaped the interview and this reciprocal positioning is probably an ongoing process throughout the interview. Moreover, the interviewee and I might not necessarily agree on the social positioning happening between us. Power relations between an interviewer and interviewee are difficult to trace and to control, however, it should be considered when conducting interviews and during data analysis.

2.6. Summary

After all, the aim of the research is to investigate forced migrants' experiences of arriving in and participating in a new locality and how these experiences are shaped by losses involved in forced migration and their possible grieving processes. Since this topic is little researched, I opted for conducting open-ended autobiographical interviews and the Grounded Theory analysis, as it allows for an open and inductive analysis of qualitative data. Aiming to explore grief involved in forced migration, the first step of this research is to define the losses involved in forced migration.

3.LOSSES INVOLVED IN FORCED MIGRATION

3.1. Defining loss relationaly

Loss can refer to many things; it can relate to, for example, belongings, people, jobs, social status, freedoms, capacities, and opportunities. The experience of loss presupposes that we valued and/or loved who or what we were separated from. Lofland (1982) suggests that a multiplicity of things can be important for a person's sense of self, and so their disappearance can trigger feelings of loss. In fact, people can be emotionally attached to other people, money, jobs, or other things carrying economic value, as well as to their environments, homes, communities, organizations, ideas, traditions, rituals, norms or beliefs. All of these can be lost and their loss can influence people's everyday living and can involve grieving (Casado, Hong and Harrington 2010).

Migration is an existential shift which affects every aspect of human life (Castles 2003) and forced migration adds to this an extra layer of stressful experiences involving unwanted changes and painful emotions. These losses involve leaving behind houses, familiar language/s, cultural attitudes, values, social networks and often also involve the death or disappearance of loved ones (Casado, Hong and Harrington 2010; Ortiz 2017; Mellibovsky 1997). Given that forced migrants are *forced* to leave their homes, loss appears intrinsic to this experience. However, loss, grief and mourning associated with forced migration are neither sufficiently recognized nor well understood both in the literature as well as in everyday life (Casado, Hong and Harrington 2010). In order to understand how grief and mourning are part of the experience of forced migration, this chapter will explore and interpret how forced migrants narrate losses and their related emotions.

In this chapter, I not only focus on concrete instances of loss but also theorize on loss as a relational phenomenon and as an emotion. This means I consider particular instances of loss as affecting a person's reciprocal relations (and emotions) to other people and objects. Our reality is always in a dynamic flux of change, as all reciprocal relations are in fact processes (Simmel 1992; Cantó-Milà 2013; Dépelteau 2018). Thus, the importance of a concrete loss derives not only from what (object, person) is lost, but also from how it plays out relationally for the person experiencing the loss.

Being in reciprocal relation to others is a precondition for a person to feel connected and engaged with her environment, therefore, relational changes inherently influence feelings of connection (e.g. in the form of trust, safety, mutuality, recognition, stability). Relational changes involved in loss might be experienced as destabilizing and painful. Consequently, after experiencing loss, a person has to find a new sense of security and stability involving the formation of new relations in order to stabilize her reality. For

example, Klass, Silverman and Nickman (2014) claim that the "classical loss" of a loved one does not necessarily imply a termination of the bond with the loved one, but rather a new relationship with the deceased and changes in the multidimensional bonds with other living people. Similar to the loss of a loved one, other instances of loss involved in forced migration (e.g. losing freedom to leave one's house in safety, not having access to water, electricity, or education, not having enough food for the family, not being recognized as equal, or not understanding the local language) are experienced as destabilizing and influence how a person relates to others and the environment.

Regaining a sense of stability after the loss of a loved one generally demands great emotional efforts. In line with this, regaining stability after the losses involved in forced migration might be an enormous task. Losses involved in forced migration are not limited to the move from one geographical place to another, which is how forced migration (and migration) is generally defined. Instead, migrating voluntarily and involuntarily implies uncountable instances of loss shaping the experience of leaving home as well as of arriving and settling down in a new place. Thus, losses involved in forced migration are numerous and they are not limited to a one-off experience but are constantly revisited in everyday relating.

Focusing on border crossing allows separating the experiences forced migrants made in the places they left behind from their experience of living in the place where they settled down. In fact, as discussed in the previous chapter, the experience of particular hardships (e.g. threats of war, persecution and natural disaster) are preconditions for asylum and the common understanding of forced migrants is based on the experience of these hardships. Hardships usually associated with forced migration, such as war, persecution, and/or natural disaster, happen in the places where forced migrants have escaped from. Defining forced migration through these few recognized hardships allows localizing the causes of and the hardships and losses involved in forced migration far away from the places where they settle down. While state-defined hardships, such as wars, are physically left behind at the time of border crossings, the consequences of these hardships and the losses forced migrants experience stretch across state borders and continue to shape migrants' everyday interactions and reciprocal relations.

3.2. Loss involved in forced migration

I want to begin the exploration of relations and emotions defining losses involved in forced migration by listening to Samah, a forced migrant, who describes her experience of arriving in NRW in the following way:

> "Difficult. Very difficult. First of all not because of language and culture and so on. Simply from this, you turn yourself off and then you turn yourself on again in this new life. And you must

simply learn everything again, everything that you have in your head from the old society, somehow not forgotten, but you cannot use it anymore and you have to collect new things."

(Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Schwierig. Ganz schwierig. Also erstmal nicht von Sprache und Kulturen und so weiter. Einfach von dieser, man schaltet sich einfach erst mal aus und danach schaltet man sich ein in dieses neue Leben. Und dann muss einfach alles noch mal, alles was man im Kopf von der alten Gesellschaft hat irgendwie nicht vergessen, aber nicht mehr benutzen und man muss Neuigkeiten sammeln."

Samah perceives arriving in NRW as difficult and overwhelming, since she has to learn everything from scratch. She uses the image of "turning herself off and on again" suggesting a need to reset herself, an act that implies an immense loss. In fact, Samah says that she cannot use the knowledge from the "old society" anymore which proposes that life in NRW is significantly different from the costumes and habits which produced everyday life in her hometown. Samah's experiences of being forced to migrate implies losing the familiarity of knowing how to relate to and move within a place. Being able to move and function intuitively in a place defines a person as being part of the places' web of uncountable reciprocal relations, interactions and connections. Intuitive moves do not necessarily imply feeling comfort and harmony while moving, as they can be painful and disturbing. Moving intuitively entails familiarity and maybe the distressing certainty that these movements guarantee the continuation of one's reciprocal relating within that place. Thus, no matter whether it was a painful or harmonic experience, losing this feeling of embeddedness describes an overwhelming loss. Samah defines this loss as having lost a life since she says that not being able to use things from the "old society" implies having to start a "new life". She experiences arriving and settling down in NRW as involving the loss of the life and stories she had lived in her hometown. The way she describes her experiences of loss ("you turn yourself off firstly and then you turn yourself on again in this new life" and "everything that you have in your head from the old society not forget, but you cannot use it anymore and you have to collect new things") does not refer to her former place of residence in terms of streets and buildings, but to her experience of inhabiting it, meaning the experience of knowing how to move within it and to feel secure and embedded.

3.3. Locality

Forced migrants' narration of this loss of feeling embedded in a place will be analyzed following Appadurai's (1996) concept of "locality" and Ahmed's (2004) concept of emotions. With the help of these concepts, I propose a way to conceive of the losses involved in forced migration as a loss of intuitive and continuous reciprocal relating and felt connection to one's (social and material) surroundings. Moreover, I will analyze what a forced separation from these intuitive and continuous relations and felt connection to an environment entails.

Simmel (1992, 460) pointed out that space gains its societal and social importance and form from the reciprocal relations among people and not from its geographic constitution. The experience of this reciprocal relating, meaning of inhabiting a place or space, is further conceived through Appadurai's (1996, 178) concept of "locality". According to Appadurai (1996, 178), locality is "primarily relational and contextual rather than scalar or spatial. It is a complex phenomenological quality constituted by a series of links between a sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of context". Locality is not primarily about what is physically close to a person, but what a person is involved in or concerned by. Locality defines a structure of feelings produced by particular forms of intentional activity (Appadurai 1996, 182). In the context of increasing globalization, people are no longer only concerned with things from their immediate environment, meaning that locality is not necessarily bound to a physical place (Appadurai 2013, 68) and people may relate to more than one locality at the same time.[20]

Locality refers to social structures which derive from and are enacted in interactions, reciprocal relations and social practices of people sharing the same social reality (Appadurai 1996, 183). Understanding locality as deriving from conversation, interaction, social immediacy and imagination defines it through participation and engagement. Participation in traditions and rituals[21] is particularly crucial as it leads and guarantees a locality's continuous recreation (Appadurai 1996, 184). Through ritualized interactions and practices people come to imagine themselves within a shared space or neighborhood, which is not a byproduct of society, but the product of a "collective work of imagination" (Appadurai 2013, 68). This dimensional aspect of locality cannot be separated from the actual setting in and through which social life is reproduced, so that these imagined neighborhoods are interwoven and reciprocally relate to the social, material and environmental settings within which they are constructed.

Moreover, localities are always imagined and experienced in contrast to other localities and according to Appadurai (1996, 189) in an ever more globalized world, the local is less defined by physical boundaries and constantly exposed to global flows in terms of goods, people, ideas, and information. These global flows imply the circulation of "forms"[22] (e.g. genre, styles, ideas), whose meanings and applications can differ across localities depending on how they are interpreted locally. This meaning-making process and the specific applications of globally circulating forms need the collective engagement of people. Following this, Appadurai (2013, 69) sees locality not as a subordinate instance of

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[20] Social stratification involved in the production of localities will be discussed in the following chapter.
[21] Rituals and traditions are not understood as mere reproduction of social patterns, meanings and values, but moments when these are produced, changed, and/or confirmed (Bell, 1997).
[22] Social forms, forms of sociation or forms of interactions is a concept coined by Simmel (1992) to describe ways of how people interact with each other (e.g. competition, subordination). Forms are separate from their content, are relatively stable over time and create social bounds which endure the original motives and contents. Appadurai (1996) stresses that these forms circulate around the globe and are applied differently and to different content in distinct localities.

the global but as its main evidence, since locality is the site where globally circulating forms are given meaning and content. According to him, the negotiation of these contents is always the work of imagination and it is their negotiation which shapes their local practices (Appadurai 2013, 69). While Appadurai stresses the negotiation of globally circulating forms as defining a locality's content, I would suggest that a locality is also shaped by the negotiation of local forms. The meaning making of global and local forms is one continuous negotiation where contents of global and local forms are interpreted in reciprocal relation to each other.

Understanding locality not only geographically but also as something enacted, imagined, dynamic and always evolving defines its boundaries not as something fixed, but as permeable. These boundaries can be conceived as the meanings and significations of global and local forms which are locally negotiated particularly during the practice of tradition and rituals as well as in everyday interactions. Understanding a locality's boundaries as the local negotiation of global and local forms make its boundaries a continuous reciprocal relation with the outside world. In fact, localities are imagined in comparison to other localities and are constantly exposed to and involved in globally circulating ideas, people, or values, making the production of localities a highly fragile and laborious process (Appadurai 1996, 254). This understanding of localities' boundaries is in line with Simmel's (1992) relational approach to social space and its boundaries. According to Simmel (1992), borders are established between people only when they are in reciprocal relations and these borders then reflect, regulate, shape and formalize their relations. These borders might then be projected onto geographical phenomena (e.g. rivers, mountains) or territory, but they are never intrinsic to them (Simmel, 1992). In the context of globalization where technologies of communication, social networks and increasing mobility add ample possibilities of contacts with others who live (far) away and globally circulating forms, people are not limited to relate to the localities which exist in reciprocal relation to the geographical place they inhabit. They have access to connections and communication with localities which are physically grounded in other places or are not grounded in a physical place at all, as the negotiation of meanings of circulating forms and their applications are not bound to a particular geographical place. In this sense, globalization facilitates people to relate to and be engaged in more than one locality, as people can simultaneously be involved in the negotiation of global and local forms configuring different localities.

Appadurai (2013) approaches localities as being imagined and enacted and, according to him, these particular forms of activities and projections define a structure of feelings. In addition to understanding locality as particular patterns of practices webbing an imagined and enacted material environment, I propose to conceive localities and their boundaries as bodily experiences.

3.4. Stickiness

According to Ahmed (2004), bodies are ontologically open, which means they are necessarily affectible by their surroundings. Emotions travel attached to sticky signs and objects which shape people's body surfaces when they come in contact and vice versa. Moreover, bodies are moved during these contacts, meaning that emotions impress and move bodies. This defines emotions neither as internal states, nor as something caused by sticky signs and objects; instead, emotions happen during contacts among bodies and sticky signs and objects and involve a directedness about how bodies and sticky signs and objects cohere in a certain way. That is, emotions are conceived of as relational and dynamic. Objects, for Ahmed (2004), are not necessarily material, but objects of emotions are what the emotion is about. Emotions can certainly be about material objects, but can also be about imagined things and/or memories. Emotions can create and further shape their objects and are shaped by the objects they are about. The concept of "stickiness" of signs and objects is crucial for the perspective taken in the analysis of forced migrants' narratives. Stickiness is understood as an affect acquired during contacts that preserves connections between ideas, objects, people and values. Thus, stickiness defines ideas, people, objects and signs as deeply relational, as they depend on each other for their meaning and movements in social space. Moreover, stickiness of objects and signs implies that contacts never take place in a vacuum. They are framed by a history of contacts and are, thus, always social and not purely interpersonal. In this sense, the concept of "stickiness" defines the social reality of a locality as a relational, dynamic and emotional experience binding bodies, objects and signs together.

The "stickiness" of signs and objects (e.g. words, clothes, symbols, material objects, memories or gestures) is their meaning, which goes beyond the description of their concrete constitution. In contrast to symbols e.g. the flag of a nation or political movement, sticky signs and objects are not necessarily intended to symbolize a specific group, process, or action. In this study, physical features of dark hair and skin proved to be sticky because interpretations and judgements, which have nothing to do with their original constitution, appeared to stick to them. Physical features, dark hair and skin, are generally not understood as symbols as they are not created with the idea of symbolizing a specific group, process or action. Inborn physical features are inherited traits or characteristics of bodies which are generally pre-determined from birth. They are visible on the body surface and do not tell anything about a person. Interviews showed that some physical features, dark hair and skin color, came to be associated with certain geographical places, beliefs and culture[23]. These geographical places and culture are then

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[23] In the interviews, culture is understood in terms of beliefs, values, traditions, and lifestyle. How participants understand culture and what it means will be discussed more in detail in chapter four and seven.

generalized into the places of birth and attitudes of the people displaying the features.

Following Ahmed's definition of sticky signs and objects (2004), in the case of this study, dark hair and skin turned sticky, acquiring meanings beyond being mere body traits. Through associating, naming and imagining these physical features together with certain geographical places and culture, people with dark hair and skin are then easily suspected to originate from these places and to hold certain beliefs. Thus, it is through contact with sticky judgments, interpretations, labels, assumptions and bodies that dark hair and skin color acquire stickiness (Ahmed 2004). The stickiness of physical features (dark hair and dark skin) then also signify actions, beliefs, attitudes or values which are associated with the people displaying these characteristics or the geographical places where they are suspected to originate from. Information about beliefs, values, actions and origins exceeds their original quality of being body traits and defines them as sticky. According to Ahmed (2004, 90), this binding of meanings to objects and signs also implies a blockage, as once an object has acquired meaning it sticks to it and it is difficult for that object to be associated with other meanings. Stickiness can be specific to a locality or have more general validity; objects, signs and bodies might be matched differently across localities, leading to meanings that can differ across localities.

When people ignore the original constitution of an object or sign and directly perceive and relate to its stickiness, this stickiness converts into its seemingly intrinsic signification. Interviews suggest that dark hair and skin color were not primarily perceived as body traits, but directly evoked a judgment about the person's origin, their beliefs and intentions. The particular associations a person makes when seeing dark hair and dark skin depend on her personal history of contacts with these physical features as well as on stories about contacts with them. This makes stickiness socially negotiated and individually experienced. The meanings defining stickiness are under constant local re-negotiation and define how sticky signs and objects can impress upon bodies.

Stickiness always includes the emotions involved in the contacts with a label, judgment, assumption, object or sign. As stated above, Ahmed (2010) says that affect sticks and sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects. When a person with dark hair and dark skin scrolls through a city, their stickiness impresses upon and moves people seeing them. Depending on where this person moves, the stickiness of her dark hair and skin displays different histories of contact (personal and told), assumptions, prejudices, and different emotions. Thus, people living in different places (countries, cities, suburbs, streets) having made different contacts with dark hair and skin hold a different predefined judgment and view of a person with these features. Depending on this predefined image, contact with a dark haired and skinned person can equally involve discomfort, fear, curiosity, familiarity, closeness, security or go completely unnoticed. These emotions reflect past contacts with dark hair and skin and stories about contacts with these physical features. Reacting to the impression and

involved feelings, someone might turn away or towards the person with dark hair and skin, they may give her an intense or interested look or pass her without taking notice of her (many other reactions are certainly possible reflecting the histories of contact of the perceiving person with dark hair and skin). Through the reaction or movement the emotion (re-)creates dark hair and skin color as an object and adds to or confirms its stickiness, as the look, move, and/or utterance stick to them. The person perceiving this look or turning is then impressed by this gesture or words, which are also sticky and depending on the person's histories of contact with these movements or looks can involve fear, shame, frustration, ease, indifference, security or curiosity and move her into a particular direction. In this sense, emotions do not originate in people or have referents, but instead they travel attached to sticky signs and objects (e.g. dark hair and skin color). However, recognizing an emotion, e.g. realizing that one feels frustrated, relieved or happy because other people turn towards or away from them, can have effects described as referential (Ahmed 2004, 104). The moment we realize that we are moved by an emotion we might act upon experiencing it and interpret ourselves or its object as its referent. However, the emotion really is a process and a relation between us and the person or sticky sign or object we are in contact with. We are only temporarily touched by the emotion and moved depending on our past history of contacts with them. Thus, emotions travel attached to sticky signs and objects (words, gestures, cloth, accents, physical features, etc.) and are part of the constant and continuous relating between bodies (people, events, groups, institutions) (Ahmed 2004).

Contacts with objects and signs take the shape of their "stickiness" and form body surfaces accordingly. As stated earlier, body surfaces are not fixed, but dynamic and shaped by contacts with their surroundings. Past impressions are readable on body surfaces and these past impressions dynamically interrelate with new ones. Depending on past contacts, body surfaces are impressed upon differently by the same sticky sign or object or other body. Thus, how a body can be impressed by a particular sticky sign or object depends on how the body is shaped in the moment of the contact and on the particular history of contact with that sticky sign or object (Ahmed 2011).

In this sense the concept of sticky signs and objects (Ahmed 2004) defines a similar idea as global flows suggested by Appadurai (1996). Social meanings make up stickiness or significations of global flows and define the boundaries of a locality. These meanings are confirmed, re-negotiated or dismissed in gatherings of ritualized practice as well as everyday contacts with other people. Rituals and everyday interactions are moments when connections and reciprocal relations are formed and bodies move towards or away from other bodies, movements mediated by sticky interpretations, gestures, labels and/or objects. Following Ahmed's (2004) proposition that emotions travel attached to sticky signs and objects and, thus, move bodies, makes boundary drawing an emotional experience. In fact, when employing a sticky labels, assumption or gesture, the person employing it and the person touched by it are

emotionally moved, which makes boundaries a reciprocal and emotional experience. Thus, boundaries of localities being relational, enacted and emotional manifest on people's body surfaces, in their reciprocal relations and in their imagination. Boundaries can be drawn in everyday interactions (face to face and/or mediated by social media and media) and during the practice of rituals. In order to become and/or be reaffirmed as being within these boundaries, people need to be in continuous contact with others and with sticky signs and objects, allowing them to align their bodies with social meanings, norms and habits which produce localities.

3.5. Feeling embedded

Localities are not only imagined and enacted, but also an emotional and bodily experience taking form on people's body surfaces and in their reciprocal relating. The production of localities demands an imaginary, practical, emotional and bodily engagement with others, which, while continuously creating localities, allow people to feel embedded: Embeddedness describes the feeling of a seemingly natural connection to social meanings, values, norms, habits and other people, producing the locality/ies one feels embedded into. Norms, habits and social meanings framing localities are transported and enforced by sticky signs and objects, meaning that feeling embedded implies continuous contacts so a body emotionally and practically aligns with them. Being tuned to social meanings, norms and habits allows a person to operate smoothly within the localities they create. As stated earlier, every contact relates to and is conditioned by previous contacts, as impressions dynamically interrelate. Moreover, stickiness (condensing social meanings and norms) does not concern all people in the same way, as contact with sticky labels, judgements, bodies, etc. impresses on and moves people differently. Thus, there are uncountable ways of being attuned to the reciprocal relating with sticky signs and objects and everyday life which is produced through them. If a body's tuning and feelings of connection to everyday life have never been threatened, the feeling of embeddedness within it seems natural and unquestionable.

Feeling connected to and embedded in everyday routines and rituals is crucial for human existence and feelings of well-being. Ahmed (2013, 45) claims that bodies never exist on their own, as bodies materialize in a complex set of temporal and spatial relations to other bodies. Bodies take form in contact with other bodies, and one forms one's self-definition upon realizing one's own differences in relation to other people. Following this, people make or form each others' bodies, meaningo that every body is (always) with other bodies (Ahmed 2013). Similarly, Simmel (1992) claims that being implies being with others, since, according to him, there is no outside to relations. There is nothing which exists unconnected to another entity. People, objects, and social structures/infrastructures are not complete by

themselves, but reciprocal relations and influences with others make them what they are (Simmel 1992). Thus, reciprocal relations among people and objects define them as what they are and, thus, the need to be connected to others and a locality is intrinsic to our existence.

Understanding the relation between people and localities as reciprocal and as constitutive of both of them is in line with Rosa's (2018) sociology of peoples' relationships to the world. He proposes to radicalize the idea of relationship, proposing that the subject is not assumed to meet a performed world, but instead the world and subject shape and form each other through and in their mutual relatedness. Consequently, the relationship to the self cannot be separated from relation to the world (Rosa 2018). Rosa (2018) claims that, due to this mutual constituting, resonant relationships to the world precondition feelings of ease, happiness and well-being. Resonant relationships derive from openness towards others and feelings of connection with them, and this makes connections and openness fundamental for feelings of happiness and well-being (Rosa 2018). This stresses the reciprocal makeup and deep interrelatedness of human beings and the world they inhabit. Rosa (2018) further argues that this need for mutuality and resonance with one's surroundings is the reason why humans long for resonant experiences while they fear alienating ones. He distinguishes between intense resonant experiences and lasting resonant relationships and stresses that the latter is important for enduring engagement with the world. In this sense, having lasting resonant relationships with the world defines a way of feeling embedded in a locality. Feelings of resonance or embeddedness within a locality are important for a person's feelings of comfort and for the constitution of locality.

Feeling embedded in social life develops from reciprocal relations with other people and sticky meanings, norms and habits that produce social life. Constantly being involved in contacts and reciprocal relations allows people to develop connections with these and can establish resonant relationships. Rosa (2018) argues that resonant relationships and connections mutate and are variable. In fact, feeling connected to others, institutions and social norms and habits can take the form of support, trust, stability, communication, appreciation, or cooperation; these are not exclusive and may interrelate and/or precondition each other. Similar to Rosa (2018), I argue that these connections not only bind people in the moment of contact, but enable people to establish emotional bonds, feelings of embeddedness and resonance, which exceed the moment of contact. These connections can be understood as deriving from body alignments (Ahmed 2004). During contacts, bodies are aligned with other bodies and sticky signs and objects and since contacts entail emotions alignments are always affective (Ahmed 2004). Emotions move bodies toward or away from other bodies and a body's orientation defines its alignment and possibility to form connections.

Alignments and connections result from the present contact, but are also conditioned by past impressions on a person's body surface reflecting past alignments and connections. Thus, continuous

body alignment and establishing and/or terminating of connections with others and sticky signs and objects define a person's relating to localities as a continuous and emotional experience. Alignments and connections lead bodies' movements and contacts, which can be short-lived or repeated over time. In this sense, alignments describe the affective process of social positioning within a social structure of sticky signs, objects and bodies (Ahmed 2013). In fact, continuous connections and alignments define bodies as inhabiting as much as being inhabited by the localities they relate to. Being inhabited by a locality implies that people understand not only that locality but also themselves through their body alignments and connections with others and social meanings, norms and hobats producing the locality. This entanglement of sticky signs and objects with the bodies enacting and experiencing them defines these bodies as being embedded within them. In this sense, feeling embedded is never a momentary feeling, but always involves a history of contacts and alignments with others and social norms, practices and values, allowing people to trust in and, thus, to imagine a future of these alignments and contacts.

3.5.1. Constructing imaginaries of the future in reciprocal relation to sticky signs and objects and localities

As suggested above, this reciprocal relating and body alignment with others and sticky signs and objects is never only a matter of the present experience, but derives from a shared past. Similarly, it implies an imagined future framed by the same others and social meanings, norms and values, as it is a body's movements guided by contacts and alignments with them which prevent or open up certain futures to a person. This suggests that people's possibilities for the future are readable from their alignments and reciprocal relations, as possibilities for the future depend on them. Following this, it is the interplay of remembering one's past aligned with sticky signs and objects and others and the imagining of one's future in relation to them that allows a person to participate, and feel confident about her present participation in the everyday life they produce.

Forced migrants usually arrive in a new geographical place without having established secure body alignments and reciprocal relations with social life. (In contrast, voluntary migration often implies having established contacts and alignments to the localities where one intends to move before arriving, e.g. in the form of study courses, employment, and/or family). This lack of a history of reciprocal relations and body alignments with social meanings, habits, norms and others makes it difficult for forced migrants to partake in everyday interactions and rituals and, thus, to imagine a future in relation to them. Hence, arriving as a forced migrant in a new geographical place can be a destabilizing experience. Further analysis will show that it demands great efforts from forced migrants to establish contact and body alignments with others and social habits, practices and norms allowing them to build lasting connections

and secure reciprocal relations stabilizing their participation in localities and the everyday life they create.

However, not only people depend on localities to frame their future projections, but also, as stated earlier, localities depend on people enacting them for their constant reproduction (Appadurai 1996). This implies that when engaging with others, social values and practices, people prepare not only their personal futures but also the future of that locality. Localities and the people inhabiting them mutually depend on each other for their present and future. People need localities to feel embedded within so these localities frame their life and future projection. Localities prevail and evolve only when people continue to align with its social practices and norms and, thus, granting its constant reproduction. It is the imagination of a safe and stable future embedded in a continuous relation to others, social infrastructures and norms which motivates people to engage in these localities. In this sense, since localities' reproduction depends on people enacting them, offering people (and newcomers, e.g. forced migrants,) a future perspective framed and guided by a continuous relation to others and social norms is a way to ensure the future of these localities. Given the co-dependency between people and localities for their futures, imagining and preparing a future embedded within a locality can compensate for missing past body alignments and connections with it. In this sense, arriving and settling down in a new locality always starts with imagining and preparing a future in line with social norms, habits and meanings producing it.

In this study, people are understood to be constructing imaginaries of the future (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015), which derive from a complex interplay of personal attitudes, values, beliefs, traditions, connectedness and responsibilities towards other people, organizations or institutions, wishes, hopes, and fears. All these might be perceived to be held by an individual but they are at most actualized in an individual, as they really are the result of uncountable reciprocal relations that are interwoven across time and space in a complex and untraceable manner.

The relationality of future imagination across time has been discussed by several scholars (Adam and Groves 2007; Koselleck 1989; Mische 2009; Markus and Nurius 1986). The idea is that personal experiences determine the construction of imaginaries of the future as past, present and future selves reciprocally shape each other. Similarly, Ahmed (2004, 36) claims that the past, present and future are deeply intertwined, as thinking of the future necessarily evoques its pasts and thinking about the past might involve possible futures of these pasts. Moreover, a social - historical context sets the frame for how a person can imagine her future, as it offers specific possibilities and opportunities for future planning.

To understand this reciprocity between past, present and future and their relation to a socio-historical context, an interpretation in terms of impressions on bodies may be necessary (Ahmed, 2004). In a body's continuous reciprocal relating to its outer world, sticky signs and objects and other

people leave impressions on its surface. Stickiness of signs and objects is negotiated within localities integrating global meanings and their local applications and interpretations. In this sense, a socio-historical context is evidenced in the stickiness of labels, signs, gestures, accents, judgements and objects and it is imprinted on people through contacts. Thus, past experiences and a socio-historical context are reflected by impressions on people and determine a person's alignments and, thus, her orientation towards the future. With this, imaginaries of the future are not merely imagined but also bodily experienced as people's possible futures are imprinted on their bodies.

This implies that, upon arrival in NRW, forced migrants's bodies are shaped differently than the bodies of people who have lived there for a while or even since birth. Forced migrants' bodies display impressions by social meanings, habits, norms and/or practices potentially different and/or unfamiliar to locals. Forced migrants' alignments with sticky signs and objects they used to relate to might be unreadable to locals and the futures prepared by these alignments may be unrealizable in NRW. Since past alignments and connections cannot be changed, forced migrants must align their imaginaries of a future with norms, habits and values they wish to relate to.

For this, ritualized and everyday interactions with others and sticky signs and objects are crucial, as it is through these interactions and contacts that people come to imagine a shared social space, its future and their future within it. Connections, alignments and participation in re-negotiation of social meanings mediated and enforced by sticky labels, interpretations, gestures, signs and objects tune people and their imaginaries of the future to each other and to localities. Once these alignments are repeated over time, they allow for feelings of embeddedness, trust and safety projected upon these sticky signs and objects and the localities they produce. Feelings are short-lived (van Dam 2018), so the feelings of safety and embeddedness will only be a stable experience thanks to the repetition of alignments in the practice of rituals and everyday routines. In this way, people come to trust in a future framed by norms, values and practices they relate to, ensuring that they intuitively engage with them and imagine their future in relation to them.

Beyond framing people's imaginaries of the future, contacts and alignments with social meanings, labels, and habits define which concrete futures people can imagine. Connections and body-alignments to others and sticky signs and objects define a person's emotional orientations. A person's emotional orientations define which future contacts a person can make and how she can relate to new impressions. In this sense, for the case of forced migrants, it is during contacts with others and sticky meanings, labels, and judgements that newcomers come to understand their position and possibilities for the future within the locality they settled in. Thus, participation in rituals as well as everyday and routine interactions bind people to others and social norms, habits and values and allow them to construct imaginaries of the future in relation to them, which in turn ensures the future of the localities they produce.

After all, people appear to be deeply intertwined with the localities they inhabit and that inhabit them. Therefore, having to leave a locality and/or localities describes a great loss for the person leaving and the left behind locality. Here, I primarily focus on loss from the perspective of the forced migrant, the leaving person. They lost the lives they lived in relation to social norms, values and habits creating the localities they had to leave behind. However, since they were interviewed as participants in the localities where they settled down, the analysis focuses on how their loss affects their reciprocal relating to locals and social meanings, habits and values creating everyday life in NRW.

3.6. Narration of the losses involved in forced migration

As quoted in the beginning, Samah describes a loss of a life and a loss of knowing how to live in relation to familiar localities. In fact, when forced to leave the localities one inhabits, one separates from their social immediacy and gives up a continuous relating to sticky meanings, labels, judgments, practices and objects through which they are created. With this, one loses feelings of connection and embeddedness with these sticky signs and objects. Connections to localities and people inhabiting them define people, their self-understanding and future perspective. Thus, Samah experiencing migrating to NRW as a loss of a life describes a loss of an existence, self-understanding and imaginaries of the future in relation to sticky meanings, habits, labels and assumptions producing the localities she was forced to leave. Losing an existence and future in relation to well-known sticky signs and objects implies an immense loss and I want to explore more in detail how this loss of a life framed by familiarity and, thus, of feeling embedded and connected to a social and material environment is narrated by forced migrants living in NRW.

3.6.1. Involuntary departure

According to the definition given in the first chapter, forced migrants have been forced into leaving their places of residency. In line with this definition, all participants of this study who are considered forced migrants stated that they left their former homes against their will. Most say that they left because of war and threat of persecution to themselves or their parents. The other left because of serious illness of a family member or extreme poverty. E.g. Doaa, a forced migrants, says:

> "I am forced to live here because of my circumstances. Because I have war in my country." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich bin hier gezwungen zu leben wegen meiner Umstände. Weil ich Krieg in meinem Land haben."

> Similarly to Doaa, Lina, a forced migrant, did not choose to leave her home. She explains:

> "We were not that poor. We could eat and drink well before the war. We did not know many poor

people. Many people are like that, they have no heart. I saw everything. Many people are not as you think they are. (...). Was difficult. We were afraid, we only wanted to leave [name of country]." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Wir waren auch nicht so arm. Wir konnten gut essen, gut trinken, vor dem Krieg. Wir wussten nicht so viele Leute, die arm sind. Viele Leute , die sind so die haben kein Herz. Ich habe alles gesehn. Ganz viele Leute sind nicht wie man vorher denkt. (...) War schwer. Wir hatten Angst, wir wollten nur aus dem Irak raus."

Both stress that they left their homes against their will and that their primary motivation for leaving was to ensure their survival. This involuntary separation from the place one experiences as home involves uncountable losses of objects, opportunities, dreams, people etc. in relation to which one used to understand oneself. In most cases people feel ease and familiarity within their usual habitat, however, even if everyday life involves pain and hardship, being forced to leave home is undoubtedly tremendous and challenging since people are deeply reciprocally interwoven with it.

3.6.2. Loss of embeddedness and connection

Even in difficult times of war, persecution, hunger, or disease, the decision to leave one's hometown is still difficult. As stated above, leaving (parts of) one's family and friends, familiar language(s), places, traditions and values behind, in order to secure survival implies giving up a life and an existence embedded in familiar sticky signs and objects. Even if life in relation to these sticky signs and objects was challangeing due to e.g. complicated family relations or discrimination, leaving the comfort of familiarity and embeddedness defines a great loss. As discussed in the first chapter, for forced migrants, the decision of leaving home is an irreversible choice impling illegality and complicated and humiliating bureaucratic procedures in the countries where they settle down. Interviews with forced migrants suggest that leaving behind one's life (including home, family and friends) is generally motivated by having lost a sense of connection and safety within their hometowns. E.g. Abdul, a migrant, explains:

"The escape was… I can also … It started that I couldn't live there anymore, because the government wanted me to join the military even though I was a minor. That was not important anymore. As soon as you could carry a gun and besides, I am [minority] and I am from the [minority] territory. They started a war against ISIS and ISIS called all [minority] people disbelievers or something like that. And they also wanted to kill me. And there were many checkpoints and I could go nowhere, I couldn't move. Then they came to our city and took it and then I escaped and I arrived in Turkey." (Abdul, 22, forced migrant) (my translation) "Der Flucht war … ich kann halt auch... Es hat halt damit angefangen, dass ich nicht mehr dort leben konnte, weil ich halt von der Regierung, musste ich halt zum Militär, obwohl ich damals auch minderjährig war. Aber das hat halt keine Rolle mehr gespielt. Sobald man eine Waffe tragen konnte und andererseits halt ich bin halt [Minorität] und komme aus dem [Minorität] Gebiet und die haben halt gegen den IS einen Krieg angefangen und dann waren halt alle [Minorität] und dann hat der IS alle [Minorität] irgendwie ungläubige oder so etwas genannt. Und wollte mich halt auch irgendwie umbringen. Und es gab dann sehr viele Kontrollstellen von denen und ich konnte dann halt nirgendwo hingehen, ich konnte mich halt nicht bewegen. Dann kamen die zu unserer Stadt und haben die Stadt übernommen und dann bin ich geflohen und bin ich in der Türkei angekommen."

Abdul says that in his hometown life had become impossible for him as the government required him to go to war. The city where he used to live was taken by ISIS, a military force which was at war with the [minority] military. Since he is [minority] it meant that his life was seriously threatened. The government and the military force which controlled the region where he lived had turned into a threat to his life rather than ensuring his safety and future. This loss of security and safety with institutions implies the experience of a constant threat to his survival. Living under the impression that one's bare life is in danger is a destabilizing and unnerving experience that involves losing trust and connection to other people.

In fact, when describing their motivations to escape their home country, most forced migrant participants narrate a similar loss of security and safety. The main reasons for this loss of security and loss of trust in the government and other people were governments threatening survival instead of supporting their current and future lives. Lina, a forced migrant, states:

> "[Name of country], for example, they don't know anything and everyone wants to take and they forget the other people. It makes me angry. I don't know, I think they didn't study politics. (laughs) The Americans play like little children. Also the president of [name of country], I don't like at all. They are rich und they are stupid. All the people are hungry and they throw oil away just like that ." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "[Name des Landes] zum beispiel, die wissen gar nicht und jeder will einfach etwas nehmen und die vergessen die anderen Leute. Das ärgert mich. Ich weiß es nicht, ich glaube die haben keine Politik studiert. (lacht) Die Amerikaner spielen so wie die kleine Kind. Auch der Präsident im [Name des Landes], das gefällt mir überhaupt nicht. Die sind reich einfach und die sind so dumm. Alle Leute haben Hunger und die schmeißen einfach alles Öl und so weg."

Lina suggests that politicians only cared about their own wealth while they endangered people's lives by letting them be hungry. Many forced migrants participating in this study perceived that the governments of the places they escaped endangered their lives. They often say that politics in their countries of origin are a game and that politicians only care about themselves and forget about the people. They state that till today they are fed up with politics and don't want to know anything about it anymore. The loss of security and the uncertainty of one's survival due to a threatening government is a very destabilizing experience. When having to suffer hunger and being at the mercy of arbitrary powers tomorrow ceases to be secured. Having lost trust in a secure future motivated migrant participants to leave their homes to seek security and safety in other places.

Interviews suggest that this loss of feeling secure and safe continues to shape forced migrants' lives and reciprocal relations once they have settled down in NRW. When asked whether her imaginaries of the future differ from those of her peers Doaa, a forced migrant, says:

> "In school, everyone wants to pass the A-Level and to study something good which suits them. So the thing about security, I don't believe it, because in school everyone was born here and I believe that they don't think about security like I do. Because I never had thought of security before I lost it." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "In der Schule, alle möchten Abi schaffen und etwas gutes so zu

denen passend studieren. So das mit der Sicherheit, so ich glaube nicht, weil in der Schule alle sind hier geboren und ich glaube, dass sie nicht so an Sicherheit denken wie ich. Weil ich habe auch nicht an Sicherheit gedacht bevor ich sie verloren hatte."

Doaa says that she lost a feeling of security and this loss distinguishes her from other students who are born "here" (NRW). According to her, students born "here" do not think about and wish for security when imagining their futures, since they have never lost it. Thus, she associates her loss of feeling secure with her experience of being forced to migrate. Moreover, Doaa mentions security as a wish for her personal future, suggesting that having lost the feeling of safety shapes how she imagines her future. This describes the experience of losing security as a reciprocal one, since it extends the moment of loss and shapes how Doaa thinks of herself and projects herself in the future.

Consequently, forced migration is motivated by losing trust in a secure and safe tomorrow. Governing entities turning into a threat to people's lives rather than ensuring their lives and futures is a destabilizing experience as it implies that threat is potentially everywhere (e.g.conversation with neighbors, walking through the streets). Interviews show that the experience of losing feelings of security continues after migration and shapes forced migrant participants' reciprocal relations to others in NRW.

Forced migration (and migration in general) implies leaving friends and family behind. About half of the forced migrants who participated in this study escaped alone while the others escaped with parts of their family. Most of those escaping alone are young men, who either are still living alone in NRW or were able to organize family reunions for some of their closest relatives. Those who were able to migrate together with parts of the family usually fled together with their parents and/or some of their siblings. Sometimes, they followed an older sibling, who had escaped earlier and had applied for family reunion, or they had the help of organizations or escaped as family together. Interviews with forced migrants suggest that living without their families in NRW shapes their experience of loss as it adds an extra layer of instability and insecurity. E.g. Karim, a forced migrant who escaped alone, explains:

> "Nobody is behind me. My family loves me and I love them, for sure! But they are not here to support me. (...) Because my parents are not here and I am alone. I still need to manage a lot, going to school and such. Learn a profession, do an apprenticeship, later also work." (Karim, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Keiner ist hinter mir. Meine Familie klar die lieben mich und ich liebe sie. Klar! Aber die sind nicht hier um mich zu unterstützen. (...) Weil meine Eltern sind nicht hier und ich bin halt alleine hier. Ich muss halt noch vieles schaffen, zur Schule gehen und so. Beruf erlernen, eine Ausbildung noch machen, später noch arbeiten."

For Karim, being separated from his family implies losing support. His parents are physically far away and cannot support him in his practical concerns so he has to organize his life by himself. When forced migrants' parents remain in the place where their children escaped from or migrated to different countries, they are not only physically away, but also lack familiarity with the routines and norms of their children's everyday lives. They know little about bureaucratic procedures, the education system or the job market. Moreover, it might be difficult for them to relate to their children's daily struggles of meeting

expectations by locals and institutions in NRW concerning their education and employment as well as discrimination and humiliation, because parents' everyday reality is defined by surviving or other serious concerns. This loss of parental support adds to the experience of losing the feeling of embeddedness and connection, as lives are more comfortable and easier when one can rely on advice and existing networks from one's parents. Also Mustafa, a forced migrant, stresses the loss of support and the resulting need for self-responsibility:

> "Completely, meaning, since I have been in Germany, that was a big step for me. That I made it by myself, because I was here alone during two years and I had to stand on my own legs. I had to be responsible for myself." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Komplett, also, seit dem ich in Deutschland war, war das für mich ein großer Schritt, dass ich das so alleine geschafft habe. Weil ich war hier ja so zwei Jahre lang alleine und musste alleine auf meinen Beinen stehen. Und sozusagen selbstverantwortlich sein."

Similarly to Karim, Mustafa stresses that he had to manage arriving and starting a new life in NRW by himself. Having to be self-responsible and "standing on one's own legs" might refer to many things. Managing everyday life in a new locality involves dealing with bureaucratic procedures, going to school or work, learning a new language, internalizing written and unwritten rules and norms, taking care of oneself as, for example, going to the doctor, cooking, cleaning etc. Based on and beyond these practical tasks, being self-responsible also implies assuring a sense of personal safety and security, which can be challenging, especially for an adolescent or young adult living in an unfamiliar place. Having someone who provides advice based on experiences and existing social networks (parents, siblings, family, friends) is a key pillar of support granting safety, security, comfort and ease. Thus, being forced to leave one's place of residency implies losing emotional and practical support from friends and family, which enhances losses of feeling safe, secure and embedded.

Beyond the feeling of support and safety, forced migrants participating in this study narrate losses involving familiar language, traditions, ways of relating to other people and a sense of recognition, which all relate to feelings of embeddedness. All forced migrants who participated in this study stated that arriving was difficult since they felt confused, lost and disorientated. Most of them name an unfamiliar language as their primary difficulty. E.g. Bara, Doaa, and Lina says:

> "In the beginning? In the beginning it was a bit difficult because of the language." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Am Anfang? Am Anfang war ein bisschen schwer wegen Sprache."

> "So in the beginning it was very difficult for me to orient myself about all these things." (Bara, 22, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also am Anfang war es sehr schwierig mich über diese ganzen Sachen zu orientieren"

> "Once there, I had to learn the language and understand the system and comply with it." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Da musste ich einmal die Sprache lernen und das System verstehen und daran halten."

Not knowing one's way around and not being (fully) able to communicate constitutes a loss. Interviews suggest that feelings of confusion, instability and threat are especially intense shortly after arrival as, at that moment, forced migrant participants have little that could direct their lives. They usually do not know how to go about everyday life, are little able to verbalize their concerns and have little understanding of how they are perceived by others. In this sense, especially in the beginning, forced migrant participants struggle to form connections and alignments with other people and social meanings, particles, values and norms producing everyday life. These confusion and initial paralysis touch on and prolong the experience of having lost security and safety which motivated forced migrants to escape from their homes. Forced migrant participants' narratives suggest that not being able to interact, relate to and communicate with others leaves forced migrants with the feeling of having to face life and all involved struggles alone.

Besides language proficiency, forced migrants highlight that difficulties linked to understanding a new system and its bureaucratic procedures, as well as making friends with local people enhance their feelings of disorientation and instability. All these struggles are evidence that for a newcomer smooth and easy relating and connection to other people and sticky signs and objects is not a given. Concrete difficulties, e.g. not being able to make a doctor's appointment, can be understood as instances of loss. Losses, being relational, are not reducible to a particular instance of a loss, but extend across time and localities, as they imply changes in a person's reciprocal relations. While concrete losses motivating migration concerned losing access to education, food, water, and electricity endangering survival, concrete losses involved in everyday life in NRW evolve around e.g. not knowing the language and the system, struggles to establish connections to locals or having to make decisions alone that, prior to migration, would have involved support by family or friends. These losses evidence relational losses such as feelings of security, ease, and comfort, which contribute to the loss of embeddedness and familiarity with a particular organization and creation of social life.

On arrival, the loss of connection and embeddedness might be most apparent, as feeling safe and embedded results from being in reciprocal relation and feeling connected to other people (Rosa 2018) and sticky signs and objects. In fact, newcomers are still impressed by and aligned with social meanings, norms, habits, and values they related to before or during their migration. Since they have had little contact with people and norms and habits producing everyday life in NRW, they were not or not fully able to establish connections and alignments, which could guide their further reciprocal relations. Interviews show that forced migrant participants are aware that they need contact with locals in order to attune their movements to life in NRW, granting feelings of embeddedness within it. Eyüp, a forced migrant, explains:

> "And the third thing I wanted to say, somehow I have an aversion towards my compatriots at the moment. I avoid contact with them and I also don't want my entourage to be primarily made up

of migrants. I want to have locals first and foremost. People who belong to society here, because I want to belong to society too." (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und als drittes, was ich zu sagen haben, irgendwie habe ich zur Zeit eine Abneigung gegenüber meinen Landsleuten. Ich vermeide Kontakt mit denen und ich möchte auch nicht, dass mein Umfeld hauptsächlich von Migranten besteht. Ich möchte in erster Linie Einheimische haben. Also nicht unbedingt Deutsche, aber Menschen die zu der Gesellschaft hier gehören, weil ich auch zu der Gesellschaft gehören möchte."

Eyüp has the impression that in order to become 'part of the society', he needs contacts with people who already partake in it. According to him, contacts with other migrants do not support him in that quest, because they don't fully belong to society. In fact, contacts with other people and sticky signs and object producing "society" in NRW allow Eyüp (and other newcomers) to tune to everyday life and, thus, to gain a feeling of embeddedness. As noted by Eyüp, for this, contacts with people whose presence and participation is uncontested (locals) are most effective since locals have access to resources and the power/authority to recognize (or derecognize) newcomers as equal participants in everyday life.

While language can be learned and a system understood, this does not immediately lead to forced migrants gaining a feeling of embeddedness. Interviews suggest that contacts with locals are rare and that loss of security, stability and recognition remain a crucial experience even after several years of residency. For example, Mustafa, who has lived in NRW for four years, says:

"Because refugee and human are currently, because of these shitty politics, two different words. But a refugee is also a human." (Mustafa, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Weil Flüchtling und Mensch sind ja momentan, durch diese ganze scheiß Politik, zwei verschiedene Wörter. Aber Flüchtling ist auch ein Mensch."

Mustafa has the impression that he is not recognized as a human being, but as a refugee. He claims recognition as an equal, and argues that while the category 'humans' defines all people on equal grounds, the concept of 'refugee' refers to a legal category with limited rights and a preconditioned story of experiences of hardship, war and/or extreme discrimination. At the time of the interview, all forced migrants participating in this research had learned German and were studying or had studied at high schools, vocational schools or universities in NRW. This implies they had been making great efforts to establish contacts and connections with locals and to construct a life. Most of the forced migrant interviewees say that they feel settled down, in the sense that they have developed routines and grew familiar with their immediate surroundings. After several years of relating to other people in NRW, they grew tuned to contacts with them, allowing forced migrants to partake in everyday life. Despite years passing since his migration, Mustafa still does not feel like he is acknowledged as an equal human being. This suggests that attunement to norms, habits and values of the localites one relates to may happen even if these norms, habits and values involve discrimination and social injustice. Discrimination and social injustices are established and enforced by the circulation of sticky signs and objects, since their stickiness (social meanings) reflect current social hierachies. Thus, growing tuned to localities does not necessarily implies harmony among the people and sticky meanings, norms, habits and practices producing these

localities, but involves a bodily and emotional experience that may consist of both privilege or social disadvantage.

The ongoing loss of recognition Mustafa narrates is crucial, since it shapes forced migrant participants' possibilities to partake as equals in everyday life. Not being recognized as an equal in everyday life implies not being able to form connections with locals and being denied access to the negotiation of social meanings, norms and practices as well as having no opportunity to align one's body with them. Doaa, a forced migrant, describes how losing familiarity with ritualized interactions and resulting recognition as a full participant plays out for her:

> "Because I miss Arab culture and traditions a bit. The difference, what I find more nicer with us is that the society is closer. Maybe because it is a smaller society, maybe because we have similarities. But people are always close together and I want to experience that one more time."
>
> (Doaa, refugee, 19, NRW) (my translation) "Weil ich vermisse Arabische Kultur und Tradition ein bisschen. Der Unterschied, was ich mehr schöner bei uns finde ist, dass die Gesellschaft enger ist. Vielleicht weil es eine kleiner Gesellschaft ist, vielleicht weil wir so Gemeinsamkeiten haben. Aber Menschen sind immer so nah beieinander und ich möchte das noch einmal erleben."

Since Doaa describes herself as missing "Arab traditions and culture", she appears to experience social life in NRW to be produced differently. Moreover, she says that she misses a "closer society" in which people are more intimate. The experience of closeness she describes may refer to felt closeness to other people and uncontested access to rituals and everyday routines. Feeling involved in everyday routines and rituals creating social life implies that it is the same rituals and routines which help the person to produce and confirm her self-understanding. Thus, Doaa appears to miss not only specific traditions and routines, but also the possibility to align her body with them, allowing her feelings of closeness to these traditions and other people practicing them. Thus, her words suggest a longing for a specific way to create social life and uncontested access to this creation. Uncontested access to the production of social life demands recognition by locals (people enjoying this unquestioned legitimacy) as an equal participant. In this way, the loss of closeness she describes implies a loss of recognition and connection to locals in NRW.

The experience of these losses of feeling close, connected and recognized as equal participants and equal human beings by locals is enhanced by locals being perceived as turned away. Forced migrants and experts participating in this study describe locals as closed, cold and distant towards forced migrants. E.g. Vera, a forced migrant, says:

> "In the beginning it was not good, because simply, because people here are very different than I. People have a different temperament and such. (...) And here everything is a bit colder." (Vera, forced migrant, 21 years) (my translation) "Am Anfang war nicht so gut, weil ich einfach, weil Menschen sind hier ganz unterschiedlich als ich. Menschen haben ganz unterschiedliche Temperament so. (...) Und hier ist alles so etwas kälter."

Nasir, a forced migrant, has a similar impression:

"People here are more closed than at home, I find. I believe that people in my country are more social. You can just talk to a stranger a lot more than you can here." (Nasir, forced migrant, 20 years) (my translation) "Die Leute hier sind mehr so geschlossener als zu hause, finde ich. Ich glaube die Leute in meinem Land sind sozialer. Man kann einfach mit einem Fremden viel mehr reden als hier."

Similar to Vera and Nasir, other forced migrant participants experienced "people here" as closed and cold towards them. All forced migrant participants who talked about "people here" refer to locals (people who are born in Germany and whose families have been established in Germany for several generations). As the quotes suggest, locals being cold and closed means that it is difficult to be in contact and establish meaningful connections with them. This tendency is confirmed by most forced migrant participants stating that their friends are generally either foreigners themselves or children of migrants. E.g. Khaded, a forced migrant, says:

"I also mainly hang out with foreigners. My friends here are foreigners and also in the football club they are all foreigners." (Khaded, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich auch zum großen teil nur mit Ausländern unterwegs bin. Meine Freunde hier sind Ausländer auch draußen Fußball verein, alle sind Ausländer."

Having only foreigner friends suggests that it is difficult for Khaded to establish contact and meaningful connections and reciprocal relations with locals. Interviews show that Khaded is not the only one facing this struggle. There is little narration of connection, communion and sharing rituals and everyday life routines, such as eating, studying, partying, drinking, celebrating, traveling, doing sport, together with "locals". These ritualized reunions structure everyday life and meanings and would allow newcomers to take part in the enacting, imagining and embodying of the locality.

Participating in these rituals and routines would allow forced migrant participants to establish connections and alignments with sticky signs and objects (Ahmed 2004) or global flows (Appadurai 1996), producing the localities where they settled. These alignments would enable forced migrants to find ways to relate to norms and habits and, thus, establish a sense of connection, stability, and mutuality with other people enacting these localities. Furthermore, alignments allow forced migrants to trust in and anticipate their personal futures in relation to others.

In fact, since forced migrants' pasts are not or have only recently been aligned with norms and habits producing social life they now partake in, being able to imagine their future within it, is not intuitive at first. As stated earlier, when one's participation in everyday life and rituals has never been questioned, feelings of embeddedness and connection with others and sticky signs and objects may be taken for granted. This seemingly natural connection and embeddedness allows for anticipating and trusting in possible personal futures framed by them. E.g. Julia, a German citizen, says:

"Because many people, who are born here and who are accepted by society, take it as a given that they can get an education here, that they can become something big." (Julia,NRW, German citizen, 18) (my translation) "Weil viele Menschen, die hier geboren sind und von der Gesellschaft akzeptiert werden, die sehen das als

Selbstverständlichkeit, dass sie hier eine Schulausbildung machen können, das aus denen etwas Großes werden könnte"

Julia suggests that people, who are born in and "accepted by society", take it for granted that they have a secure and successful future within it. Forced migrants are, by definition, not born in the societies they live in. They have lived in different geographical places, where their everyday reciprocal relating and interactions were framed by norms and routines (partly) different to the norms and routines which create the everyday life they now relate to. This implies that constructing a new life and imaginaries of the future in the places where they settled is not always evident at first. Building a new life and future demands forced migrants to find ways of tuning their habits to social norms, meanings and practices creating the localities within which they imagine their futures. Interviews suggest that these processes of alignment involve creating a self-understanding in accordance with these sticky signs and objects. E.g. Eyüp, a forced migrant, says:

> "I start all over again not only materially speaking, but also me my self-image is completely different and is changing daily. Somehow I am, I mean I am looking for stability also regarding what kind of person I am." (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich fange also nicht nur im Bezug auf materielle Dinge neu an, sondern auch ich mein Selbstbild ist auch so ganz anders und ändert sich täglich. Irgendwie bin ich, also suche ich auch eine Stabilität in der Hinsicht, also was für eine Person ich bin."

Eyüp experiences living in NRW as a new beginning materially and intrapersonally. In the interview, he explains that while he used to have a highly ranked position in the government, allowing him a comfortable life, he now lives on unemployment benefits. In addition to these material changes, he says that forced migration has provoked profound changes in the way he perceives himself and, in fact, his self-image is still changing every day. As stated above, people are perceived to always exist in reciprocal relation to others and sticky signs and objects. Following this, experiencing the need to create a new self-image implies relating to social meanings, norms and people that do not mirror one's "old" self-understanding. Upon arrival, forced migrant participants are not familiar with norms, habits and values creating everyday life and they cannot understand who they are in relation to these. Thus, their everyday interacting and relating is a constant struggle of trying to understand the routines of everyday life and themselves within it. Since Eyüp states that his self-understanding continues to change everyday, he still appears uncertain about who he is in relation to the norms, habits and people producing his social environment. This process of habituation and attunement needs time and contacts with locals, allowing Eyüp to understand himself in relation to them.

Excluding forced migrants or giving them only limited access to the practice of rituals and everyday life reduces their possibilities for contacts with others, social meanings and norms and, thus, prolongs their difficulties to understand themselves in relation to them. Present interaction and reciprocal

relations prepare one's future, so understanding oneself in relation to others, values, norms, traditions and habits configuring localities allows and implies that forced migrants imagine and prepare a future aligned with these.

Interviews show that all forced migrants put efforts into preparing and imagining their future in NRW. In fact, all of them attend school, university or other educational training with the aim to have a career in NRW/Germany. Despite their intention, their narratives suggest that they are uncertain about their future in NRW/Germany. E.g. Munzer, a forced migrant, who has lived in NRW for three years, says:

> "I think, maybe, there will be a moment when all (refugees) will have to return. I am very worried about this. If I start to build something here and then all of a sudden have to delete it all." (Munzer, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich denke, vielleicht kommt die Zeit wenn alle (Flüchtlinge) zurückkehren müssen. Und das macht mir schon sorgen. Wenn ich mir hier etwas aufbaue und dann auf einmal alles löschen soll."

Munzer is concerned about his future in NRW, because he does not trust that his residence permit in Germany is secure. He is worried about losing once again a life, this time the life he has constructed in NRW. As stated in the previous chapter, forced migrant participants hold different kinds of residence permits based on the evaluation of the threat and hardships they were facing in the countries they escaped from. Asylum is a temporary residence permit in Germany and is granted upon situations of war, persecution or extreme discrimination. An asylum seeker might be allowed for one to three years and institutions verify before each renewal whether the situation in her country of departure still justifies her claim for asylum. Thus, asylum is not a secure permission to reside in NRW. Many might feel uncertain about their future for various reasons, but forced migrants face the particular insecurity of temporary residence permits, which are conditioned by the situation of war, persecution and extreme discrimination in their countries of departure.

Thus, temporary and conditioned residence permits add a layer of uncertainty to forced migrants' connections to locals, which already involve contested and insecure participation in everyday life routines and rituals (and potentially other reciprocal relations as well). In fact, interviews suggest that many forced migrant participants share Munzer's worries about a secure future in NRW. Karim, a forced migrant who has lived in NRW for three years, says:

> "Sometimes I don't know where I am standing. Because everything is so uncertain for me. I migrated here and I don't know whether I can stay here or what will happen." (Karim, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Manchmal weiß ich selber nicht wo ich gerade stehe. Denn es ist noch alles unsicher für mich. Ich bin ja hier zugewandert und ich weiß nicht ob ich hier bleiben kann oder nicht oder was passiert."

Similarly, Doaa, a forced migrant who has lived in NRW for four years, states:

> "I am worried about the future in general, because I don't always want to be at a turning point,

where I don't know what will happen. Where I'm going to live. That I don't know whether I will stay here or go back in my country. You always feel insecure." _{(Doaa, 19, forced migrant, NRW) (my} _{translation) "Ich habe so Sorgen für die Zukunft so allgemein, weil ich will nicht immer so an dieser Wendestelle sein, dass ich nicht} _{weiß was wirklich passieren wird. Wo ich lebe. Das ich nicht weiß ob ich hier bleibe oder nach meinem Land zurückkehrt. Man fühlt} _{sich immer so unsicher."}

At the time of the interview, both had lived in NRW for three to four years, but feelings of insecurity and mistrust about their future in NRW prevailed. Quotes suggest that struggling to imagine the future self as a part of everyday life in NRW is a stressful experience. This is not surprising, since, as mentioned earlier, constructing imaginaries of the future outside of any locality is difficult. People intuitively think of themselves as relating to others and a social setting (Adam 2007). Moreover, future projection of the self is an important aspect of people's self-understanding (Mische 2009), so not being able to construct secure imaginaries of the future is a profoundly destabilizing experience.

Following what has been argued above, not being able to trust in a secure future in NRW suggests that forced migrants have not established secure enough connections and reciprocal relations with others and social norms, habits and infrastructures, preventing them from imagining their futures in relation to them. In fact, this continuing uncertainty about their future in NRW prologues the loss of feeling secure, connected and embedded within routines and rituals creating everyday life. Moreover, feeling insecure about their futures in NRW might make forced migrants hesitant about engaging and investing themselves in their social environment and, thus, in their futures within it.

This suggests that the loss of feeling secure, connected and embedded within their environment continues in NRW. This describes the loss of connection and embeddedness as a reciprocal loss extending a concrete moment in time and space. Every experience of loss influences a forced migrant's reciprocal relations and, thus, how she enters new contacts making the experience of loss irreducible to concrete moments. Difficulties to establish connections with the localities where forced migrant participants have settled touch on impressions involving the loss of connection and embeddedness in everyday interrelating in their hometowns. Thus, for forced migrants, life both in their hometowns and in NRW involve unique experiences of loss amounting to the experience of having lost connection, embeddedness, safety and trust in other people, institutions, social norms and habits, which create social life and a personal future in relation to them.

3.7. Summary

In sum, feeling connected to others and embedded in the reciprocal relating producing localities is crucial for people's sense of security and safety (and their possibility to construct imaginaries of the future

in relation to them). The analysis has shown that forced migration involves losing these feelings of connection and embeddedness. This loss is not localizable in the places forced migrants escaped from, as the loss of connection and embeddedness continues to shape their life in NRW. In the place forced migrants escaped from, the loss of embeddedness and connection involve situations of war, discrimination, hunger and/or persecution. In NRW, loss is experienced through unfamiliarity with bureaucratic procedures, language, social norms and habits as well as through struggles to establish stable connections to locals and not being recognized as a full participant in everyday life. Forced migrants' struggle to create secure connections and reciprocal relations makes it difficult for them to trust in their future aligned with social norms, practices and meanings that configure everyday life in NRW. Despite this uncertainty, imagining and preparing a future in NRW is the first step towards the participation in daily routines and rituals. These contradicting reciprocal relations exemplify and enhance forced migrants' experience of having lost embeddedness and connection to others and their social environment.

The next chapter explores in further detail the reciprocal relations defining forced migrants' position(s) in relation to locals and social routines, norms and values in NRW. For this, I will use Simmel's concept of the "stranger" (Simmel 1992), according to which a stranger is a reciprocal relation between the person, who arrived and settled down, and society.

4. THE STRANGER AND BECOMING PART

4.1. Defining the "stranger"

This chapter explores the relationship between newcomers, in the case of this study, forced migrants, and the localities where they arrive and settle down. Generally, the concepts of inclusion or integration are used to conceptualize the process of newcomers arriving and becoming part of the society of their place of settlement. Inclusion and integration have been understood in diverse ways generally either stressing ethnicity, multiculturalism, or civic integration (Gustafson and Laksfoss Cardozo 2017; Penninx, Spencer and Van Hear 2008; Windzio, de Valk, Wingens and Aybek 2011). The logic of ethnicity demands newcomers' assimilation, while civic integration stresses adaptation to civil duties and social norms, and multiculturalism focuses on cultural differences and the idea of including the "others'" differences (Gustafson and Laksfoss Cardozo 2017).[24] All these understandings of inclusion or integration suggest that newcomers need to include or integrate themselves into society where society and newcomers are generally thought of as abstract wholes and more or less homogeneous entities. When society and newcomers are more or less homogeneous entities, possible differences between them easily turn into absolute and generic differences. These generic differences are fertile ground for establishing meaningful distance and otherness and flattening out diversity in society and among newcomers. This idea of homogeneity and generic differences is favored by the "we/me" vs. "they" logic which is quickly employed in everyday language when discussing and writing about topics concerning migration and migrants becoming part of everyday life. The "we/me" is not necessarily perceived as purely homogenous, but the difference newcomers are perceived to engender are not part of the plurality associated with the "me/we". Moreover, theories and policies in line with the logic of inclusion and integration suggest that newcomers are the ones who have to reduce their differences in order to partake in social life. This allocation of responsibility to newcomers is based on different degrees of (perceived) neediness: Newcomers are generally believed to be the ones who depend on society and locals where they

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[24] Not all scholars have understood integration solely in terms of adaptation and assimilation. For example, Paulo Freire (2005) proposes to understand integration in the following way: "*Integration* with one's context, as distinguished from *adaptation*, is a distinctively human activity. Integration results from the capacity to adapt oneself to reality plus the critical capacity to make choices and to transform reality. To the extent that man loses his ability to make choices and is subjected to the choices of others, to the extent that his decisions are no longer his own because they result from external prescriptions, he is no longer integrated. Rather he has adapted. He has "adjusted"." Freire conceived of integration as a reciprocal process in which the person adapts to and transforms her context. If transformation is only one-way, the person in fact is not integrated. However, since the academic and everyday life understanding of integration proposes it as a unidirectional process, I decide not to use this term, but rather to talk about becoming a part of and/or participating in everyday life.

settled in order to establish a life, while locals and society perceive themselves as being able to pursue their lives without support and/or collaboration with newcomers.

As established before, society is understood as a web of uncountable, always evolving reciprocal relations between people and objects defining its social structures. The principle of inclusion or integration disregards this relational constitution of society and, thus, the numerous reciprocal relations between newcomers, institutions, and people already living in the place. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the experience of living in a place is understood in terms of locality (Appadurai 1996; Ahmed 2004) as an interactive, reciprocal, embodied experience forming and being formed by people enacting it. Thus, localities are never homogeneous abstract wholes. Localities are cooperative projects, such that newcomers' becoming part of a locality takes place in interactions with other people and sticky signs and objects (social meanings, habits, values, norms and institutions). Thus, becoming a part can neither solely derive from newcomers' doing nor can it impose changes only on newcomers. Becoming part of social life is a process of continuous reciprocal relations between newcomers and the locality; thus, it is a process which involves and shapes newcomers and sticky signs and objects as well as already established people. In this way, newcomers' positions in social life are not fixed, but rather are a matter of continuous reciprocal relations leading to body (re-)alignments and the creation and termination of connections.

Thus, the process of forced migrants becoming part of a locality is understood as a reciprocal process concerning equally the newcomers and the already established people, and social meanings, norms and practices producing everyday life. For all, the process requires individuals to make contact and mutual impressions to establish reciprocal relations and to understand the self in relation to the other. Exploring these reciprocal relations between newcomers and already established people, I follow Simmel's (1992) concept of the "stranger" (and Ahmed's (2013) discussion of it). The basic proposition of this concept is to recognize the stranger as a relation rather than an attribute of newcomers. As soon as newcomers are recognized as strangers, a reciprocal relation exists between them and the locality, as naming them implies a relation. Following this, their becoming part of everyday life must be thought of and practiced as a relational and reciprocal process (rather than unidirectional adaptation or assimilation). Moreover, Simmel (1992) and Ahmed (2011) point to the particular power of the locality in defining "strangers'" positions and their possibilities to participate in everyday life.

Simmel's (1992) concept of a "stranger" proposes a reciprocal relation between a "stranger" and a society, which is defined by a specific degree of closeness and distance. A "stranger" is a person who has arrived and does not leave. Therefore, this concept applies to (forced) migrants rather than tourists, who leave after a few days or weeks. Simmel (1992) proposes a positive relationship between a "stranger" and society, meaning the relationship affects both sides making it necessarily a reciprocal experience. Recognizing the other's strangeness impacts the body of the "stranger" and the local (Ahmed 2013), as

both are impressed by the perception of strangeness. This mutual impression implies a reciprocal relation, so being recognized as a stranger defines her as a part of society (Simmel 1992). This reciprocal relation defining the stranger derives from a particular degree of closeness and distance, since a stranger is close due to her geographical proximity; however, she is distant, as she is perceived to be different e.g., in terms of nation, social class, language or profession (Simmel 1992). Not every stranger is perceived to be equally far and therefore distance, closeness, and strangeness are dimensional concepts reflecting the characteristics of the newcomers and preexisting "knowledge" about and interpretations of these characteristics by locals.

Furthermore, Simmel (1992) says that this interplay of closeness and distance is nothing particular to the relationship between "strangers" and locals, but defines every interpersonal relationship. The distance to the stranger is created based on her coming from somewhere else. Distances define people's position closer to the center or more at the periphery of the society, where more central positions imply more power and influence than peripheral ones. The distance defining strangers' reciprocal relations is difficult to reduce, since strangers are not bound to society through land, blood or profession, and even if they marry, buy land, or take on a profession they might still remain strangers in interpersonal relations (Simmel 1992). This suggests that society sets the conditions and situations for strangers' closeness and with that their possibilities to participate in everyday life.

However, not only "strangers" but every person is in some way read as close to and in other ways as distant from us. Common features or characteristics are binding when they are unique to the relationship. However, when they are common to a larger group they are not binding. Thus, if locals see only very general shared features between them and newcomers, the perceived differences become more meaningful and newcomers are recognized as strangers (i.e., as a social role or type) and not as individuals. Following this idea, on the level of the individual, this relational understanding of a "stranger" entails that strangers are equals, just as any friend, colleague or lover would be. On the level of the society, it implies that the reciprocal relation to a stranger, just as any other interpersonal relation, is part of a complex net of reciprocal relations in which social hierarchies and social inequalities are constantly (re-)defined.

Following Ahmed (2013), reciprocal relations defining the position of a "stranger" are always affective because they involve reading newcomers through predefined knowledge and interpretations about them. These knowledge and interpretations exist prior to newcomers' arrival and stick to newcomers through locals' judging them as strangers. Stickiness always involves emotions because the stickiness of labels, judgements, assumptions, gestures and words contains the affect which makes them stick to bodies or objects and which they have acquired through past contacts. In this sense, meeting a stranger always describes a situation of already knowing rather than of failing to know (Ahmed 2004),

and this is due to the emotions involved in these histories of contact as it is through emotions that particular interpretations stick to some bodies and not others. Stickiness of bodies, signs, and objects (ideas, labels, social infrastructures, values) structure social life and help people to understand their surroundings. The emotion(s) involved in the judgment of "strangeness" move locals' and newcomers' bodies away or towards each other and are thus crucial for how strangers position and are positioned in social space. Thus, perceiving newcomers as strangers and the social hierarchies shaped by this perception always involve emotions because reading newcomers' body surfaces, meaning their style, physical appearance, behavior, speech and attitudes as "strange," is always based on histories of contact with these features and these histories of contact are always affective since they are conserved through emotions.

4.2. Social hierarchies

When defining "locality," Appadurai (2013) pays little attention to structural powers involved in social positioning and social stratification of people and how this might influence their possibilities to enact and participate in everyday life. The complex dynamics of social stratification and discrimination have been theorized in terms of intersectionality (Anthias andYuval-Davis 1992; Crenshaw 1994; Guy-Sheftall 1995; Anthias 2012; Yuval-Davis 2011). Intersectionality explains how differences among people in terms of social categories e.g., gender, race, class, ethnicity or age turn into inequalities and interrelate to determine the social position of a given person (Yuval-Davis 2011). Thus, this theory helps us understand the potentially diverse social positions of different foreigners in a locality, as a result of numerous reciprocal relations and a struggle over power and resources.

Anthias (2008) emphasizes that social categories such as gender, age, or ethnicity do not refer to fixed groups of people, but are themselves highly relational constructs. They are the product of constant reciprocal relations among and between people and institutions making social stratification a reciprocal process. According to Anthias (2008), these social categories are produced by many local and translocal factors and forces and are constantly renegotiated. She proposes the concept of translocation positionality where positionality refers to the interplay of a person's concrete social position and social positioning, which describes the practices, actions and meanings that are involved in the exercise of a given social position (Anthias 2008). Social locations, according to Anthias (2008) are social positions produced within contextual, spatial, temporal and hierarchical relations and processes around the intersection of e.g., class, ethnicity, and gender. The idea of translocation allows for the idea that people, especially migrants, might be involved in multiple social locations over time and space, which makes their

occupation of a social position translocational. However, translocational does not only refer to a multiplicity of locations due to transnational displacement, but also to movements across social locations within the social structure in terms of social class, gender, or age.

Intersectionality and the concept of translocation positionality recognize the relational nature of social categories and social positioning as an ongoing process being featured in people's actions, relations and possibilities. Ahmed (2004) adds to this relational position and stresses social stratification as a bodily experience, as she understands a person's position in social space as a body's constant (re-) aligning and (re-)connecting with other bodies and sticky meanings, values, infrastructures, practices and labels. Similarly, Bourdieu (2000) understands social hierarchies as being directly exercised on the body, not through sticky signs and objects, but mediated by a habitus and set of dispositions which reflect a person's social position and through which it is reproduced. Following Bourdieu (2000) and Ahmed (2004) allows for the perception of social structures and hierarchies, above and beyond being bureaucratic and imagined structures occupied and enacted by people, as being imprinted on and materialized in bodies. Bodies occupy social positions and social positions occupy bodies shaping each other reciprocally.

Ahmed (2006) recognizes Bourdieu's (2000) theory of habitus and dispositions as one way to conceptualize how people internalize their own histories and in this way come to shape their present and future actions, interactions, and relations. Habitus (as a set of dispositions,) consists of internalized social norms, values, habits, styles, tastes, behaviors, gestures, rituals, and dreams which people acquire during socialization and education (Bourdieu 2000). In this sense, habitus describes an embodied knowledge of and bodily familiarity with social practices and everyday and ritualized interactions creating social life. People comprehend the social and physical space around them from the perspective of their habitus (Bourdieu 2000). In this sense, habitus always exists in relation to the environment people live in and describes their way of being attuned to it. People's habitus mirrors their social position as it leads their social practice, relations, attitudes, and utterances. This suggests that social hierarchies are exercised directly on the body. This makes submission not necessarily a voluntary act, but rather a practice of a person's habitus, which leads her to expect and tolerate existing power structures. In fact, according to Bourdieu (2000) the dominated and the dominating have developed the respective habitus to continue the relation of domination between them.

Ahmed (2004) and Bourdieu (2000) do not perceive social hierarchies as external to bodies, but as part of them. Both see bodies in continuous reciprocal relationships with their surroundings, such that surroundings are imprinted on and materialized through bodies. However, Ahmed (2004) describes the dynamic of this continuous reciprocal relation not in terms of internalization, but proposes it as a continuous (re)-shaping of body surfaces and (re)-orientation of bodies. She suggests that regulative norms shape bodies through "repetitive strain injuries" (Ahmed 2004, 145). Ahmed defines norms as

investments, as taking on or adhering to a norm implies that people invest in the reproduction of what that norm creates (She gives the example of heterosexuality: By following hetero-norms people invest in the reproduction of heterosexuality.). In this way, norms grant actions, spaces and possibilities to some people (those who invest in its reproduction) and not to others (those who do not invest in their reproduction). The regulation implied in norms is exercised on bodies through repeated orienting of bodies in the same direction (and not others). Since orientations affect what bodies can or cannot do, being orientated in a particular direction limits possible movements and contacts. Following this, the body surfaces take the shape of these regulative norms and adjust to spaces and actions granted to them. This means that, mediated by people's body surfaces, their possibilities to relate to and interact with others and sticky signs and objects are limited, so their doing reflects social norms and hierarchies (Ahmed 2004).

In this process of social stratification and struggles over resources and powers Ahmed (2004) stresses the role of emotions. As stated earlier, emotions make stickiness in the sense that they keep impressions alive on body surfaces (turning them sticky) and travel on sticky labels, ideas, interpretations, and/or gestures, because through emotions meanings are glued to objects and signs. Therefore, emotions are always involved in contacts with other bodies or sticky signs and objects and cause bodies to move (Ahmed 2004). Through repeated contact emotions cause certain movements and alignments to be repeated over time and in this way support the stabilization of social hierarchies. In that sense, emotions are involved in the maintenance and similarly in the changes of social hierarchies and power relations. Specifically, emotions can move bodies not only to repeat previous alignments, but also to resist alignments and orientations and/or form new ones. Thus, since body alignments are constantly altered or confirmed, social stratification is a dynamic process of body arrangements led by emotions through contact with sticky signs and objects rather than a fixed social structure. Through impressions by and body alignments with others and sticky signs and objects, social hierarchies are always (re)-exercised on body surfaces (Ahmed 2004).

4.3. Narration of strangeness

4.3.1. No body is "strange" but "strangeness" sticks to people

Samah, a forced migrant, explains:

> "I used to have problems with communication. I don't understand people and the people don't understand me. I am such a stranger. Not because of my language, but also because of how I look, for example. I am not like the others from the general image. I always felt very strange." (Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) " Ich hatte immer Schwierigkeiten mit der Kommunikation. Ich verstehe die Menschen nicht, die Menschen verstehen mich nicht. Ich bin so fremd. Nicht nur aufgrund der Sprache, sondern auch wie ich z.b. Aussehe. Ich bin doch nicht so wie die Anderen, von dem allgemeinen Bild. Ich habe mich immer so fremd gefühlt."

Samah says that her "general image" is not like others' "general image" and due to this difference she feels "strange." Thus, according to Samah, this difference concerning the "general image" turns her body into a "stranger" body. Similar to other forced migrants participating in this study, Samah understands her body as engendering this "strangeness" and thus accepts the characterization as a stranger. However, someone feeling strange evidences a reciprocal relation, as a person turns into a "stranger" when she is read as "strange" by others and particularly by locals.

"Strangeness" describes a reading of a body by locals based on sticky signs and objects (hair color and skin color, accents, clothes, beliefs) which acquired their stickiness long before Samah arrived and settled down in NRW. In this sense, when saying she is or feels strange, Samah explains which judgements locals have made about her (e.g., her accent, her hair color, or her clothes) and how these judgments have shaped and stuck to her body. She narrates how impressions made by these judgments define not only how her body is read by locals, but also the way she sees and relates to her own body and how she expects others to see and relate to her. In this sense, the "strangeness" is not hers, but is an interpretation of her body features and/or actions as strange by locals, which are attached and impressed on her. Thus, "strangeness" is relational and says something about how Samah is perceived by locals, but nothing about who or how Samah is.

How these judgements are transported and stuck to forced migrants' bodies is depicted by Eyüp. When talking about his future he says that one of his dreams is that one day his social environment does not remind him anymore that he comes from a different country. When I ask him what could remind him of this, he explains:

> "Mainly others' reactions. For example, when I shop in the supermarket or walk in the streets, I have the impression that Germans watch me. I noticed that they like to look directly into people's faces. They watch you here and they even turn their head when you pass them and that lasts for several seconds. I feel that this happens often here and I wonder why they do it and what they think when they look at me. And I wonder whether they classify me and think of me as being like someone or something and expect certain behaviors from me without considering me as an individual. (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant) "Die Reaktionen von den Mitmenschen meistens. Wenn man im Supermarkt einkauft oder auf der Straße läuft habe ich z.B. mehrmals das Gefühl wie bei Deutschen würde ich sagen als Beobachtung und Eindruck, dass die gerne direkt auf das Gesicht von jemanden gucken auf der Straße. Hier die gucken und sogar wenn du vorbei gehst die drehen den Kopf und das dauert schon mehrere Sekunden. Ich habe das Gefühl, dass das hier öfter passiert. Und dann fragt man sich, was der Grund dahinter ist. Also was einem durch den Kopf geht. Und ich frage mich ob es damit zu tun hat, dass man einen irgendwie eingestuft und einem etwas zuschreibt, bestimmte Eigenschaften, Erwartungen über wie man sich verhält. Also ohne denjenigen als ein Individuum zu betrachten."

Eyüp has the impression that "Germans'" look at him when he walks through the streets or shops. He experiences these looks as very intense and as communicating their judgments about who he is and what he might do. He does not know exactly what "Germans" think about him, but he feels classified

rather than perceived as an individual and understands that he is not perceived as a part of his social environment but as a foreigner or stranger. Thus, similar to Samah, he describes that "Germans'" interpretations of his physical appearance give him the feeling of being perceived as foreign.

Moreover, Samah has the impression that due to her "strange" - looking body she has problems communicating with others. Her problems of communication caused by her appearance involve a loss of embeddedness, connection, and recognition, which disable her from feeling 'at ease' within social interactions. Recognizing someone or something as strange implies perceiving the stranger to be different and distant in a meaningful way. In reading a newcomer's body as strange, locals relate to predefined knowledge and judgements about that newcomer but not to the person. This creates distance from the person and makes it difficult to create meaningful connections, closeness, and communication with locals. In this sense, feeling "strange" is a moment when a newcomer realizes what she has lost, as "feeling strange" is an experience involving disconnection, illegitimacy, derecognition, and unfamiliarity which she has not experienced before, and this experience of distance and disconnection can make communication difficult.

4.3.2. Moving away from strangers

Localizing strangeness on the body of a newcomer makes her responsible for the failure of closeness and likeness and, thus, for the lack of meaningful connections to her. This allows the locality and locals to remain closed towards and untouched by the stranger. This distance (as an ongoing process of turning away) from forced migrants is confirmed by the general attitude narrated by German citizen participants. Interviewed German citizens expect efforts from forced migrants primarily in terms of learning German and gaining employment. Yet, most of them do not or rarely mention personal contact with them. Those who have or have had personal contact (as classmates or as volunteers) say that they saw the responsibility for creating closeness and connection to be shared among newcomers and "society"/locals; however, they still stress that forced migrants in particular must make an effort and be open towards society. Locals' turned awayness and disinterest is noticed by experts. For example, Mrs. Müller, a teacher of an international class[25] in a vocational school, says:

> "And there are students, who would like to have more contact with Germans. I think they would have no problems, that would work. But how do you organize this, contact with natives. Here in the hallway, people might say "hi", but there are no friendships developing. Also no acquaintances. Because we also have native German students. (...) They don't all want to have contact." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Und es gibt es auch noch Schüler, die würden schon gerne mehr Kontakt mit Deutschen. Ich glaube die haben auch keine Schwierigkeiten, das würde klappen. Aber wie organisiert man so etwas, Kontakte mit Einheimischen. Hier auf dem Flur grüßt man sich vielleicht mal, aber groß Freundschaften oder so entstehen

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[25]In Germany international classes are for students whose command of the German language is not native. Students are supposed to learn German and follow the curriculum.

nicht. Auch keine Bekanntschaften. Weil wir auch Einheimische Deutsche Schüler hier haben. (...) Die wollen dann halt nicht alle den Kontakt haben."

Mrs. Müller observes that "German" or "native" students are not interested in having contact with forced migrant students. "German" students appear to be oriented away from them and not open to establishing friendships. Mrs. Müller says that she feels helpless regarding how to help establish contact with "German" students. It appears difficult for her to imagine how she could make "native" students be interested in connecting with forced migrants attending the same school. Narrations of German citizen participants and Mrs. Müller's observation suggest that it is easy for locals to have no or little contact with forced migrants and to be oriented away from them.

Cario, a forced migrant, senses this rejection and believes it to be caused by discomfort "Germans" experience when they meet him:

> "Especially Germans want to stay more closed off. Or groups and such have formed. The groups don't want friends anymore. They are cautious so to speak. I don't know why. I just have the feeling, but that doesn't have to be true, they see people with a migration background. Simply, he looks different or such. And maybe he thinks differently and such. Maybe I would also be careful." (Cario, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Vor allem die Deutschen wollen so mehr geschlossen bleiben. Oder es sind so Gruppen geworden. Die Gruppen wollen so keine Freunde mehr. Die sind vorsichtig sozusagen. Ich weiß nicht warum. Ich habe einfach so das Gefühl, aber das muss nicht wahr sein. Sie sehen ein Mensch mit Migrationshintergrund. Sieht einfach anders aus oder ja. Und vielleicht vom Gedanken ist anders und so. Vielleicht würde ich auch vorsichtig sein."

Cario's experience confirms Mrs. Müller's observation, and is aligned with what has been discussed in the previous chapter. He experiences "Germans" to be a closed group and not open or interested in being his friends. They are turned away from him and other "people with a migration background" and Cario senses that "Germans" feel uncomfortable and hesitant to speak to him. They hesitate to turn towards him and open up. Similar to Samah, he believes that it is his appearance, the appearance of a "person with a migration background," which makes "Germans" uncomfortable and hesitant.

Ahmed (2004) proposes that people who "look like us" make people feel comfortable and they assume that these people are like them. People who "look like us" allow people to see oneself superficially reflected in the other and this reflection is comfortable, as it grants the feeling of being surrounded by familiarity. This comfort of likeness allows for well-being, satisfaction and ease in everyday life. Thus, perceiving a stranger - someone breaking the norms, habits, and rhythm of everyday life- challenges the comfort of likeness. This disruption of the norm implies or can be experienced as a loss of ease, comfort, harmony, and maybe even a loss of a sense of safety and security. Thus, the carefulness and hesitation Cario observes might be an expression of discomfort facing the loss of harmony and ease in seeing something which is "not like us." This discomfort motivates locals to turn away from Cario and to stay with those who "look like me."

Cairo's observation of discomfort causing "Germans" to turn away from strangers confirms Ahmed's proposition to understand emotions as "affective forms of reorientation" (Ahmed 2004, 8). "Germans" are moved by discomfort and turn away from Cario (and other "people with migration background"); however, while this feeling of discomfort moves them, it neither originates in them nor is it caused by Cario. Feeling discomfort when seeing Cario implies a predefined judgment of likeness and difference locals hold. This means that before locals perceive Cario (or other "people with a migration background") they have an idea about what is "like us" and what is "different from us" and this idea is shaped by histories of contact with people who look like Cario. Thus, locals' discomfort and their turning away is not only a reciprocal relation to Cario, but also to previous contact with people who resemble him and predefined ideas about likeness shaped by these contacts.

Moreover, locals' turning away from Cario (and other people with a migration background) evidences an active participation of locals or "Germans" in creating distance, disconnection, or separation between them and strangers (Cario and people with a migration background). While in everyday conversation among locals, it might be generally or quickly assumed that it is forced migrants or migrants (and also their descendants), who prefer to separate themselves from locals (creating so called "parallel societies"), the interviews suggest that it is also locals' turning away from forced migrants which creates distance.

4.3.3. The "strangeness"of forced migrants living in NRW

Cario suggests that it is his physical appearance which causes discomfort and motivates "Germans" to turn away from him. He looks like a "person with a migration background," thus, different from "Germans". Cairo says "Simply, he looks different or such. And maybe he thinks differently and such." suggesting that "Germans" translate someone looking differently into someone holding different beliefs and different ways of thinking. This reading of the stranger's body as looking differently and, thus, as having different thoughts, shows how certain interpretations and readings of physical features stick to strangers' bodies and create a situation of 'already knowing' when seeing them for the first time (Ahmed 2004).

As mentioned before, stickiness refers to locally negotiated meanings which are attached to signs or objects and travel around. These sticky meanings are in constant reciprocal relation with other sticky signs, objects, and bodies and always evidence a history of contacts with them. Thus, locals perceiving Cario's (and other "people's with migration background") different looks as indicating different ways of thinking and beliefs shows how locals' interpretation of "different thoughts" sticks to Cario's body making it become sticky, and turning his look into a meaningfully different one. In this sense, it is the incorporation of other elements, in this case locals' judgment of his difference in terms of look and

beliefs, that make his body sticky. In this way, the stickiness of Cario's body surface tells us its histories of contact with locals' judgment of his difference. Thus, it is not his body alone that looks different, but it comes to be perceived as different and as indicating different beliefs and thinking through repetitive judgements by locals.

Moreover, Cario says that "Germans'" judgment of different thoughts and beliefs sticks to his body and bodies of other "people with a migration background." This suggests that it is their "look" and not their actual origin to which the judgment of "different thoughts" sticks. Origin generally refers to someone's or something's beginning or arising; thus, in the case of a human being, her place (and maybe date) of birth. Since in Germany the category "people with a migration background" is also applied to people who are born in Germany, but whose parents or grandparents are born in a foreign country, it is not the origin of the person, but the origin of her physical features which is important. The geographical place where a stranger's physical features are suspected to originate from is associated with different beliefs and thoughts. Even though a person may not be born in the place where her physical features are suspected to originate from, the ways of thinking and beliefs associated with that geographical place is believed to be reflected in the attitudes and beliefs of the person. This implies that a person's origin is equated with the suspected origin of her physical features and physical features (not origin) determine how a person is perceived by locals (e.g. as thinking differently). Therefore, assumptions about different ways of thinking and beliefs are associated with physical features, such that judgements about "different thoughts" are directly imprinted on the body surfaces of those who display these physical features.

Physical features and origin as a ground for discrimination also appear to German citizen participants. E.g., Julia, a German citizen, says:

> "Well I am German and I was also completely born in Germany. I never had the experience of being excluded somehow because of my origin or because of my physical appearance." (Julia, 18, German citizen) (my translation) "Also ich bin ja Deutsche und ich bin ja auch komplett in Deutschland geboren. Ich hatte nie irgendwie die Erfahrung, dass ich irgendwie ausgegrenzt würde, wegen meiner Herkunft oder wegen dem Aussehen."

Julia seems to be aware that origin and physical appearance are two reasons why someone might be discriminated against. She says that she is immune to this, since she fulfills two important conditions for uncontested recognition and participation in everyday life. She is German and was "completely born" in Germany. Thus, her life originates in Germany and she appears to fulfill the social norm of "looking German". Therefore, her originating in German territory is not contested which grants her full legitimacy and participation.

Thomas, a German citizen living in NRW, also seems to perceive physical features as giving information about the origin of a person and her beliefs and attitudes. When asked about his experience of recent immigration, he says:

"I have to say, I personally, don't notice it at all. Of course, in everyday life, from here and there a different skin color, but to be honestly when I am outdoors, I have headphones on and don't realize what is happening around me. [...] And I am also strongly convinced that there are some cultural differences, which you cannot explain away." (Thomas, 24, German citizen) (my translation) "Ich muss sagen, ich persönlich merke davon überhaupt nichts. Also klar, im Alltag, hier und da eine andere Hautfarbe, aber ehrlich gesagt, wenn ich unterwegs bin habe ich Kopfhörer auf und kriege nicht so wirklich mit was um mich herum passiert. (...) Und ich bin auch der festen Überzeugung, dass es gewisse kulturelle Unterschiede gibt, die man nicht wegdiskutieren kann."

Thomas suggests that recent migration has not drastically altered the environment he lives in. Thus, illustrating how it appears easy for German citizens to stay distant from forced migrants as discussed above. The way he might notice immigration is through different skin color, thus, a foreign physical feature. For Thomas, physical features seem a marker of immigration and therefore of foreign origin. Moreover, he says that he believes there are some important cultural differences. Thus, along with physical features marking someone's origin, there are cultural differences, which define a meaningful otherness of strangers.

In addition, some expert participants named different beliefs, attitudes and the role of traditions when describing the differences they saw between themselves and forced migrants. Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher, says:

"Yeah, it is tolerated that the Yazidi or Muslims celebrate their holidays and you don't say noooo. They can take a day off and one asks about the holiday or at least I ask about it and I also explain also what is celebrated in Germany and why. Yeah, and then on the other side, I always think about the role of the woman, for example. I always explain that yes, you can become everything here. Girls are traditional, more family, cooking, tidying up. I also think that we as a school have the task of broadening horizons, especially for young women. (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Ja die Jesiden oder Muslime ihre Feiertage feiern, das wird dann toleriert und man sagt nicht nööö. Man kann dann auch frei nehmen und es wird gefragt, was ist das für ein Fest, warum oder ich frage das zumindestens und erzähle auch was und wie man in Deutschland feiert und warum. Ja und auf der anderen Seite da denke ich mir immer so, z.B. die Rolle der Frau. Da erzähle ich auch immer, ja das könnt ihr hier alles werden. Mädchen sind so traditionelle mehr so Familie, kochen, aufräumen. Ich denke auch das wir als Schule den Auftrag haben auch so den Horizont zu erweitern, vor allem für junge Frauen."

Mrs. Müller suggests different traditions (holidays) and a different understanding of the role of women, in terms of possibilities for self-fulfillment and free choice, which mark a difference between life "here" and the traditions and beliefs which she imagines to structure Muslim's and Yazidi's lives. Thus, it is traditions, values, and beliefs which make her foreign students different from "here." She says that she is interested in traditions of Yazidi and Muslim students and is willing to share her own. This suggests that she is willing to accept differences in terms of holidays. She says that students can take a day off to celebrate "their" holidays suggesting that she understands celebration of holidays as something strangers can do outside of school (probably at home) which does not meaningfully reconfigure school routines and, thus, everyday life. While believing herself to be tolerant towards these students' holidays, Mrs. Müller sees it as her duty to teach female Yazidi and Muslim students about the possibilities they have

"here." Beliefs, values, and practices limiting women's freedoms are not acceptable to her and have to be changed. Reducing women to "family, cooking, and tidying up" is a part of strangers' beliefs and practices, which she does not want to become part of everyday life "here."

The connection between physical appearance as revealing the person's origin and her beliefs, values, and traditions defining the person's "culture"[26] is drawn across most of the interviews with forced migrants, German citizens, and experts. By attaching a particular different way of thinking or culture to the (suspected) origin of physical features, this different culture is inevitably attached to bodies. Since physical features are displayed on a body's surface, they carry these attached markers of difference wherever they go and their difference is quickly recognizable.

Besides physical body features, certain clothing seems to have developed into a sticky sign and serve as a quick marker of differences. E.g. Doaa, a forced migrant, says:

> "And I believe in the German or the Western society in general, I am always expected to be unscussessful, that I am not successful, because I am Muslim or wear the headscarf. Because all women wearing the headscarf are cleaning ladies or something. I have the feeling, I always have to show that I am not an extremist or something like that. Although you're not supposed to show, I always have to speak up for being against something like that." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation)
> "Und ich finde bei Deutsche oder allgemein westliche Gesellschaft muss ich immer so von mir wird erwartet, dass ich nicht erfolgreich bin oder so, weil ich Muslim bin oder Kopftuch trage. Weil alle Kopftuchträgerinnen sind halt Putzfrau oder so. Ich finde, ich muss immer zeigen, dass ich nicht so eine Extremistin bin oder so etwas. Obwohl das soll man nicht zeigen, ich muss immer dafür reden, dass ich gegen so etwas bin."

Doaa suggests that because she wears a headscarf, people expect her to be unsuccessful and as having Muslim extremist thoughts. Similar to physical features, clothing, e.g., the headscarf, appears to be a sticky sign giving information not simply about a person's style, but also about her culture. The headscarf is in many cases a sign of adherence to Muslim religion or certain Muslim traditions; however, being uneducated or an extrimist do not necessarily derive from it. Before knowing the person, people seem to know something about her simply because she wears a headscarf. Doaa's headscarf impresses upon "Germans" or "Westerners" and this impression evokes prior knowledge and stories about women wearing headscarves. So rather than not knowing her or failing to understand her, she becomes known through the significations attached to the headscarf in localities of "German and Western societies".

Mrs. Schmidt, a vocational school principal, observes that these judgements about the headscarf attached to female forced migrants' bodies move them and impact their lives. She says:

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[26]In the interviews culture is understood in terms of beliefs, values, traditions, and lifestyle. German citizens perceive cultural differences to mark an important difference between them and forced migrants; thus, they understand culture not as a process, but cultures as being numerous and separable from one another. Moreover, associating physical features, dark hair and skin, with a different culture suggests that people are understood to carry/incarnate "their" culture. I do not agree with this conception of culture, as I believe culture to be a process, not thinkable in the plural, with which people (temporarily) align themselves, but can never be an incarnation of. In my discussion I use the world culture and "culture origin" following participants' definition of it, not my own.

"However, when they want to go out alone with their friends at night, they are afraid and don't do it. Their fears have several reasons. Sometimes it's because of culture that young women are not allowed to go out in the dark alone. Above this they are afraid of racism, that people say things because they wear a headscarf and that these comments are uncomfortable. This way integration does not happen." (Mrs. Schmidt, vocational school principal) "Aber wenn sie abends alleine mit ihren Freunden weggehen wollten, dann habe sie Ängste, dann machen sie das nicht. Und diese Ängste haben verschiedenste Gründe, manchmal auch kulturelle, dass es jungen Frauen verboten wird im Dunkeln alleine weg zu gehen. Sie haben auch auch Angst vor Rassistischen Dingen, dass man wegen einem Kopftuch das man trägt angesprochen wird. Und Bemerkungen bekommt, die einem nicht gefallen. Und dann findet die Integration nicht statt."

Mrs. Schmitt observes that locals' judgment attached to the headscarf restrains the movement of young women wearing it, as they fear to go out at night. This shows that locals making judgements about forced migrants' physical features and clothing is not only a matter of a monetary interpretation. These interpretations continue to stick to forced migrants' bodies and shape their feeling of comfort and, thus, their possibilities to move and relate to their own and others.

The headscarf is one of the most controversial and most employed sticky signs in the context of migration in many places of Europe and not only in NRW. Discussion about the headscarf is usually interwined with the debate about the presence of Islam in Europe and a concern about gender equality and freedom of speech (Göle 2015). Judgements about conservative interpretations of Islam and opression of women stick to this piece of cloth and impact people, governemnts, and even legislation. Probably most famously, the French government restricted wearing of headscarves in 2004 in the context of prohibiting the wearing of obvious religious signs (e.g. Hijab, Kippa, big crosses) when exercising a state function. Moreover, wearing face coverings in public places was prohibited in 2010. Officially, these restrictions are supposed to maintain and foster the respect of all religions and the laicité of public spaces. In relation to and going beyond these policies, many stereotypes are attached to the headscarf and are interpreted as revealing much information about the women wearing it: being poorly educated, a cleaning lady, and/or a Muslim extremist are just a few examples of what sticks to this piece of fabric.

Wearing a headscarf might be motivated by numerous reasons. It can be understood as an alignment with certain values and beliefs defining a certain lifestyle. It might also imply practicing religious rituals or adhering to a particular spirituality, or simply complying to a dress code. The particular stickiness, meaning values, beliefs, lifestyles, and emotions attached to the headscarf is constantly (re-)negotiated. At the time of the interview, Doaa was doing her A-level and preparing to study pharmacy. And she certainly did not display any "extremist" ideas or intentions. Thus, her decision to wear a headscarf may have other reasons rather than extremist tendencies or lack of education.

The suspicion of Muslim "extremist" thought and intention being attached to the legal status of a "refugee" was mentioned in several interviews. For example, Nasir, a forced migrant, explains:

"Yes, exactly, many are afraid. They think refugees are Muslims and that they want to blow us up. But that is not right." (Nasir, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ja genau, viele haben Angst. Die denken, Flüchtlinge sind Muslime und die wollen uns explodieren. Aber das stimmt nicht."

Mustafa, a forced migrant, encountered the same stereotype as Nasir. He describes:

"A refugee, he has this and that. So that is, of course, shit to live with. Because if here for example, a terrorist attack happened and the one who did it is a refugee then you are looked at so awkwardly in the streets. Although I look so, man, eh, I could be affected just as much as you. I could be dead, like other people." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ein Flüchtling, der hat dies und das. Damit ist, klar, scheiße damit zu leben. Weil wenn hier z.b. Ein Attentat hier passiert und derjenige, der das gemacht hat ist Flüchtling. Dann wird man so komisch in der Straße angeguckt. Obwohl ich ich gucke so, Junge, eh ich könnte genauso betroffen sein, also wie du. Ich könnte auch tot sein, wie andere Menschen."

Nasir and Mustafa experienced that holding refugee status leads some people to suspect them of being terrorists. Mustafa suggests that as soon as a terrorist attack happens, a general distrust against all refugees is established and they are assumed to be terrorists. He points out that he could have been in the wrong place at the wrong time and, thus, dead, just as any other human being. Thus, Mustafa stresses the injustice of being perceived as a terrorist based on physical resemblence with some people who commit terrorist attacks, and claims that facing the threat of terrorism, forced migrants and refugees are first of all humans, and are just as defenseless and vulnerable as any other German citizen.

After 9/11 and subsequent terrorist attacks, the fear of terrorism increased in many Western localities. In fact, studies have shown that attitudes towards migrants (especially from Middle Eastern countries) have deteriorated (Nussio, Bover and Steel 2019), even though no link between terrorism and migration has been proven (Bove and Böhmelt 2016). Following Mustafa's and Nasir's experiences, the legal status of "refugee" came to be associated with terrorist intentions, meaning deliberately killing people and often oneself. This makes "refugee" another sticky sign potentially transporting fear, threat, desperation, hate, and pain reflecting the collective experience of terrorist attacks. Perceiving someone as a potential terrorist simply because she looks like or is a refugee, or has physical features which are similar to the physical features associated with terrorists, is an unconsidered act of violence. Specifically, it means that a person is touched with the emotions and judgements involved in the collective experience of terrorist attacks. Terrorist acts are often believed to invovle a prior ideological brainwashing (Williams 2019). Thus, terrorists have been led and trained to think in a certain way. Mustafa states that after a terrorist attack people look at him awkwardly in the streets hinting that it is his appearance which invites others to perceive him as aligned with radicalized beliefs and attitudes and, thus, as a terrorist threat. This chain of associations was also noticed and discussed by Ahmed (2004), who claims that terror and fear became associated with bodies that are perceived as "Middle Eastern," because the region, the Middle East, had become associated with terrorists. Most of the forced migrants participating in this study have

physical features which hint at the same geographical region where "terrorist attitudes and beliefs" are generally perceived to originate from and circulate. Thus, the fear involved in terrorism is projected onto these physical features and travels with them.

4.3.4. Sticky boundaries

Doaa's, Nasir's and Mustafa's experiences confirm that since interpretations and emotions stick to physical features and clothing, some bodies are quickly identified as "stranger" bodies. As the analysis has shown, these interpretations are numerous and addressed by all interviewees. These judgments may not be correct, but are certainly real in their effects and "stick" to their "carriers." According to Simmel (1992), newcomers are perceived as "strangers'"; thus, as a type/social role rather than as individuals when perceived similarities are only general and differences are judged to be meaningful. Ahmed (2013) expresses a similar idea. She suggests that the label "stranger" allows for the grouping of diverse people under the same sticky signs and the concealing of social differences. Recognizing all newcomers (or all people not fulfilling a social norm of origin) as strange cuts them off from their particular histories of displacement and generalizes all displacements as leading to the same place of a "stranger" (Ahmed 2013). Thus, making judgements about newcomers based on physical appearance and clothes allows for a grouping of those displaying these features together, reducing them to their strangeness meaning to their "not coming from here" and the way they are perceived to be different. Making judgements about newcomers' physical features and clothes does not imply personal contact with them but suggests preexisting knowledge and interpretations about likeness and difference. Ahmed (2013) suggests that the judgment about the familiarity and strangeness of a body is not based on the comparison of the "stranger" body and the "me/we," but the "stranger" is differentiated through associating her body with other "stranger" bodies. In this way, "stranger" bodies are kept at a distance which facilitates perceiving them as strangers and not as individuals.

As displayed by previous quotations, newcomers are confronted with locals' judgements about their physical appearance by locals' turning away and employing stereotypes. Stereotypes are one example of sticky signs as, for example, the stereotype about people with dark hair and skin holding different values, beliefs, traditions, and religion shows that their dark hair and skin have come to signify more than mere body features. Dark hair and skin have turned sticky because judgements about attitudes and beliefs have been attached to them. These judgements do not derive from the present encounter, but rely on previous experiences of contact with these physical features. This implies that when seeing and relating to the newcomer as a stereotype rather than as an individual, one remains within the repertoire of pre-established knowledge and interpretations. This of course makes the initial interaction with unknown others easier and doable, because it provides a frame of reference for their acquaintance. At the same

time, however, these stereotypes hinder (or make significantly difficult) the process of getting to know the other as an individual person, beyond the role or stereotype she is performing and/or which we have projected on her. By remaining at this level of acquaintance one does not open up to the other person, and hence remains unimpressed by her. Thus, even though a stranger is physically close, she is kept distant because stereotypes (i.e., preexisting knowledge and interpretations) establishes a boundary between us/me and them/her creating a possibly (conceptually) unbridgeable distance. In this way, by avoiding a direct relationship, stereotyping is a very effective way to draw the boundaries of a locality.

Stereotypes about physical appearance are inevitably attached to strangers' bodies and, thus, are constant markers of difference and become effective boundaries. E.g., Doaa's headscarf is thought to give information about her religion, culture, and education level. Similarly, Cario suggested that his physical appearance is associated with different ways of thinking and culture and causes "Germans" to be hesitant and to turn away from him, establishing distance. In this sense, physical features and some clothing are visible boundaries of the locality (NRW). They are read as marking the origin of the person and her thoughts, culture, and traditions. "Stranger" thoughts and culture transported by "strange" physical features and clothing define a boundary between me/us and her/them.

As discussed in the previous chapter, stereotypes make boundaries between me/us and her/them dynamic, relational, and a part of everyday interactions rather than being static and physical. Thus, boundaries are potentially fragile, as every point of contact with a stranger may shift the boundaries of what is familiar because the surfaces of bodies are de-formed and reformed through contact with other bodies (Ahmed 2004). Simmel (1992) defines the relationship between society and the "stranger" as a positive one, meaning that both "stranger" and society are moved and affected. For everyday life to remain untouched by strangers, full contact and thus being impressed upon by the strange body has to be kept to a minimum. In fact, every recognition of a stranger entails a demarcation of the line between "us" and the stranger (Ahmed 2013) drawing the boundaries of "our" locality.

Understanding stereotyping as a form of boundary drawing also suggests that boundaries are primarily controlled by those who employ the stereotypes, that is to say locals whose participation in the locality is uncontested. These locals have the power to align strangers with stereotypes (through sticky labels, assumptions, ideas, accents, clothing), and to exclude them from the legitimate practice and normative definition of social life. This power imbalance becomes enhanced, since the stranger is perceived to embody strangeness, which makes it her responsibility to ease the discomfort caused by the stereotype she has been aligned with. Doaa states that she needs to explain herself and specifically speak out against extremism to change people's opinion about her. This confirms what Ahmed (2000) suggests about ("non-white" or) disprivilged bodies. The body that causes discomfort by being strange must work hard to make others comfortable by explaining or minimizing the signs of difference.

All forced migrant participants seem aware that it is expected of them to minimize "their" difference. Lina, a forced migrant, says:

> "In Germany one has to be right. When you do things right, then things get easier. So do everything right, because they want that." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "In Deutschland muss man einfach recht sein. Wenn man recht sein, dann Sachen wird leicht. Also alles richtig machen, weil die wollen das."

Lina suggests that when she complies to the social norm of "acting right," things in Germany become easier. Thus, she has to conform to "German" ways of doing things in order to ease her life in Germany. Also Mrs. Löhne, a coordinator of afternoon activities for forced migrants, says:

> "Well, many have, I find it sometimes almost too much and then a bit scary. That they try as hard as they can to fit in and adapt here. Follow their path. Fulfill all expectations, to not attract attention." (Mrs. Löhne, coordinator of afternoon program) (my translation) "Also viele haben sich, ich find manchmal ist es sogar schon fast zu viele und ist dann etwas beängstigend. Das sie versuchen so gut wie es eben geht sich hier einzufinden und hier anzupassen. Ihren Weg zu gehen. Allen Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, bloß nicht aufzufallen."

Mrs. Löhne appears to notice that the forced migrants she accompanies make enormous efforts to fit in, so that they almost go unnoticed. This hints at a high pressure on forced migrants to reduce signs of difference.

Using stereotypes and sticky signs, labels or judgements to draw boundaries of a locality allows for strangers to be kept at a distance, so that they do not impress upon the locality. Samah, a forced migrant living in NRW, shares her experience:

> "The relationships at home, in Arab countries, are different. There are not so many borders. [...] Yes, between people here are borders. I am not sure, because I see it from my point of view and I am a foreigner. I always have boundaries, for example, when I talk to someone, but at the same time I am not allowed to say like you should do this or that. No advice. There is a border, who I am."(Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Die Beziehungen bei uns, in arabischen Ländern, sind anders.es gibt nicht so viele Grenzen. [...] Ja, hier gibt es viele Grenzen zwischen Menschen. Aber da bin ich nicht so ganz sicher. Weil ich sehe das von meinem Blick und ich bin hier fremd. Ich habe mich so, mit Grenzen, das ich z.b. Mit jemanden kommuniziere, aber gleichzeitig muss ich nicht so sagen, ja du sollst das so machen oder so. Also Tipps geben. So eine Grenze einfach wer bin ich einfach."

Samah suggests that even if she has direct contact with people, she experiences a boundary between her and the other person. She is not allowed to give advice. Giving advice might be a moment of sharing opinions, of mutual opening up and being vulnerable to the suggestion of the other. It might also be a moment of recognition, appreciation and acknowledgement. Given that different or "strange" culture appears to be what is supposed to be kept outside the locality, taking advice from a stranger might seem dangerous/undesirable.

Besides negating advice, boundaries appear to exclude or limit strangers' participation in the practice of locality. Cairo, as quoted above, states that "Germans" don't want to be his friends. Advice and friendships imply reciprocal relations demanding mutual openness to engage with the other and be impressed upon by her. Thus, boundaries seem to mold the reciprocal relation between a stranger and

"Germans," as they limit the effect a stranger can have on the person drawing the boundary, meaning "Germans"/locals. Being a stranger's friend, thus open to and impressed upon by her, may allow for meaningful connections and body alignments to emerge. These connections, above being interpersonally important, grant access to the practice of locality and with this give access to social and economic resources, and the (re-)negotiation of social meanings (sticky signs and objects). Given that the values, culture, and beliefs locals perceive strangers to hold mark a meaningful difference causing locals to feel discomfort, excluding strangers from the (re-)negotiation of social meanings seems to be the obvious consequence.

Cario states that he perceives "Germans" to be uncomfortable in his presence (or the presence of other "people with a migration background") and Nasir and Mustafa noticed fear. This fear involved in the recognition of a stranger is also mentioned by German citizen participants. They affirm that they see neither migration in general nor the presence of forced migrants in particular as a problem for their personal future, as most do not see themselves as personally affected by it. However, all German citizen participants state that they observe other people watching the arrival and settling down of forced migrants with fear.

Katharina, a German citizen, works for a radio channel where she is responsible for answering comments in an opinion column. She says that migration is a much discussed topic and got the impression that many people relate to migration with fear:

> "As I understand it, it is the fear of something foreign and the fact that one feels disadvantaged. I mean that what I am allowed to read as an opinion is very illustrative, that people fear that they are cut short in favor of foreign cultures which are supposed to be established and spread in Germany, according to that viewpoint." (Katharina, 23, German citizen) (my translation) "So wie ich das verstehe ist dass die Angst vor etwas fremdem und dadurch, dass man sich selbst benachteiligt fühlt. Also das was ich als Meinung immer Lesen darf, ist sehr veranschaulicht, dass die Leute eben Angst haben dass sie zu kurz kommen für fremde Kulturen, die jetzt halt hier in Deutschland etabliert und verbreitet werden sollen, also dieser Auffassung nach."

Katharina's observation confirms the importance of perceiving a stranger as having a different culture. People commenting in the opinion column of the radio channel seem to perceive "strange" culture, meaning cultures which are different to "their" culture, and this "strange" culture seems to cause them to be afraid. Ahmed (2004) states that fear, as a negative apprehension of the future, describes a closedness and turned awayness of a body. In this sense, fear and discomfort felt by citizens when meeting a stranger seems to describe turned away and closed bodies, and an avoidance of being impressed upon by strangers. Moreover, Katharina states that she sees people feeling left behind or cut short in favor of "strange cultures," which, in addition to signaling being scared of an invasion by dangerous and "strange" thoughts, points to a fear of economic scarcity.

Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working for an assisted housing institution in a project for forced migrant youth, observes the same fear of economic shortcomings and explains:

"Because life got hard and everyone is fighting with their own means. And being white or black, woman or man, young or old, it's all part of it. People have tried to reduce discrimination, but it was never extinguished and today there is even more. [...] But it didn't get better, because people have something to lose." (Mr. Lohmann, social worker) (my translation) "Weil das Leben ist hart geworden und jeder kämpft mit seinen Mitteln. Und dazu gehört auch weiß oder schwarz zu sein, Frau oder Mann, Jung oder Alt, das gehört alles dazu. Man hat versucht Diskriminierung zu verringern, aber es ist nie abgeschafft worden und heute gibt es eher mehr. [...] Aber es ist nicht besser geworden. Es gibt noch mehr. Weil die Leute etwas zu verlieren haben."

Mr. Lohmann suggests that since it became more difficult to survive, people are more concerned about securing their own lives than caring about the well-being of others. Life getting harder might imply a loss of (economic) security and stability and trust. He defines characteristics such as skin color, gender, or age as resources in this struggle. In fact, the analysis has shown that physical features such as skin and hair color as sticky signs grant or prevent access to the practice of locality and thus to social and economic resources. Following Mr. Lohmann's observation, in this competition over resources, strangers are perceived as an additional threat and, therefore, as enhancing scarcity. Thus, for some German citizens, strangers have become associated (an association which sticks) with the experience of a loss of (economic) stability and security and trust. Fears involved in this experience of loss also travel attached to judgements about strangeness marking newcomers' bodies not only as strange but also fearsome. Thus, besides discomfort, hesitation, and fear involved in the threat of terrorism, fear involved in facing economic scarcity additionally travels tied to physical features and clothes marking strange bodies.

Thus, physical features and some clothing are loaded with emotions and interpretations about origin, culture, values, and thoughts. These judgements are attached to all people who display these physical features (dark hair and skin) and/or wear a headscarf no matter where they were born, what they think and value, and which traditions they practice. In this way, pre-existing interpretations and emotions shape contact between forced migrants and German citizens where they function as boundaries and allow citizens to turn away from such contact.

4.3.5. Hardship and being in need

Besides assumed geographical origin and "cultural origin," hardship implying a forced migrant's neediness, appeared to mark a meaningful difference between German citizens and forced migrants. Katharina, a German citizen living in NRW says:

"They (forced migrants) escaped from something. Something which none of us experienced and will hopefully never experience." (Katharina, 23, German citizen) (my translation) "Die eben vor etwas geflohen sind. Was von uns niemand mitbekommen hat und hoffentlich auch nie mitbekommen wird."

She suggests that it is the experience of something horrible that separates "them" (forced migrants) from "us." Julia, a German citizen, shares Katharina's impression that experiences of past hardship define a difference between her and forced migrants:

"And I thought it was extreme, what the people experienced or simply had to live through. How it was in their home country. Partly I was told how the escape was. I think that is hard if you have to carry that around all the time. (Julia, 18, German citizen) (my translation) "Und ich fand schon krass, was die Leute da z.T. alles miterlebt haben oder einfach erleben mussten einfach. Wie es in ihrem Heimatland war. Wie die Flucht war das habe ich teilweise mitbekommen. Das finde ich schon schwer, wenn man das die ganze Zeit mit sich herumtragen muss."

Julia imagines forced migrants to have experienced hardships while still living in as well as while fleeing from their country of origin. Locating these hardships outside the locality she lives in (NRW), is a way to distance herself and NRW from forced migrants' suffering. In this way, she and the locality remain untouched by these hardships. Following this, the experience of (war- and escape-) hardships defines forced migrants as marked by something alien to NRW. This turns hardship into a significant marker of difference and, thus, possible boundary. Moreover, perceiving the other to experience hardship implies that she is injured, desolate, and (temporarily) weakened, and in this way allows the establishment of a hierarchy of suffering: The one not suffering is better off, stronger, freer than the one suffering.[27]

Also Tobias, a German citizen, believes forced migrants to have lived through hardships and conceives of this as a legitimate reason for migration:

"If I now imagine that a war suddenly breaks out here, then I would be the first to ask for understanding in other countries to be received. Therefore, on one hand, I see this very clearly, meaning that migration is necessary in any case. [...] But in the short term, these people simply need help. And for that migration is essential. (Tobias, 27, German citizen, NRW) "Wenn ich mir jetzt vorstelle, dass hier jetzt auf einmal ein Krieg ausbricht, dann wäre ich auch der erste, der um Verständnis bitten würde, in anderen Ländern aufgenommen zu werden. Von daher sehe ich das auf der einen Seite relativ klar, und zwar, dass ich Migration auf jeden fall notwendig ist. [...] Aber kurzfristig brauchen die Menschen halt einfach Hilfe. Und da finde ich Migration halt essenziell."

Tobias suggests that migration is necessary because people who live through war need help and it is necessary to help them. This association between hardship, being in need, and the imperative to help was mentioned by all German citizens and several experts who participated in this study. The interpretation of "bing in need" sticks to hardship (people who have lived through hardship need help) and hardship sticks to forced migrants/refugees (all refugees/forced migrants have experienced hardship and, thus, are in need)[28].

Forced migrants participating in this study also perceived hardship as marking a meaningful difference and distance between them and German citizens. They referred to hardship in terms of experiences of war and escape, but more importantly in terms of problems they are facing in the locality in which they currently live, concerning language proficiency, familiarity with the system, and a responsibility towards their families who often depend on them financially. Compared to the hardships

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[27] This hierarchy of suffering and involved emotions will be discussed in length in the sixth chapter on mourning.
[28] This stickiness of hardship is involved in the discourse about humanitarian responsibility towards forced migrants, which motivated amongst others the welcome culture (Willkommenskultur) in Germany.

they perceive themselves to live through, they see "Germans"/ "natives" as enjoying greater ease and comfort, especially because they perceive their futures in NRW/Germany as being secure.

Many forced migrants saw "German" peers as having fewer worries and as living individualistic lives centered on their own enjoyment. For example, Bara, a 21 old forced migrant, says:

> "So some study and party three times during the week. And I just think, are you crazy? And yeah, they have different worries somehow. Not the same ones. Obviously, they are born here and they are Germans. Yeah, they have really very different worries compared to me. That's how it is." (Bara, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also es studieren auch welche und die gehen unter der Woche dreimal feiern. Und ich denke mir so, hat der sie noch alle. Und ja, die haben halt andere Sorgen irgendwie. Nicht die gleichen. Natürlich, die sind ja hier geboren und Deutsch sind die, ja, die haben wirklich ganz andere Sorgen im Vergleich zu mir. So ist das."

He suggests that worries distinguish him from his German peers. They are born in Germany and thus have different worries, which grants them the freedom to live a different lifestyle, one of going to parties three times a week. They seem to be able to enjoy more ease and fun in life.

Similar to Bara, Khaded, a forced migrant, perceives different worries to separate him from the "German" youth. He says:

> "So when I see the generation in Germany, then it is really, really only about fun and they prefer to do nothing and everything comes naturally. They are rather disrespectful towards their parents. Which I cannot understand at all. Or they want to move out at 18, because they don't want to be with their parents anymore. I cannot understand that. It does not apply to me, because I think differently. I have German friends, but also friends from my culture and they think completely differently. We have different approaches to life. They are different because they don't know this life. They think that life is only about fun. They don't know what it means to be poor or have nothing at all. And we know this and, yes, that is a very very big difference." (Khaded, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also wenn ich jetzt die Generation in Deutschland sehe, denen geht es sehr sehr nur um Spaß und die wollen am liebsten gar nicht machen und alles kommt von selber. Die sind eher so respektlos gegenüber deren Eltern. Was ich überhaupt nicht nachvollziehen kann. Oder mit 18 ausziehen, weil sie keinen Bock mehr auf ihre Eltern haben. Das kann ich nicht verstehen. Das trifft nicht auf mich zu. Das ich anders denke. Ich habe auch deutsche Freunde, aber auch Freunde, die aus meiner Kultur kommen und die denken komplett unterschiedlich. Wir haben unterschiedliche Einstellungen zu Leben. Die sind unterschiedlich, weil die dieses Leben nicht kennen. Die denken, dass es im Leben nur um Spaß geht. Sie kennen dieses arm sein, oder gar nichts haben kennen die nicht. Und wir kennen das. Ja. Das ist ein sehr sehr großer Unterschied."

Khaded sees his "German" peers as having a different approach to life because they are less concerned about and more distant from their families, and because they have not experienced poverty. Due to the experience of poverty he seems to be aware that life is not only about one's personal fun, but that one has responsibilities in life and cannot take for granted that in the future everything will work out spontaneously. Part of the responsibility in life, which he sees to distinguish him from his "German" peers, seems to be responsibility towards his family. In fact, family played an important role in forced migrant participants' life narratives and imaginaries of the future. They appeared to feel a strong connection to their families and great emotional and financial responsibility for them. They all stated that they wished or planned to live close to their families and wanted to provide for them, so they can live

comfortably. Responsibility, closeness, and concern felt for their families might be partly due to different social norms, values, and practices concerning family in the localities where forced migrants have escaped from. However, it might also be that due to the escape, their families depend on them financially and/or for the organization of everyday life in NRW. Even though most German citizens mention their families during the interview, they neither narrate feeling strong financial and emotional responsibility for them nor involve them in their future planning. Having the freedom of living a self-centered life and imagining self-centered futures might, thus, be part of the ease the "German" youth is able to enjoy.

Similar to Bara, Khaded sees "Germans" as enjoying the privilege of ease and laziness because they can rely on a secure future. Because of that, they can live lives centered around their personal pleasure. He elaborates on this idea:

> "Also I believe, they see the future as very simple. They think, so I only speak for my German friends now, because those with my background, they think like me. But I believe, they think, that life is easy. They only want to work during the week and then on the weekend go to parties or chill at home and then go on vacation once or twice a year. And besides that they don't have desires or goals for the future. I don't know. At least I asked many friends and I saw that all who are German, they want at most one child, one dog, a small car, work, and to party on the weekend. I don't understand that. (Khaded, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also ich glaube, die sehen die Zukunft sehr einfach. Die denken, also ich rede jetzt nur für meine Deutsche Freunde. Weil die aus meiner Herkunft kommen, denken auch wie ich. Aber ich glaube, die denken, dass das Leben sehr einfach ist. Die wollen einfach nur arbeiten unter der Woche und dann am Wochenende feiern gehen oder zu hause chillen und dann ein oder zweimal im Jahr Urlaub machen. Und ansonsten haben die nicht so Wünsche oder Ziele für die Zukunft. Weiß ich nicht. Ich zumindestens haben viel meine Freunde gefragt, und ich habe gesehen bei allen die Deutsche sind, die wollen höchstens ein Kind, ein Hund, kleines Auto, Arbeiten, und am Wochenende feiern gehen. Ich kann das nicht nachvollziehen."

He believes life (and the future) to be easy for his "German" friends which he identifies as having simple ambitions for the future centered around their individual lives. Khaded and Bara perceive their "German" peers to be different from them and their friends who share their traditions/origin because they have fewer worries. Worries are derived from more responsibilities and not being able to take a secure future for granted. Most forced migrant participants shared this perception of "German" peers enjoying easier lives. Thus, for them it is not only the hardship of poverty (in the locality from which they had to escape), but also the hardship of living in a locality where they are not fully accepted, so that life and future planning is not intuitive. In this sense, the difference perceived between themselves and "German" peers reflects losses involved in their experience of forced migration of ease, embeddedness, and a seemingly natural connection to social life as discussed in the previous chapter. Being securely embedded in everyday life implies that bodies are tuned to the social practices and sticky signs and objects which allow for one's preparation for the future. It appears that Khaded and Bara see a "going to parties" lifestyle as expressing ease and security within a locality, which they have lost due to their experience of forced migration.

Both participants mention "going to parties" as a marker of an easy fun-orientated life, and this fun-orientation distinguishes them from their "German" peers. Other forced migrant interviewees used this same image. In this sense, "partying" turned into a sticky sign since going to a party does not only imply going to a party, but also having an easy life with no or few worries because one can take a secure future for granted. When looking at imaginaries of the futures of German citizen participants it becomes apparent that they too are worried about their futures especially in terms of financial stability. Even though they might enjoy going to parties, have certain structural privileges compared to forced migrant youth, and narrate little concern with their families for their imagination of their personal futures, German citizens participating in this study do worry about tomorrow and do not seem to take a secure future for granted.

"Going to parties" is a sticky sign employed only by the forced migrant youth and German citizen participants are not aware of the fact that their forced migrant peers perceive them as enjoying an easy party-lifestyle. This exemplifies the power difference between forced migrants and German citizens when it comes to aligning the other's body and drawing boundaries. The "party" stereotype employed by Khaded, Bara and other forced migrant participants does not meaningfully touch the body of "German" youth, as it does not restrict their movement and participation in everyday life. German citizen participants do not mention that forced migrants might perceive them as living "party-lives." In addition, German citizen participants do not reflect at all about how forced migrants might perceive them. Unlike forced migrant participants who appear eager to be in contact with locals, interviews suggest that forced migrants' presence has no effect on how German citizen participants live their lives.

4.4. Becoming part

As discussed in the previous chapter, arriving in NRW as a forced migrant involves confusion and disorientation because many things are unfamiliar, so communication and knowing how to act and move is challenging. Slowly growing familiar with the way everyday life is organized and created and understanding how one can partake in it defines the process of becoming part. In the interviews, all forced migrant participants and experts named learning German, growing familiar with norms, values, and rules of conduct, working or attending some kind of schooling, and dealing with papers and institutional procedures as essential to be able to participate in everyday life. Moreover, some participants refer to becoming engaged socially (social clubs, voluntary work, sport), having "German"/"native"/"local" friends and being interested in local politics as important ways to become part of the locality in which they have settled.

4.4.1. Language granting access to the creation of everyday life

All interviewees, experts, German citizens, and forced migrants mention and stress the importance of learning German. E.g., Bara, a forced migrant, says:

> "I mean when you don't speak German, I mean, what do you want to do here? That I feel fit in society is based on the language. Yeah, because, if you know the language, you can do everything. School, uni, work, everything. Otherwise you will be accepted nowhere." (Bara, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich meine wenn man kein Deutsch spricht, ich meine, was will man dann hier machen? Das ich mich fit in der Gesellschaft fühle, ist auf die Sprache bezogen. Ja, weil, wenn ich die Sprache kenne kann ich auch alles machen. Schule, Uni, arbeiten, alles mögliche. Sonst wird man ja nirgends aufgenommen."

Bara clearly says that language is the key to "society." Without a good command of the German language you can take part in nothing and will be accepted nowhere. Language is essential for communication with other people and, thus, for being able to understand how everyday life works in terms of rules, norms, and habits. Being able to speak the language through which everyday life is created enables forced migrants to be in contact with locals, which allows them to be impressed upon by other people and social meanings. In this way, forced migrants gradually come to understand their environment and themselves in relation to it, so they slowly become tuned to the way it is constantly re-produced. Language proficiency, thus, appears as an important precondition for partaking in social life as being able to speak the language makes life accessible.

How important it is to speak German is reflected in forced migrant participants' imaginaries of the future. Either they state that they wish to improve their language skills and/or they perceive it as a possible hurdle for the realization of their plans and desires. When asked what difficulties he could imagine to have in the future, for example, Yusif says:

> "For A-level maybe, that my language will not be good enough. Or in uni" (Yusif, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Für Abitur vielleicht, dass meine Sprache nicht so ganz gut werde. Oder in Uni."

Yusif is aware that his language skills limit his possibilities to be successful at school. Educational success is essential to become part of everyday life and to construct a life and future. Similar to Yusif, Karim, a forced migrant, perceives language to be crucial for his life in NRW. When asked what he considers to be a good life, he says:

> "A good life means for me, that my family is by my side, to have a profession, that I know the German language better than now." (Karim, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ein gutes Leben bedeutet für mich, dass ich meine Familie bei meine Seite habe, einen Beruf habe, dass ich die Deutsche Sprache besser habe als jetzt"

Naming better language proficiency along with having employment and living close to his family suggests that being able to speak German is an important pillar of stability for his life in the locality he currently inhabits. Language preconditions communication and the creation of connections with already established people and, thus, participating in the reciprocal relating producing everyday life. Ideally,

through participation newcomers slowly gain connections, recognition, and the necessary trust to construct a more stable place in social life.

The emphasis put on language acquisition by forced migrant participants finds confirmation in the narrations of German citizen interviewees as they request that forced migrants learn German quickly. Milena, a forced migrant, states:

> "And I could speak some English and in the street where I live an old man told me, you have to speak German you are in Germany." (Milena, 25, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und ich konnte ein bisschen Englisch sprechen und da in Straße wo ich wohne ein alter Mann hat mir gesagt, du musst Deutsch reden du bist in Deutschland."

Interviews with German citizens confirms this attitude. Lukas, a German citizen, sees uncontrolled forced migration as a problem for society, as it implies that many criminals come into the country and are not efficiently deported because the system is too slow. In the interview, he distinguishes between "good and bad refugees" where "good refugees" fulfill the following conditions:

> "I know people from day one, who speak perfect German by now and have been working for years and with those I don't have a problem and those are not a problem for this country." (Lukas, 29, German citizen) (my translation) "Ich kenne Leute von Tag 1 und die mittlerweile super Deutsch sprechen und arbeiten gehen seit jahren und mit denen habe ich kein Problem und die sind kein Problem für dieses Land."

He suggests that having employment and speaking German perfectly defines "refugees" as being "good" or "bad" and, thus, are markers of their worthiness. This attitude underscores the importance of language skills (and employment) for granting the right and legitimacy to partake in everyday life. Given that German citizen participants insist on forced migrants having to speak German and some even consider it as markers of their worthiness for a life in Germany, forced migrant interviewees' concern with German language proficiency is not surprising.

Besides German citizen participants, all expert interviewees for this study mentioned the urgent necessity of learning German. Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher leading a class with forced migrant and migrant students says:

> "Yes, language is a problem. And yes, to reach the level that is sufficient for a degree or training. This is a problem that many can reach and master. (....) But in the end, language is the key." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher, NRW) (my translation) "Ja Sprache ist ein Problem. Und ja das Niveau zu erreichen, dass es für einen Abschluss reicht oder eine Ausbildung. Das ist ein Problem, das viele auch leisten und meistern können. (....) Aber Sprache ist eigentlich der Schlüssel."

Mrs. Müller sees language as the key to educational success which confirms Yusif's (as quoted above) worry that poor German possibly prevents him from obtaining his A-levels. Language proficiency limits access to education and, thus, a newcomer's ability to partake and establish secure participation in everyday life. After all, all participants agree that speaking German is the key to life in NRW for forced migrants, as it enables them to communicate, study, and gain employment.

Moreover, speaking German allows forced migrants to understand social life better. Samah, a forced migrant, explains:

> "That you first learn the language here and you realize that there are different people than in my society. They have more progressive views here in different aspects and ways of life and also in regard to relationships." (Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Das man hier erstmal die Sprache lernt und man merkt einfach hier sind andere als meine Gesellschaft. Sie habe ja noch mehr Fortschritte in verschiedenen Bereichen und von der Art und Weise in dem Leben, also auch von den Beziehungen aus."

Samah says that once she spoke German, she realized that people and society in NRW are different from the society she had to escape from. She suggests that by being able to speak German, she became closer to society, allowing her a more detailed understanding of how everyday life in NRW is different from everyday life she knew before she was forced to migrate. The differences she names, how people relate and their lifestyle, have been defined as part of the losses involved in forced migration. Samah's words confirm that the differences forced migrants perceive between themselves and locals evidence their losses involved in their experience of forced migration.

4.4.2. Education and employment

As already hinted at, interviews suggest that besides language proficiency, educational training and/or employment are fundamental for forced migrants to be able to partake in everyday life. All forced migrants attended some kind of schooling at the time of the interview and named school and/or university degrees, apprenticeship, and a stable profession as part of their desired imaginaries of the future. Similarly, all experts participating in this study stressed the importance of schooling for forced migrants' professional future and their future in general in NRW. Experts see themselves accompanying or guiding forced migrant youths' preparation of their futures and are aware of the responsibility involved in this guidance. Mrs. Schmidt, a principle of a vocational school, explains:

> "So how will it continue when the school years are over. Which institution, which educational programme, what can we offer if the language command is not fluent enough yet or if no further school attendance is possible. [...] We talk about how the young person has developed in the international remedial class, what his language level is, what prospects he can have and where we could perhaps register him. Who continues to accompany him once he has to leave school, where do we send him." (Mrs. Schmidt, principal of vocational school) (my translation) "Also wie geht es weiter, wenn die Schulzeit hier zu Ende ist. Welche Institutionen, welche Bildungsmaßnahmen, was kann man noch anbieten wenn die Sprache noch nicht weit genug ist oder kein weiterer Schulbesuch möglich ist. (...) Da sprechen wir darüber, wie hat sich der Jugendliche in der Internationalen Förderklasse entwickelt, wie ist sein Sprachstand, welche Perspektive kann er haben und wo könnten wir ihn vielleicht anmelden. Wer übernimmt ihn dann wenn er die Schule verlassen muss, wohin geben wir ihn ab."

Mrs. Schmidt says that she sees it as her duty to support forced migrant students the best way she can to prepare them for future employment. Later on in the interview, Mrs. Schmidt says that the vocational school she manages is in close cooperation with other institutions and organizations to ensure

that students continue to learn and/or start a profession after obtaining a degree. This suggests that she (and the other experts interviewed for this study) are aware of how important education is for forced migrants' futures and her/their role as guides or counselors in the preparation of these futures.

Moreover, experts note the high pressure put on forced migrants to study German, obtain a degree, and/or start working. For example, Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working in an accompanied housing program for forced migrant youth, explains:

> "Because they arrive at 15, 16, or 17 years of age and have a right to social assistance until age 18 and they want to use this time to the fullest, because this is why they come and show that they are minors. In this short time period they have to be integrated, disciplined, be friendly, go to school, learn German, do sports, eat healthy, be nice to employees, not complain, and develop confidence in what they are told. These two years must be used in such a way that at 18 they either continue to be cared for in the system, because they say it makes sense to invest more in these young people, or they say it doesn't make sense and as an adult he should go in a refugee camp and that is a completely different story. In this short period of time, you have to teach them what children learn here in 18 years." (Mr. Lohmann, psychologist) (my translation) "Weil die kommen mit 15/16/17 die haben einen Anspruch bis 18 und die wollen den alle volle Pulle nutzen, weil deshalb kommen sie ja und zeigen,, dass sie minderjährig. In dieser kurzen Zeit müssen sie integriert und diszipliniert werden, freundlich werden, zur Schule gehen, Deutsch lernen, Sport machen, sich gesund ernähren, nett sein zu Mitarbeitern, nicht meckern, Vertrauen haben in das was man ihnen erzählt. Diese zwei Jahre muss man so nutzen, dass sie mit 18 entweder in dem System weiter betreut werden, weil man sagt, es macht Sinn in diese Jugendlichen zu investieren, oder man sagt es macht keinen Sinn und der soll als Erwachsener in ein Flüchtlingsheim gehen und es gibt eine ganz andere Geschichte. In dieser kurzen Zeit muss man den Jugendlichen, das beibringen, was man einem Kind innerhalb von 18 jahren beibringt."

Mr. Lohmann sees forced migrant youth as facing high demands of adaptation. Forced migrants have to learn a lifestyle in order to be able to move within Germany, and they have to do this fast. Forced migrants have to be incredibly efficient in adopting the rules of conduct, language, and schooling of the new locality since they have the right to education and state assistance only until they are 18 years old. In fact, Mr. Lohmann further suggests that once refugee youth turn 18, it is decided whether it is worth investing more in the person or whether they should be sent to a refugee camp. Later in the interview, he said that he was unofficially asked by the municipality to give an evaluation about some forced migrants' prospects of success. Whether forced migrants' future living in accompanied housing programs is generally decided upon individually by bureaucrats based on their prospects of success in terms of profession and adaptation cannot be established here. However, all interviews (with forced migrants, experts, and citizens) suggest directly or indirectly that high pressure in terms of efficiency and time is put on forced migrants' taking part in education and employment. In fact, having to learn in two years' time what "native" youth has learned in 18 years, as Mr. Lohmann suggests, implies high pressure in terms of content and time.

Moreover, Mr. Lohmann mentions that forced migrant youth have to learn to trust in his (and his colleagues') advice. In order to be able to prepare these young people successfully and efficiently for

participation in social life it is crucial that they have confidence in his suggestions and follow the path he guides them on. Trust expresses connection which may imply personal affinity and/or thankfulness; however, it may also be a purely functional connection in the sense that forced migrant youth depend on the advice of social workers, teachers, and counselors since they have no or little intuition and knowledge about their possibilities in the new locality. The reciprocal relationships and connections they are engaged in only partially allow them to anticipate their possibilities to partake and, thus, to prepare for their lives and futures. Therefore, trust in social workers and counselors is necessary in order to reduce the complexity and confusion involved in having to establish a new life and future in a new locality. This need for advice and guidance, especially in the first years, was mentioned also by forced migrant participants. For example, Mustafa, a forced migrant, says:

> "Application. For asylum and stuff you have to fill out many applications and have appointments at the immigration office. Those were things that I didn't know a lot about. And secondly, because everything worked differently here, for example, the doctor. That was only in the beginning, when I, for example, also needed help with my move. Till now I am very thankful for my councilor." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Antragstellung. Für Asyl und so muss man so viele Anträge stellen und Termine haben beim Amt. Das waren Sachen, die ich nicht so gut kannte. Und zweitens, weil es z.B: hier ist alles ganz anders gelaufen, zb. Arzt. Das war nur so am Anfang, wenn ich z.B. auch Hilfe beim Umzug Brauchte. Ich bin bis jetzt sehr dankbar für meine Betreuerin."

Mustafa suggests that, especially in the beginning, his counselor was an important support for him so that he could manage the complexity and complications of having to create a life in NRW. Given the high efficiency imperative put on forced migrants this guidance is probably indispensable.

In fact, interviews with forced migrants show that not only are they aware of the pressure put on them, but that they also have an understanding of what failure implies. E.g., Samah, a forced migrant, says:

> "I didn't manage to do that because there are still areas where I feel foreign. In school and learning the language, like that. I had to. I had no other choice. I didn't really make it, but I had to. I thought, so there is no option anymore. Either you learn the language and go to school or you are homeless and on the streets and you are a foreigner." (Samah, 19, forced migrant) "Ich habe das nicht geschafft, weil es gibt immer noch Bereiche in denen ich mich fremd fühle. Also in der Schule und die Sprache so zu lernen. Ich musste, ich hatte gar keine andere Chance. Ich habe das eigentlich nicht geschafft, aber ich musste das schaffen. Ich dachte, so es gibt keine Option mehr. Entweder du lernst die Sprache und gehst in die Schule, oder du bist Obdachlose und bist auf der Straße und bist Ausländer."

Samah is aware of the pressure put on her language level and schooling. She perceives herself as not having any choice, either she succeeds in what is expected from her or she will end up on the streets living the life of a homeless person and remaining a foreigner. She suggests that if she does not learn German quickly and go to school she will have no possibilities to be successful professionally or socially, thus ending up homeless and remaining a stranger forever. Remaining a stranger implies that she is not recognized as a legitimate participant in everyday life, and remains visibly different in some way. As

already discussed above, like many other forced migrant participants in this study, Samah sees herself responsible for becoming part of and growing familiar with social life, establishing closeness and connection to locals. This affirms that forced migrants are held responsible for their "strangeness" and, following this, that they are expected to reduce their differences.

4.4.3. Recognition of merits

The importance of a good command of the German language and educational or professional success for participating in everyday life finds confirmation in locals' appraisal and recognition of forced migrants' accomplishments living in NRW related to language proficiency, education, and profession. For instance, Mrs. Müler, a vocational school teacher, and Mrs. Schwan, a lawyer facilitating forced migrants' asylum applications, state:

> "They do, yes they are, you wish for such students. They are diligent, they do their homework. They attend almost all classes." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) " Die machen, ja die sind eben, solche Schüler wünscht man sich. Die sind fleißig, die machen ihre Hausaufgaben. Die sind auch fast immer da"

> "I know his (one of her former clients) life story and that he was able to attend only a little schooling. And now he has graduated from secondary school within two or three years and started an apprenticeship. That is unbelievable. These are the stories that I hear. There are also others who are now studying." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Ich kenne ja seine Lebensgeschicht und dass er kaum zu Schule gehen konnte und jetzt hat er innerhalb von zwei, drei Jahren seinen Hauptschulabschluss gemacht, eine Lehre angefangen. Es ist unglaublich. Das sind so die Geschichten, die ich so mitbekomme. Da gibt es auch andere, die jetzt mittlerweile studieren."

Both praise forced migrants for their achievements and eagerness concerning education and their profession preparing their life and future in NRW. In addition, forced migrant participants themselves are aware that success in education and profession is crucial for recognition by locals and, thus, for their position and possibilities to partake in social life. Mustafa, a forced migrant, explains:

> "All guest workers are simply lower class or lower middle class and over that are only Germans or I don't know a migrant, who came here and had a lot of luck and achieved many things. Yes, but you are a German, but if he has a different skin color or hair color, "Yeah, where are you from originally?" You know, still, there is the difference between German - normal - and the others." (Mustafa, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Die ganzen Gastarbeiter sind einfach unterste Klasse oder untere Mittelklasse und darüber nur die Deutschen oder keine Ahnung, ein Migrant, der hierher gekommen ist und richtig Glück hatte und richtig was geschafft hat. Ja, du bist aber Deutscher, aber wenn er eine ander Hautfarbe oder ander Haarfarbe hat, "Ja, woher kommst du ursprünglich?" Weißt du, trotzdem gibt es diese Differenz zwischen Deutsch - normal und den anderen."

Mustafa has the impression that professional achievement is the only way (forced) migrants can gain recognition by locals. Nevertheless, this recognition is temporary and, thus, conditioned, as it is not success alone, but "looking German" that grants forced migrants access to the upper class in society. According to Mustafa, physical features (hair and skin color) mark a person as not looking German which is a reason for "Germans" to perceive a meaningful difference between themselves and migrants or guest

workers. This confirms physical features as a boundary of locality, as only physical features assumed to originate in Germany grant full entitlement to participate. Before I argued that, for German citizens, strange or foreign physical features indicate different culture, traditions, and beliefs associated with the geographical place where these physical features are suspected to originate from. Locals' judgements about different cultures and traditions stick to bodies which display strange physical features. Mustafa's observation confirms physical features as sticky signs (and stereotypes) and as being a boundary of locality. Mustafa says that migrants and guest workers are generally part of the lower class or lower middle class. This suggests that physical features constrain a person's possibilities to participate and be successful as people with dark hair and skin only have access to the lower class or lower middle class. In this sense, physical features restrict access to social and economic resources, and thus limit the ability to choose one's life and future in NRW.

Mustafa observes that strangers can merit recognition for success which grants access to participating in social life. Interviews show that successes which find recognition are primarily language skills, and educational or professional success. These achievements are (besides defining personal development) contributions or preparation for future contributions to social life in NRW, which allow locals to assume that the successful (forced) migrant will continue to contribute to society in the future. In this sense, contributions and expected future achievements (temporarily) compensate for the "failure" to originate within the locality. In this sense, being successful at school or at work can (temporarily) bridge the distance locals perceive between themselves and strangers. Merit, however, is a fragile foundation for recognition and connection. First of all, merit grants acknowledgement only so long as one's success is considered a success by locals. Beyond this, it is up to the locals to decide what is considered an achievement meriting (temporary) appraisal and who (which (forced) migrant) is allowed to be successful in the first place. Simmel (1992, 511) says that a "stranger" is not tied to the locality through blood, land, or profession. Even if she buys land, works within the society and/or marries a "local," a "stranger" may remain "strange" within her interpersonal relationships. This implies that even if a stranger establishes closeness bureaucratically, financially, or romantically, it does not necessarily lead to general interpersonal closeness, recognition, or legitimacy. In this sense, locals reserve the power and relational primacy to determine conditions and settings of participation and legitimacy.

Just as for stereotypes, appreciating strangers/forced migrants because of their merits, rather than their individuality and/or due to human equality, defines a way to draw the boundaries of a locality. Recognizing a forced migrant's achievements does not imply acknowledging her as a person and as an individual, as recognition of achievements implies relating to the achievement rather than to the person. Relating to forced migrants' achievements creates a reciprocal relation to social norms and meanings defining successes in the locality. Conditions and meanings of achievements and successes are negotiated

locally and (temporarily) stick to forced migrants when they align with/accomplish these achievements. In this way, the worth/value of the achievement (temporarily) sticks to the forced migrant. However, as soon as a forced migrant can no longer align with the achievement, the value attached to the achievement is detached from her. Thus, by acknowledging strangers' achievements, locals relate only to the stickiness of achievements and successes defined by locals and institutions, not to forced migrants as individuals. Recognizing forced migrants' merits allows locals to stay closed and turned away from them, so that even though they might be physically close, the boundary of merit allows them to keep these migrants at a distance.

Given this, it appears that for forced migrants, access to this creation of social life is conditioned by several boundaries. Interviews suggest that learning German is the first and fundamental precondition for participation. After language acquisition, schooling and employment appear fundamental, as it is how forced migrants align their lives and futures with everyday life in NRW. Even though forced migrant participants appeared very eager to learn German and go to school and/or work, access to social life remains limited. Similar to stereotyping, recognizing the merit of an accomplishment rather than an individual appears to be an important way to restrict forced migrants' participation. This allows locals to remain untouched by newcomers, as they limit and guide their possibilities to create meaningful connections and body alignments.

4.4.4. The obligation to construct imaginaries of the future

As proposed in the previous chapter, for a locality to continue to exist it needs to be constantly reproduced through people's continuous reciprocal relating and interacting. Through their participation in everyday life people not only manifest their present participation, but also prepare their futures within it. Projecting oneself into the future and constructing imaginaries of the future is always a relational endeavor (Cantó-Milà and Seebach 2015), meaning that people always imagine and prepare their future in relation to others (Adam 2008). Thus, by preparing their personal futures, people simultaneously project and prepare the future of the people, institutions, values, habits, and norms which frame their personal imaginaries of the future. In this sense, constructing imaginaries of the future set in a locality does not only appear as an option but as a condition of forced migrants' participation.

Forced migrants' present participation does not inherently derive from a past aligned with the locality, as their pasts relate to places, norms, values, habits, and maybe also people they were forced to leave behind. Thus, in preparing their personal futures aligned with people, norms, and values creating social life in NRW, forced migrants lend their futures to the quest of stabilizing and assuring its future. Since their pasts are not aligned with the locality, this sacrifice may be a necessary condition for their present participation. Besides this, interviews suggest that the desire for a better and safer future is one of

the reasons why forced migrants migrate. Thus, aligning their imaginaries of the future with social life in NRW is also a quest for safety, stability, and security.

Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher, mentions the crucial role of future planning for forced migrants' becoming part of everyday life.

> "It is like this, they (her students) are focused, they have a goal and having this goal is often the solution to many difficulties. If I know what I want and I also see that I can make progress and that I can make it. Yes. [...] Yes, that is helpful for integration, when I know what I want. Yes, then I can orientate my life in that direction." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) " Das ist so, die sind fokussiert, die haben ein Ziel und dieses Ziel zu haben ist oft die Lösung für viele Schwierigkeiten. Wenn ich weiß, was ich will und wen ich auch sehe, dass ich Fortschritte mache und das ich das machen kann. [...] Ja. das ist hilfreich bei der Integration, wenn ich weiß, was ich möchte. Ja, dann kann ich meinen Lebensweg dahin organisieren."

Mrs. Müller suggests that having goals gives forced migrants' lives an orientation and in this way direct forced migrants' becoming part of everyday life ("integration"). This observation is in line with Ricoeur (1991), who says that future imagination (in the form of stories) serves as orientation and motivation to engage in the preparation of personal futures. According to Ricoeur (1991), these stories reduce the complexity of the future and persuade people of the "actionability" of particular ideas for the future. Reduction of complexity is especially crucial when arriving in a new locality as a forced migrant, because forced migrants generally arrive without pre-established ties and connections meaning without having enrolled in study courses, having signed employment contracts and/or valid visas. As discussed in the previous chapter, forced migrant participants said that they felt confused and lost when arriving in NRW. Participating in everyday life and preparing their futures in line with this, does not "naturally" derive from their present doing, as in the beginning they have little intuition about their possibilities. Working towards a particular goal (generally degrees or a profession) is a way to slowly get more engaged with social life and thus, to gradually become part of it.

Not only experts, but also forced migrants participating in this study are aware of the importance of having goals. Mustafa says:

> "And that brought me to who I am today. That I want to continue studying and continue going to school. I want to continue my education and develop myself and because of that I was able to find my way here." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und das hat mich zu dem gebracht was ich heute bin. Das ich weiter studieren möchte und weiter zur Schule gehen möchte. Ich möchte mich weiterbilden und weiterentwickeln und deswegen konnte ich meinen Weg hier finden."

Mustafa has the impression that he was able to find his way "here" and turn into the person he is today, because he had and still has a clear goal (pursuing his studies). Since studying allowed him to find his way "here" suggests that it allowed him to participate and become part of social life. Interviews show that forced migrants depend on and are thankful for the guidance and support they receive from teachers,

social workers, sport trainers, and counselors. In fact, social workers, teachers, and counselors might know best which futures are most "actionable" and available for forced migrants.

For example, interviews with experts suggest that an apprenticeship is a very "actionable" future for forced migrants as it appears prepared for by institutions. Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth in a unaccompanied housing program, explains:

> "The townhall didn't say it like that, but there are few children, too few for our apprenticeship positions. [...] We tell the children, this is the plan and when you do this you can reach it. And we help you. There were many who didn't make it and who had problems. We tried to get everyone there." (Mr. Lohmann, psychologist) (my translation) "Also die Stadt hat das so nicht gesagt, aber es gibt wenige Kinder, zu wenig für unsere Ausbildungsplätze. [...] Wir sagen den Kids, hier das ist der Plan und wenn du das machst dann kannst du da hin. Und wir helfen dir. Es gab auch viele die das nicht geschafft haben und Probleme hatte. Also wir haben versucht alle dahin zubringen."

Mr. Lohmann says that there are not enough students to fill vacant apprenticeship positions. Studies confirm his words, as e.g., the Boston Consulting Group (BCG 2014) predicts that Germany will have a shortage of up to 10 million workers by 2030. This defines a considerable demand for workers and concerns especially labor intensive industries (Bergfeld 2017). Moreover, Brücker, Kosyakova and Vallizadeh (2020) state that especially the nursing and elderly care sector actively tried to recruit refugees because they were short of labor. Besides this structural need for workers, doing an apprenticeship is often the fastest way to ensure a stable income. Interviews with forced migrants and experts show that many forced migrants are financially responsible for their families. Thus, opting for an apprenticeship is also a pragmatic choice for them. At the time of the interviews, many of the forced migrants participating in this study were either in vocational training preparing for an apprenticeship or doing an apprenticeship. However, it is important to note that experts emphasized that not everyone manages to finish vocational training and/or an apprenticeship. Interviews of this study and other studies show that especially the language requirements are an important hurdle (Bergfeld 2017).

Addressing this structural and economic need for workers, the so-called "three-plus-two-rule" grants forced migrants whose asylum applications have been refused another way in which to obtain a Duldung (a distinction granting temporary permission to reside in Germany which is unique to German immigration policies). The idea is that forced migrants receive a Duldung for the time of the apprenticeship which has to be renewed every year. If forced migrants successfully finish the apprenticeship and obtain an employment contract in the same field, they are granted a Duldung for two more years. This rule was mentioned by several experts and forced migrants participating in this study. Mrs. Schwan, a lawyer accompanying asylum applications, explains:

> "The apprenticeship toleration [Duldung] is especially relevant for those, whose asylum application has been rejected. [...] One then has the right to stay in Germany for three years to complete the apprenticeship. And after that, if I find employment in the area where I did my apprenticeship, I receive another toleration [Duldung] and after that I can apply for another kind

of residence permit. In that case a lane change is possible, but that is a great exception." (Mrs Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Also die Ausbildungs Duldung ist gerade für die besonders relevant für die, die nicht anerkannt werden. (...) Man hat dann das Recht drei Jahre in Deutschland zu bleiben und die Ausbildung zu beenden. Und danach wenn ich dann eine Arbeit in dem Bereich finde, indem ich auch die Ausbildung gemacht habe, dann bekomme ich wieder eine Duldung und danach kann ich eine Aufenthaltserlaubnis beantragen. Da ist ein Spurwechsel möglich, aber das ist die absolute Ausnahme."

Thus, if forced migrants' asylum application is refused, the only other option to obtain a temporary residence permit is to start an apprenticeship. This suggests that, institutionally speaking, an apprenticeship is the preferred future for forced migrants, which does not necessarily reflect forced migrants' preferences, but the preferences of legislative powers.

Despite this institutionally prepared path, some forced migrant interviewees do not want to do an apprenticeship, but prefer university studies. They state that it has been difficult to enter university. Thibaut, a forced migrant, says:

> "So not directly, indirectly. For example, they wanted to control my decision. I always said, I want to study. And on the way, that took at least three years. Until I enrolled at the university properly. And on the way, I had contact with many people and they wanted to change that. Somehow, they didn't want me to study. As if I don't belong here. They always wanted me to work or at most to do an apprenticeship, but not to study. Because studying is not for you. Mmmm for me. They said, 'studying is a luxury and you don't have that.'" (Thibaut, 29, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also nicht direkt, indirekt. Mmm z.B. die wollten meine Entscheidung kontrollieren. Die wollten z.B. Ich habe immer gesagt, ich will studieren. Und auf dem Weg, das hat mindestens 3 jahre gedauert. Bis ich zur Uni richtig eingeschrieben bin. Und auf dem Weg ich habe mit vielen Kontakt gehabt und dann die wollten das ändern. Irgendwie, die wollten nicht dass ich studiere. Als ob ich hier nicht gehöre. Die wollten immer das ich arbeiten gehe oder maximal eine Ausbildung machen, aber nicht studieren. Weil Studieren nicht für dich ist. Mmm also für micht. Die haben gesagt, Studium ist Luxus und das hast du nicht."

Thibaut suggests that some people he met had an idea for his future. He says that these people believed and told him that he should work or do an apprenticeship. The plan they sketched for Thibaut's future is in line with the plan suggested by Mr. Lohmann and the legal framework Mrs. Schwan explained. This suggests that institutional and political projects concerning forced migrants' futures are enforced not only through laws and institutional practices, but also in everyday interactions. These political projects about forced migrants' futures stick to the legal category "refugee," as "refugee" appears to not only give information about a person's rights and duties towards the German state, but also entails a particular future perspective (doing an apprenticeship). Since preparing for a future and establishing a life implies uncountable reciprocal relations and connections with institutions and locals, judgements and ideas attached to the legal category "refugee" shape the way forced migrants can imagine their future and think about themselves. In this sense, "refugee" as a sticky sign functions as a boundary limiting forced migrants' access to educational institutions and the labor market and, thus, limiting access to participation in everyday life.

Moreover, Thibaut states that the people he talked to considered university education a luxury, which, according to them, he was not entitled to. Since university degrees are more likely to open doors to

well-paid and well-recognized jobs, this reflects Mustafa's observation that (forced) migrants and "people with a migration background" are either lower class or lower middle class. This suggests that the refugee status and assumed origin are important boundaries when it comes to partaking in social life, accessing resources, and planning for the future. Forced migrants' goals are co-authored by political projects which are negotiated and enforced through laws, institutional support, and sticky signs (e.g. the "refugee" category). Thus, for forced migrants, constructing imaginaires of the future embedded in the new locality is strongly guided and/or limited by political projects.

Interviews show that some forced migrants are aware that their futures are being guided. However, most forced migrants participating in this study affirm that they see their long-term future in the locality they currently inhabit and/or somewhere else in Germany. They say that they are motivated to stay, because they consider it to be the best and safest place; some want to avoid having to make the effort of learning another language and understanding another system, and/or appreciate the ample opportunities the German education system has to offer. When asked whether he could imagine living in a different country, Jeremie, a forced migrant, says:

> "No. Maybe in my homeland, if free. If good times come, I hope. But otherwise I live only here. I believe all have freedom. I too have freedom, that's why I want to live here." (Jeremie, 26, forced migrant) (my translation) "Nee. Vielleicht in meine Heimatland, wenn frei. Wenn gute Zeit kommt, ich hoffe. Aber sonst ich lebe nur hier. Ich glaube alle haben Freiheiten. Ich habe auch hier Freiheit, deswegen ich möchte hier wohnen."

Jeremie sees his future "here," because he has the impression that he can trust in living a life in freedom. This prospect grants him the feeling of having a secure future and motivates him to envision his future "here." Also Karim, a forced migrant, affirms that he imagines his future in Germany:

> "But I don't think I can live somewhere else for the time being, because I'm building up my life here. And yes, to visit maybe, I mean for vacation, but to construct a life no country is better than Germany. Because you have many possibilities to live here, to do something. No matter what you can do an apprenticeship, take on a profession, also later work in it." (Karim, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Aber ich glaube leben kann ich ja jetzt erst mal nicht, weil ich jetzt erstmal mein Leben hier aufbaue. Und ja besuchen schon, also um Urlaub zu machen ja, aber um ein Leben aufzubauen ist kein Land besser als Deutschland. Weil man hat hier halt viele Möglichkeiten zu leben, etwas zu machen. Egal als was kann man die Ausbildung machen, einen Beruf erlernen, später daran auch noch arbeiten."

Also Karim envisions his future in Germany. Similar to Jeremie, he appreciates the stability, especially the employment stability, that life in Germany seems to offer him. The wish for a stable and safe future was expressed by all forced migrant participants and all considered this to be more probable in Germany. In fact, when escaping war, military service, persecution, poverty, scarcity and many related problems and horrors, the stability and safety of a life in peace has great value. Having secured access to food and electricity, trustworthy institutions, and the ability to attend school and/or work, planning a tomorrow means re-gaining/gaining fundamental stabilities whose loss or lack has partly motivated forced migrants' escape. These feelings of safety and security and the need for an everyday life to frame their

personal imaginaries of the future lead forced migrants to trust in and construct their futures in Germany. With this they affirm that they align themselves with social meanings and norms and dedicate their future to the constant reproduction of the locality and everyday life they currently inhabit.

4.5. Summary

As the above evidence demonstrates, "strange" is not an attribute of a person, but defines a reciprocal relationship between newcomers and already established people, and social meanings and values since it is a judgment made by locals which sticks to newcomers' bodies. Interviews have shown that dark hair and skin color, the headscarf, and the legal category "refugee" are quick markers of difference and illegitimacy. Judgements about geographical and cultural origins, experienced hardships, and a state of being in need, as well as terrorist intentions and a predefined future plan travel attached to these markers of difference and are imprinted on forced migrants' bodies. In this way, they function as boundaries, since by touching bodies with these sticky signs their possibilities to move and align with other bodies and sticky signs and objects is limited. For this, emotions are crucial because they travel on these sticky signs and enforce certain body movements while preventing others. Interviews suggested that "Germans" recognize (and maybe name) forced migrants as strangers/foreigners/"people with a migration background"/"refugees" but often turn away in order to avoid being impressed upon by them. Being recognized as a stranger defines a reciprocal relationship between the local and the stranger, defining her as being part of everyday life. However, as discussed, this reciprocal relationship comes with important restrictions, as it hinders the establishment of meaningful connections and limits access to resources, legitimacy, and participation in everyday life. In this sense, recognizing someone as a stranger while turning away from her is a form of "abusive inclusion." The newcomer is part, but her movements and possibilities are limited because of the disinterest and turning away experienced from locals and predefined political projects. Despite this discrimination, interviews show that forced migrants are eager to prepare their future in NRW/Germany. Having been forced into leaving a life and future behind, the feeling of having a secure future, even if this future may not respect their capacities and desires, appears to be enough to merit engagement in it. The loss of a life and future, especially in terms of having lost feelings of embeddedness in and connection to social life allowing for feelings of security and safety, is a largely derecognized experience involved in forced migration. The next chapter will explore how grieving all the losses involved in forced migration shape the experience of participating in everyday life and forced migrants' possibilities to construct a life and future in NRW.

5. GRIEF

5.1. Grief in academic literature

Grief is widely understood as the reaction to the loss of a loved one (Casado, Hong and Garrington 2010; Klass, Silverman and Nickman 2014; Walter 1999) - a basic human experience, since losing a loved one is a part of life. However, grief is conceived of as a short-term interruption in normal functioning, so after prolonged grieving bereavement can be understood as a psychological/mental illness and the bereaved is perceived to need professional help (Ortiz 2017)). In fact, if grief continues after more than six months after the death of the loved one, it is conceptualized as prolonged grief disorder (PGD) or complicated grief (CG) (Prigerson, Horowitz, Jacobs, Parkes, Aslan, Goodkin and Raphael 2013).[29] However, it is under debate whether grief (normal and prolonged) should be considered as a mental illness (Klass, Silverman and Nickman 2014; Stroebe and Schut 2006; Field, Gao and Padorna 2005).

Grief in psychiatric terms is generally associated with symptoms such as distress, anxiety, confusion, yearning, obsessive dwelling on the past, anger, guilt, and apprehension about the future (Ortiz 2017). Till today, the psychiatric understanding of grief is influenced by Freud's discussion of Mourning and Melancholia (1957), in which Freud proposes that mourning is a natural reaction to death which can be resolved through grief work, neutralizing all affective ties to the lost person (object) (Freud 1957). Following this idea, "working through" grief implies, firstly, working through painful emotions related to grief in order to free the person from the attachment to the deceased or lost object. Secondly, a person should adjust to the new life experience in the absence of the lost object. And thirdly, the person is encouraged to build new relationships (Bowlby 1982; Hall 2011). Moreover, psychiatry proposes that new losses can activate past losses and once a loss is fully mourned it can be a vehicle of growth and regeneration (Ortiz 2017). However, other psychiatric scholars have questioned the extent to which emotional detachment from the lost facilitates relief from grieving (Stroebe 1993; Boelen, Stroebe, Schut and Zijerveld 2006).

This psychiatric model of grief, which treats grief as a psychic and emotional dysfunctional state, has been challenged (Jakoby 2012; Walter 1996; Klass, Silverman and Nickman 2014; Lofland 1985). These critics point out that the psychiatric model focuses on atomized individuals in clinical settings and looks at grief as being separate from the social, cultural, and historical settings within which it is

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[29] The PGD is currently included in the ICD-11, the international classification of diseases, by the World Health organization and proposed to be included in the DSM-V-TR, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (Rando, Doka, Fleming, Franco, Lobb, Parkes and Steele 2012).

experienced (Jakoby 2012). Any grief takes place embedded in a specific social setting and time period (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006). Jakoby (2012) stresses that society shapes private loss experiences through definitions, framing processes and social norms concerning loss and grief, defining not only "legitimate" losses (Fowlkes, 1990), but also places where and ways in which grief can be expressed.

She further proposes that grief is not a static condition but entails a story of loss in which the meaning of the loved one is constructed and reconstructed. She refers to Walter (1996) who discusses the role of narrative for grieving;. Walter (1996) emphasizes the social nature of grief as he believes that mourning is not about "working through" emotions, but about turning the absence of the loss into a workable presence so that it does not interrupt the feeling of continuity of the self. He proposes that this is done narratively through and in conversations with people who knew the dead person. In fact, in general verbalizing one's grief is considered one of its most effective remedies, as it helps develop different perspectives, relate to one's own feelings and make sense of the experience of loss (Jakoby 2014).

According to Walter (1991, 58), turning the absence of a lost loved one into a workable present requires constructing a new bond with the lost one. This new bond could take the form of sensing the presence of the dead, talking with the dead, conceiving of the dead as moral guidance, and talking about the dead. Walter (1996) believes that integrating the absence of the loved one into the survivor's self-understanding is a normal practice of the ongoing self-reflexive identity construction. Charmaz (1980) also stresses the relevance of grieving to identity; she proposes that the loss of a loved one can cause a crisis of self or even a loss of self. Since the self was constructed through interactions with the dead, her absence can cause a crisis. In line with this thought, Bradbury (2012) conceives of grieving as the painful reconstruction of the self and everyday life after loss.

Following the psychiatric understanding of grief, it is primarily the loss of a loved one that is considered to provoke grief. However, as discussed in the second chapter, people are emotionally attached not only to other people but also to the environment (places, ideas, values, houses, habits, etc.) they live in. Being forced to migrate implies losing the feeling of embeddedness and connection to an everyday life which is constituted by relations to people, places, ideas, futures, values and/or habits. This loss continues to shape forced migrants' inhabiting of the locality where they settle down, as loss plays out relationally shaping all reciprocal relations a person is involved in.

Despite these immense losses, Casado, Hong and Harrington (2010) point out that loss and grief associated with migration is neither recognized nor well understood. Following this, they suggest that grief involved in migration could be considered disenfranchised grief (Doka 2002; Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010). Disenfranchised grief refers to the situation when people experience a loss, but cannot express their despair, grieving and mourning, because the loss is not recognized by others. This means that either the worth of the lost object or person, or the relationship to it, is not socially acknowledged.

Migratory grief could be considered as disenfranchised grief, since forced migrants are expected to adapt to the society where they settle, while the numerous losses involved in the experience of forced migration are not or only little recognized (Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010) and, therefore, public grieving of these losses is hardly possible.

5.2. Approaching grief relationaly

In this chapter, I explore and analyze the way grief of losses involved in forced migration is narrated and the extent to which grieving is part of forced migrants' reciprocal relating to the environments they inhabit. Critiques of the psychiatric conceptualisation of grief (Jakoby 2014; Charmaz 1980; Walter 1996) stress that this emotion is defined by social norms and practices concerning who/what and how to grieve. They also underline the interpersonal quality of grief, highlighting the role of conversation about the deceased with other people in the relief of grief. Moreover, Klass, Silverman and Nickman (2014) point out that grievers should not be led to detach from the deceased. Instead, they may be empowered by maintaining emotional attachments and finding new forms of relating to the dead. However, similarly to the psychiatric understanding of grief, they conceive it as an internal state of the individual. The idea is that the experience of grief is shaped by the social context, but grieving plays out and has to be dealt with on the individual level. Charmaz (1980) stresses that a sociological investigation of grief needs to focus on its social context including agency and social constraints as well as the attachments and social bonds of the person. In this study, while I agree that grief is shaped by the individual experience and the social context framing it,, grieving is not conceived as an internal state, but as a process happening in the reciprocal relations grievers are involved in - in line with Ahmed (2004). I understand grief as a social emotion not only because it is framed by social norms and practices, but also because it happens in grievers' reciprocal relations and in this way shapes the reciprocal relations to themselves, others and their environment.

Being dear to someone implies uncountable contacts with that loved person or object. These contacts generally leave numerous impressions on both, evidencing uncountable reciprocal relations between them, as a result of which both are tuned to the impressing of and relating to the other. However, once a loved person or object is lost, this mutual impressing ends. According to Ahmed (2004), grieving entails a holding on to the impressions by the loved one, and thereby the loss is kept alive in the reciprocal relations of the griever. Thus, even though the loss has disappeared and cannot impress anymore, its impressions remain - so its absence turns into an impression itself. The experience of loss, the sudden absence of habitual impressions by and relating to a loved person or object generally involves

shock, desperation, fear, anger and/or pain and it is through these emotions that the loved one's absence impresses on the griever. This impression constitutes a continuous and continuing relationship with the loss, which continues to shape a griever's reciprocal relations.

When we grieve for something or someone we show that we loved and valued what we have lost. Loving something or someone implies openness towards it, which allows for it to impress upon us. Thus, when grieving, we show ourselves impressed by the loss, evidencing openness, vulnerability and affectivity. Holding on to the impressions by the lost, we affirm that the loss still shapes how we relate to ourselves and others, even though it is no longer physically present and/or future contact is not realizable anymore. In this sense, in grief, our losses continue to relationally define who we are and continue to shape how we relate to our environment.

The way in which a griever's loss continues to shape his relations to herself and others has been discussed in terms of identity, since the experience of loss and its grieving has been linked to identity by several scholars. For example, grief is understood as a painful reconstruction of the self (Bradbury 2012), as identity discontinuity (Caseado, Hong and Harrington 2010) or as an experience of loss of self, as the self prior to loss was constructed through interactions with the deceased (Charmaz 1980). Following Ahmed (2004), the creation of the subject depends on impressions left by others, and so the other exists on the person's body surface. However, these impressions cannot be taken for the other, as the other also exists apart from the impressions it has left on a body surface. Similarly, the subject cannot be reduced to the impressions by the other, as it exists beyond these impressions (Ahmed 2004). In this sense, as I understand it, losing someone or something dear does not mean to lose the self, but implies losing the continuing impressing by the lost and, thus, continuing reciprocal relations to her/it. Keeping the lost's impressions alive, i.e. grieving, we hold on to our reciprocal relating to it/her and, thus, intend to prevent or postpone losing them.

Continuously being impressed by others allows for constant reciprocal relations and connections granting a stable self-understanding and feeling of embeddedness in everyday life. Following this, being involuntarily separated from something or someone dear is an imposed and painful rupture of our reciprocal relating and self-understanding. Loss entails a forced ending, as grievers did not intend to give up reciprocal relations and connections with the lost. Grief is generally associated with emotions of shock, guilt, anger, rage, anxiety, fear and yearning (Jakoby 2012). In fact, the sudden absence of others' impressing and reciprocal relations leave grievers with the pain and vulnerability of the sudden ending. Thus, while past impressions by a loved one or object (certainly) also involve pleasant emotions and memories, the emotions associated with grieving appear to be emotions experienced during involuntary separation. As stated in a previous chapter, Ahmed (2004) proposes emotions to be the flesh of time, as it is through emotions that histories of contacts stay alive on people's body surfaces even if they are not

consciously remembered. Besides keeping the past alive in the present, emotions orientate bodies towards the future. In this sense, grief appears to orient the grieving person to the moment of loss and in this way she holds on to the impressions the loss has left on her. It is the pain, despair, anger and/or fear involved in the experience of the sudden absence of mutual impressing with the lost person or object that keep its/her impressions alive and it is through these emotions that the lost continues to shape a griever's reciprocal relations. As long as a person grieves, the impressions of the loss are not remodeled by new impressions by others, and thus, despite (possible) new contacts, the griever continues to relate to her loss(es).

Since the loss continues to shape grievers' reciprocal relating, it shapes not only their past, but also their present and future. Once someone or something is lost, its past impressions remain, but future impressions become impossible. In fact, the pain involved in grieving, when remembering the shared past with a loved one/object, might result from feeling the impossibility of a shared future. So the impossible shared future impresses on the griever, shaping her reciprocal relations to herself and others and, thus, forging her present and future. In this sense, when grieving the shared past with a lost person or object, the impossible future for this past is alive. This shows that grief relates and connects us not only to a shared past with something or someone lost, but also to an imagined future which has never occurred and will never occur as we had imagined it. Remembering the past and imagining the future are not always shared with others, which means that grief can remain invisible. Grievers (might) relate to their loss(es) in their thoughts, making grieving potentially a private experience.

The above interpretation allows to conceptualize grief not as an internal state and potentially a pathological condition demanding professional help, but as part of human affective reciprocal relating. It allows us to understand grief as an expression of love, affection and connection to lost others, places, beliefs or things, as an emotion which binds us to what is dear to us across time and space. In fact, Butler (2006, 28) proposes that grief offers a possibility to comprehend the fundamental sociality of life. It defines people as inevitably connected and related to others and as implicated in lives that are not our own.

5.3. Narration of grieving losses involved in forced migration

This defines grief as deeply relational, not only because it evidences a continuing relationship to the lost someone or something, but also because in grief, grievers' loss continues to shape their reciprocal relating to themselves and others. In this way, the loss is part of the reciprocal relations and connections

creating everyday life, affecting all people who come into contact with and, thus, impress and are impressed by grievers.

This chapter focuses on the narration of grief of the loss(es) involved in forced migration. As defined in the second chapter, the losses involved in forced migration concern people, places, beliefs, habits, values and/or traditions. These numerous losses imply the experience of losing connection and embeddedness within an environment and a familiar creation of everyday life. Losing a sense of connection to other people and social life is an immense loss - people depend on connection, mutuality and trust to others and institutions in order to feel safe, secure and comfortable as well as to know who they are in relation to others. Interviews suggest that forced migrants grieve these losses, as they mentioned shock, anger, pain, despair, and/or heaviness (emotions generally associated with grief (Jakoby 2012)) when reflecting on their memories of involuntary departure from their homes.

5.3.1. Shock

As discussed above, shock is an emotion generally believed to be involved in grieving. No matter whether a loss has been anticipated or not, in the first moment losing someone or something dear often entails shock. Similarly, sudden displacements are involuntary moves potentially involving shock and not joyful realizations of desired plans. Interviews suggest this shock sometimes outlasts the moment of actual arrival. Bara, a forced migrant, explains:

> "I mean absolute new world, really. Sometimes I imagine it like this. During my first two years here, I always told myself, is that a dream or is that reality? Just everything, absolutely everything is different." (Bara, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also absolut neue Welt, wirklich also. Ich stelle es mir manchmal so vor. Die ersten zwei Jahren in denen ich hier war, immer habe ich mir gesagt, ist das ein Traum oder ist das die Wahrheit? Einfach alles, absolut alles anders."

As narrated by other forced migrants, Bara stresses that he experienced arriving in NRW as entering a completely new world. As discussed in a previous chapter, upon arrival, forced migrants' movements and habits are tuned to the contacts with important others and with the socail environment they left behind. In the absence of familiar contacts, forced migrants are unsure how to move, and dealing with this novelty might involve shock. In fact, research on bereavement found that the shock involved in loss and grief implies a new sense of uncertainty and a feeling of incompletion (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006). Bara says that the novelty of the place was absolute, so that relating to this new surroundings felt unreal, like living in a dream. For Bara, living in a dream involves that during the first two years in NRW he continued to live impressed by the life in the place he had to escape from. Even though what he had left behind and, thus, had lost could not make new impressions, their past impressions remained alive and defined Bara's reality. In this sense, the living-in-a-dream state can be understood as an expression of

grief. The shock at the moment of involuntary separation from the environment and important others he used to relate to conserves its impressions so they continue to be real to him. Bara says that this dream state lasted for two years, which implies that shock involved in grieving the losses as a result of forced migration is not only a momentous experience, but also something that can prevail for years.

5.3.2. Anger

Besides shock, anger was narrated as being involved in the moment of loss of connection to and embeddedness in the social life forced migrants had to leave behind. As discussed in a previous chapter, the loss of feeling connected and safe with others and within an environment often involves perceiving institutions or governing parties as a threat to one's life. When asked whether she is interested in politics, Lina, a forced migrant, says that she is angry at politicians who care only about their own wealth and forget about the people:

> "What happens now in Iraq because of Americans and yes this makes me angry, because our countries in the East, for example,[name of country], they don't even know and everyone just wants to take something and they forget the other people. This makes me angry." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Was jetzt im [name des Landes]passiert wegen Amerikaner und ja das ärgert mich, weil die unsere Länder im Osten, Irak zum beispiel, die wissen gar nicht und jeder will einfach etwas nehmen und die vergessen die anderen Leute. Das ärgert mich."

In the interview, she explains life had become unlivable and dangerous for her and her family because of increasing poverty and religious persecution. She sees both to be consequences of corrupt politics, as incompetent politicians care only about themselves and not the people. Her anger seems motivated by disappointment and a feeling of betrayal by the government, as it is due to "bad" politics that poverty and religious persecution made her family's life unlivable. The anger involved in living this injustice keeps the experience of her loss of feeling safe and embedded in her hometown alive, so when asked whether she was interested in politics she tells me what she believed politicians have taken from her.

5.3.3. Pain

Another emotion forced migrants narrated as part of the experience of loss is pain. When asked how he has arrived at the present moment in his life, Bara, a forced migrant, describes:

> "Actually, at first I didn't want to start school. Because back home, yes back home, it was really painful that I couldn't take my last two exams of the A-levels and I would have finished there being 17 years old." (Bara, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also zuerst eigentlich mal, wollte ich gar nicht mit Schule anfangen. Weil in Heimat, ja in Heimat hat es mir sehr wehgetan, so dass ich meine zwei letzten Klausuren im Abitur nicht geschrieben habe und ich wäre da auch mit 17 fertig."

He says that not being able to finish his A-levels in his hometown was painful. Since he arrived in Germany without a high school diploma, he had to do his A-levels again in Germany. At the time of the interview, he was 22 years old and in 12th grade. Thus, instead of finishing high school at the age of 17, Bara will finish it presumably at the age of 23. After learning the language, forced migrants usually need four years to do their A-levels in Germany. Thus, Bara narrates the loss of an opportunity, finishing the A-levels in his hometown, and a loss of time. This kind of loss of opportunities and time is narrated by all forced migrants and will be discussed in detail later on. Loss of time (and degrees) is the most direct way forced migrants narrate and quantify their losses involved in forced migration. Bara says that at first he did not want to start school in NRW, suggesting an initial refusal to "replace" the lost opportunity of finishing A-levels in his hometown with A-levels in NRW. Refusing to start A-levels again can be understood as holding on to and continuing a reciprocal relation to the lost opportunity of finishing school in the town where he had to escape from and, thus, it describes grieving. Through pain, the lost opportunity of finishing his A-levels impresses on him so he continues to relate to it and so, at first, he is not open to new impressions.

5.3.4. Despair

In addition to shock, anger and pain, despair is involved in forced migrants' narration of loss. The feeling of despair implies absence of hope, which is particularly descriptive of grieving, since the pain of grief derives partly from the realization that a shared future with that which is lost is impossible. At the end of the interview, when asked whether he had something to add, comment or ask, Karim, a forced migrant, explains:

> "If God wanted, I could have still had two older brothers to support me. Maybe if I had two brothers, I wouldn't be here now. [...] If I had two brothers, who were still alive, maybe I would not have had these experiences. What I survived here, because of my family, because of difficulties that I had and still have here in Germany." (Karim, 21, forced migrant) (my translation)"Wenn der Gott wollte, könnte ich noch zwei ältere Brüder haben, die mich unterstützen. Vielleicht wenn ich zwei Brüder hätte wäre ich jetzt nicht hier. Dann hätte ich wenigstens zwei Brüder, die hinter mir sind. [...] Auch wenn ich auch zwei Brüder hätte, die noch am leben wären, vielleicht hätte ich diese Erfahrungen nicht. Was hier halt überlebt habe, durch meine Familie, durch die Schwierigkeiten, die ich hier in Deutschland habe und immer noch habe"

Karim is the only surviving son of his parents. Having older brothers means (especially according to traditions with which he grew up) sharing responsibility towards one's family and having more support. He says twice that if his older brothers were still alive he would maybe still be in his hometown and would not have had all the difficult experiences involved in escape and life in NRW. At the end of the interview, after having told me much about his past life and imaginaries of the future, he mentions an impossible life in his hometown, which he could have had, if his two older brothers were still alive. The

impossible future of this imagined and desired life leaves him with great despair and, through despair, it stays alive in his reflection about himself and his life.

Shock, anger, despair and/or pain involved in grieving losses are often narrated by forced migrant participants as an emotional weight and they seem to believe that it will stick to them forever. E.g. Karim says:

> "People who laugh are sad. You have to have experienced a lot to realize that laughing people are sad. When you laugh, you are pretending to be happy and at least during the day you have no problems. That only comes at night." (Karim, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Menschen, die lachen sind traurig. Man muss viel erlebt haben um zu erkennen, dass auch lachende Menschen traurig sind. Wenn man lacht, spielt man sich selber vor glücklich zu sein und wenigstens während des Tages, hat man keine Probleme. Das kommt dann erst nachts."

Karim seems desperately sad - besides momentary distraction during the day, he sees no possible remedy to his sadness. Karim says that he has to pretend to himself that he is happy. Usually, happiness is associated with ease, however, in Karim's case, happiness implies effort through pretending. Distraction and restrain from grief are common strategies to deal with the emotional intensity of loss, helping grievers function in everyday life (Harris 2009).[30] However, Karim says that distraction works only short-term. He sees himself confined to this state of sadness, as he says that problems come back at night. This inevitable connection to past hardships and experiences through sadness, pain and/or despair interprets grief as a powerful connection and relation to one's loss/es.

5.4. Making sense of grieving losses involved in forced migration

5.4.1. Loss of childhood

One way forced migrant participants seem to make sense of the emotions connecting them to their losses is the feeling of having lost childhood (innocence) and, thus, being older or more mature than their peers in NRW. E.g. Bara, a forced migrant, explains:

> "There is a saying in Arabic and it says, directly translated, when I was a child, I was old. Can you imagine what it means?" (Bara, forced migrant, 21) (my translation) "Es gibt so einen Spruch im Arabischen und genau übersetzt sagt das, als ich Kind war, war ich alt. Kannst du dir vorstellen was das bedeutet?"

In the interview, Bara relates this feeling of having to be an adult very early on, to the experience of being given responsibility for his father's business and to the experience of war. The idea of premature growing up was narrated by many forced migrants participating in this study and was always related to the experience of hardships. Lina, a forced migrant, states:

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[30] Moreover, restraining from grief is understood to be a way to protect other people from the discomfort of seeing their grief (Jakoby 2014).

"I don't know, we saw so many difficult things and sometimes, all memories are horrible. That's why I don't feel like a woman of 27 years, but like a 50 or 60 year old woman, who lived a lot and had a lot of struggle and stress. Because normally when you are 27 years old, they are like children. But unfortunately for me, it's not like that." (Lina, 27, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Ich weiß nicht wir haben so viele schwierige Sachen gesehn und manchmal, alles alte das ist schlimm. Deswegen fühle ich mich nicht wie eine Frau mit 27 Jahre, sondern wie eine Frau mit 50 oder 60 Jahren, die viel gelebt hat und viel anstrengung und Stress. Weil normal wenn man 27 Jahre ist, die sind wie Kinder. Aber leider für mich überhaupt nicht."

Similar to Bara, Lina feels grown up and old even though both are still in their 20s. Having to grow up early, both describe a loss of youth and childhood innocence. This sensation of early maturity resulting from living through hardships may be a way to narrate and make sense of the experience of losing feelings of embeddedness and connection to the environment in which they grew up. As argued in a previous chapter, I understand human beings as relational beings meaning that their (existence and) self-understanding is defined by the connections and reciprocal relations they are engaged in. When children have the luxury of living in a benevolent and safe environment, they can grow slowly into the reciprocal relations which create responsible adult everyday life. Their growing into this life is generally supported by their parents, siblings, neighbors, institutions and friends. Growing into established networks can allow them to feel seemingly naturally connected, accepted, recognized, safe and in harmony with their surroundings. As long as this process is not involuntarily interrupted, a person might take the feeling of connection and embeddedness for granted. However, these connections are never "natural", but are based on uncountable and always evolving reciprocal relations people engage in and which create everyday life.

In contrast to this easy-going childhood that slowly transits into youth and adulthood, experiences of war, persecution, natural disaster, extreme poverty and/or any type of violence threaten this feeling of a seemingly natural connection (transition into adulthood), safety and embeddedness. It is a moment when one realizes that the locality one inhabits is not a safe enough and stable place where people feel sufficiently connected and trust in a shared tomorrow. Being forced to migrate involves life threatening experiences causing people to lose trust in connections and safety. Interviews suggest that forced migrant participants interpret this disappointment of trust, mutuality and connection as the experience of having to grow up early or aging. In this sense, the sensation of having to grow up early is a way to narrate the loss involved in forced migration, meaning the loss of feelings of being "naturally" safe and connected to one's environment and surroundings.

5.4.2. Heaviness

Another way forced migrant participants narrate the emotional charge of grieving losses involved in their experience of forced migration is by describing memories of past hardships and losses as an emotional

burden or heaviness. As discussed earlier, experiencing grief involves feeling pain, anger, shock and/or despair, which is exhausting. Above this, relating to something or someone lost while having to engage with one's present life and immediate surroundings demands effort and can be tiring. Thus, grievers are charged with the impressions by their losses, which involve intense emotions that appear difficult (or impossible) to live with. Lina, a forced migrant, explains:

> "I would like to be a new person (laughs). Throw away and forget everything that we experienced, but unfortunately that is impossible. Everything stays with us." (Lina, 27, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Ich würde gerne ein neuer Mensch sein (lacht). Alles was wir gelebt haben wegschmeißen und vergessen, aber das geht leider nicht. Das bleibt alles bei uns."

Lina expresses the wish to be a new person. She wants to throw away memories of everything we (her family and herself) experienced (war and escape) and, thus, expresses the wish to separate her/their past from her/their present and future. Being tied to moments of loss through shock, anger, pain and/or despair involved in grief is exhausting, as it involves revisiting these moments and engaging emotionally with distressing memories. In this sense, the disturbing emotions involved in Lina's memories make her past weight as a burden on her present and future. However, she believes forgetting or throwing away everything to be impossible, because she feels that "everything will stay with us" expressing an intuition that emotions involved in her memories will make them stick to her.

5.5. Grieving lost projects of the self

Shock, anger, pain and despair are involved in the moment of loss and these emotions keep grievers connected to their losses. Interviews suggest that this continuing relationship to the lives and futures lost shapes and limits forced migrant participants' possibilities to start a life somewhere else. They develop strategies to live with their grief - strategies which allow them to live their life in NRW while relating to their losses and involved emotions.

Relating to losses involved in forced migration means keeping alive impressions by the life lived in the locality that forced migrants had to leave behind. While holding on to past impressions, forced migrants need to let themselves be impressed by the environment in which they settle in order to establish connections and reciprocal relations with it. In fact, interviews show that forced migrant participants remain impressioned by the lives and imagined futures they had to leave behind while relating to and projecting themselves in everyday life in NRW. This duality of impressions and self-projection becomes apparent through missing, being torn between homes, narration of lost futures and lost time.

5.5.1. Missing

As discussed in the second chapter, forced mirant participants say that they miss family, friends, traditions, rituals and close relationships. Missing expresses a reciprocal relation and connection involving love, care, appreciation, and/or recognition. Ahmed (2004, 160) says that we only miss what has been perceived as part of the subject. Feeling the void of what we are missing, its absence impresses on us. We might miss things or people which are temporarily out of reach and/or not part of our immediate reciprocal relating. In this case, the missing can end when we reunite and usually involves worry, but also joyful anticipation of the reunion. However, missing people and things which are definitely lost can be understood as an expression of grieving. A future reunion is impossible and, thus, all futures one might have imagined together with the lost turn unreachable. When we miss people, things and/or opportunities, that are gone forever, we grieve the futures we had imagined together with them.

5.5.2. Being torn between homes

Missing was also narrated in terms of feeling homesick, a rather intuitive narration of missing the locality we call home. When we are homesick, we miss people, places, habits and/or ways of doing things that we associate with our home or make us feel "at home". Being homesick, we feel a strong connection to the locality and people we miss and that locality appears close to us even though it is geographically far away. Forced migrant participants narrated that they were torn between feeling homesick and feeling established in their lives in NRW. For example, Cario states:

> "It is difficult to think. I want to stay here but, at the same time, I am homesick. Even if I go back to my hometown, I will miss here, as if it was my hometown. I've also learned a lot of things here and experienced a lot of things." (Cario, forced migrant, 20) "Es ist schwierig zu denken. Ich will hier bleiben und gleichzeitig habe ich Heimweh. Auch wenn ich zurück in die Heimat gehe, werde ich hier vermissen wie Heimat. Ich habe hier auch vieles erfahren und vieles erlebt."

Cairo says that through experiences and newly learned things he feels connected to the locality where he settled down. Experiences and learning new things imply contacts with and impressions by the new environment. Thus, he grows familiar and aligns with his new surroundings, allowing him to establish connections and understand himself as part of social life. If he were to leave, Cario would even miss his life in NRW as if it were his hometown. Thus, he has established a connection to the locality where he settled, while missing the home he was forced to leave. This tension between feeling homesick and the connection to life in NRW can be a devastating experience. Eg. Bara explains:

> "Sometimes, this remoteness of home is very difficult. Sometimes you say, ok, I shit on everything. Here is cool, the friends here are cool, society is very society is very orderly. Many things are good, but it's all gone, because you grew up completely somewhere else. Sometimes in

the evening I think, it doesn't matter what I have managed to establish. I'm going back now and it's enough for me. But then after five hours you come back and say to yourself that I can't leave like that. You can't. Then you get back to normal." (Bara, 21, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Manchmal diese Heimfern, das ist schon sehr schwierig. Manchmal sagst, du halt, ok, ich scheiße auf alles. Hier ist cool, die Freunde sind cool, die Menschen, die ich kenne sind cool, Gesellschaft ist sehr die Gesellschaft ist ordungsvoll. Alles mögliche ist total gut, aber ist alles weg, weil man ist ja komplett woanders groß geworden. Manchmal abends denke ich mir, es ist egal was ich geschafft habe. Ich kehre jetzt zurück und das reicht mir. Aber dann nach fünf Stunden kommt man wieder zurecht und sagt sich das kann ich jetzt nicht auch so lassen. Das geht nicht. Dann wird man wieder normal."

Even though Bara appreciates his friends and living in NRW, missing home can be so intense that it makes him question his life in NRW. Sometimes at night he is ready to leave everything behind, because nothing seems more important than seeing family and friends again and being back in the habitat he grew up in. According to Bara's description, moments of feeling homesick are strong and destabilizing emotional experiences. In fact, homesickness is such a strong experience that some forced migrant participants see it as a hurdle for their future planning. When talking about the future, Cairo, a forced migrant, states:

> "R: I hope that I can live here in Germany with my family."
> "Q: What difficulties do you expect to have?"
> "R: Maybe language at first. Concretely speaking, but maybe homesickness. Also I want to stay here, but at the same time being homesick is not nice." (Cario, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich hoffe, dass ich mit meiner Familie hier in Deutschland leben kann. Q: Welche Schwierigkeiten wirst du haben? R: Vielleicht Sprache erst mal. So konkret guckt. Aber vielleicht Heimweh. Ich will auch gerne hier bleiben, aber trotzdem Heimweh ist nicht schön."

Cario says that homesickness can be a destabilizing experience that interferes with his present reciprocal relating and future planning. Missing and feeling torn between homes expresses a continuing reciprocal relation to lives and imagined selves Cario and Bara had to give up. This reciprocal relation appears to involve a strong emotional connection to the place and people they had to leave behind and appears to shape Bara's and Cario's reciprocal relating to where they settled.

This continuing reciprocal relation to social life forced migrant participants had to escape from becomes apparent as forced migrants continue to be touched by what happens in these places. When asked what problems he imagines for his life, Khaded, a 20 year old migrant, explains:

> "Problems. So that maybe I'll have bad periods, that I cannot study. This happened once when I was in 10th grade. Back then I couldn't concentrate. These were difficult times, when everyone in my family was sad. When Turkey attacked my state and we were full of worries. Because my whole family was sad. I was sad and we were afraid that something would happen to my family there. This is one of the hurdles which could stop me from doing it." (Khaded, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Probleme. Also dass ich vielleicht schlechte Phasen habe, dass ich nicht lernen kann. Ich hatte das auch einmal als ich in der 10 Klasse war. Ich konnte da nicht so mich nicht so konzentrieren. Da war so für mich so eine schwierige Zeit, als in meiner Familie auch alles traurig waren. Als Türkei meinen Staat angegriffen hat und wir waren voll in Sorgen. Weil meine ganze Familie war traurig. Ich war traurig und wir hatten im Angst, dass meiner Familie dort etwas passiert. Das ist eine der Hindernisse, das mich könnte daran stoppen, das nicht zu machen."

Khaded says that even though he and his family (his parents and siblings who also live in Germany) are geographically far away from the place they escaped from, what happens in his hometown affects him and his family emotionally. When Turkey attacked his state, his broader family was in danger which made him and his family (who live in Germany) very sad, preventing him from studying. This suggests that his continuing involvement with social life in his hometown can hinder him from going on with his life in NRW. The continuing reciprocal relations to their hometown define them impressed by lives they have lived there and the relations which still exist to these places.

5.5.3. Self-projection in one's hometown

Besides mentioning missing and being torn between homes, forced migrant participants expressed their continuing relation to the surroundings they had to leave behind through spontaneous self-projection in their hometowns. Short-answered questions about how many books and cars they had at home and a question about their best friends' occupation were often answered for both localities or participants asked me to specify which "home" or "best friends living where" I referred to. For example, when asked how many books he has at home Thibaut, a forced migrant, asked:

> "In [name of the city]?"
> "Whatever home is for you."
> "So in [name of the country] I had my study books, but other than that not much. More than 30 books for university and school, but besides that nothing. All textbooks for university and school. So these were just textbooks. And now here in [name of city] I only have textbooks, for example, German, English." (Thibaut, 29, forced migrant) (my translation) "In B? Q: Was für dich zuhause ist. R: Also in Syrien hatte ich alle meine Studien Bücher, aber sonst nicht viel. Also ich hatte ca. Mehr als 30 Bücher für das Studium und die Schule, aber sonst nix. Also das waren nur Lehrbücher. Für die schule und das Studium und jetzt hier in Bielefeld habe ich auch nur Lehrbücher, zum Beispiel, Deutsch, Englisch."

Similarly to Thibaut, many forced migrant participants asked me to specify which home I referred to. These self-projections in homes, which in some cases do not exist anymore, show that they continue to relate to these left behind places showing that these places continue to be alive in their imagination. When I asked Doaa, a forced migrant, what her three best friends do professionally, she asked me to specify:

> " Do you mean in Germany or in general?"
> "Both"
> "Because I have best friends here and best friends in my hometown." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Eine ist, Jetzt in Deutschland oder im Allgemeinen? Q: Beides. R: Weil ich habe hier beste Freunde und in Heimat beste Freunde."

Similar to Thibault, Doaa is unsure which locality my question refers to. Not only when thinking about the number of books at home, but also when thinking about their friends, most forced migrants participating in this study gave two answers: one concerning their hometown and one concerning the

place where they settled down. Both environments appear to shape their self-projection suggesting that forced migrant participants relate to both.

Also, when asked to imagine their future, forced migrant participants, specifically projected themselves in the lives lived in the place they escaped from, without being asked to do so. In their worries about the future, they seem connected to the environment and social life they left behind, as they express concerns about the future well-being of friends and family who stayed behind. For example, when asked about his worries, Bara distinguishes between worries in general and worries concerning his life in NRW:

> "Q: What are you worried about?"
> "R: In my life here or in general?"
> "Q:Everything"
> "R: So my biggest worry is my family and my country, I mean that I finally have a country, [name of country]. Yes. yes, and that all these damn wars finally stop." (Bara, 22, forced migrant) (my translation)
> "Q: Um was sorgst du dich?" "R: also jetzt in meinem Leben hier oder im Allgemeinen?" "Q: Alles." "R: Meine große Sorge ist also meine Familie und mein Land, also dass ich auch endlich mal ein Land habe, also [Name des Landes]. Ja. und halt diese ganzen verdammten Kriege mal endlich aufhören."

Worries about his family and the environment he escaped from seem more alive and relevant than worries about his "life here". His family, who still lives in his hometown, might face more life threatening difficulties than he in NRW, making them more urgent. Being primarily worried about the people and social life he had to leave behind shows that he continues to relate to the life he has lived in his hometown, as it shapes how he thinks of the future.

5.5.4. Lost imagined futures and lost time

Not only were forced migrant participants worried about the future of the people and places they left behind, but also, when asked about their imaginaries of the future, all forced migrant participants mentioned their future plans and wishes they had imagined for themselves while still living in their hometowns. Thus, projecting themselves into the future, they relate to imagined future selves which were lost due to their experience of forced migration. When I asked Doaa, a forced migrant, about her plans for the future, she said:

> "So, I am not yet with a career, or at least not with the career that I want. I still have, I wanted to speak five languages when I am 20 or 25. So, Arabic as mother tongue and German and English, but not perfect. I didn't manage to do that. A lot of things I didn't manage to do that I imagined when I was 15 years old. That is all destroyed now." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also ich bin noch nicht bei einer Karriere, oder zumindestens nicht bei einer Karriere, die ich mir wünsche. Ich habe noch, ich wollte fünf Sprachen wenn ich 20 oder 25 sprechen. Also Arabisch als Muttersprache und Deutsch und Englisch so, aber nicht perfekt. Das habe ich nicht geschafft. Viele Dinge, die ich nicht geschafft habe, die ich mir so vorgestellt habe als 15 jahre alt war. Das ist alles so zerstört."

Instead of telling me about her plans and dreams set in her life in NRW, Doaa mentions plans and dreams she had when she was still living in her hometown. She says that her dream of being able to speak five languages at the age of 20 or 25 is destroyed due to the forced move to Germany. Similarly Mustafa, a forced migrant, has the impression of having lost his dream due to his experience of forced migration. When I asked him about his dreams, he says:

> "Maybe I can realize it, but it is so difficult. For example, I came with the goal, that is, the desire to study medicine, but after I have now experienced the reality here, how the A-levels work here, how difficult it is because of the language and many other things. Yes, I thought, I would slow down a bit, now first the A-levels and one has many options. Maybe medicine is no longer the right thing. But for me it was clear before, in [name of country] I worked in caring and I studied a lot about diseases. First aid things and giving injections, I could do all of these things." (Mustafa, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich kann das vielleicht erfüllen, aber das ist so schwer. z.B. kam ich mit dem Ziel, also Wunsch, dass ich Medizin studiere, aber nach dem ich jetzt hier die Realität erlebt habe, wie hier Abitur läuft, wie schwer das ist und wegen der Sprache und allem Möglichen. Ja, da dachte ich mir, jetzt bremse ich ein bisschen ab, jetzt erstmal mein Abi und man hat viele Bereiche. Vielleicht ist Medizin nicht mehr das richtige. Aber für mich war das klar vorher, in [Name of country] habe ich in der Pflege gearbeitet und habe viel über Krankheiten gelernt. Erste Hilfe Sachen und Spritzen geben, ich konnte das alles."

Similarly to Doaa, Mustafa mentions the dream he had when he was still living in his hometown. He wanted to study medicine and says that he had begun to prepare for his career working in medicine from an early age. This unrequested reference to lost future plans and imagined future selves suggest that Mustafa is grieving these ideas he had had for himself. Imagining an impossible future constitutes a continuing reciprocal relation to the moment and place when he had first imagined it for himself. Mustafa and all other forced migrant participants grieve dreams and plans they had when they were still living in their hometowns. With this, they seem to be grieving not only their past future plans but also the lives in which these imaginaries of the future are grounded. This shows forced migrant participants impressed and relating to the lives and futures they lost due to their experience of forced migration.

Besides relating to lost plans and dreams, forced migrant participants grieve the loss of imagined selves when they say that they lost time. The escape and settling down in NRW often takes several years. The escape, bureaucratic procedures of the asylum application, learning German, and starting an educational program and/or work can be a long process and this time is often experienced as a loss. For example, Samah, a forced migrant says:

> "In school I definitely have many difficulties. When I arrived I was supposed to be in 9th grade, but I had to learn German and had to go to 8th grade. I lost two years of my age. That was such a catastrophe for me. At that time I somehow couldn't accept that at all." (Samah, forced migrant, 19) (my translation) "In der Schule habe ich auf jeden Fall sehr viele Schwierigkeiten. So als ich da kam, sollte ich eigentlich in der 9 klasse sein, aber dann musste ich Deutsch lernen und sollte dann in die 8 Klasse. Ich habe irgendwie zwei Jahre von meinem Alter verloren. Und das war für mich so Katastrophe. Damals konnte ich das irgendwie gar nicht akzeptieren."

Similarly to Samah, Bara feels that he lost time due to the escape and settling down in NRW. He says:

"I should be done this year. I mean it took too much time. If I were still in [name of country], then I would be done by now. So the whole shit, as Americans would say." (Bara, 22, NRW, forced migration) (my translation) "Also ich müsste eigentlich dieses Jahr jetzt schon fertig sein. Also, das hat viel zu lange gedauert. Also wenn ich in Syrien wäre, dann müsste ich schon fertig sein. Also der ganze shit so, wie die Amerikaner sagen."

The impression of having lost time is based on references to biographical milestones in which their lost imagined selves are embedded. This experience of having lost time is often enhanced by the comparison with their local peers and temporal structures of education institutions in NRW. Most of the forced migrants living in NRW need several years to settle down, thus, taking the "usual" life of a forced migrant in NRW as a reference, forced migrant participants did not lose time, but are perfectly in time. In this sense, the feeling of having lost time shows them as relating to and grieving what they had imagined they would be doing at a certain age based on biographical milestones of everyday life in the places they escaped from. In this sense, when narrating a loss of time, forced migrants actually narrate the loss of imagined future selves, which, due to the escape, are unrealizable. Both, Samah and Bara, say that it is difficult for them to accept this loss of time which suggests that not being able to realize what one has imagined for oneself because of a forced move (and not because one changed one's mind) constitutes a great loss.

Experts are aware that forced migrants struggle accepting this "loss of time". Mrs. Müller says:

"Time is also a problem for many. Because it takes many years to achieve these goals, and it sometimes takes many years to make that clear to the students. What they plan for themselves does not take only three months or a year. The idea that in two years I'll already be a trained specialist, that's difficult." (Frau Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Zeit ist auch für viele ein Problem. Weil um diese Ziele zu erreichen braucht man z.T viele Jahre und dass den Schülern klar zu machen, dafür braucht man manchmal viele Jahre. Das was sie vorhaben dauert halt, nicht nur 3 Monate oder ein Jahr. Die Vorstellung von in zwei Jahren bin ich schon ausgebildete Fachkraft, das ist schwierig."

Mrs. Müller notices that her students would like to finish school and an apprenticeship as quickly as possible. Moreover, she mentions that it sometimes takes students years to realize that they need more time than they would like to. Mrs. Müller's observation confirms Samah's and Bara's struggle to live with the loss of imagined future selves. Accepting that education in Germany demands more time from them than they expected implies giving up previous projects of the self, which is difficult for forced migrants.

5.6. Constantly revisiting loss

Missing, feeling torn between homes, and self-projection in left behind homes and time structures suggest that these environments continue to be alive to forced migrants as they keep on shaping their reciprocal relations to themselves and their surroundings. It shows forced migrants grieving lost projects for the self which they had imagined for themselves in relation to the people and social life they were forced to leave

behind. Grieving forced migrant participants continue to reciprocally relate to these self-projections even though they are no longer realizable. Forced migrant participants telling me about these lost imagined future selves without me asking them about it suggests that these lost self-projects continue to be alive in parallel and in relation to self projects constructed in connection to everyday life in NRW. Interviews show that grief for lost projects of the self is enhanced and constantly reminded by responsibilities towards and expectations from their families and/or the "Arab" society. Trying to negotiate these expectations and responsibilities with their lives in NRW (and the involved responsibilities and expectations) enhances and forces them to relate to these lost future self-projects and all people, places, values, ideas, habits, and objects involved in these projects.

5.6.1. Expectations and responsibilities towards own families

Negotiating this duality of self-projection appears as a difficult quest, since how forced migrants can relate to the social environment where they settled down and construct plans and dreams remains shaped and always contrasted to lost imagined selves which relate to the locality which they escaped from. One way this duality of self-projections is narrated is in the negotiation of expectations and responsibilities. For example, Munzer, a forced migrant, states:

> "Family, family, is everything. Besides that on the other hand is my own life, my own future and, this is why you are confused sometimes about what one should choose." (Munzer, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Familie, Familie ist alles. Ansonsten auf der anderen Seite ist das eigen Leben, die eigene Zukunft und deswegen ist man manchmal verwirrt auf welcher Seite man sich entscheiden soll."

Munzer's family still lives in his hometown and depend on him financially. To him, living his life in NRW and fulfilling responsibilities towards and expectations from his family is challenging. Wanting to live up to someone's expectations and/or feeling responsible towards their families relates him and other forced migrants to their families and the lives and future projects they have lost. Thus, trying to fulfill responsibilities and expectations from their families forces forced migrants to revisit their losses. Munzer has the impression of having to choose between responsibility towards his family and his life in NRW and sees them as opposites. This intense feeling of being torn expresses how difficult and maybe impossible it is to relate to the life and future plans he lost due to the escape while constructing a new life and future in NRW.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, not only Munzer, but most of the forced migrant participants feel responsible for their families and believe that the closeness they feel to their families significantly distinguishes them from their "German" peers. These financial and emotional responsibilities towards their families, may they live with them in the same town, back in their hometown or anywhere else, connect them to the lives they lost and what they had imagined for themselves before

they escaped. Responsibilities towards and expectations by their families enforce a continuing relation to what they have lost and make it harder for forced migrants to forget, repress or mourn their losses.

5.6.2. Parallel societies

Besides expectations from and responsibilities towards families, left behind lives and imagined future selves are kept alive through contacts with people who forced migrants perceive as sharing their experience of having lost embeddedness and connection to a similar social environment as themselves. Due to familiarity with a similar everyday life, forced migrants participants perceive these similar others as incarnating, transmitting or reminding them of expectations this lost social environment had on them. Meeting these people and past expectations relates them to the lives and future projects they have lost due to their experience of forced migration. For example, Doaa, a forced migrant, explains that she has the impression of living in two societies:

> "I live in two societies, I mean the German and the Arab. And from the Arab society, not from my parents, in the small society in which I live, but, for example, not from everyone from [name of country]. Even though you are a woman in Germany, you have to comply with rules. I think that is not accepted by my family, but the majority of the society does not want that. But still when you are on Social Media and you read how both, German and Arab society, think and what they expect from you. It is difficult. You have to be free and at the same time you have to abide by certain rules. And you have to find the middle between the two. (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation)
> "Ich lebe ja so in zwei Gesellschaften so Deutsche und Arabische. Und von der arabischen Gesellschaft, also nicht von meinen Eltern, in der kleinen Gesellschaft in der ich lebe, aber z.B. auch nicht von allen, so von Syrien oder so. Trotzdem man eine Frau in Deutschland ist, muss sie sich an Regeln halten. Das finde ich wird von meiner Familie auch nicht akzeptiert, aber ein großteil der Gesellschaft will das nicht. Aber trotzdem wenn man auf Social Media geht und so lest wie so auch beide Deutsche und auch Arabische Gesellschaft denken und von einem erwarten. Es ist schwierig. Man soll total frei sein und andererseits muss man sich an gewisse Regeln halten. Und man muss so die Mitte zwischen den beiden finden."

Doaa says that she lives in two societies, the "German" and the "Arab" society. These societies have different expectations of her and even though she does not want to, she says that she has to live up to expectations by both. Even though she lives geographically speaking in a different place, rules, norms and resulting expectations of the social environment she left behind continue to shape her life. She says that these expectations stem not from her immediate family or the immediate "Arab" society she lives in, but instead from the wider society, primarily through social media, where both the "German" and the "Arab" societies communicate and (maybe) monitor expectations and compliance. These expectations of the "Arab society" relate her to the life and future projects she had for herself before being forced to leave this life and imagined future behind. Thus, meeting people (face to face and/or online) who she believes shares impressions by the "Arab" society reminds her of and relates her to expectations by this society. The greater the difference of expectations is perceived to be the greater might be the loss and the resulting pressure to comply with both.

Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapters, insecure residence status and difficulties establishing meaningful contacts, reciprocal relations and connections with locals hinders forced migrant participants to participate in everyday life, create meaningful connections and feel safety, trust and embeddedness within it. This insecurity about connection with social life might enhance the need to continue relating to social life forced migrants left behind and, thus, the feeling of living in two societies. It is risky to give up connections and relations which used to grant safety and a secure future. In this sense, trying to comply with the expectations of social life forced migrant participants left behind can be understood as an expression of insecurity about their connections to social life in NRW, as they are unsure about which locality will ensure a future.

Thus, having the impression of having to live up to expectations by the "Arab society" shows forced migrants impressed by this society and, therefore, as relating to it. With this they relate to the lives and future imagined selves they have lived and imagined in relation to the "Arab society". In this sense, expectations by the "Arab society" and expectations by forced migrants' families and the insecurity about connections to social life in NRW are an external force which relates forced migrant participants to their losses. In this way, these expectations and insecurity enhance and/or prologue grieving, as it becomes impossible to forget, repress and/or mourn their losses.

5.7. Strategies to live with grief

Continuously grieving the losses involved in forced migration, meaning continuously relating to two lives and imagined selves, implies instability and insecurity about how and where to direct one's life. Interviews with forced migrants suggest that they develop strategies to negotiate being impressioned by lost lives and imaged projects for the self and involved emotions while relating to social life in NRW.

5.7.1. Small universe of safety and comfort

Most forced migrant participants valued living in a small and safe universe or safety zone granting familiarity and comfort. E.g. Vera describes the school she attends as her safety zone:

> "Then I'm so well received here and learned so much, not only academically speaking. You have much freedom here and you can invent many things yourself. I don't feel discriminated against. My peers are friendly and nice. Helpful. And now leaving [name of the school], I am a bit afraid because I have so much security here and now a regular school, an apprenticeship, university studies. We all know each other now, we have a personal relationship with our teachers." (Vera, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Dann bin ich hier so gut aufgenommen und so viel gelernt. Nicht nur so schulisch. Hier hat man viel Freiheit und man kann viel selbst erfinden. Ich fühle mich nicht diskriminiert. Meine Mitschüler sind einfach freundlich und nett. Hilfsbereit. Und jetzt [Name der Schule] zu gehen. Ich habe ein bisschen Angst weil ich hier so meine Sicherheit habe und jetzt so eine Regelschule, eine Ausbildung, ein Studium. Wir kennen uns jetzt alle, wir haben eine Du-Beziehung mit unseren Lehrerinnen."

Vera says that she feels safe within her school environment, because she feels comfortable with her peers and teachers. She is familiar with reciprocal relations and connections she has at school and they grant her feelings of safety and comfort and, thus, room for development.

Similar to Vera, Yusif, a forced migrant, values living in a safety zone and he appears to experience the town he currently lives in as his safety zone. When asked whether he could imagine living in a different country he negotiates where he feels safe. Germany is definitely the place where he wants to live and feels safe. Then, when intentavily projecting himself in a different city in Germany, he realizes that it is the city he currently lives in where he imagines his future and thus feels safe enough. Yusif says:

> "Yes and Germany would be the permanent place. But not [name of town], maybe yes, [name of town]. Yes, I like that [name of town]." (Yusif, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) " Ja und der feste Platz wäre in Deutschland. Aber nicht in [Name der Stadt], vielleicht doch in[Name der Stadt]. Ja das finde ich gut.[Name der Stadt]."

Yusif imagines Germany as his permanent and stable place and after trying to picture himself in a different city comes to the conclusion that the universe he knows, meaning the city he lives in, is the best place for him. In Germany, Yusif has only lived in the city where he currently resides, suggesting that it is difficult for him to imagine a future outside the environment he is familiar with and feels safe within. Having lost the safety, security and comfort of being a recognized participant in everyday life and facing the insecurities involved in living in NRW as a forced migrant, being able to create such small bubbles or zones of safety and comfort is crucial as it allows forced migrants to have some sense of stability.

5.7.2. Personal values

Besides living in small safety zones, forced migrant participants appear to gain some sense of safety by emphasizing personal values which they perceive to direct their lives. Being helpful, thankful, reliable, loyal to one's family and personal independence were mentioned repeatedly as factors directing forced migrant participants' decisions, acting and thinking.

As discussed in a previous chapter, aligning oneself with values allows for participation and shapes a person's understanding of self, others and the world. Moreover, being accepted as a full participant of social life implies being aligned or at least being perceived to be aligned with values, habits and norms creating everyday life. Social life in different places is created by a slightly or significantly different set of values and norms, so that relating to two or more social lives can be confusing and destabilizing. Interviews with forced migrants suggest that emphasizing personal values can help to navigate the confusion of relating to two or more social environments (and imagined future selves in relation to these environments). For example, Mustafa, a forced migrant, says:

"Good parenting in the sense that, I mean I am a person who is helpful. I like to help. And when I promise something, I do it. That's who I am as a person and when I cannot do something, I will never promise it. And I will teach my children the same and maybe being independent in that way." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Gut erziehen im Sinne, dass ich, also ich bin ein Mensch der hilfsbereit ist. Also ich helfe gerne. Und wenn ich irgendetwas verspreche dann tue ich das. So bin ich als Person und wenn ich etwas nicht machen kann, dann werde ich das nie versprechen und ich werde meine Kinder so beibringen und vielleicht so unabhängig sein."

Mustafa stresses the importance of being helpful, reliable and independent. Since he wants to pass these values on to his children, they seem crucial to him. Especially independence, but also reliability and helpfulness have been mentioned and emphasized by other forced migrant participants. When I asked Yusif, a forced migrant, how he had got to his present place and moment of life, he answered:

"That I am independent. I always think for myself." (Yusif, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Das ich selbständig bin. Ich bin, ich denke immer alleine."

Yusif stresses that what he has achieved in life is a result of his independent decisions and actions. Similar to him, Bara stresses his independence:

"And then when I felt fit enough in society, I started working. I mean I have been self-employed for 1000 years, so since I have been very small. I started working and applied to the [name of school]. I got accepted and during the first year I was still super insecure and always wanted to quit. But at some point I said to myself, you've been doing this for eight months, now follow through." (Bara, 21, forced migration) (my translation) "Und dann als ich mich so fit in der Gesellschaft gefühlt habe, habe ich angefangen zu arbeiten. Also ich bin seit 1000 Jahren selbstständig, also seit dem ich ganz klein bin. Habe ich dann angefangen zu arbeiten und habe mich bei [Name der Schule] beworben und da würde ich dann aufgenommen und so das erste Jahr war ich immer noch super unsicher und ich wollte immer raustreten. Aber irgendwann habe ich dann gesagt, du hast das jetzt acht Monate gemacht, zieh das jetzt durch."

Bara says that he has been independent from an early age and sees his independence especially defined through working and his decisions about education. In fact, being a forced migrant holding refugee status living in NRW and taking the decision to pursue his A-levels is a step towards independent decision making, as the path prepared by German institutions leads many forced migrants into apprenticeship or unskilled labor.

Having lost feelings of embeddedness and safety and facing the insecurity of relating to two (or more) lives and imagined future selves implies great insecurity about who and what to trust. Being helpful and reliable are fundamental for establishing connections and reciprocal relations with other people, thus, stressing these values involves the desire to establish stable and trustworthy relations with others. Stressing independence as a personal value avoids asking this question of trust, as an independent person (as described by Bara and Yousif) primarily depends and relies on herself. Moreover, being independent is a fundamental value in NRW and many other Western localities. It is, thus, a virtue with which one can easily align with and it might be rewarded by others.

Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, arriving in NRW and establishing a new life demands a high degree of self-responsibility and autonomy, as forced migrants are responsible for establishing their new lives. Asylum application procedures, learning German and starting schooling need motivation, energy and flexibility to always find new solutions for small and bigger problems. When asked whether he imagines problems for his future, Karim, a forced migrant, states:

> "For that, too, I have to work on it more, learning the German language and I have to make an effort so that I can manage it at some point. Because of that there will always be problems, but that is always the case, no matter what you do." (Karim, 20, forced migrant) (my translation)"Auch dafür muss ich halt mehr daran arbeiten, die deutsche Sprache lernen und mir Mühe geben, damit ich dann irgendwann das schaffe. Deswegen Probleme, werden auf jeden Fall da sein, aber das ist immer so egal was man macht."

Karim sees himself responsible for solving possible problems he might have establishing a life in NRW. As strategies to solve possible future problems, he names personal efforts and learning German, and not receiving support from family and friends and/or institutions. Being the only agent able to solve his problems, he avoids relating to and trusting in any other person and/or institution. In fact, the narration of personal independence narrated by forced migrants often involves mistrust in other people and the quest to protect themselves. Talking about life in her hometown during the war, Lina, a forced migrant, says:

> "Many people are like that they have no heart. I have seen everything. Many people are not like you think at first. It is so. I don't lie. But many people talk to you and they are not so simple. They have two, three faces. This makes me angry. (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Viele Leute , die sind so die haben kein Herz. Ich habe alles gesehn. Ganz viele Leute sind nicht wie man vorher denkt. Das ist so. Ich lüge nicht. Aber viele Leute, die sprechen mit einem da und die sind nicht so einfach. Die haben zwei, drei Gesichter. Das ärgert mich."

During the war, Lina was often disappointed by other people. She says that people lie for their own benefit. Many forced migrants narrate these kinds of disappointments caused by others during war, escape and life in NRW. This continuous experience of disappointments leads them to primarily trust in themselves. Forced migrants say that facing hardship many people care primarily about their own survival, so independence and mistrust turn into necessary survival strategies. For example, Munzer, a forced migrant, commented at the end of the interview:

> "You should always trust yourself and never underestimate yourself. Then you'll do well." (Munzer, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Man soll sich selber vertrauen und sich niemals unterschätzen. Dann kommt man gut an."

Munzer summarizes his interview saying that he has learned that trusting himself and not trusting other people enables him to do well. Independence, self-sufficiency, and self-confidence are fundamental to him, as he believes that these capacities secure his getting on. Earlier in the interview he mentions his escape and how it has shaped his relation to others and the world:

"The flight, that is a road, which I will never forget. Because I learned a lot from it, made many experiences. How you should always be strong and never show feelings of fear." (Munzer, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Die Flucht, das ist ein Weg, den ich niemals vergessen werde. Weil daraus habe ich viel gelernt, viele Erfahrungen gesammelt. Wie man immer stark sein soll und seine Angstgefühle nicht zeigen soll."

Munzer believes that being strong and not showing fear allowed him to survive the flight. Karim, a forced migrant, has a similar opinion:

"You're supposed to keep your feelings to yourself, because if you share them and say that you are not doing well, you are easily exploited. This has happened to me. I keep my problems to myself and it is easier this way."(Karim, 21, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Man soll seine Probleme für sich behalten, weil wenn man sie teilt und sagt, dass es einem nicht gut geht, kann man leicht ausgenutzt werden. Das ist mir schon mal passiert. Ich behalte meine Probleme für mich und so ist es einfacher."

Karim also suggests keeping feelings to himself as a survival strategy. Not displaying his vulnerability is safer, since being vulnerable makes him an easy victim to others. Similarly Abdul, a forced migrant, explains:

"Because on the run, I was in many countries and saw a lot, but the fear was always there all of the time. I couldn't occupy myself with anything at all. It was only, I had a goal and the whole time I only pursued that goal. I was in many dangerous situations and all people were evil people in my eyes and I kept away from them and went my own path alone." (Abdul, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Weil auf der Flucht, war ich halt in sehr vielen Ländern und habe halt viel gesehen, aber die Angst war halt die ganze Zeit dabei. Ich konnte mich überhaupt nicht mit irgendetwas beschäftigen. War nur, ich hatte halt ein Ziel und habe nur dieses Ziel halt verfolgt und kam halt in sehr viele gefährliche Situationen und alle Menschen waren halt in meinen Augen böse Menschen und ich habe mich von den fern gehalten und habe halt meinen Weg alleine gemacht."

All three had the experience that they cannot trust other people as other people can be a danger to their lives. They agree that sharing personal problems and feelings, especially fear, can be dangerous, as the vulnerability involved in this makes them an easy prey to others. They prefer to keep problems and emotions to themselves and stay distant from other people, since they perceive solitude to be safer. This describes them as turned away from other people protecting themselves from revisiting past experiences of disappointment and involved emotions and losses. Avoiding being impressed by these past experiences, they prevent relating to the moment of losing feelings of connection to and security in a social environment and, with this, the moment of being forced to give up their life and imagined futures embedded in this social environment. Following this, stressing values of autonomy and trying to be independent and self-confident is a strategy to live with grief, as it (temporarily) allows the griever to avoid being re-impressed by past experiences of loss and involved emotions.

Forced migrant participants express mistrust in connections to others and self-reliance also when projecting themselves in the future. Most of them believe that primarily their own will and capabilities will allow them to realize their plans and dreams. Besides their direct families, they only trust in themselves for their futures. For example, Mustafa, a forced migrant, resumes the interview by saying:

"And about my future, I am 100% sure that I want to achieve something. As long as I have a goal in mind, no matter how big or small the goal or dream is, as long as I have a goal in my mind and then work, then one makes it." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und bei meiner Zukunft, ich bin mir 100% sicher, dass ich etwas schaffen möchte, solange ich ein Ziel im Kopf habe. Egal wie groß oder wie klein mein Ziel, mein Wunsch ist, solange ich ein Ziel im Kopf habe und dann so arbeitet, dann wird man es schaffen."

Mustafa has great confidence in his own capacities to realize his plans and dreams. For his future he trusts in his own will power and ability to work in order to achieve his goals. Similar to Mustafa, Bara, a forced migrant believes that he can achieve his goals with his own strength:

"I mean, I would say yes for the time being. I mean, when I am done with university, then I strongly assume that I'll make it. I mean I have been working here for four years, here in Germany." (Bara, 21, forced migrants) (my translation) "Also ich würde erstmal ja sagen. Also wenn ich irgendwann mit der Uni fertig bin, gehe ich mal stark davon aus, also ich arbeite ja schon seit vier Jahren hier, also hier in Deutschland."

Both trust their own capacities to realize their goals and dreams. Through work and willpower, they can reach what they imagine for themselves in the future. In this sense, it is primarily themselves rather than others and/or institutions that ensures their future in their view. In psychological research and literature, views of the self, the world and the future have been conceptualized as the cognitive triad and this cognitive triad is believed to help define states of depression (Beck and Spruill 1987). The idea is when people have "negative views" on the self, the world and the future, they are likely to face feelings of depression. "Positive views" on these have been associated with resilience and as enhancing well-being (Mak, Ng and Wong 2011). Research on psychological trauma proposes that resilience (e.g. defined as positive views on the self, the world and the future) can shield people from severe psychological trauma (Cortina, Stein, Khan, Hlugwani, Holmes and Fazel 2016). In this sense, stressing independence and self-reliance while mistrusing others and institutions forced migrant participants appear "resilient" to severe depression and/or severe psychological trauma as they are able to conserve trust in themselves. Trust in their own competences also allows them to be hopeful towards the future and, thus, to engage in constructing a life in NRW. Thus, being independent and self-reliant is a way to relate to others and social life which allows avoiding revisiting past experiences of loss while being able to go on living. Forced migrants' need to be self-reliant and independent is enhanced by their struggles to establish secure connections and relations with locals and social life. Struggling to establish connection and relations to others' independence becomes a necessity. Having to rely primarily on themselves, forced migrants are alone in the struggle to relate to and live with their losses. Having no or little support in how to relate to lost lives, lost future projects for the self and emotions involved in these experiences of loss, avoiding to touch these experiences (e.g. through forgetting and repressing) appears a doable way to deal with grief.

5.7.3. Compensation for hardship and postpoing well-being

Besides stressing independence and self-reliability, making up for past hardship and postpoinging well-being into the future appear strategies to live with grief for imagined projects for the self due to forced migration.

Khaded, a forced migrant, compares "us" meaning himself and other forced migrants to "them" meaning his peers in NRW who were born in Germany and hold German citizenship:

> "Because we saw this poverty. And in us there is a "I want to get out of here, I want to be big" in us. But they don't want this. For example, I have friends who say "I will do an apprenticeship and that is enough for me." But they don't think about really achieving something big in life. An apprenticeship is nothing, I mean for me an apprenticeship is not a goal. They only want money. Ok, a lot of money. But with an apprenticeship you cannot get so much money. For them it is only about the money. But not for us. We want money for our family to make them happy. Money to make up for the hard life we lived." (Khaded, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Weil wir haben diese Armut gesehen. Und in uns steckt so dieses, ich will hier raus, ich will ganz groß werden. Aber die wollen so etwas nicht. Z.B. ich habe Freunde, die sagen, ich mache Ausbildung und das reicht mir. Aber die denken nicht daran, irgendetwas in dem Leben wirklich zu erreichen. Ausbildung ist ja nichts. Also für mich Ausbildung ist kein richtiges Ziel. Die wollen nur viel Geld haben. Ok, viel Geld. Aber du kannst ja mit Ausbildung nicht so viel Geld erreichen. Denen geht es nur ums Geld. Aber uns eher nicht. Wir wollen Geld für unsere Familie um die glücklich zu machen. Geld um dieses Leben, die wir nicht so gut geführt haben, wieder gut machen."

Khaded expresses the wish to compensate for the hardship and poverty that he and his family experienced. He wants to earn a lot of money so that he can pay for a good life for himself and his family, as he believes that with money and wealth he can make up for past hardships and poverty. Khaded clearly states that doing an apprenticeship is not an option for him, as it does not allow him to earn the money necessary to pay for a good life for himself and his family. The wish to compensate or make up for something implies that something desired is missing or was lost. Khaded's desire to become rich is motivated by experiences of a difficult life in war and poverty. In this sense, his wanting to compensate for poverty and hardship shows how these experiences shape his self-image and future projection. Wanting to make up for something, we hold on to what is missing or has been lost instead of accepting a life without it. In this sense, wanting to compensate for past hardships is a form of grieving and holding on to losses involved in the experience of these hardships.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the desire to be successful is expressed by all forced migrant participants. They are very focused on their education and/or (future) profession and many of them stress that they want to be successful in what they are doing. In fact, being professionally successful is one way strangers can gain locals' respect and, thus, professional success is important for forced migrants' possibilities to participate in everyday life. However, Khaded's quote suggests that above this, it is a form of grieving and, thus, holding onto the lost future project of living a peaceful and wealthy life with his family in his hometown. Professional success might allow forced migrants to construct a life in

NRW and to materially compensate for the loss of imagined wealth and stability in their hometowns. However, having the feeling of compensating for this loss describes forced migrants as emotionally connected to what they had imagined for themselves (and their families) before being forced to migrate.

Similar to the desire to make up for past hardships, the localizing well-being and success in the future is a way to avoid revisiting impressions by their lost imagined future selves. For example, Karim, a forced migrant, says:

> "In the beginning it was that I always missed my family. I still miss them, but you find a way to live with it eventually. You understand that now is not the time. You have to try to visit them later. Now is just not the right moment." (Karim, 20, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Und am Anfang war es halt so, dass ich immer wollte, dass ich meine Familie vermisst habe. Ich vermisse die immer noch, aber man kommt damit irgendwann damit klar. Man versteht, dass jetzt nicht der Zeitpunkt ist. Man muss erst mal versuchen, dass man halt später sie besuchen kann. Jetzt ist halt nicht der Zeitpunkt."

Karim postpones fulfilling his desire to visit his family in the future and, with this, he postpones the loss of an everyday life together with his family, since it remains a desire which is not realizable now, but maybe in the future. Missing one's family who lives far away and not being able to visit them defines many forced migrants' lives. Bearing this state of missing and seeking to recover from the losses in the future implies a holding on to impressions by one's loss and, thus, is a form of grieving.

In sum, interviews show that grieving the loss of lives and imagined future selves due to forced migration entails emotions of anger, pain, despair and/or shock. Forced migrants have lost many people, objects, values, habits and especially futures they had imagined for themselves when still living in their hometowns. They express their grieving and continuous relating to these imagined future selves through missing, being torn between homes, and unrequested self-projection in their hometowns. Their grieving became especially apparent when they talked about their plans and desires for the future, as these projects of the self were narrated always in relation to self-projects they had constructed for themselves before being forced to migrate. Even though they construct new lives and futures in NRW, lost future plans stay alive in forced migrants' self projection and, thus, continue to shape their reciprocal relations to themselves and others.

As discussed in the previous chapter, planning futures in the place where they settled is an imperative for forced migrants. Their preparation of a future aligned with the locality justifies and ensures their present participation in it. Thus, they construct new lives and futures while still being impressed by lost imagined future selves. These lost self-projects relate to the lives and future plans forced migrants construct in the places where they settle down. Interviews suggest that both are equally alive in forced migrants' self-reflection and their relations to others. Thus, grieving the losses involved in forced migration shows forced migrants as relating to two (or more) projects for the selve, not because they

travel back and forth between places in which these self-projects are embedded, but because both (or all) self-projects are alive in their reciprocal relations and self-reflections.

5.8. Forced migrants' grieving perceived by locals and experts

Neither German citizens nor experts name grieving when talking about forced migrants and their experience of forced migration. However, experts observe emotions which are involved in grief and most of the experts and German citizen participants understand forced migrants to be psychologically traumatizing due to experiences of war and escape. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the experience of these hardships is crucial for how German citizen participants and forced migrant participants perceive each other, as they believe that the experience of these hardships marks an important difference between them. German citizen participants believe that forced migrants have lived through hardships in their countries of origin and during the escape, while forced migrant participants in addition to past struggles stress difficulties and hardships they are facing in NRW.

Mrs. Löhne, a coordinator of an afternoon activity program for forced migrants, says:

"But the adolescents have incredible skills. They developed very quickly an understanding of their environment here, naturally they often bring with them an insane backpack in terms of problems and difficulties. Often they come from a completely different culture and some of them are here without their family, some don't even know where their families are." (Mrs. Löhne, afternoon activity coordinator) (my translation) "Aber die Jugendlichen haben ganz unglaubliche Kompetenzen, die haben sich hier innerhalb von kürzester zeit sich hier ihr Umfeld erschlossen, haben oft natürlich auch einen wahnsinnigen Rucksack, den sie mitbringen an Probleme und Schwierigkeiten. Kommen oft aus einer vollkommen anderen Kultur und z.T. sind sie hier ohne Familie, manche wissen noch nicht mal wo ihre Familien sind."

Mrs. Löhne believes that forced migrants bring with them problems and difficulties from their hometowns and she understands these problems to evolve around cultural differences and living far away from their families. Moreover, Mrs. Löhne praises forced migrant youth for their efforts and success to engage themselves in social life despite past struggles. Her attitude reflects the attitude of other German citizen participants who believe that hardships happened outside NRW/Germany and who praise forced migrants for their efforts to fit in and contribute to German everyday life. Some German citizen participants and experts say that they believe forced migrants to still be affected by past experiences of hardships. For example, Julia, a German citizen, whose father works as a psychologist with forced migrant youth, says:

"Many have psychological problems. Because for many the flight is still recent and they definitely have to come to terms with this first. He [her father] also has many rebellious ones, I would say. I mean children who destroy many things and who lose their temper and have no control over their feelings." (Julia, 18, German citizen) (my translation) "Viele haben auch psychische Probleme. Weil bei

viele die Flucht noch gar nicht so lange her ist und die das auf jeden Fall erst mal verarbeiten müssen. Er [ihr Vater] hat auch viele aufsässige sage ich jetzt mal. Also Kinder, die dann viel kaputt machen und auch ausrasten und ihre Gefühle überhaupt gar nicht im Griff haben."

Julia believes that young forced migrants are psychologically affected by the experience of escape and war. She explains their violence and rebellion with the experience of past hardships which she believes they have lived through before arriving in NRW. Her understanding of forced migrants' emotional state mirrors the current conception of psychological trauma. Psychological trauma is believed to follow or be provoked by life-threatening and devastating experiences which can shape a person's emotional life years after the actual event has happened (Nussbaum 2013). Due to emotional disturbance, traumatized people are often classified as dysfunctional in some ways and as being responsible for handling their emotional problems by themselves or with professional help of psychiatrists and psychologists. In line with this definition, forced migrants are often created as a homogenous, traumatized group and their trauma is believed to be caused by experience of war and escape (Martin-Willett 2015).

Beyond the perception of forced migrants having experienced generalizable hardships and, thus, as being psychologically traumatized, some experts and German citizen participants, who have personal contact with forced migrants and who have listened to stories about war, persecution and the flight, have a more nuanced understanding of the emotional struggles forced migration face. For example, Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher, observes an instant of grieving:

> "Someone said "I only cried the first three months". First of all homesickness, you miss home and this one, you don't understand anything or that you understand only little. But my students are already over this." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Jemand sagte "Ich habe die ersten drei Monate nur geweint". Erst mal Heimweh, man vermisst seine Heimat und dieses das man überhaupt nicht versteht oder wenig versteht. Aber meine Schüler sind schon weg davon."

Crying for three months when arriving in NRW might be an expression of shock and desperation involved in losing reciprocal relations to a familiar environment and having to face the novelty of life in NRW. Mrs. Müller's observation is in line with what forced migrant participants said about the confusion of the arrival context and missing home. Shock and desperation about involuntary separation from one's usual habitat and dear people describes grieving. However, while Mrs. Müller believes her students to "be already over this", interviews with forced migrants suggest that the state of shock can outlast the moment of arrival and prevail for a couple of years.

Similarly to Mrs. Müller, Mrs. Schwan, a lawyer accompanying asylum applications, sees her clients to be strongly affected by the horrors involved in escape and war. She says:

> "But much worse are the cases, when people are really traumatized and you sense that the people are not able to tell their story and despite this they still have to go through the hearing. That is really agonizing when you are sitting next to them. To see what happens there and also leads to the fact that not everything is presented that is basically available in terms of flight history. I think

the whole system is currently flawed." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Aber viel schlimmer sind die Fälle, wo wirklich traumatisierung vorliegt und man merkt, dass die Menschen gar nicht in der Lage sind ihre Geschichte zu erzählen und trotzdem müssen sie in die Anhörung. Das ist wirklich sehr quälend schon alleine wenn man daneben sitzt. Das dann mit anzusehen was da passiert und führt auch dazu, dass nicht alles vorgetragen wird, was im Grunde an Fluchtgeschichte vorhanden ist. Ich halte das ganze System für verfehlt im Moment."

Mrs. Schwan states that psychological trauma involved in forced migration is so devastating that forced migrants may not be able to narrate a coherent story of their flight. According to her, this influences forced migrants' ability to explain reasons for their escape during the hearing of their asylum application. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the hearing is the most important step of the asylum application, so early hearings may increase chances that asylum claims are rejected. Mrs. Schwan further explains that procedures tend to be accelerated, while she believes that forced migrants would need to rest first. She says:

> "That is such a difficult situation. Actually many people would first of all need to rest and are often not capable of carrying out the hearing. But unfortunately, there is the tendency to accelerate the procedures even more. In the meantime, it usually takes a maximum of two weeks until the people are at the hearing, rather less." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation)"Das ist so die schwierige Situation, eigentlich müssten ganze viele Menschen vorher erst mal eine Ruhephase kriegen und sind oft gar nicht in der Lage die Anhörung durchzuführen. Aber leider geht die Entwicklung in eine ganz andere Richtung, die Verfahren immer schneller und schneller durchzuführen. Mittlerweile vergehen in der Regel maximal 2 Wochen bis die Leute bei der Anhörung sind, eher weniger"

Mrs. Schwan believes that the horrors involved in escape and war profoundly trouble forced migrants and that they need rest to process these experiences. According to Mrs. Schwan, the asylum application system in Germany is not sensitive to forced migrants' need for rest and pushes quicker asylum application procedures. Her experiences suggest that hardships involved in forced migration do not end once forced migrants arrive in NRW. Having to talk about potentially devastating experiences of war and escape to unfamiliar people in an institutional setting can be very challenging and further destabilizing. Besides accelerated hearings for asylum applications, Mrs. Schwan further criticizes the procedure involved in asylum applications forced migrants are subjected to. She believes the bureaucratic procedures of asylum applications to be harmful to forced migrants' psychological well-being and eventually also to society:

> "The whole internal distribution system is based on the idea of even distributing across municipalities, but it is horrible for the people themselves. If the only person I know lives in Bavaria and I have to stay in NRW and I'm not allowed to move freely and cannot drive there, that is simply cruel. Especially if these are people who experienced terrible things. There are so many aspects which are not good. I mean not even for society. Because of course that leads to the fact that the psychological problems that these people have solidify. That they cannot really recover and possibly don't recuperate over years. This means that they of course don't have the possibility to invest their energy into constructing something new here." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Dieses ganze Verteilsystem auch innerstaatlich basiert ja auf der Überlegung, das gerecht auf die Gemeinden zu verteilen, ist aber für die Menschen selber ganz schlimm. Wenn der einzige Mensch, den ich kenne, in Bayern sitzt und ich muss in Nordrhein

Westfalen bleiben und darf mich noch nicht mal frei bewegen und kann da nicht einfach mal hinfahren, dann ist das einfach grausam. Vor allem wenn das Menschen sind, die etwas schlimmes erlebt haben. Da gibt es so viele Punkte, die nicht gut sind. Also auch nicht gut für diese Gesellschaft. Weil das natürlich dazu führt, dass sich die psychischen Probleme, die diese Menschen haben verfestigen. Die sich nicht wirklich erholen können und wenn möglich über Jahre hinweg sich nicht wirklich fangen und dann natürlich auch nicht die Möglichkeit haben, ihre Energien darein zu stecken, sich hier etwas neues aufzubauen."

Mrs. Schwan believes that above early hearings, being assigned residency in a specific municipality and not being able to move freely in Germany can be harmful to forced migrants' mental health. She regards forced migrants as having lived through difficult pasts and believes that they need time to recover and stabilize. She suggests that living close to or together with family members and/or friends can enhance emotional recovery, which makes assigned residency a great challenge to forced migrants' wellbeing. Mrs. Schwan believes that society as a whole is affected by these bureaucratic procedures, since not being able to recover emotionally from the experience of hardships makes it more difficult for forced migrants to construct a new life in NRW. Thus, according to her, how forced migrants are treated and dealt with by institutions enhances their emotional struggle which, in the long run, affects society as a whole, since forced migrants struggle to establish themselves and participate.

Mrs. Schwan is one of the very few participants in this study who understands forced migrants' struggle as affecting not only forced migrants themselves, but also "society". Moreover, she is one of the few who points to the responsibility institutions have for forced migrants' wellbeing. Her observation that institutions and the bureaucratic organization of forced migrants' lives can be harmful is confirmed by Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth. Mrs. Neumann says:

"You could prevent many mental illnesses by providing reasonable living conditions here. That people don't live in overcrowded refugee camps for months, in eight-bed rooms where they have zero privacy, that they don't get jobs, that they haven't yet been able to learn the language properly because there is too little on offer, connections to other people, and so on. If this would be provided, many psychological problems wouldn't even be there in the first place." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Man könnte vielen psychischen Erkrankungen vorbeugen, wenn man vernünftige Lebensbedingungen hier realisieren würde. Dass die Leute hier nicht über Monate in überfüllten Flüchtlingsheimen leben, in achter Zimmern wo sie null Privatsphäre haben, dass sie keinen Job bekommen, dass sie die Sprache noch nicht richtig lernen konnten weil zu wenig Angebot da ist, Anbindung an andere Leute, usw.. Wenn man sich da mehr drum kümmern würde, könnte man schon viele psychische Probleme gar nicht erst haben."

Similar to Mrs. Schwan, Mrs. Neumann sees forced migrants' emotional well-being affected by their living conditions in NRW and believes that institutions and society could prevent emotional harm by improving forced migrants living conditions. Thus, hardships involved in forced migration do not end when they arrive in NRW. It is not only past difficulties which continue to shape forced migrants' emotional life and reciprocal relations, but also hardships involved in their lives in NRW. Living in refugee camps, having to bear the instability of insecure residency permits, having to wait for months or years for bureaucratic procedures and struggling to establish meaningful connections to locals adds to and involves revisiting the losses of feeling embedded and secure within a social environment and future

selves imagined within this environment. Thus, losses involved in forced migration webb across localities and equally shape forced migrants' past experiences and their lives in NRW. Following this, forced migrants' grieving does not only concern and reciprocally relates them to losses which they experienced in their hometown or during the flight, but also losses involved in their life in NRW. In fact, these numerous losses reciprocally relate to each other, as every experience of loss influences all reciprocal relations a person is involved in. So it is difficult to think of grief as relating to a concrete instance of loss, since grieving relates griefers to the totality of relations which connected them to their loss. Thus, grieving affects all reciprocal relations grievers are involved in and in this way affects and shapes grievers' surroundings. Similarly, surroundings shape the experience of grieving as external forces can enhance and prolong grief.

5.8.1. Grievable lives

Butler (2006) discussed one way of how a griever's surroundings shape her processes of grieving. She questions whether loss and grief belong to a purely psychological or psychoanalytic discourse and claims that beyond it being an interpersonal matter, recognition of losses and their value has a societal and political dimension (Butler in Eng, Kazanjian and Butler 2003, 467). In the context of public protesting and public grieving of AIDS victims in the 1980's, she proposed the concept of grievable lives. Public protest aimed to direct attention and recognition to the death of AIDS victims who were mostly gay and largely ignored by the general public discourse. She claims that the (inital) absence of an official narrative of and about AIDS victims showed that deaths of gay people were not considered real deaths, which implies that their lives were not considered real lives. Since gay lives were perceived as not real lives, the loss of these lives is not considered grievable. In fact, Butler says: "Grievability implies a life has been lived. Without grievability there is no life or rather there is something living that is other than life." (Butler 2006, 30). This implies that norms of recognition define the value of lives, since they define who or what is acknowledged as a "real" and, thus, grievable loss. Following this, only people who have lost someone or something whose life is considered grievable are recognized as grievers. In other words, norms of recognition define grievability (and possibly levels of grievability), which suggests that not all lives are equally grievable and, thus, not equally worthy.

Ahmed (2004) applies Butler's concept of grievable lives to public grieving after the 9/11 terror attacks. She suggests a hierarchy of grievability in the 9/11 narrative which favours the loss of people having lived heterosexual life styles and devalues gay and queer victims. While the loss of heterosexual people are narrated as "our" losses and aligned with the nation state, queer grief is not recognized. Queer relationships are not acknowledged, so a queer person having lost thier partner is not recognized as a

griever. According to Ahmed (2004), this hierarchy of losses shows that grievability allows distinction between legitimate and illegitimate lives and lifestyles.

Public definitions of grievability are crucial as they shape whether and how losses are recognized by others. If a loss is publicly acknowledged, the loss is considered something or someone valuable and the pain and despair facing loss are perceived as real pain and despair. In this way a person is recognized as a griever/mourner. Moreover, public recognition of losses grants mourners access to public commemoration, support or even compensation. Public support and/or compensation often involve access to institutional services and healthcare. Following this, recognition of loss involves a judgment about the losses' worthiness and mourners' right to comfort, health and well-being. In fact, Butler (2006, 43) suggests social and political recognition of loss as an instrument of structural power, as the norms of recognition define the worth of people's lives and rights to acknowledgement and support of bereaved.

In the context of forced migration, recognizing the loss involved in forced migration implies acknowledging the lives forced migrants lived and the futures they imagined before arriving in NRW as desirable and, thus, as grievable lives and futures. For these lives and futures to be recognized as a loss, public institutions and locals need to acknowledge them as valuable. Appraising lives and futures forced migrants lost involved appraising the people, values, norms, and traditions that these lives and futures relate to and appreciating how these people, norms, etc. have impressed on forced migrants. Recognizing these impressions implies acknowledging forced migrants as equally worthy people, who have lived valuable lives and who have imagined desirable futures. On the other hand, not recognizing the worth of the lives and futures forced migrants left behind implies devaluing them. It is a way to derecognize the impression these lives and imagined futures left on them and define them as less worthy than lives lived in NRW. Not recognizing lives lived and the futures imagined before arriving in NRW as loss/es, derecognizes them as grievers as it discredits their struggles, pain, despair, anger and fear involved in the experience of loss.

Interviews show that forced migrants' losses and their grieving is generally not acknowledged, which suggests that the lives forced migrants lived and futures they imagined before arriving in NRW are considered ungrievable. Their pasts are summarized into a generalized narrative of hardship involved in war, persecution and escape and the way they are perceived to be still affected by these hardships is through psychological trauma. The normative notion of trauma can obscure the reality of the past and present violence (Vanthuyne, 2014), pathologizing what is the experience of a continuum of violence (Bourgois, 2012). In this way, the idea of psychological trauma, as resulting from living through traumatic events, and the generalized idea of hardship allows locals to take notice of the horrors forced migrants have lived through without recognizing their experiences as lives and futures that were lost due to forced migration and, thus, might be grieved.

5.9. Summary

Grief expresses a relationship to something or someone dear that is lost. The lost is no longer present and, thus, cannot make new impressions on the griever. However, while grieving a griever remains impressed by her loss/es, these losses continue to shape her reciprocal relations. Forced migrants lose the lives and future projects they had lived before being forced to migrate. Interviews show that they remain impressed by their losses, as their lives and future projection in NRW are shaped by the futures and lives they lost. Forced migrants' individual stories, their losses and grieving remain relatively unnoticed by locals and experts. There is little acknowledgement for the magnitude and individuality of their losses and how these losses continue to shape their relations to others and themselves. Given that talking about loss, pain and despair is considered one of the most effective remedies for grieving (Jakoby 2012), forced migrants appear (left alone and, thus,) caught up in grieving their losses. Having limited (intimate) contact with German citizens, forced migrant participants have little opportunities to share their experiences (devastating or joyful) with people who are fully accepted and legitimate participants in social life. The next chapter will explore forced migrant participants' possibilities to relieve grief, focussing on forced migrants' opportunities to mourn their losses involved in their experience of forced migration.

6. MOURNING AND TRYING TO MOVE ON

6.1. Mourning in academic literature

Mourning is generally associated with mourning rituals or mourning practices which help grievers to find meaning in their loss/es and to relieve grief (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006). Mourning implies accepting personal loss/es and is associated with personal growth and liberation (Klaas, Silverman and Nickman 2014; Ortiz 2017; Cooley, Toray and Roscoe 2010). Similar to loss and grief, most social science literature focuses on the mourning of the loss of loved ones. Mourning and grieving are not the same, however, they are generally understood to be related and interwoven processes. Often grieving is associated with feelings (e.g. pain, despair, yearning, anger), while mourning is believed to involve social rituals and practices, which are shaped by institutional and cultural norms allowing feelings of relief and liberation (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006; Valentine 2008; Jakoby 2012).

Neimeyer, Prigerson and Davies (2002) suggest that mourning rituals need to contain three basic dimensions: 1) a transformation of mourners' sense of self implying a recast of attachment to the deceased, 2) a transition to a new social status of the deceased and the bereaved (e.g. husband to widower), and 3) the building of new connections to the lost through conversations with other people. Thus, mourning rituals allow negotiating relational changes due to the loss/es and to have these changes acknowledged and approved by others. People negotiate the meaning of their loss/es in interactive conversational practices and search for support of the significance of their loss/es and their struggles with social relationships to remaining people (Rosenblatt 2016). Klaas, Silverman and Nickman (2014) also stress the relational nature of mourning; they understand it as an adaptation to a reality without the deceased, implying the formation of new interpersonal relationships. Besides its deeply relational nature, mourning is nonetheless partly private, as it involves individual psychological processes and relational and interactional changes (van Dorren 2017).

Anthropological literature stresses that mourning rituals used to involve the whole community (van Gennep 2013; Cools 2021) while in today's society mourning and death are largely deritualized (Kimball 1966): Beyond the actual funeral, bereaved persons are mostly left alone with their grief and have to shape their own mourning rituals in order to find ways to live with their loss (Kimball, 1966). According to Cools (2021), mourning used to be a community practice and rituals used to extend over several days and weeks. More traditional or ancient rituals imply a relation with the dead body (e.g. sitting with and cleaning it) and often involve set lyrics and movements which are performed together holding space for mourners' grief and pain (Cools 2021). Mourning rituals are considered rites of passage

(van Gennep 2013) allowing people to embody a new social status and to form new social relations. Practiced with a community, mourning rituals enhance solidarity among people since participants confirm their relationships to the deceased, the bereaved and to other people involved in the rituals (van Gennep 2013) and, thus, it can be understood as a form of community work (Cools 2021). Ritualized collective mourning gives the loss's absence a presence allowing everyone to develop a new relationship to it and other participants (Cools 2021).) Hence, while grieving (often understood as an internal state) may be privatized, mourning is a deeply relational process. In mourning, personal losses (and relational changes resulting from them) are acknowledged by others and new relations to the lost and others can be formed.

However, mourning does not necessarily and naturally follow loss and grief. According to psychological and psychiatric literature, mourning can be complicated, leading to persistent emotional disturbance (Neimeyer, Prigerson and Davies 2002), or it can facilitate growth and enhancement of personal meaning. If changes in social status, social relations and self-understanding are negotiated and accepted by the griever, it is generally understood as posttraumatic growth (Tedeschi, Park and Calhoun 1998). Posttraumatic growth describes the idea that relational changes involved in loss can motivate reevaluation of many aspects of life, attitudes, and relationships to other people, which might then be reaffirmed or altered. Posttraumatic growth is associated with resilience shielding people from durable emotional harm (Tedeschi, Park and Calhoun 1998). Thus, mourning is generally understood as a relational, emotional process implying: contacts with other people lead to new meaning in the absence of the deceased, personal growth through the formation of new relationships, and a self-understanding without the continuing relating to the deceased. However, people might have difficulties mourning such that the loss/es continues to disturb their emotional well-being.

6.2. Approaching mourning relationally

My understanding of mourning builds on the above discussed definition of mourning, but follows the relational conception of emotion in general and of grief in particular as discussed in previous chapters. I agree with the importance of contact with other people, the necessity to feel one's loss/es being recognized by others and to form new relationships. I value the contribution of archaeologists showing that mourning usd to be a communal practice. Moreover, I appreciate that mourning is not a natural process following loss, but can be demanding and in fact is not always possible. As elaborated in the previous chapter, grief is understood as a continuing relationship to something or someone lost, meaning that the griever remains impressed by what she has lost. The loss's impressions are kept alive through the intense emotions (e.g. shock, pain, despair and/or anger) usually felt and associated with the moment of involuntary separation.

Following this conceptualization of grief, mourning, as a form of easing grief, means to move and to change the impressions by the lost and to smoothen or alter emotions that stick to them. Transforming the impressions by the lost implies contacts with others allowing the griever to establish a new relationship to the lost and to create new reciprocal relations with others. Even though mourning a loss/es implies that the ways in which the lost impresses on the griever change, this does not necessarily mean that the lost's impressions abruptly and rapidly disappear. Mourning is a long process, which might take a lifetime. It consists of a gradual transformation allowing impressions by what has been lost to slowly take the shape of new contacts. Along with this gradual re-shaping of a griever's reciprocal relations, emotions involved in the loss also change. Cools (2021) suggests that mourning rituals and especially collectively performed set movements and lyrics create a space for mourners' grief, pain, anger, etc. acknowledging these emotions, while containing them preventing the mourner to feel despair. Mourning is associated with emotions such as thankfulness, liberation, love and/or gratitude concerning the loss/es (Neimeyer, Prigerson and Davies 2002, Walter 1996) suggesting that mourning involves emotional change. Thankfulness, liberation, love and/or gratitude involve a different way of being impressed by what has been lost, and imply a less invasive shaping of the mourner's reciprocal relations than grief. Acknowledging and holding space for memories of the loss and grief related emotions appears to allow a griever to develop an emotionally different relation to her loss/es. Thus, grief and mourning are both processes related to the experience of loss which are associated with different emotions and involve different relations to what has been lost.

While grieving implies closed bodies, a mourning body is an open body. Thankfulness, gratitude, appreciation, liberation, and/or love to or for what has been (lost) imply openness: openness to new contacts and to a transformation of the impressions by the lost. Thus, mourning bodies are open to a future without mutual impressing with what has been lost. A mourning person agrees that her loss/es gradually ceases to shape her the way it used to do and that new impressions take their place. In this understanding of loss, I follow Butler (2003, 3), who defines mourning as accepting that an experience of loss will change the self, possibly forever. Mourning means agreeing to self-transformation without knowing the result of this transformation in advance. Thus, mourning involves the experience of loss and the transformative effect of losing which can never be planned for. Opening up for the transformation implied in losing means to accept that the way one relates to others and the world as shaped by the lost is just one way of being impressed. Losing implies changes in reciprocal relations and this transformation is shaped by contacts with others and the world. World views and self-understandings before and after losing are not necessarily very different or opposite, they are a development of each other and reflect a different web of reciprocal relations between a person, her loss/es, her environment and others.

Similar to the loss of a loved one, losses involved in forced migration can involve grief and mourning. In the previous chapter, I suggested that grieving losses involved in forced migration describes holding on to the impressions by lost lives and future projects. Grieving forced migrants are impressed not only by their lives in NRW, but also by the lives lived in their hometown and in any other place before settling down. Interviews showed that forced migrants grieve over the projects and dreams they had for themselves before arriving in NRW and that these lost self-projects shape their thoughts about their lives and futures in NRW. Mourning these lost projects would imply that over time past projects and desires come to impress less on them as impressions by lost lives and futures join new opportunities and projects. This does not mean that lost projects have to be forgotten or rejected, some aspirations and dreams might be translatable into their lives in NRW. However, plans and dreams cease to relate to the places and environments forced migrants had to escape from and come to be grounded in their current living situation. In this way, forced migrants no longer constantly relate to two (or more) self-projects grounded in two (or more) places, but primarily to plans and dreams evolving from their life in NRW. Mourning the loss of a loved one can be a life-long process, thus, mourning the losses involved in forced migration (which often exceed the loss of one loved person) might be an extremely demanding task and might take (more than) a lifetime. In this sense, I am not proposing the ability to mourn the losses involved in forced migration or any other loss/es as a necessary aim or goal. Mourning is an ongoing process and might describe more an openness to transitioning to a new material reality without the lost rather than a successful "coming to terms with" or "getting over" a particular loss.

To illustrate what mourning of losses involved in forced migration (possibly) implies, I propose to listen again to Samah, a forced migrant. As quoted in the previous chapter, when asked how she had experienced arriving in a NRW she said that she was angry at her parents for taking them (her and her siblings) to Germany, as she would have preferred to continue her stories and friendships in her hometown. At the end of the interview, I asked her whether she had something to add or comment. She summarized her experience of living in NRW the following way:

> "Now, I am actually thankful that I am in Germany. I don't know why, my mentality has changed a bit here in Germany and I am thankful for that. I mean back then I saw a lot of things differently and maybe I was a bit conservative. I don't know how you say that. Maybe I didn't adapt, but I got new things and I am open, can you say it like this? Got openness?" (Samah, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich bin eigentlich jetzt dankbar, dass ich in Deutschland bin. Ich weiß nicht, meine Mentalität hat sich hier in Deutschland ein bisschen verändert und deswegen bin ich dankbar. Also damals hatte ich sehr viele Sachen anders gesehen und war ein bisschen konservativ vielleicht. Ich weiß nicht wie man das sagt. Ich habe mich vielleicht nicht angepasst, aber Neuigkeiten bekommen und bin offen, sagt man das so? Offenheit bekommen."

Samah says that she is thankful for her life in Germany, because she has the impression of having lived through new experiences and acquired an openness that has led her mentality to change. This statement defines a different relationship to her experience of loss involved in forced migration than her

previous anger about having to give up friends, futures, and stories. Being thankful for her life in Germany implies a certain degree of peace and acceptance of her current situation and is a less disruptive and troubling experience than feeling anger. Feeling thankful rather than angry, Samah seems to be able to live her current life without constantly revisiting the loss. In fact, instead of perceiving her experience of forced migration primarily as a rupture of a desired life in her hometown, Samah now narrates a transformation, a change of her understanding of the world and self, which she seems to appreciate.

Samah perceives the transformation of her world view as getting or learning new things. Mourning can imply a revisiting of beliefs, values, or relationships which is likely to involve learning. Thus, learning and mourning can be related but not replaceable processes. As discussed in a previous chapter, arriving and settling down in a new place demands a lot of learning and studying from forced migrants and it is their primary possibility to participate in everyday life. Samah seems to apply this logic to herself as she understands the way life in NRW has shaped her as a learning process, namely acquiring a new worldview. Perceiving it as getting something new (learning) allows her to relate to and address the newness involved in life in NRW and to put this newness into relation with what she has lost.[31]

Samah contrasts learning (getting new things) with adapting. Adapting to something means following or taking up something different or new in order to be more attuned to an environment, while getting new things and learning implies the idea of adding on something new to prior knowledge and skills. The impression of learning rather than adapting suggests some degree of continuity between her current life and the experience she has made in her hometown and other places she might have inhabited before arriving and settling down in NRW. This experience of continuity implies that (some) impressions by the lost life and imagined future selves were touched upon by new contacts so they slowly joined the way she is impressed by life in NRW. As long as impressions by the lost stay unchanged, new impressions can only be made in parallel to existing ones by the lost. This parallelism involves feelings of separation or rupture between impressions by life and imagined futures in two (or more) places. As narrated by Samah, mourning allows for these parallel impressions to gradually merge as the lost and new impressions meld and are no longer perceived as opposites allowing for the feeling of continuity between lives and imagined future selves.

Similar to Samah, Doaa, a forced migrant, tells me that after several years she came to experience continuity between the life lived in her hometown and her life in NRW:

> "About everything is different when I have [come] in a new country. And now it is not a new life for me, but it is part of my life." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ungefähr alles anders, wenn ich so in einem neuen Land habe. Und es ist jetzt kein neues Leben für mich, sonder ist ein Teil meines Lebens."

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[31] Further analysis will show that other forced migrant participants applied the strategy of learning when relating to experiences of hardship and involved losses, however, without it being a process of mourning.

Initially Doaa had the impression of living a "new life", suggesting that she experienced her life before settling down as separate from the life she was living in NRW. She says that with time she came to experience continuity between her life in NRW and the life she had lived before settling down, so that she now has the impression of it being the same life. This suggests that gaining a feeling of continuity between life "here" and "there", "before" and "after" is important for how forced migrant participants relate to their lives in NRW and might involve mourning.

Besides gaining a sense of continuity, having the impression of learning new things allows Samah to perceive herself not as simply attuning to life in NRW, but as actively changing her worldview. Perceiving herself as having some agency in the transformation of her worldview lets her feel as forging, co-authoring or at least as agreeing to these changes. Taking an active part in her transformation involved in living in NRW is crucial for mourning to take place. Mourning is a relational process and, thus, involves the mourner and who or what makes a new impression on her. Thus, both are agents of the transformation involved in the process of mourning and shape how a mourner comes to relate to her losses and form new impressions.

Samah describes her transformation in terms of how her worldview has become more "open" and she herself less "conservative". She depicts her worldview shaped by her life in NRW as more "open" and life in the place from which she escaped as characterized by more "conservative" attitudes. This contrast reflects a prominent discourse circulating in NRW about Western cultures being more open and progressive especially in terms of secularity and women's rights as compared to Middle Eastern cultures, which tend to be presented as more conservative, backwards and maybe even primitive (Duman, 2018). As discussed in a previous chapter, some German citizen participants hold this attitude towards what they describe as Middle Eastern cultures. They perceive forced migrants to be different in terms of culture which they understand as differences concerning religion, holidays, traditions and women's rights and social standing. This points at "openness" and "conservatism" as sticky labels. When Samah says that she has become more "open" defining it in contrast to conservatism associated with the region she originates from, she aligns herself with the sticky label of openness and the generalized perception of Western countries as being more "open" compared to a "conservative" Middle East. This alignment is likely to be rewarded by others and allows her to establish some closeness to locals. This illustrates that how she relates to and mourns the way things and the world are understood in her hometown is shaped by sticky categories circulating in NRW and the West.

I suggest that Samah's words in the quote above display an instant of mourning, since the learning she describes (getting a more "open" view of the world and self) does not entail a shielding from anticipated injury (which would hint at grieving), but describes a transformation of her worldview which she seems to appreciate. This does not mean that she is forgetting or willing to forget anything about her

past, or about the ways in which this past still shapes her present, but rather that she is open for these impressions to be molded and remolded by new impressions and relations she may encounter and enter into. Moreover, feeling thankful rather than angry is a feeling associated with mourning. This thankfulness not only relates to a gratitude towards the new, i.e. relations and possibilities, but also towards a shared past with the lost and the new presence of the lost in the present.

Mourning is a long process that involves many little steps happening in uncountable contacts with others. It cannot be captured by one or two utterances from an interview transcript. In fact, according to Butler (2003, 3), mourning is not a plannable process, but comes in waves and takes over the body in an undirectable manner. Thus, I do not propose that Samah or any forced migrant participant quoted in this chapter has mourned all losses involved in their experience of forced migration, however, their words hint at a moment of mourning. Even though mourning is a small-steps-many-steps process this does not imply that every new impression after the experience of loss has to be involved in the process of mourning. Mourning does not "naturally" or immediately follow loss and grieving. For mourning to take place the mourner has to open the impressions left by her loss/es and become vulnerable so that she (and her impressions) can be touched by others. These others have to be able to acknowledge the value of the lost as well as the mourner's willingness to open up and be vulnerable facing her loss/es. Thus, mourning involves a griever who opens herself to mourning and other people who witness and actively acknowledge this process.

6.3. Recognition involved in mourning

The general understanding of mourning in social science literature acknowledges it as a process involving interactions with other people. Rituals and social practices are considered central to the process of mourning (Gharmaz and Milligan 2006; Cools 2021, van Gennep 2013) and talking with others about the loss is believed to be one of the most effective ways to relieve the pain involved in grieving and to allow for mourning (Jakoby 2012). Thus, mourning is never entirely private but involves contacts and connections with others. Gathering for communal mourning generally implies that other people engage with the griever's experience of loss, e.g. performing mourning rituals, conversations about the lost, listening or being present. With their engagement listeners actively recognize the lost's worth and this recognition allows the griever to turn towards the listener and to open up and display how that which has been lost has impressed on her and how these impressions shape her still today. Recognizing the worth of the lost's impressions, listeners also appraise the griever as valuable and recognize her vulnerability. Thus, the communion involved in mourning rituals involves recognition of the loss/es and how it has impressed

on the griever. The form in which this recognition takes place (or fails to take place) shapes grievers' possibilities to mourn their loss/es.

In fact, the concept of "disenfranchised grief" (Doka 2008), mentioned in the previous chapter, describes the idea that a loss must be recognized as a loss in order for it to be publicly grieved. Losses need to be recognized as "legitimate" losses (Fowlkes 1990) and the relationship to the lost must be an acknowledged relationship (Doka 2008). Butler (2006, 43) stresses the importance of recognition as she claims that recognizing someone's vulnerability after loss (and, thus, the loss itself) can change the meaning and structure of that vulnerability. Feeling recognition of the impression left by the lost allows the mourner to display and relate to these impressions. This allows the mourner to establish new relations to her loss/es so it can impress upon her differently. Moreover, these new impressions shaped by the recognition of listeners constitute reciprocal relations to these listeners. In this way, the mourner's vulnerability no longer displays her loss/es, grief, and openness, but is transformed into new impressions. Thus, if recognized, a mourner's vulnerability turns into an opportunity to form new connections with her present surroundings (constituting the transformation implied in losing and making it a form of community work) instead of being an experience of rupture and openness.

How the listener's recognition reshapes the loss's impressions is unpredictable, so mourning may equally involve relief from grief and apprehension or fear about unforeseeable newness. This newness is composed of new impressions by the listener recognizing the mourner's loss/es and new connections established between them. These new impressions and connections will influence further contacts for both because when relating to the impressions by the lost the listener might be moved by it, since touch is always reciprocal. According to Ahmed (2004, 161), recognizing a griever's loss does not imply that through acknowledging her loss, the loss is categorized, explained or appropriated in any way, but turns the acknowledging person towards the griever and allows the griever's loss to impress upon her. This means that in order to recognize a griever's loss/es (and vulnerability), those who accompany the griever have to open up to her. Being open to someone else implies being open to oneself, as only when we are open to ourselves can we receive another. In this sense when someone opens up to a grieving person and her loss/es, the listening person is opening up to herself (and thus to her own losses and vulnerability) at the same time. The listener in her openness to the griever and recognition of the griever's loss turns the griever's focus towards her, allowing the griever to open up to her. In this mutual openness both hold a space for each other's losses and involved emotions. In this mutually held space both are equally vulnerable and they can touch each other's loss/es impressions. In this way, it offers both a possibility for mourning their own loss/es, as both are present to acknowledge each other's loss/es. Opening up to each other and holding space allows both to sit with their losses, to appreciate the losses' worth, to realize how the world and themselves have changed after the loss and to form new relationships allowing them to

move forward (van Dooren 2017). Thus, recognition of someone's loss/es is not its appropriation, but a mutual openness to be moved by both loss/es in an unforeseeable manner.

This reciprocal nature of recognition has been underlined by Butler (2003), who suggests that asking for recognition implies its offering, making recognition a proposition of a future in relation to the other and, thus, a possibility for coordinated change. As stated above, recognition presupposes mutual openness allowing bodies to mutually impress upon each other and, thus, for reciprocal relations to be woven. This defines recognition as a form of connection which can enable people to develop feelings of closeness, mutuality, trust and safety with the other. The safety and closeness granted by these reciprocal relations and connections enable both parties to trust in their openness towards others and themselves. In this mutual openness they can perceive and receive others as well as themselves for who they are, ready to accompany each other without needing to direct or lead the way. The reciprocal relations and connections established during this mutual reception and openness enable coordinated change and make a shared future possible.

Recognition being reciprocal implies possible novelty and change for both sides, which might be the reason why narration of loss and grief is uncomfortable not only for the griever but also the listener (Goodrum 2008). In fact, Jakoby's (2014) study on the experience of talking about loss and grief shows that it is still difficult to talk openly about loss and grief in society. According to her, both sides have to overcome the "fear of talking": the insecurity, awkwardness and constraints of talking about and listening to experiences of loss (Jakoby 2014). From what I have argued, part of the challenge of listening to talk of loss and grief might be related to the exposure of a listener's own losses and vulnerability. That is, recognizing a griever's loss is challenging since opening up to another person and acknowledging her loss/es requires acknowledging the value of something one may be unfamiliar with or does not appreciate. Not all people share the same values, beliefs, habits and preferences, thus, recognizing someone else's loss and its value for the grieving person requires openness to difference. In this sense, acknowledging someone's loss can be a risky endeavor as the reciprocal and relational nature of recognition involves us with the other in unpredictable ways.

In summary, I argue that recognition of loss is fundamental for a griever to be able to mourn her loss(es). This recognition allows for connections to establish between the mourner and the listener making mourning a process creating closeness among people. In this way, locals acknowledging forced migrants' loss/es allowing them to mourn could be part of and potentially facilitating the process of forced migrants' becoming part of everyday life in the place they settled down. However, interviews suggest that recognition of the losses involved in the experiences of forced migration is limited or missing. This lack of recognition is not primarily interpersonal, but also reflects how the lives lived by forced migrants and the futures they had imagined before arriving in NRW are perceived by many; particularly, how they are

depicted in the public discourse which is mediated and enforced by sticky assumptions, labels and narratives. The analysis will show that locals' failure to recognize (or derecognizing) the losses involved in forced migration is the foundation for limiting forced migrants' participation in social life, for conditioning their recognition as equals, and for constraining their possibilities to mourn.

6.4. Struggle for recognition of loss/es involved in forced migration

Interviews show that locals' failure to recognize losses involved in forced migration manifests in several ways: time pressure and efficiency imperative put on forced migrants' participation in social life, devaluation of knowledge and skills acquired outside NRW, insistence on German as the only official and valid language, and generalizing the hardships experienced by forced migrants in their countries of origin rather than acknowledging their individual stories. All these shape and limit forced migrant participants' possibilities to display and mourn the losses involved in their experience of forced migration and to partake in everyday life. Struggling with derecognition of their losses, forced migrants hold the impression of remaining foreigners forever and an expert interview suggests that continuous derecognition of their losses can cause forced migrants to embitter.

6.4.1. No space to settle down

Time pressure put on forced migrants complicates possible mourning of their losses. As discussed in chapter five, Mrs. Schwan, a lawyer accompanying forced migrants when applying for asylum, observes that forced migrants have often experienced emotionally troubling hardships and need time to settle and rest before they are able to present their story and reasons for escape in the official hearing of their asylum application. She says that despite this need for rest, institutions tend to further accelerate the process of asylum hearings. Mrs Schwan further explains that institutions insist on an even distribution of forced migrants across the regions (Länder) rather than allowing forced migrants to settle where they wish, e.g. close to family and friends who have already settled in Germany. After living through experiences such as war, persecution, poverty and escape before finally arriving in an unfamiliar locality, the possibility of living close to friends and family can mean emotional, financial and organizational support. Insisting on an even distribution of forced migrants across the Germany territory fails to recognize forced migrants' losses, their vulnerability, and their need for connection, safety, security and closeness which a life close to family members and friends may offer. Friends and family can help with bureaucratic procedures, organization of life, and they might have experienced similar losses. Thus, living close to family and

friends facilitates possibilities to talk about the losses involved in forced migration and/or communal commemoration allowing for mutual recognition of each other's loss. Communion and recognition of the loss grants relief from grief and can favor mourning. The current bureaucratic procedure of asylum applications in Germany does not seem to recognize the losses involved in forced migration as it appears insensitive to forced migrants' vulnerability and (emotional) needs at arrival.

A rushed asylum application procedure and allocation of one's place of residency is followed by the need to learn German as quickly as possible in order to enter the education system or labor market. For example, Abdul, a forced migrant, confirm Mrs. Schwan's observation, as he explains:

> "Well, on the run, I expected that once I arrived I could relax and everything would be safe and that there would be an end, that I wouldn't be on the run for the rest of my life. But then I arrived and it was clear that I cannot relax. I had other tasks and other difficulties. Well I had to take care of these and had no time to process the old things, but had to engage in new things." (Abdul, 21, forced migrant) "Naja, während der Flucht habe ich halt die ganze Zeit gedacht, wenn du da ankommst dann kannst du dich entspannen und es wird alles sicher und es wird nicht dein ganzes Leben so sein, dass du auf der Flucht bist, es wird einen Endpunkt geben. Aber dann komme ich hier an und es war klar, dass ich mich jetzt nicht entspannen kann. Ich hatte wieder andere Arbeit oder andere Schwierigkeiten. Naja, dann musste ich mich halt dann jetzt damit beschäftigen. Und hatte keine Zeit das andere zu bearbeiten, sondern musste mich direkt mit etwas neuem beschäftigen."

Even though Abdul hoped to be able to rest when he arrived in NRW, he was facing new challenges and problems leaving him with no time to process troubling experiences of war and escape. Not considering forced migrants' need for rest and security when arriving in NRW, is a way to derecognize the experiences of loss(es), grief, pain, despair and frustration involved in forced migration.

This time pressure complicates mourning, as mourning needs time. Mourning can take a lifetime and is an emotionally challenging process which needs time and room in a person's daily life. As Butler (2003, 3) states, mourning is unpredictable and cannot be planned for. It may overwhelm a person unexpectedly and can involve emotionally troubling moments. Receiving these emotions and being open to these transformation moments requires time and energy. As Abdul says, when he arrived in NRW he had to solve new problems and difficulties. This left him no time to calm down and come to terms with what he had experienced. In fact, having to deal with confusing and humiliating bureaucratic procedures, having to learn a language, attending school and being ready to enter the labor market as quickly as possible granted forced migrant interviewees little space to receive the experience of loss, grief and the troubling emotions and memories involved.

6.4.2. "Growing up" into local values and practices in NRW

Beyond inhuman asylum application procedures and time pressure, the derecognition of forced migrant participants' losses involves devaluing skills and knowledge forced migrants acquired before arriving and settling down in NRW and insisting on German as the only official language. Interviews

suggest that locals' failure to recognize forced migrants skills, knowledge and language acquired before arriving in NRW leads a certain "infantilization" of forced migrants and leave them with a feeling of invalidity and the impression of having to "grow up" into local values and practices.

Since the previous skills and knowledge forced migrants acquired in their place of origin are little or not recognized, they have to acquire new skills and knowledge in line with the education system in NRW. For example, Lina, a forced migrant, who finished nursery training in her country of origin, says:

> "I have an education. I tried to get it recognized here in Germany, but unfortunately that didn't work out either. Yeah, but it is not bad. Maybe better. The knowledge test needs two to three months and the apprenticeship three years." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich habe eine Ausbildung, ich habe hier in Deutschland versuch anzuerkennen, aber das hat leider nicht gelappt. Ja. aber das war auch nicht schlimm. Vielleicht auch besser. Die Kenntnisprüfung dauert zwei, drei Monate und die Ausbildung drei Jahre."

Lina is a qualified nurse, however, her training was not accredited in Germany. Many forced migrants (and migrants in general) face this problem. As described by Lina it often demands several years to repeat or add on a degree they already hold. Nasir, a forced migrant, tells a similar story:

> "They want many doctors, but then they not only have to learn the language, but they have to work for two years and have to do a test in order to work as a doctor. I am saying this because of my father. They still say, we are still not sure whether you are a doctor or not. And he brought all his documents, and had them translated and notarized. And they still say, we don't believe you are a doctor. [...] My father said nothing against the language, but that he has to do so many tests to show that he is a doctor. And they said when everything worked out, you have to do an internship for 6 months like a student. My father is not a student anymore, he has worked for 20 years. He has a lot of experience." (Nasir, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Die wollen so viele Ärzte haben, aber dann müssen die nicht nur die Sprache lernen, sonder zwei Jahre arbeiten und dann einen Test machen um Ärzte zu sein. Wegen meines Vaters, sage ich das. Sie sagen noch, wir sind nicht sicher ob du Arzt bist oder nicht. Und er hat seine ganzen Dokumente mitgebracht und übersetzen lassen und beglaubigen lassen. Und sie sagen immer noch, wir glauben immer noch nicht, dass du ein Arzt bist. [...] Gegen die Sprache hat mein Vater gar nichts gesagt, aber das er muss so viele Tests machen muss um zu zeigen das er Arzt ist. Und sie haben gesagt, wenn alles geklappt hat, dann musst du Praktikum machen für 6 Monate wie ein Student. Mein Vater ist kein Student mehr, er hat 20 Jahre gearbeitet! Er hat so viele Erfahrungen."

Similarly to Lina, Nasir's father's qualification is not accredited in Germany. Even though he has many years of work experience and documents attesting his qualifications, he has to do many tests and internships to prove his proficiency in his profession.[32] Repeating qualifications or preparing for tests do not only demand time, but can also be humiliating. Losing qualifications compromises and limits migrants' recognition within the social fabric of their new localities and, thus, opportunities to participate in it.

As quoted in previous chapters, Thibaut and Doaa describe experiences which suggest that skills, knowledge, and capacities acquired in forced migrants' hometowns are not only derecognized by official

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[32] Accreditation of certifications depend on international agreements between states and, thus, similarly to visas give some populations easier access to education and the labor market than to others.

state institutions, but also by people in daily encounters. They explained that they struggled with prejudices, sticky interpretations, and labels attached to them which defined how they are recognized. Thibaut explained that many people he met while living in NRW repeatedly suggested he do an apprenticeship and believed that university studies are not for him. According to Thibault, they believe that he will not succeed because he is a foreigner and in addition, they said to him that university studies are a luxury not destined for him. This is why it took him a long time to enter university. Thibaut obtained a Bachelor's degree in his country of origin and is now studying a Master's degree. The assumption that he would not succeed in University studies derecognizes the fact that he has successfully completed the necessary study course to be qualified to enter a Master's degree. Moreover, telling him that university studies are a luxury not destined for him, is a way to openly discriminate against him.

Similar to Thibaut, Doaa struggles with derecognition of skills and experiences she acquired in the place she had to leave behind. She mentions that because of her headscarf people believe her to be little educated, an Islamic extremist and assume that she works as a cleaning lady. These sticky interpretations which stick to her headscarf derecognize and degrade her education prior to arriving in NRW as well as values, traditions and habits Doaa grew up with and values today. She says that she has to talk against these stereotypes in order to convince people that she neither has extremist thoughts nor works as a cleaning lady. Forced migrant participants need to put a lot of effort and energy into drawing attention to them as people and individuals and away from predefined judgements about them. In this sense, the lack of acknowledgement of their skills, experiences and knowledge acquired while living outside NRW shapes their opportunities to partake in social life.

This derecognition implies that forced migrant interviewees have to acquire new skills, knowledge, and experiences in NRW. Many forced migrants interviewed for this study narrate the impression of having become a more mature person in NRW. E.g. Nasir, a forced migrant, says:

> "But after I arrived, I matured. I also talked to my father and he said "Yes, before Islam was everything for us and we were closed, but we are here. You get to decide whether you want to be religious or not." (Nasir, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Aber nachdem ich gekommen bin, ich bin reifer geworden. Ich habe auch mit meinem Vater geredet und der hat gesagt "Ja, vorher war Islam für uns alles und wir waren geschlossen, aber sind wir hier. Du darfst entscheiden ob du religiös sein willst oder nicht"."

Nasir understands himself as having grown "more mature" while living in NRW. As discussed in a previous chapter, arriving and settling down in NRW involves a lot of learning for forced migrants. They say that they have to learn German and have to familiarize themselves with how things are done in NRW. As a child one usually grows up learning a language, habits, norms, and traditions structuring life in the localities one was born into. Thus, having to learn a new language and a new way of doing things when arriving in NRW mirrors (to an extent) this experience of growing up. Thus, this second (or third, forth) "growing up" hints at a growth into local practices in NRW.

The necessity to grow up again implies that Nasir's previous growing up finds little or no acknowledgement by people and social infrastructures he relates to in NRW. This derecognition is emphasized by his father's words. Nasir's father tell him that even though Islam had been everything for them before, now in NRW he is free to choose whether he wants to be religious or not. Nasir's father's words suggest that since they are living "here", rules, norms and knowledge have changed, and that the norms, rules and knowledge which used to direct their lives are not valid in NRW. According to Nasir's father (or to Nasir's account of his fathers' words), Nasir is now free to choose his lifestyle and may renounce to Islam meaning the norms and traditions which used to structure their life and which framed his initial growing up.

Abdul, a forced migrant, shares Nasir's experience of having 'matured' in NRW. He explains:

"Yes and Germany, Europe and all of it means a lot to me. I was born in [name of country], but the things which I learned here or how I developed here are much bigger than what I picked up in [name of country]. But somehow it is also a very big part of me. In [name of country] I did nothing for it, I was just born there." (Abdul, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ja und Deutschland, Europa und alles hat für mich eine mega große Bedeutung. Ich bin zwar in [Name des Landes] geboren, aber Sachen, die ich hier gelernt habe oder wie ich mich hier entwickelt habe das ist halt viel viel größer, als das was ich in [Name des Landes] mitgenommen habe. Dabei irgendwie ist es ein sehr großer Teil halt auch von mir. In [Name des Landes] habe ich halt quasi nichts dafür gemacht, ich bin nur dort geboren."

Abdul says that he has learned many things in Germany that define him as the person he is today. Learning many things implies ample contacts with others, thus, while learning Abdul created many new reciprocal relations which came to shape how he thinks about himself. Moreover, Abdul says that he sees the skills and knowledge he acquired in Germany as more important than what he has learned before arriving in NRW. By devaluing his experiences prior to arrival in NRW, he aligns his self-understanding with the general derecognition of life and culture in his home country. He says that in his hometown he was simply born and had "done nothing for it". He has the feeling that what he experienced before NRW has no value because he didn't achieve it through personal effort. In this sense, Abdul has not only internalized the devaluation of his past life, but also the idea that personal effort is necessary for recognition and that accomplishments in NRW are the primary way to receive recognition by locals in NRW.

By invalidating the knowledge, skills and habits forced migrants developed in relation to other localities, one invalidates how these skills and habits impress on forced migrants. Having discredited these impressions it appears unnecessary to relate to them. Instead by only recognizing the merits of forced migrants' accomplishments in NRW, locals are able to relate to impressions they are familiar and comfortable with. For locals, it is a way to avoid engaging with forced migrants' pasts and to derecognize forced migrants as equals, i.e. as people with unique life histories and individual capacities which may differ from their own life history and capacity, but which are nevertheless equally worthy. For forced

migrants, not being recognized as an equal conditions their possibilities to partake in everyday life and is likely to enhance and/or prolong the experience of loss, as mourning needs recognition and contact to enable the gradual transformation of impressions by the loss. Not being able to mourn the losses involved in giving up lives and imagined futures, these losses continue to impress on forced migrants and, thus, continue to shape their everyday reciprocal relations.

6.4.3. German as the only valid language and way of being

The derecognition of skills, knowledge, beliefs, and capacities developed before arriving in NRW further show in the insistence on German as the only official and valid language. In the interviews, the forced migrant participants verbalize their impression that they have to work more than their "German" peers for others to acknowledge their efforts and achievements.

> For example, Vera, a forced migrant, says:

> "I'm under a lot of stress right now because of school. It's exam time and I would like to get good grades. It is especially difficult for me, because more is expected of me than of others. In one class, another student made a spelling mistake and immediately I was suspected of making the mistake. In the end, it was a German student. I have to be twice as good as others, so that they believe that I do something well." (Vera, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich habe gerade sehr viel Stress wegen der Schule. Es ist Examensphase und ich möchte gerne gute Noten schreiben. Es ist für mich besonders schwer ist, weil man von mir mehr erwartet als von anderen. In einer Unterrichtsstunde hat ein anderer Schüler einen Rechtschreibfehler gemacht und sofort wurde ich verdächtigt dass ich den Fehler gemacht habe. Im Endeffekt kam raus, dass es eine deutsche Schülerin gewesen ist. Ich muss doppelt so gut sein wie die anderen, dass man mir glaubt, dass ich etwas gut mache."

Vera has the impression that she has to be better than her "German" peers, because her teacher doesn't trust her capacities. She says that she feels considered less intelligent and less capable than her peers by default. This suggests that her teacher does not trust the studying she has done before arriving in NRW and trusts more in "German" curriculum and educational norms. Not everything Vera has learned before arriving in NRW might support her current studies, however, this does not necessarily make what she has learned less valuable than skills and knowledge acquired in NRW.

> Also Lina a forced migrant, observes that locals insist on German as the only valid language:

> "Proper German is so without a migration background. That's what I mean. Not Turks, who are born here and such. Because they are also often confronted with prejudices. They are also often really, also the Turkish language is never taken seriously." (Lina, 27, forced migrant) (my translation) "Richtige Deutsche ist so ohne Migrationshintergrund. Das meinte ich damit. Jetzt nicht Türken, die hier geboren sind usw. Weil die werden auch oft mit Vorurteilen konfrontiert. Die werden auch oft wirklich, auch türkische Sprache wird immer so als nicht so ernst gesehen."

Lina's definition of a "real German" confirms the category of "people with migration background" as having an important role in structuring how people living in Germany perceive each other. "People with a migration background" are people who are born in Germany, generally have German citizenship, and whose parents or grandparents immigrated to Germany ("Turks, who are born

here"). Many of these people grow up with two languages: German and their parents' or grandparents' mother tongue. Lina says that the Turkish language is not taken seriously as "real German" people speak only German as a first language. In fact, German is the only official language in Germany, as all bureaucratic procedures and documents are handled in German and it is the only official language of schooling. Nevertheless, many languages are spoken in Germany and the primacy of German over all other languages disregards the value of these languages and with this the benefit of being multilingual. Everyday life and many professions do not require perfect proficiency in German (or any other official language in any other state), so that language proficiency is not always fundamental to take part in social life.

Eyüp, a forced migrant, suggests that the imperative to speak German well involves far more than a good command of the German language. He says:

> "In Germany, it is maintained that German remains the only official language and also the only school language. Or that there is an expectation here in society that certain things absolutely have to be done in a certain way. That can concern all kinds of things. How to shop in a public supermarket, how to ride public transportation. And that these expectations are accepted and referred to as German. It is not only the language but also everyday life where this expectation prevails. It is not enough to be able to speak and communicate in German, but you also have to behave and act German. Here the expectation is very strong. This doesn't mean that someone will be spoken to, if he does not comply, however you are very quickly classified and categorized and maybe even called unsocial. Perhaps German is not only a language, but a general way of communication and behaviors of everyday life including language. It is not enough to speak German, but you also have to act German." (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant) (my translation) "In Deutschland wird daran festgehalten, dass Deutsch die einzige Amtssprache bleibt, auch die einzige Schulsprache. Oder dass hier die Erwartung herrscht in der Gesellschaft, dass bestimmte Sachen unbedingt auf eine gewissen Art und Weise gemacht werden müssen. Das kann alles mögliche betreffen. Wie man in einem öffentlichen Supermarkt einkauft, wie man mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln fährt. Und das diese Erwartungen als Deutsch angenommen und bezeichnet werden. Es ist nicht nur die Sprache sondern auch der Alltag wo diese Erwartung herrscht. Es reicht nicht, dass man Deutsch spricht oder kommunizieren kann, sonder man muss sich auch auf Deutsch benehmen und verhalten. Also hier ist die Erwartung auch stark. Das heißt nicht, dass jemand deswegen angesprochen wird, wenn man sich nicht daran hält. Aber man wird dann ganz schnell eingestuft und kategorisiert und vielleicht als asozial bezeichnet. Vielleicht ist Deutsch nicht nur eine Sprache, sondern auch eine generelle Art und Weise von Kommunikation und Verhalten im Alltag inklusive Sprache. Es reicht nicht, dass man Deutsch spricht, sondern man muss auch auf Deutsch agieren."

Eyüp has the impression that having to speak German does not only imply a language but also particular behaviors and a certain way of living everyday life. Moreover, he suggests that people who do not comply with these standards of "acting German" are quickly perceived as social outcasts ("asozial") making "acting German" the only valid way of going about everyday life. This proposes that in addition to the devaluation of language, knowledge, and skills, forced migrants' social norms and routines (e.g. going shopping or taking public transport) which are not aligned with local practices and interpretations are also degraded and rejected. In this sense, Eyüp's experiences suggest that (every) trace of contact with unfamiliar and/or discredited practices is derecognized by locals. Moreover, as explained by Eyüp, any of these traces of difference can cause locals to turn away from the person displaying the difference. In fact,

traces of otherness are quickly sanctioned with stigmatization and/or exclusion, as any "non-German" behavior or act may lead "Germans" to think of them as social outcasts ("asozial").

6.4.4. Generalized hardship

Another way to derecognize and avoid relating to the lives that forced migrants have lived before arriving in NRW is to summarize their pasts in an imagination of generalized hardship. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the principal argument for denying or accepting an asylum application is whether the forced migrant comes from a "safe" country. A "safe country" is defined by the absence of war, political persecution, and extreme discrimination. Thus, being granted asylum implies that the German state bureaucracy (or the bureaucracy of any other state) considers that the asylum seeker has experienced one or all of these hardships. The category of a "safe country" provides a generalized narrative centered around particular hardships a person must have lived through in order to be granted asylum. Having a definition of hardships granting asylum facilitates bureaucratic procedures, however, it derecognizes the individuality of every forced migrant's story and favors the reduction of uncountable unique experiences into a generalized narrative of hardship.

Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working for an institution organizing accompanied-housing for forced migrant youth, says that asking for asylum imposes a story of hardship. He says:

> "The only word you have to say when you arrive in Germany and when you don't have a passport, is asylum. That means your story begins there: Asylum. [...] But talking about happiness, that does not fit the system. They only talk about that in their mother tongue when no counselor is present. That's what you should do, because you shouldn't deny your own history. So you will always hear that. You will never meet a refugee, who says "I was fine"." (Mr. Lohmann, social worker) (my translation) "Das einzige Wort, dass du sagen musst wenn du nach Deutschland kommst und du keinen Pass hast, ist Asyl. Das heißt deine Geschichte fängt schon da an. Asyl. [...] Aber von Glück zu erzählen, das passt nicht zu diesem System und das erzählen sie nur unter sich in ihrer Muttersprachen wenn kein Betreuer dabei sein. Soll man ja auch machen, denn man soll ja nicht seine eigene Geschichte verleugnen. Von daher wirst du das immer so hören. Immer das hören. Du wirst keinen Flüchtling erleben, der sagt, mir ging es gut."

Mr. Lohmann suggests that asylum is not only a legal category, but presupposes and imposes a story of hardship. He says that forced migrants cannot say that they were well off, as joy, wealth and/or happiness does not fit into the asylum story. Above this, little consideration appears to be given to the idea that life in NRW can involve serious difficulties for forced migrants which touch on and enhance past struggles, or also independently from their past, complicate their present. Moreover, Mr. Lohmann says that he appreciates forced migrant youth talking about the "good times" among themselves as it allows them to retain their stories. This proposes that the generalized story of asylum - one centered around hardship - does not or only partly reflects forced migrants' life story and, thus, fails to recognize their individuality. Since forced migrants' "real" stories continue to exist in conversation with other forced

migrants, they remain impressed by these "real" stories while constructing a story of asylum. Impressions by these "real" stories are only touched during contacts with other forced migrants and, thus, stay alive and remain relatively untouched by contacts with locals and general practices structuring their lives in NRW. Missing recognition of forced migrants' "real stories" makes it difficult to mourn them. Holding on to impressions by their "real" stories and, thus, living with two stories describes forced migrants as grieving these "real" stories.

Later in the interview, Mr. Lohmann proposes that, beyond defining how forced migrants' pasts are understood, the asylum story becomes an identity. He says:

> "So when you arrive in Germany or when you leave your homeland and you come as a refugee, you have a different identity and that identity accompanies you throughout your life." (Mr. Lohmann, psychologist) (my translation) "Also wenn du nach Deutschland kommst oder wenn du dein Heimatland verlässt und du kommst als Flüchtling, dann hast du eine andere Identität und diese Identität betrifft Asyl und begleitet dich dein leben lang."

According to Mr. Lohmann, arriving as a "refugee" in NRW not only implies that the person's past is generalized into a story of asylum hardships, but it further imposes an identity based on that asylum story. As discussed in a previous chapter, people exist in reciprocal relation to others, their environment and even themselves. Thus, "getting another identity" implies relating to and understanding oneself in relation to another context produced by different social meanings, norms, habits and people. These "new" relational contexts do not have to be fundamentally different from those one used to relate to, however, they are sufficiently different, so relating to them is not intuitive anymore. Thus, getting a "new" identity implies that a person needs to adapt to new ways of relating to the social meanings, norms and habits producing her new social context.

According to Mr. Lohman, forced migrants arriving in NRW "get" a new identity instead of, for example, developing or creating it. Moreover, he says that this identity accompanies them their whole life, suggesting that he sees this identity as something accompanying meaning something which has been added to them from the exterior. Thus, similar to the asylum story which Mr. Lohmann perceives to exist in parallel to forced migrants' "real" stories, he understands this asylum-identity to exist in addition to their prior identity. Moreover, when Mr. Lohmann says that forced migrants arriving in NRW "get an identity" rather than developing one, he proposes a certain degree of imposition. The "new" identity is not the result of a dynamic process of reciprocal relating and interacting which involves a forced migrant establishing new connections with locals, practices, discourses, institutions, and imaginaries. "Getting an identity" conveys the idea of predefined possibilities for reciprocal relations and, thus, predefined possibilities to construct a life and future. The asylum story describes how forced migrants' lives before arrival in NRW are perceived and conditions their on-going reciprocal relations and, therefore, their

possibilities for future contacts and connections. This story shapes how forced migrants are perceived, related to, and made sense of.

Interviews with forced migrants and German citizens confirm Mr. Lohmann's observation that forced migrants' lives are not recognized individually, but perceived in the form of a generalized hardship. In a previous chapter, I showed that forced migrants and German citizens interviewed for this study understand the experience of hardship involved in war, persecution, poverty, escape and life in unfamiliar localities as a meaningful difference between them. German citizen participants locate this hardship in the localities from which forced migrants escaped, while forced migrants perceive their hardships and difficulties stemming from new lives in NRW. German citizen participants see forced migrants to be needy for help due to the hardships they lived through. While the description of these hardship(s) remains general, German citizen participants appear moved by pity and the hardships and needs they associate with forced migrants' pasts is the source of this pity. For example, Julia, a German citizen, says:

> "I don't want to pigeonhole them in a way that I feel sorry for them, but there is pity already. I find it very impressive what these people achieve. I find you can see that many of them really take advantage of the opportunities they have here in Germany. I think it's nice that these people, some of whom have a horrible past, come here and realize that it is not like that and that they use the opportunities they have here. I think that is remarkable and really strong." (Julia, 18, German citizen)
> (my translation) "Ich möchte sie nicht in so eine Schublade stecken, dass sie mir Leid tun, aber es gibt schon Mitleid. Ich finde es sehr stark, was diese Menschen leisten. Ich finde man sieht auch, dass viele von denen, die Chancen, die sie jetzt hier in Deutschland haben, die wirklich nutzen. Ich finde es schön, dass es Menschen, die teilweise eine grauenhafte Vergangenheit haben, dass die dann hier hin kommen und erkennen, das es eben nicht so ist und das sie dann die Chancen, die sie hier haben auch wirklich nutzen. Ich finde das bemerkenswert und auch echt stark."

Julia says that she pities forced migrants for the horrors she imagines them to have lived through and at the same time she praises them for the efforts they put into constructing a new life in NRW. "A horrible past" hints at a very general understanding of hardship, which causes her to feel pity. Besides feeling pity, she says twice that she finds it impressive how forced migrants use the opportunities they have in NRW. Her words suggest that she perceives and relates to forced migrants primarily through pity for the hardships she imagines they have suffered and appraisal of the efforts they put into establishing a life and future in NRW. The way she relates to and understands forced migrants (hardships in country of origin and accomplishments in NRW) mirrors the general perceptions of forced migrants produced by and shaping everyday life in NRW.

Similar to Julia, Tobias, a German citizen, relates to forced migrants primarily through the hardship(s) they experienced. When he narrates his only personal contact he has had with a forced migrant, he says:

> "One from Egypt, I met him once at a party. A super nice guy, who told me that both of his parents had died and this touched me strongly. I never understood how you can make general

claims that you do not understand migration and people who escaped. I don't understand how you can give "migration" a negative connotation, given that it is simply necessary." (Tobias, 27, German citizen, NRW) (my translation) "Aus Ägypten, den habe ich damals auf einer Party bei und kennen gelernt. Ein super netter Kerl, der mir erzählt hat, dass seine Eltern beide gestorben sind und das hat mich dann schon sehr mitgerissen. Ich habe nie verstanden wie man pauschal eine Aussage machen kann, dass man geflüchtete Leute und Migration nicht versteht. Ich verstehe nicht wie man dem Thema "Migration" so einen schlechten Beigeschmack geben kann, wenn es doch einfach notwendig ist."

When telling me about the only encounter he had with a forced migrant, Tobias choses to mention the hardships the forced migrant had experienced, even though a casual conversation at a party probably covered more than the death of the "super nice guy's" parents. Moreover, according to Tobias migration is necessary because of the hardships migrants had to live through, and because migration is necessary, it is nothing "negative". Thus, similar to Julia, Tobias appears to relate to forced migrants primarily through the hardships they have experienced and (only) these hardships justify migration. Other German citizens and experts participating in this research share Julia's and Tobias's approach to forced migrants, as they say that they believe them to have lived through great horrors which they do not specify. This suggests that the coupling "refugee - hardship" has become a coupling that sticks and becomes attached to forced migrants' bodies, shaping how German citizens perceive and relate to them.

Mr. Lohmann points to a political use of the sticky label "hardship". He notices that people generally perceive forced migrants to be in need of help and that this imagined neediness is used in politics in order to justify immigration politics:

"Because you cannot sell that, that's why they say refugees. Because they, that is, through the refugees, you can move people differently. When you say to locals, we need 5000 skilled workers every year and they have to arrive right away, you won't find anyone who would agree with that. [...] You cannot demand migration openly, that's why they take refugees, they are already there and we have to help them. You can explain better to people that you have to do something about that. Then you already shut people's mouths. The people who come, they say that because they have to say that." (Mr. Lohmann, psychologist) (my translation) "Weil man das ja nicht verkaufen kann, dann sagt man eher Flüchtlinge. Weil sie, also durch die Flüchtlinge kannst du die Leute anders bewegen. Wenn du zu den Einheimischen sagt, wir brauchen jährlich 5000 Fachkräfte und die müssen jetzt sofort kommen, da wirst du keinen Menschen finden, der dem zustimmen wird. [...] Also Migration kann man nicht offen fordern, deswegen nimmt man einfach die Flüchtlinge, die sind schon da und denen müssen wir helfen. Und das kann man den Menschen besser erklären, dass man da etwas machen muss. Da hat man den Menschen den Mund schon zugemacht. Die Leute, die kommen, die sagen das weil sie das sagen müssen."

Mr. Lohmann proposes that the German government sees an economic need for immigration. However, since German citizens would not accept liberal immigration politics grounded in this argument, Mr. Lohmann believes that politicians use people's understanding of "refugees" being in need (and possible pity) to turn immigration of forced migrants into a (humanitarian) necessity. The idea of someone needing help presupposes that the person is experiencing and/or has experienced some kind of hardship. He observes that "refugees" work well for politics, since people are moved by the hardships they imagine "refugees" have lived through. Mr. Lohmann's observation is in line with attitudes narrated by Julia and Tobias suggesting that German citizens perceive forced migrants to have lived through hardships making

them needy for help. Moved by pity the German state and/or its citizens are willing to provide help. Thus, as observed by Mr. Lohman, the refugee-in-need discourse moves German citizens with pity so that as "helpers" they accept immigration allowing the German government to fill up vacancies in the labor market.

Beyond moving German citizens to accept immigration, Katharina, a German citizen, suggests that perceiving oneself as the helper allows her to feel good about herself and "Germany". She says:

> "I think it is very, especially thinking of war, as it was the case in 2015 but it is still an issue today. Something one can be proud of is that Germany has done so much and accepted so many people, who escaped from something that none of us experienced and will hopefully never experience." (Katharina, 24, German citizen) (my translation) "Ich finde es ist sehr, also besonders im Sinne von Krieg wie es damals 2015 was damals aber ja immer noch heute ein Thema ist, eine Sache ist, auf die man stolz drauf sein kann, dass Deutschland da so viel Leistung gebracht hat und so viele Menschen zugelassen hat. Die eben vor etwas geflohen sind. Was von uns niemand mitbekommen hat und hoffentlich auch nie mitbekommen wird."

Similar to Julia and Tobias, Katharia imagines forced migrants to have lived through difficulties and summarizes these difficulties into a generalized hardship. Julia says that she has some contact with forced migrants at school, Tobias has met one forced migrant at a party and Katarina mentions that she never met one. However, all three appear to have little idea about what these hardships entail, but assume that they must have been terrible and difficult. Moreover, they generalize their perception of a general hardship to all forced migrants.

Above perceiving forced migrants to have lived through a general idea of asylum granting hardships, Katharina turns the imagined hardships and suffering of forced migrants into "Germany's" success. She says that one can be proud of Germany for having accepted so many people. Managing the amount of people who arrived in Germany as asylum seekers between 2014 and 2017 certainly demanded great efforts by local and federal institutions, NGOs, civil society agents, teachers, social workers, volunteers and many more. Efforts which deserve recognition. However, by turning forced migrants' their experiences of hardship(s) (may they be actually experienced or imagined by German citizens) into a success for "Germany" Katharina derecognizes their stories and lives. She does not only rewrite and sums up their pasts into generalized hardship, but takes their life stories away from them and turns them into something which comes to symbolize "Germany's" success.

Interviews with forced migrants suggest that they are aware of how their lives and stories can be instrumentalized by German citizens. For example, Thibaut, a forced migrant, says:

> "That about open borders and "we are so great and help" is just pretentious and in the end it was a planned social and economic move to get people to Germany who have few rights and who always have to be grateful because they are refugees. But I have just as much a right to recognition as every other person who lives in Germany." (Thibaut, 29, forced migrant) (my translation) "Das mit den offenen Grenzen und "wir sind so toll und helfen" ist nur Schein ist und im Endeffekt war es ein geplanter sozial und wirtschaftspolitischer Zug, um Menschen nach Deutschland zu bringen, die wenige Rechte haben und die dadurch dass sie Flüchtlinge

sind immer dankbar sein müssen. Aber ich habe genauso ein Recht auf Anerkennung wie jeder ander Mensch, der in Deutschland lebt."

According to Thibaut, German citizens perceive themselves as being willing to help forced migrants, which he sees as a pretentious "helper attitude". More than wanting to help "refugees", he feels that this helper discourse serves politics. Thibaut has the impression that "refugees" have less rights (than citizens) and that this inequality is enhanced and maintained by the expectations that "refugees" have to be thankful for the help they receive from the German government and people. He says that he is not comfortable with the imposed discursive need to think of himself as receiving help from "Germany" and having to be grateful for it.

Thibaut's words suggest help as an instrument of power, since the expected return (thankfulness) is used to bind "refugees" to a position where they do not only restrain themselves from claiming equal rights, but furthermore content themselves with what they receive. In fact, "help" provided by citizens or a government and offered to (forced) migrants has been analyzed by some social science scholars (Yeğenoğlu 2012; Andrikopoulos 2017) in terms of a gift (Bourdieu 2000). Gifts have been discussed as holding a two-folded character: being disinterested generosity as opposed to entailing the expectation of a return or of gratitude towards the giver (Bourdieu 2000, 193). The necessity to return the gift of "help" gives citizens and/or governments a moral advantage and Selwyn (2000) argued that this moral advantage and closeness established through the gift of "help" can be used to regulate social behavior and cultural performance of strangers who are potentially dangerous. Ahmed (2004) proposes that beyond help, also compassion and pity for (forced) migrants' (or other disprivileged people's) sufferings and losses are turned into an object and given to the suffering as a gift. Once received, the gift creates a debt and is expected to be paid back with gratitude. In this way, the gift of compassion and pity works to elevate the helping people over the people in need/being helped, making compassion and pity instruments to maintain social hierarchy.[33]

This discussion of help, compassion and pity as a gift confirms Thibaut's experience of German citizens' helper attitude being a political instrument to constrain his (and other forced migrants) possibilities to participate in everyday life and to gain recognition as an equal human. Thibat does not believe in this helper attitude and refuses to think of himself as a "refugee in need". He negates the gift of help and pity and, thus, refuses the discrimination resulting from being touched, moulded and defined by the stickiness of "hardship". He wants the same rights and recognition German citizens enjoy and has understood that a "thankful" refugee is not an equal to German citizens.

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[33] This makes compassion and pity, according to Ahmed (2013) a new face of conservatism.

Also Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with traumatized forced migrant youth, notices that her patients refuse her pity during therapy and which made her question the innocence of helping in general. She states:

> "To what extent does altruism exist or how much of it is just there to boost one's own self-esteem. A bit is good, as it gives the motivation to get involved, for example, supporting refugees. But it must not drift to the point that there is this unequal distribution. You have to be very sensitive with this, because it is not always obvious and it usually shows only after a few conversations. When you have gained some experience that the other perceives something you were not aware of. I had a blind spot. Patients often said: "I don't want to be pitied by you. I want to be received by you and tell you about it and I want you to listen to me, but I don't want your pity." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) "Inwiefern gibt es Altruismus oder wie viel ist nur da um sich selbst aufzuwerten. Ein bisschen ist das auch gut und eine Motivation ist sich zu engagieren z.b. Geflüchtete zu unterstützen. Aber es darf halt nicht dahin abdriften, dass es diese Ungleichverteilung gibt. Man muss sehr sensibel damit sein, weil es nicht so offensichtlich ist und es wird erst nach ein paar Gesprächen deutlich wenn man so ein bisschen Erfahrung gesammelt hat, dass das etwas ist, was von der anderen Seite oft wahrgenommen wird obwohl ich das nicht auf dem Schirm hatte. Ich hatte so einen blinden Fleck. Die Patient*innen haben oft so etwas gesagt wie: "Ich möchte nicht von dir bemitleidet werden. Ich möchte von dir wahrgenommen werden und das erzählen und ich möchte, dass du mich hörst, aber ich möchte nicht bemitleidet werden.""

Mrs. Neumann says that some of her patients perceived her to pity them and that they did not want her pity. Rather than pity, her patients say that they want to be seen and listened to. This suggests that being pitied and being listened to are two different and in some way opposite experiences. In fact, as discussed above, being seen and listened to demands of the other, in this case Mrs. Neumann, to be turned towards her patients and to be open to them, so that their stories can impress upon her. As observed by Mrs. Neumann, being pitied is an uncomfortable experience involving not feeling listened to and not being seen. In this sense, pity involves a closed body, a body which does not receive the other. Mrs. Neumann's patients' desire to be seen and listened to rather than pitied can be interpreted as them asking her not to stay closed, but to open up to them, as in fact meeting her closed pitting body makes them feel uncomfortable. Mrs. Neumann says that she had a blind spot as she did not realize that feeling pity for her patients was an uncomfortable experience for them. Wanting to help her patients Mrs. Neuman was probably turned towards them, however, while feeling pity for them, they did not experience her as open to being touched by their stories.

Thus, when feeling pity for someone, one sees the other's vulnerability but remains untouched by it. This dynamic of pity resonates with Mr. Lohmann's observation of German citizens' relation to forced migrants and the attitude they narrate themselves to have. German citizen participants say that they believe forced migrants to have experienced hardship and some state that they pity them for these hardships and feel the need to help (or that someone should help). This suggests them as turned towards them or at least turned towards the image they have of forced migrants. As stated earlier, German citizen participants have no or little personal contact with forced migrants and have no or little idea about the concrete hardships forced migrants lived through. This proposes that they have had few or no possibilities

to listen to their stories, to open up to them and to be impressed by them. This describes their bodies as momentarily being turned towards the ideas they have about forced migrants without being open to them.

Consequently, we could argue that "feeling pity for someone" refers to a way to relate to a person without being open to her and to being impressed by her. It is a way to perceive someone in pain and suffering loss without opening up to be touched by her pain and loss. In this sense, when we pity someone for the hardship and losses they tell us about or for the pain we imagine them to experience, they show themselves open and vulnerable, while we remain closed and untouched.

As stated above, when two people open up, display their losses and vulnerability and mutually impress upon each other, the loss's impressions can be moved and transformed allowing for mourning and meaningful connections and reciprocal relations to establish. However, if openness and vulnerability is one-sided, mutual touching is not possible and mourning cannot take place. Pity can serve to establish and maintain a social hierarchy (Ahmed 2004) and I suggest that it is the one-sided openness, involved in feeling pity for someone, that allows establishing this hierarchy: the person who opened up is vulnerable while the person remaining closed is untouchable and, thus, appears stronger. The power of the piting person is her closed body, which allows her not to display and relate to her own vulnerability while seeing the other person open and vulnerable. In this way pity and compassion serve to elevate the compassionate and pitiful person over the person she feels pity for. This power involved in pity captures a similar idea to the moral advantage discussed by Selwyn (2000) (and Bourdieu (2000)) of people providing a gift over the person receiving it which allows them to control the latter.

In the fashion, the self-esteem boost Mrs. Neumann suspects to be part of the motivation for altruism involves feeling superior based on this hierarchy of vulnerability and openness. Her doubts about altruism finds an example in Katharina's attitude as quoted above. In line with other German citizen participants, Katarina believes forced migrants to have lived through horrible hardship. According to her, Germany's effort to receive and help refugees deserves pride (felt by German citizens), which turns forced migrants' imagined (and real) suffering and neediness into "Germany's" success. If one feels proud about having helped someone else, more than and/or rather than feeling connected to that person, helping serves more to boost one's self-esteem than to support trust, connection and mutuality with the other. In this sense, refusing someone's pity implies refusing to accept inferiority, instrumentalization and discrimination resulting from the pitiful's reluctance to open up.

Further, Mrs. Neuman proposes this through pity and one-sided openness established hierarchy to be a new form of racism. She says:

> "Racism is decreasing a bit. I believe it is changing, because we now tend to change it for pity. And I believe that it has something very racist and it is something I perceive a lot with patients not only in therapy, but also in general, that people don't want pity. And sometimes it goes so far that the people with whom I talk want to protect me. They say something like "No, I cannot tell

you that." In the beginning I asked myself what that means. Does the patient not trust me? But then it turned out that they didn't want to burden me, because they think that I cannot handle it and they don't want my pity." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Der Rassismus geht ein wenig zurück. Ich glaube er verändert sich, weil wir jetzt häufig dazu übergehen diese Mitleidstour zu fahren. Und ich finde auch das ist etwas sehr rassistisches und auch etwas was ich sehr oft wahrnehme von den Patientin*ne, jetzt nicht nur in der Therapie, sondern auch allgemein, dass die Leute halt kein Mitleid wollen. Und das geht halt manchmal auch so weit, dass die Leute mit denen ich spreche mich schützen wollen. Die sagen dann so etwas wie "Nee, dass kann ich dir jetzt nicht erzählen." Ich habe mich am Anfang gefragt, was das bedeutet. Vertraut die Person mir nicht? Aber dann hat sich am Ende herauskristallisiert, dass sie mich nicht belasten wollen, weil sie glauben, dass ich das nicht ertragen kann und sie wollen von mir nicht mein Mitleid haben."

Mrs. Neumann affirms one more time that her patients and other forced migrants don't want to be pitied and above this she suggests pity as a new form of racism. Racism involves discrimination of or prejudice against a person or a group of people because of their ascribed "race" or ethnicity (LaVaist 2000). Since human races do not exist (LaVeist 2000), I prefer not to use the word racism and to discuss the dynamics involved in pity, which Mrs. Neumann observes and discusses, in terms of discrimination or prejudice.

The prejudice and discrimination of forced migrants living in NRW involving pity implies a prejudice about hardship and the state of being in need, which, according to German citizens, derives from it. Forced migrants are deprived from their individual life stories and in this sense have to tolerate an undemanded intrusion in their privacy. Depriving someone from their personal life story is taking their individuality away from them, as our stories and capacities are expressions of who we are. Making someone else less of an individual while insisting on one's own individuality is an act of discrimination. Moreover, forced migrants are then offered pity and/or help to relieve their suspected state of being in need, a gift which is expected to be returned. Offering help and demanding compensation constrains forced migrants' possibilities to take part in everyday life and, thus constitutes another instance of discrimination.

Imagining forced migrants having lived through some generalized hardship (the sticky judgement of hardship) deprives forced migrants from their individual life stories involving hardships and happiness. Their personal stories are sacrificed for the sake of a general narrative about hardship which is written and promoted by locals who (generally) have not experienced these types of hardship. The vague idea of a generalized "refugee - hardship" allows German citizens the comfort of having the impression that they know what forced migrants went through and where they come from. Having an idea of the other, in this case forced migrants, allows locals to know who they are in relation to the other and, thus, how they can relate to them. This assumed knowledge makes it less urgent to be in contact and conversation with the forced migrant, as locals no longer need to understand who they are facing the forced migrant. In fact, interviews suggest that German citizens participants have little contact with forced migrants and that forced migrant participants have few contact with locals and no or few opportunities to tell stories from their lives (excluding the hearing involved in their asylum application). This means that they have little

opportunities for their individual experiences of losses to be recognized and few possibilities to be acknowledged as people with an individual life story, one which may be different but equally worthy to every other person's life story. This stresses recognition as a mechanism of power (Butler 2006). Locals, who have more structural power, are in power to decide on norms of recognition and define whose lives are recognized as worthy and equal to their lives and whose lives are perceived as less worthy and thus not "real" life (Butler 2006, 30). Thus, pitying forced migrants for hardships one sticks to them without listening to their actual stories involves derecognizing their individuality and the worth and, thus, grievability of the lives they have lived before arriving in NRW. This derecognition of their lives and individuality is a way to discriminate against them, as it assumes and confirms them to be in a position of less structural power (and thus, limits their possibilities to partake in everyday life).

Moreover, offering help and pity to forced migrants prevents weaving reciprocal relations other than those implied in helping. In fact, interviews suggest that help is offered by default regardless of whether other reciprocal relations may support forced migrants better in their particular situations. No matter whether the assumption about hardship is adequate or not, the pitied person might not want someone to see her vulnerability and pain and would prefer to relate to others in a way that is not necessarily formed by "receiving help".

Feeling pity implies that the person offering pity remains closed and is not open to perceive and relate to the other's pain, but merely relates to her predefined idea of hardship. Due to this derecognition of the pitied person's situation, it is difficult to establish reciprocal relations and connections which respect and are meaningful for the actual hardship of the person being pitied. In this sense, being pitied is not helpful for the person receiving it, as it does not always support her in resolving her problems and further because it limits her possibilities to build reciprocal relations which may offer her greater support. Thus, pitting someone and helping her (without listening to her concrete concerns) means to constrain her agency to resolve or relieve her experience of hardship and to limit her opportunities to participate in everyday life. Thus, negating pity forced migrants not only refuse that their individuality is derecognized and reject the debt and submission implied in receiving the gift of pity and help, but also claim to be the agent of their own problem solving and well-being.

However, interviews suggest that this dynamic of pity and helping is not exclusive to the relationship between German citizens and forced migrants participating in this study. Mustafa, a forced migrant, says:

> "And I had, so to speak, I had a wish, so to speak, that when I can study medicine, to say thank you, so to speak, I would help people in Africa for six months for free, to say thank you. Now I will do it anyway, whether I study medicine or not. Then donate money, no matter how much, no matter how big. Because what I created here, getting to where and who I am today, I have to be thankful for that, because of course I didn't do it all by myself completely. That's why I would

like to help others." <small>(Mustafa, 20, forced migrant) (my translation)</small> "Und ich hatte so zu sagen, ich hatte einen Wunsch, also sozusagen, wenn ich Medizin studieren könnte, als Danke sozusagen, werde ich 6 Monate in Afrika Menschen umsonst helfen, so als Danke. Aber jetzt werde ich das trotzdem machen, egal ob ich Medizin studiere oder nicht. Wenn dann Geld spende, egal wieviel, egal wie groß, weil was ich jetzt hier geschafft habe, zu dem was ich heute bin, was ich genau bin. Dafür muss ich dankbar sein, dafür muss ich etwas zurückgeben. Weil ja, ich habe das natürlich nicht alles alleine geschafft komplett. Und deswegen würde ich gerne anderen helfen."

Similar to German citizen participants, Mustafa locates hardship far away from himself into the African continent. Moreover, similar to German citizens interviewed for this study, he perceives people he does not know and whose hardship he has not experienced to be in need of his help. Mustafa says that feelings of thankfulness for help he has received by others to become the person he is today motivates him to help others. As quoted in a previous chapter, Mustafa claims recognition as a human being and does not want to be primarily perceived as a "refugee". His motivation to help other people is certainly honorable, however, in his motivation to help people in Africa he appears to repeat the same prejudice and derecognition he experiences living in NRW. Wanting to help people he perceives to be needy might allow him to feel empowered from the discrimination and disapproval he experiences in NRW. It might equally be the only strategy he can think of to give back and display his deer thankfulness for the support he received throughout his life. In any case, this shows that not only German citizens participating in this study tend to generalize hardships they believe forced migrants to go through and to localize these hardships and their causes far away from them. Imagining forced migrants to experience hardships often involves perceiving them to be needy of help which is likely to move German citizen participants with pity. Help motivated by pity (and not by a concrete request for help) is as a strategy to establish and enforce social hierarchies and, thus, potentially of discrimination: Offering help and pity to forced migrants German citiens participants derecognize forced migrants as equal participants of everyday life and as equal human beings.

6.4.5. Remaining a stranger forever

Interviews suggest that this continuous derecognition gives forced migrants the impression of having to remain strangers forever and might cause them to embitter. For example, Vera, a forced migrant, explains:

"I have the feeling that I will always be a foreigner here. Even if I have a German passport, I will always remain a foreigner. [...] That's the way it is, adapting to the country, but I believe I will always be a foreigner. That's the way it is." <small>(Vera, 21, forced migrant) (my translation)</small> "Ich habe das Gefühl, dass ich hier immer ein Ausländer sein werde. Auch wenn ich Deutsche Pass habe ich werde immer Ausländer sein. [...] Ist so, so dem Land sich so anzupassen, aber ich glaube ich werde hier immer Ausländer sein. Ist einfach so.

Vera says that she has the impression that she will remain a foreigner in Germany. Even if she "adapts to the country" and takes on German citizenship (defining her as a full legal member of the

German state), she will always be perceived as a "foreigner". She feels that neither her effort nor her legal status will allow her to become an equal participant in everyday life. In other words, as long as locals acknowledge her as a foreigner, she will remain a foreigner. Locals' judgment of foreignness or "strangeness" implies that they perceive her to be meaningfully different, establishing distance between them. The difference consists to a great extent of her losses involved in her experience of forced migration, as how her losses (imagined futures, people, values, habits) have impressed on her is interpreted as "strangeness" by locals. When Vera or other forced migrants say that they have the impression that they will always be perceived as strangers, this implies that they expect locals' judgment of strangeness to continue to be attached to them. In other words, they have the impression of never being able to establish meaningful connections to locals which would allow for their losses to be recognized so they can mourn them and establish closeness to locals which would enable locals to perceive them as a "non-foreigner" and "one of them". Therefore, they expect that they are stuck relating to and grieving their losses rather than being able to mourn them and to establish closeness and connections to locals.

Mustafa, a forced migrant, shares Vera's experience and believes that he will remain a foreigner in NRW forever. He says:

> "That you are accepted. Whether I am completely accepted here, I don't know. When someone says to me, "Wow you speak German well, you are still a refugee." I don't see that being part of society. A society where one sees me as a human. [...]. A refugee fled for a reason, because of war and such. I wouldn't like do go down this shity road. Excuse my language. When I am recognized like a normal German citizen. I think that will never happen because of politics and such shit."
> (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Das man akzeptiert ist. Ob ich hier schon komplett akzeptiert bin, ich weiß es nicht. Wenn jemand zu mir sagt, " Wow du kannst sehr gut Deutsch, du bist ja noch ein Flüchtling." Ich sehe das nicht als Teil der Gesellschaft. Ein Gesellschaft wo man mich sieht so als Mensch.[...]. Ein Flüchtling ist wegen einem Grund geflüchtet, wegen Krieg und so. Ich würde auch nicht gerne diesen ganzen scheiß Weg hier machen. Tut mir leid, wegen solche Sprache. Wenn ich so angesehen werde, wie ganz normale deutsche Bürger. Ich glaube das wird nie passieren durch diese ganze Politik und so Scheiß."

Similar to Vera, Mustafa doubts that he will ever be recognized as a "normal German citizen" or as a "human" i.e., a person with their own history and with equal opportunity to participate in daily life. He says that getting a compliment for good command of the German language does not make him feel "part of society". In fact, complimenting his German proficiency recognizes only his merits accomplished in NRW and his efforts put into preparing a life and future there. Thus, it is a gentle reminder that he is not from NRW, but is a foreigner. Mustafa describes it as a frustrating experience, as the recognition he receives (for his good command of the German language) is not the recognition he seeks. He would like to be seen as a "human" and "normal German citizen", which would imply full legitimacy to partake in everyday life and recognition of his individuality, i.e. of his life story and capabilities acquired before arriving in NRW. Therefore, Mustafa feels, similar to Vera and other forced migrants participating in this

research, that recognition for accomplishments made in NRW fails to acknowledge him as a human being and as a legitimate participant of everyday life.

Following Ahmed, the continuous derecognition of forced migrants' legitimacy and losses involved in forced migration causes "repetitive strain injuries" (Ahmed 2004, 145). Ahmed (2004, 145) argues that these strain injuries display contact with (regulatative) norms: through repeated contacts and repeatedly being oriented in the same direction body surfaces take the shape of (regulative) norms. Bodies adjust to the spaces and actions these norms grant or do not grant them. Thus, even Vera and Mustafa do not appreciate being recognized merely for their successes in NRW and do not want to remain foreigners forever, repetitive praising of their successes and efforts to construct a life in NRW act as a reminder of their strangeness impressing on them in such a way that they remain constrained to the realm of educational and professional careers. Consequently, being continuously perceived as a stranger marks a strain injury on forced migrants' bodies.

By continuing to judge newcomers (or their children) as foreigners, locals relate to predefined knowledge and interpretations attached to categories such as "foreigner", "stranger" and/or "refugee", which depict them as meaningfully different, and not to them as individuals. In this way, locals not only constrain newcomers' opportunities to partake in everyday life but also to mourn their losses (and thus prevent closeness to establish). Not every contact offers a possibility for mourning; for mourning to take place, impressions by the loss must be recognized as such and touched allowing the loss to be transformed. In this sense, no matter how many contacts a forced migrant may engage in, as long as recognition of their losses by locals is limited (because locals relate to forced migrants as strangers rather than individuals having experienced great losses), mourning remains difficult. Thus, whether locals recognize forced migrants as individuals or as foreigners shapes how forced migrants are able to comprehend and mourn their losses as well as themselves.

6.4.6. Embitterment

Besides giving forced migrants the feeling of remaining a stranger forever, the derecognition of forced migrants' losses and the challenges faced when trying to establish meaningful contacts and connections is reflected in their feeling of embitterment.

Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth, observes how this prolonged lack of connections and mutual openness affects forced migrants, shaping their opportunities for mourning. She says:

> "There are some who contacted us, even though they now live somewhere else, because they didn't know who else to call. For example, there was one woman, who believed that her child had Corona and she didn't know what to do. And we seemed to be the only number, she could think

of which she could call where she trusted the people and they spoke the language. I found that scary. And I often had this feeling that this being heard and that there is someone who helps me, that this is so rare that is almost comes to such embitterment. I have to tell everything now and almost beg for the person to help me." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Es gibt einige, die sich bei uns gemeldet haben, obwohl sie mittlerweile wo ganz anders leben, weil sie nicht wussten wen sie sonst anrufen sollen. Da war z.b. eine Frau dabei die glaubte, dass ihr Kind Corona hat und sie wusste nicht was sie jetzt machen soll. Und wir waren irgendwie die einzige Nummer, die ihr eingefallen ist, wo sie anrufen könnte wo sie den Leuten gut vertraut und die die Sprache sprechen. Das fand ich schon gruselig, dass das so ist. Und diese Gefühl hatt ich oft, dass diese Gehört-Werden und dass da jemand ist der mir weiterhilft, dass das so rar ist, dass es fast zu so einer Verbitterung kommt. Und ich muss jetzt ihr alles sagen und fast darum betteln, dass die Person mir hilft."

Mrs. Neumann states that she noticed forced migrants are not being listened to and not being helped, thus struggling to establish contacts and connections with locals. Here she observes that this makes her former patient's life more difficult, as the patient does not know where to turn for support. According to Mrs. Neumann, this lack of contact and connections can lead forced migrants to embitter.

Embitterment entails prolonged frustration and the feeling of helplessness. People embitter when they experience discomfort, pain, suffering, injury and/or hardship and have the impression that they are incapable of resolving their suffering. Since the discomfort or hardship cannot be resolved, embitterment involves a constant anticipation of injury. In this sense, embitterment leads to a closed body in anticipation of injury. Following this concept of embitterment, I suggest that the embitterment Mrs. Neumann perceives her former patient to experience can be understood as solidified grieving of what the patient has lost due to forced migration.

Mrs. Neumann says that her former patient calls her asking for support with a concrete problem (I believe my child has Corona. What do I do?). She states that not only this patient but many other forced migrants she has met in professional settings struggle to find support and she describes this lack of support as not being listened to and not being helped. The help and support Mrs. Neumann's patients are missing is a different kind of help than I discussed in the previous section. Help offered by locals to forced migrants which is motivated by pity for hardship and the state of being in need locals imagine for them, is different from the help Mrs. Neumann's patient is seeking. Mrs. Neumann's patient needs someone to advise her about what to do with her daughter who might have Corona. She makes a concrete request for help and is seeking support for her particular problem. To solve her problem she needs someone to listen to her, someone who is open to hear and receive her with her concrete concern. She needs someone to recognize and to engage with her particular struggle, so that she can support her in resolving it. This being listened to and helped based on a contact of mutual openness can allow Mrs. Neumann's patient to establish reciprocal relations of trust, mutuality and recognition with the person supporting her similar to how the patient would create a network of support involving friends, neighbors, colleagues, family, and/or social workers. Constructing such a networkof stable connections enables a person to feel secure and embedded in their social environment.While being offered and/or receiving help

from a local based on imagined forced migrant needs, can be experienced as humiliating and/or discriminatory, if a forced migrant is offered and/or receives help because of a concrete request, they are enabled to develop stable reciprocal relations and connections with locals.

Since forced migrants are new to and unfamiliar with local customs and institutions, they rely on fostering relationships with locals to establish a support network. Without this support network, everyday life can be a profoundly frustrating experience - costing them precious time and energy. Moreover, it implies a constant experience of derecognition; not being heard and/or helped devalues the struggles of forced migrants. Forced migrants' concrete problems often reflect their position of disprivilege in NRW and losses involved in their experience of forced migration. Thus, by derecognizing the urgency and worthiness of their particular difficulties disregards their losses involved in forced migration and experience of disprivilege. This lack of recognition makes it more difficult for forced migrants to display and mourn these losses which, as observed by Mrs. Neumann, can lead them to embitter. Thus, embitterment stems from prolonged grief and perpetuates from the continuous experience of derecognition of forced migrants' losses.

After all, locals' failure to recognize losses involved in forced migration takes many forms and this derecognition limits participants' opportunity to mourn their losses and to participate in everyday life. Forced migrants voice how this derecognition impresses on them through the feeling of remaining a stranger forever and through their embitterment.

6.5. Tying to move on - alternatives to mourning

Moments of mourning as expressed by Samah and Doaa (quoted and discussed in the beginning of the chapter) are rarely narrated in the interviews. Losses involved in forced migration are immense and challenging to mourn. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter on grief, moments of hardship and loss were narrated by forced migrants and they expressed their grieving of these losses in several ways. Interviews suggest that forced migrants feel the need to "do something with" their experience of loss and hardships, despite far-reaching derecognition of their losses, they seek to "move on" with their lives. When mourning is not possible because locals fail to recognize their losses I found that forced migrants developed alternative strategies to relate to experiences of hardship and involved losses and emotions to continue living their lives. They avoid talking about their losses, they state that they learned from "difficult/bad" experiences, and concentrate on preparing a new future in NRW. Moreover, forced migrants continue to claim recognition of what they have lost and they claim agency over their lives. These strategies of relating to their losses are not mourning, as they do not involve others' recognizing

forced migrants' losses and, thus, do not support them in constructing new relationships to their losses and others.

Interviews suggest that one way forced migrants deal with their losses and their derecognition is by avoiding discussion of experienced hardships and involved losses. Talking about loss and grief can be emotionally difficult (Jakoby 2014), which suggests that forced migrants may seek to avoid this distress by keeping experiences of hardship and loss to themselves. Mrs. Schwan's observations, a lawyer accompanying asylum claims, confirm this assumption:

> "More important is information about attacks that a person experienced or specific situations of persecution. And keep in mind that the more detailed, the more credible the presentation will be. That is another thing, often people don't want to talk about the bad things they've experienced as much as possible, or only very briefly." (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) (my translation) "Wichtiger sind die Informationen zu dem Anschlag, den du erlebt hast, oder die Verfolgung Situation. Und beachte dabei, desto detaillierter, desto glaubwürdiger wird der Vortrag. Das ist auch so ein Punkt, oft wollen die Menschen über das Schlimme, das sie erfahren haben möglichst nicht oder nur ganz kurz reden wollen."

Choosing not to share details of their hardships and losses is a way for forced migrants to prevent others touching the impressions of these losses' (and, hence, to avoid feeling the grief, pain, fear, despair and/or anger involved in them). Besides making their asylum plea less convincing, this avoidance to talk about moments of loss and hardship is likely to prevent mourning as impressions left by losses need to be displayed and touched for remodeling and mourning to take place. This protective attitude towards one's experiences, to avoid exposing and opening up the impressions left by losses, keeps impressions alive, defining grief.

6.5.1. Learning from difficult experiences

Another way forced migrant participants relate to their losses is through learning from "difficult" experiences. For example, when asked about important moments in their lives many of the forced migrant participants referred to moments of hardship involved in war, escape and life in NRW. According to them, these moments are important because they are opportunities for learning and improvement. For example, Khaded, a forced migrant, answers the following:

> "Important moments are horrible moments are a lesson for me, I mean I learn from them. And problems in life are important to be stronger later in life. I mean that. These are horrible moments, but I see something positive in them." (Khaded, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Wichtige Momente sind einfach schlimme Momente sind für mich eine Lehre, also ich lernen daraus. Und Probleme im Leben sind wichtig um später stark zu sein im Leben. Und das finde ich auch. Das sind zwar schlimme Momente, aber trotzdem sehe ich darin etwas positives."

Khaded perceives experiences of hardship as important moments of his life, as they teach him a lesson. He says that the learning involved in difficult experiences allow him to appreciate them. Khaded stresses that learning from hardship implies growing stronger allowing him to be shielded from future

hardship and pain. As previously suggested, learning to shield oneself from anticipated hardship and pain is a form of grieving - a strategy to avoid touching the impressions of one's losses and the emotions involved in them.

Similarly to Khaded, Munzer, a forced migrant, explains that most important moments in his life are:

> "Situations when you are praised and moments of fear, failures, from those you learn or not. These are most important for me. Situations of successes and failures, these are most important for me." (Munzer, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ereignisse, wo man gelobt wird und Angstsituation, Versagen, aus denen man lernt oder nicht. Das sind die wichtigsten für mich. Die Erfolgs und Versage Situationen, das sind die wichtigsten für mich."

Munzer suggests that he appreciates important moments which he defines as situations involving intense emotions because he learns something from them. As discussed in the previous chapter, impressions involving intense emotions are kept alive in people's reciprocal relations and this way they continue to shape their lives. Involving intense emotions, difficult experiences are continuously revisited which enhances learning, as "their lesson" is constantly repeated. Continuously revisiting experiences of hardship is overwhelming, and requires doing something with these experiences. As mentioned by Khaded and Mounzer, one strategy forced migrant participants employ to deal with troubling experiences of hardship is to view them as (and turn them into) experiences of learning. They repeatedly stress that they value moments of hardship because they can learn something from them, which suggests that learning becomes a strategy to relate to the experiences of hardship and to the emotions involved in them.

As discussed in the chapter on the role of the stranger, learning is a fundamental strategy in constructing a life in NRW for forced migrant participants. Interviews show that arriving in an unfamiliar locality involves confusion and shock. Learning German and learning how life works in NRW is the primary approach for forced migrant participants to reduce this confusion and shock. In NRW, speaking German is the precondition for attending school and having contact with locals, which makes learning and studying fundamental for forced migrants' possibilities to participate in local practices of everyday life. Moreover, forced migrant participants explain that their primary possibility to gain recognition is through their merits accomplished in NRW (e.g. educational qualifications, good command of German, professional success), which further enhances the importance of learning, studying and succeeding according to the local standards. Thus, for forced migrants, learning and studying is a salient, promising and maybe even the only strategy to secure a place and future in their new home.

Quotes by Khaded and Munzer propose that forced migrant participants apply the strategy of learning when trying to relate to and live with their experiences of hardship and the emotions involved in them. As stated earlier when discussing a quote by Samah, understanding life changes involved in forced migration in terms of learning allows one to gain a sense of agency over these changes and a feeling of

continuity between "before" and "after" as well as between "here" and "there". In this sense, intending to learn from hardship can be understood as an attempt to create meaning out of devastating experiences and to appropriate and master memories along with the emotions involved in them. In fact, understanding moments of hardship as teaching a lesson allows Khaded and Munzer to perceive these experiences as something beneficial and practical. Seeing something beneficial or practical in devastating experiences can be understood as an attempt to relate to troubling hardships aiming to "move on" or "get over" the experience.

However, as stated above, the learning described by Khaded expresses grieving. Shielding oneself from future injury and hardship hints at a closed body holding on to the impressions created by the loss(es), rather than an open body, displaying these impressions allowing them to be touched and remolded. Similarly, given that Munzer defines important moments as teaching a lesson due to intense emotions involved in them, this suggests that impressions by these moments stay alive, describing grieving rather than mourning. Khaded and Munzer's quotes propose that learning from difficult experiences does not always allow for mourning as it does not necessarily imply opening up, allowing them to be touched and impressed upon anew. However, learning from hardships appears to help Khaded and Munzer make sense of their experiences and to momentarily "move on".

While not all learning experiences imply mourning, it was frequently narrated by participants in this study. Similar to Khaded and Munzer, Mustafa, a forced migrant, values what he has learned from difficult experiences. When comparing his war and escape experiences to experiences by his "German" peers, he says:

> "I would even say that my experiences are better, even though they are obviously bad because of the war and such. What I experienced was bad, but honestly, I learned from it. (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich würde sogar sagen, dass meine Erfahrungen besser sind, obwohl die natürlich so schlecht sind durch den Krieg und so. Was ich erlebt habe ja war schlecht. Aber ganz ehrlich, ich habe davon gelernt."

According to Mustafa, his "bad" experiences involving war are perhaps more valuable than experiences of his "German" peers (presumably excluding war). His "bad" experiences of war gain their value from what he has learned from them. This suggests that, for Mustafa, the learning involved in "bad" experiences makes up for the hardship. Another forced migrant, Karim, stresses that learning compensates for the hardship. He says:

> "And I am also thankful for this, that they told me about my mistakes. Some get upset when you tell them that they made an error. But I am just very thankful for it. He did it in such a way that I would improve, I don't have to get angry about that. He wants me to continue learning the German language. You shouldn't take it too seriously, because it is help. I wouldn't miss out on that. If someone one the street tells me something, I will thank him for telling me. Even if he laughs at me, because in the end I don't see this as a problem, because at least I learned a word through it." (Karim, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und ich bin dafür auch dankbar, dass sie mir meine Fehler gesagt

haben. Manche wenn man sagt, das war eine Fehler, die werden sich aufregen. Aber ich bin halt sehr dafür dankbar. Der hat das so gemacht, dass ich mich halt verbessere, darüber muss ich mich nicht aufregen. Der will, dass ich erst mal die deutsche Sprache weiter lerne. So genau soll man das nicht nehmen, also so ernst. Weil das ist ja eine Hilfe. Da verzichte ich nicht drauf. Wenn einer mir auf der Straße sagt, werde ich ihm danken, dass er mir das gesagt hat. Weil auch wenn er oder sie mich auslacht, weil eigentlich finde ich das kein Problem, weil wenigsten habe ich dadurch ein Wort gelernt."

Karim suggests that for learning a German word he is willing to accept humiliation by the person who teaches him. With this he proposes that learning a word is more important than his dignity. Thus, similar to Mustafa, Karim highly values the learning involved in difficult moments as it can compensate for experienced hardship. Khaded, quoted above, further states that he perceives learning as conditioning his well-being and life satisfaction. When asked what a good life is for him, Khaded answers:

> "And inner peace, so that I think that everything I did was good, even if it was something bad, but at least I learned from it. I am satisfied." (Khaded, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und innerlicher Frieden, so dass ich denke, dass alles was ich mache war gut, auch wenn es etwas schlechtes war, aber ich habe daraus gelernt. Ich bin zufrieden."

Khaded says that as long as he has learned something from the things he has done, be they "good" or "bad", he is satisfied and can find inner peace. Similar to Karim and Mustafa, learning from experiences has high value for Khaded. The quotes cited here show that forced migrant participants feel the need to relate somehow to their experiences of hardship. Thus, by evaluating life experiences based on what they have learned rather than solely from the hardships entailed, forced migrants are able to relate to their experiences and potential losses allowing them to continue living their lives in their new locality. However, learning from difficult experiences does not necessarily imply that the involved losses and suffering are mourned, as mourning consists of more than learning a lesson.

6.5.2. Preparation of a new future

Interviews suggest that besides learning from difficult moments, investing in a new future by taking advantage of the ample possibilities educational infrastructures in NRW offer another way for forced migrants to relate to their losses and attempt to "move on". As discussed in an earlier chapter, since forced migrants' pasts are not aligned with the local past, preparing and planning their future within it justifies their present participation. Interviews show that preparing a career is a central component of their imaginaries of the future as a career assures financial stability, social recognition and, thus, secures their place in social life. When asked about his worries, Hannin, a forced migrant, says:

> "But no more worries today. Now everything is fine. I go to school, I learn the language, I am doing something good for my future. Every day I learn something new professionally and linguistically, so everything." (Hannin, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Aber heute keine Sorgen mehr. Jetzt ist alles in Ordnung. Ich gehe zur Schule, ich lerne die Sprache. Ich mache etwas für meine Zukunft. Jeden Tag lerne ich etwas neues beruflich und sprachlich, also alles."

Hannin is aware that learning German and education define his future in NRW. He states that he has no worries anymore since he learns German and attends school. For him, learning German and going to school means to prepare for a future in NRW giving him the impression of having a secure future. Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with traumatized forced migrant youth, confirms Hannin's experience. She observes that going to school is important for the students she works with, as it enables them to gain a sense of security and to believe in a secure future. She says:

> "School is the main source of hope for many. Many draw a lot of energy from that, saying that they want to do well in school and that they want to graduate with a good degree." (Mrs.Neumann , psychologist) (my translation) "Schule ist für viele der haupt Hoffnungsträger. Viele ziehen daraus sehr viele Energie, dass sie sagen, ich will gut in der Schule sein, ich will einen guten Abschluss machen."

Besides being the place where futures are prepared and forged in the practical sense, Mrs. Neumann proposes that going to school allows forced migrant youth to be hopeful. She proposes that having concrete goals, e.g. good grades or qualifications, is a source of energy motivating them to engage and work towards constructing a future in NRW. This recalls Mrs. Müller - a vocational school teacher quoted in a previous chapter - who said that she believed concrete goals (she also referred to qualifications) enhance problem solving and "integration" (as becoming part of everyday life). Goals provide a direction and help reduce the complexity and uncertainties of the future (Ricoeur 1991), which is especially crucial for forced migrants, since constructing imaginaries of the future and working towards realizing them, is their first step towards creating an existence and secure place in NRW. Having lost feelings of embeddedness, trust, and security due to forced migration, forced migrants appear highly motivated by the prospect of regaining a safe and secure future in NRW. Hannin, who says that he has no worries because he is going to school and does something for his future, confirms this dynamic. His words as well as the observations of Mrs. Müller and Mrs. Neumann suggest that working towards a future, which in the interviews mainly takes the form of going to school, gives forced migrants a sense of security in their future in NRW. This sense of security and direction that goals give to their lives enables them to be hopeful and trust in their future in NRW.

In fact, all forced migrant participants state that they appreciate the ample opportunities for personal and professional development and future planning in NRW. All express enthusiasm at some point about going to school and emphasize the numerous and varied opportunities which life in NRW and its schools in particular offer for their careers and personal development. Interviews with experts show that in NRW many non-governmental, governmental and grassroot organizations support forced migrants in constructing a life and future. The support ranges from legal guidance and medical assistance, to help with the search for employment, education and housing, to sport or artistic activities and child care. In general, the higher education and employment infrastructure in NRW is more varied than the

opportunities for higher education forced migrants had in their countries of origin. The many

opportunities offered to forced migrants encourages them to be hopeful about their future. For example,

Yusif, a forced migrant, says:

> "Yes, I also really like it in Germany, because you also have a good future here. I think it's good that many areas are open to me. You can do an apprenticeship, you can go to university." (Yusif, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ja sonst also in Deutschland finde ich wirklich gut, weil man hier auch gute Zukunft hat. Ich finde auch gut, dass viele Bereiche für mich offen sind. Man kann halt Ausbildung machen, man kann zur Uni gehen."

Yusif appreciates that he has various professional possibilities and he has the impression of being

able to have the career he wants to pursue. The diverse set of career opportunities appears to give him

hope and trust in having a "good future" in Germany. Vera, a forced migrant, shares Yusif's experience.

She says:

> "That I have so many opportunities from here. Professional opportunities, educational opportunities, travel opportunities. A secure life for sure. Since I have been here, I am interested in many things. In [name of country], I knew; I had only one path and I followed that path even though it might not have been my dream profession. But I knew you can earn good money and it is safe. I knew that from my mother. But I didn't have travels with the school. Free working as we do here, to organize something ourselves, we didn't have that. And I really appreciate that here. I can find myself here. My interests, my way, try out everything possible and I like that." (Vera, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Dass ich so viele Möglichkeiten habe von hier aus gesehen. Job Möglichkeiten. Schulungsmöglichkeiten, Reisemöglichkeiten. Ein sicheres Lebe auf jeden Fall. Seitdem ich hier bin, glaube ich bin ich an vielen Sachen interessiert. In [Name des Land] ich wusste, ich habe nur einen Weg und ich habe diesen Weg verfolgt obwohl es vielleicht nicht mein Traumjob. Aber ich wusste, da kann ich gut verdienen und das ist sicher. Das wusste ich von meiner Mutter. Aber so diese Reisen mit der Schule hatte ich ja nicht. Freie Arbeiten so wie hier, etwas selber zu organisieren, hatten wir nicht. Und das finde ich hier sehr sehr gut. Und ich kann mich hier so selber finden. Meine Interessen, meinen Weg, alles mögliche zu versuchen und das gefällt mir."

Vera appreciates the many schooling, employment and traveling opportunities which life in NRW

offers. She says that these numerous possibilities allow her to develop new interests and to find herself. In

her view, the locality which she had to leave behind offered her one predefined life path and few

opportunities for personal development. For many forced migrant participants, these possibilities for

personal development, studying and future planning are a desired life change, as many left their

hometowns with the dream of a safe and better future. In this sense preparing a new future and new life in

NRW can be experienced as a good alternative to what they have lost which allows them to move on from

their losses.

Moreover, similar to Yusif, Vera says that having varied choices for studies and personal

development allows her to feel secure about her life in NRW. The various opportunities forced migrant

participants name mostly revolve around education and a future profession. This suggests that the security

Vera and Yusif seek primarily refers to economic security and that education and employment are the

primary way to secure a future in NRW.[34] Legal and financial stability are fundamental for constructing a secure future and life, which makes attending school and/or university as preparing future careers a necessity and the main pillar of hope for forced migrant participants.

Besides being a driving force for forced migrants' preparation of a future, having the impression that one's future is safe and being hopeful can facilitate mourning of losses involved in forced migration. Ahmed (2004, 185) proposes that hope and fear are emotions describing bodies' orientation towards the future. While fear defines a closed body in apprehension of future pain or injury, being hopeful describes a body open towards the future. Being open towards the future implies being open towards new contacts and impressions. In this sense, hope enables forced migrants to be open and attentive towards contacts with others and, thus, open to be impressed by and to impress upon them.

Being open towards new contacts is fundamental for mourning to take place. Only when a mourner displays impressions by her loss, these impressions can be moved and transformed allowing for the loss to be mourned. In this sense, the sense of security and hope taken from attending school and studying can facilitate mourning the losses involved in forced migration, as it enables forced migrants to be hopeful and open towards future impressions. Preparing a new future and life in NRW implies uncountable contacts, which can support and provide opportunities for mourning. Mrs. Neumann observes this dynamic:

> "I have the feeling that, if they (forced migrant youth) have the chance, even if they have lost a life, to build a new life, new dreams can be found here. That it hurts and they had to let go of a lot, but often when you ask them, "What do you want to be?", ideas bubble up. It's so "in-the-making", something new can be built." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Ich habe das Gefühl, dass die die Chance haben, auch wenn sie ein Leben verloren haben, nochmal ein neues Leben aufzubauen, dass sich neue Träume hier finden lassen. Dass es weh tut und dass man viel los lassen musste, aber häufig wenn man fragt "Was möchtest du denn werden?", dann sprudeln Ideen. Es ist so in-the-making, dass etwas neues aufgebaut werden kann."

Mrs. Neumann says that forced migrants have lost a life which she acknowledges as an immense loss and a painful experience. Despite this, she observes that planning a future and a new life in NRW helps forced migrants to "let go" of their lost lives. "Letting go" describes a dynamic generally associated with mourning, which suggests that she has the impression that planning a new life and future in NRW can support forced migrants' moving on and/or mourning the lives they lost. This gives schools a crucial role for possible mourning of losses involved in forced migration. In schools forced migrants' futures are prepared in a practical sense allowing them to construct an alternative life and future to the one they lost

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[34] For some forced migrants interviewed for this research, the relation between education and a secure future in NRW is even more direct. Their residency permit is based on their apprenticeship contract and the prolongation of this residency permit (Duldung) is conditioned by the successful termination of their apprenticeship and following employment in the same sector. This refers to the 3+2 rule which has been discussed in a previous chapter. If forced migrants' asylum applications are denied, the only possibility they can obtain a residency permit (Duldung) is by doing an apprenticeship (3 years) and finding employment (2 years).

due to forced migration. Schools nourish and guide their hope for a secure and safe future which supports their opening up towards that future. In this way schools shape forced migrant students' imaginaries of the future and accompany possible mourning of lost lives and futures.[35]

Even though being hopeful towards the future and engaging in its preparation is a source of energy and motivates forced migrants to go on living, as I argued in the previous chapter on grief, planning a new future and life in NRW does not always and necessarily involve mourning the losses of lives and imagined futures. It can also constitute processes of grieving. As long as learning new things and future planning primarily leads to more impressions (as impressions by the loss are kept alive) and to closed bodies anticipating future injuries rather than to merging old and new impressions in the flow of life, it is more likely to evidence grieving than mourning.

Karim, a forced migrant, illustrates this duality. He says:

> "What I survived here, through my family and through the difficulties that I had and still have here in Germany. But I am also thankful. You should remember that I am in Germany now and that I speak German. I go to school, I am doing an apprenticeship. I have friends, I am at least a bit happy. After all I lived through, I am at least a little happy. Therefore, one should not give up immediately after a small problem. You should make an effort and even if something small happens, you should not let it continue. You can't influence that, no matter what happens, you have to go on." (Karim, 20, forced migrant, NRW) (my translation) "Was hier halt überlebt habe, durch meine Familie, durch die Schwierigkeiten, die ich hier in Deutschland habe und immer noch habe. Aber ich auch dafür dankbar. Man sollte sich halt auch merken, ich bin jetzt in Deutschland, ich kenne die Deutsche Sprache. Ich gehe zur Schule, ich mache eine Ausbildung. Ich habe Freunde, ich bin wenigstens ein bisschen glücklich. Nachdem was ich hinter mir habe, fühle ich mich wenigstens ein bisschen glücklich. Deswegen man soll nicht nach eine kleines Problem sofort aufgeben. Man sollte sich Mühe geben und auch wenn etwas kleines passiert. Man soll nicht weiter lassen. Das kann man nicht beeinflussen, egal was passiert, man muss weiter machen."

Karim says that he feels thankful and a bit happy because he learned German and is doing an apprenticeship. Feeling a bit happy relieves troubling emotions involved in the experience of hardships and appears to motivate him to make an effort to go on living. However, the happiness about the life he has established in NRW exists in parallel with the sadness, despair and grieving involved in the many difficulties and losses he experienced and still has to face. Karim says that the future is unpredictable and even if life is difficult you should never give up. He seems to have the impression that making an effort (as in learning, studying and enduring) is the only strategy to avoid and manage past and future problems. This suggests little trust in his environment and the future, but describes feelings of impotence and a necessary surrender to circumstances. In this unpredictable world, he sees himself as the only person able to prevent future hardship. This trust only or primarily in himself describes his body as closed and turned away from others. In fact, having lost connection, embeddedness, security and trust in the environment of

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[35] This presupposes that schools receive and accompany forced migrants with respect and have the necessary personnel and tools to support forced migrants in learning German and in orienting their lives in a direction which corresponds to them. Just as much as school can support forced migrants in preparing their futures, they can harm them and hinder this process.

the place he escaped from, his trusting only himself allows him to avoid revisiting his experiences of loss. A closed body and the avoidance to show how one is impressed by one's losses characterize grieving. The fact that Karim asserts that he has achieved a sense of stability and is able to plan a new future allows for his losses to be less immediate and pressing, however, he does not seem to engage in mourning.

Thus, the motivation to construct a new future and life in NRW can imply "letting go" of lost lives, but does not guarantee mourning. It can merely involve shifting the focus from what has been lost due to forced migration to the opportunities offered by life in NRW. The hopeful attitude observed by Mrs Neumann and expressed by some of the forced migrant participants, is nourished and guided by the diverse and broad education infrastructure which forced migrant participants perceive as a benefit involved in their experience of forced migration. However, the interviews suggest that offering forced migrants ample possibilities to construct a new life and future in NRW, constructing and engaging in an alternative life and future does not always suffice to support mourning.

Hence, the two strategies analyzed so far (learning from difficult experiences and engaging in the construction of a new future and life) help forced migrants to relate to their losses involved in forced migration but do not necessarily facilitate mourning. Both strategies propose forced migrants as the principal agent, who "moves on" or "gets over" losses, hardships and troubling emotions out of their own strength and power. Yet neither of these strategies involves sharing of their losses and recognition of these losses by others. It might be the lack of recognition of their losses by others which makes these two strategies alternatives rather than facilitators of mourning.

6.5.3. My experiences make me who I am

Learning from difficult moments, more than being a strategy to move on, can involve a claim for recognition of all one's experiences, therefore, demanding not being seen only as a "refugee", but as an "equal human being", who has lost a lot. Forced migrant participants say that through learning they are impressed by all their experiences ("all my experiences made me who I am") and, thus, all their experiences define them as who they are today. It involves wanting to be perceived and acknowledged as shaped by all experiences they have made, thus, also by impressions by the lives and futures they have lost. For example, Mustafa, a forced migrant, when asked about important moments in his life, says:

> "Maybe that I came here. That was actually quite very important and from that point on I knew that now I'm supposed to be here for myself alone. You know and no one will run after me and say, you have to do this and that. Nobody will kick my ass for doing something. That's why the escape made me as what I am today. Adult, I don't want to say adult man, but maybe I can. I make mistakes until now, but I learn from my mistakes. That maybe I can decide what is wrong for me. So yeah, the escape." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Vielleicht, dass ich hierhin gekommen bin. Das war eigentlich ganz ganz wichtig und ab diesem Punkt wusste ich, dass ich jetzt für mich hier alleine sein soll. Weißt du, und niemand wird mir hinterherlaufen und sagen, du musst dies und das machen. Niemand wird mich auf den Arsch treten, dass ich das

mache. Deswegen diese Flucht hat mich so, zu dem gemacht was ich heute bin. Erwachsene, ich will sagen nicht so (lacht) erwachsene Mann, aber vielleicht ich kann so. Ich mache bis jetzt Fehler, aber dass ich so von meinen Fehlern lerne. Dass ich vielleicht entscheiden kann, was falsch ist für mich. Also ja die Flucht."

Similar to forced migrant participants quoted above, Mustafa relates to difficult moments, e.g. making mistakes and experiences involved in his escape, as possibilities for learning and the learning turns these difficult moments into something beneficial. He says that his experience of escape made him develop into the person he is today and especially stresses his independence. Emphasizing his experience of escape and the difficulties involved in living alone in a new place (NRW) as still impressing on him, since they define him as the person he is today, he claims acknowledgement for these difficulties. He stresses that he arrived alone and had to organize life by himself, as no one was there to "kick his ass". When Mustafa arrived and settled down in NRW he was 17 years old, thus, having to organize life by himself points to an enormous loss of support, closeness, love, recognition, and security of his family and friends. Saying that the experience of these losses shape him as the person he is today, he claims recognition for these losses.

Also Khaded, a forced migrant, has the impression that he is the person he is today due to the experiences. When asked what has brought him to the present moment of his life, he says:

> "I think my life experiences. So what I lived through. This difficult phase of my life where we still lived in [name of country] and when there was war and we had no electricity and no water to drink. Where my brother burned himself with tee and we had no money for medicine. That at the age of 11, I had to work 12 hours a day in Turkey. Hard work. These life experiences, so together all that I went through, it evolved from that and I came out of it the way I am now." (Khaded, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ich glaube meine Lebenserfahrungen. Also was ich durchgemacht habe, diese schwierige Phase in meinem Leben, wo wir noch in [Name des Landes] waren und Krieg war und wir keinen Strom hatten und kein Wasser hatten zum trinken. Wo mein Bruder sich mit einem Tee verbrannt hat und wir kein Geld hatten für Medikamente hatte. Das ich in der Türkei mit 11 Jahren 12 Stunden pro Tag arbeiten musste. Schweren Arbeit. Diese Lebenserfahrungen, also zusammen das alles, das ich das durchgemacht habe, hat sich daraus entwickelt und ich bin daraus geworden, wie ich jetzt bin."

Khaded stresses that all his life experiences forged him as the person he is today. When giving examples of these experiences, he particularly stresses moments of hardship involved in war and escape. Thus, for him, his past does not resume into a generalizable hardship, but is made up of many diverse moments of horrors and difficulties. Naming these experiences as having broad him to his present moment in life, he claims acknowledgment for these moments and losses and suffering involved in them.

Similar to Khaded, Mustafa, later on in the interview reaffirms that he sees himself formed by his experiences so all of them define him as the person he is:

> "Yes, this is an important sentence for me: who I am or have become today, that is because of what I have experienced. Everything until today. The people that I've met, the situations, everything." (Mustafa, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Ja, das ist ein sehr wichtiger Satz für mich: Zu dem was ich heute gemacht bin oder wurde, das ist wegen was ich erlebt habe. Alles bis heute. Die Menschen die ich begegnet habe, die Situationen, alles."

Both Khaded and Mustafa stress that they are who they are due to all their life experiences and for Mustafa also due to all the people he has met. In this sense, both understand themselves as having been shaped by all contacts they have made throughout their lives. Beyond claiming recognition for all experiences, the idea that all their life experiences have formed them and, thus, continue to impress on them suggests a certain degree of unity and continuity of these experiences. All experiences merge on them as they are impressed by all their contacts with others. In this way they are the garant of continuity in their lives.

As stated above, regaining a sense of continuity in life is crucial for feelings of stability and can describe an instance of mourning. Losses involved in forced migration are largely derecognized and it is, thus, difficult to mourn them and to establish meaningful connections with others that would allow to construct a sense of continuity involving someone or something other than the self. Consequently, it might not be surprising that the forced migrant herself is left as the only or at least most trustworthy garant of a sense of unity and continuity. In this sense, seeing oneself as the only garant of continuity and stability illustrates the lack of recognition for forced migrants' losses. Moreover, seeing oneself as only garant for continuity and safety describes processes of grieving, as describes a closed body and does not involve that others recognize one's losses which would allow for mourning.

Similar to Mustafa and Khaded, Abdul, a forced migrant, would like to be acknowledged not only as a "refugee" but through the individuality of his experiences. He resumes how he wants to be perceived:

> "Of course, I am seen as a German, but also as a refugee. It always depends on the people. And there is the question whether I am neither typically German nor a typical refugee. I feel that I am both. I am [name of citizenship], I am [name of minority], I am German, I am a refugee, I am everything. I would like to be perceived as Abdul, as what I do and why I do it. How I think, how I behave and that I can take responsibility for myself and not for everyone and what they do."
> (Abdul, 20, forced migrant) (my translation) "Klar ich werde halt auch als Deutscher angesehen, aber auch als Flüchtling. Das hängt halt immer von den Menschen ab. Und dann kommt halt die Frage ob ich halt weder typisch deutsch noch typisch Flüchtling. Ich fühle mich halt beide, Ich bin halt [Staatsbürgerschaft], ich bin [Minderheit], ich bin Deutscher, ich bin Flüchtling, ich bin alles so. Ich würde gerne als Abdul wahrgenommen werden, als das was ich tue. Und warum ich es tue. Wie ich denke, wie ich mich verhalte und dass ich halt auch die Verantwortung für mich selber übernehmen kann und nicht für alle anderen und was die dann halt machen."

Abdul stresses that he wants to be perceived as Abdul, as an individual defined by his acts, thoughts and intentions. He does not want to be perceived as a type or example of some label ("German", "[citizenship]", "[minority]", "refugee") and claims that he is a combination of all of these. This suggests that Abdul seeks to be recognized as an individual who stretches across these predefined labels. Following this, he stresses that he takes responsibility only for his actions and not for behaviors of people with whom he might be grouped based on these predefined labels.

The labels Abdul mentions (German, [minority], [citizenship], refugee) are sticky labels which co-produce social life in NRW. Locals attach these sticky labels to Abdul which allows them to form an

image of him and, thus, to relate to him. In fact, as discussed in a previous chapter on the stranger, when recognizing Abdul alternatively as a "[minority]", "[citizenship]", "refugee" or "German", locals acknowledge him according to norms and knowledge which have been produced and defined before Abdul's arrival. Thus, when perceiving Abdul, locals in NRW see in him what they already know about him based on previous contacts with sticky labels and interpretations which are attached to his body. Abdul says that he wants to be acknowledged as Abdul, as "German", "[minority]", "[citizenship]" and "refugee" as he believes that he combines all of them. Attaching these categories to himself suggests that (at least in the situation of the interview) he came to think of himself through norms of recognition meaning through impressions by sticky labels and judgements producing everyday life in NRW. This confirms that people understand themselves in reciprocal relations to their surroundings, meaning to sticky interpretations and labels and others. When Abdul arrived and settled down in NRW through contacts with his environment he came to understand himself through their frame of references meaning as a "[minority]", "German", "refugee" or "[citizenship]".

This dynamic shows also in an interview with Bara, a forced migrant. I interviewed Bara shortly after the [minority] military had defeated ISIS in the beginning of 2020. Bara defines himself as [minority] and in the interview he explains how much he appreciated the recognition [minority] people received after the military defeat of ISIS.

> "Mmm yes, I don't know whether [minority] people had been popular in Germany before, but now since we are here, since the [members of a minority] took down ISIS, the biggest terror organisation in the world. I think all Europeans, not only Germany, are on the side of the [members of a minority]. I know many students, who appreciate everything. They are extremely proud of you because you being such a small people, with few weapons, so, weapons are not nice, but that you took down such a terror organisation, meaning ISIS, the Islamic State. And yes, it is cool to hear something like that. (And from a person, who does not know the culture at all, from someone like that it is really nice.) And yes, many politicians and important people in the world took our side. I feel very comfortable here now. I think [minority] people are popular in the society." (Bara, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Mmm ja, ich weiß nicht ob die [Minorität] früher in Deutschland auch beliebt waren, aber jetzt seitdem wir hier sind, seitdem die [Minorität] IS abgeschafft haben, die größte Terrororganisation der Welt. Ich glaube alle Europäer, nicht nur Deutschland, sind auf der Seite der [Minorität]. Ich kennen sehr viele Studenten, die die halt alles toll finden. Die sind unnormal stolz auf euch, dass ihr mit so eine kleine Volk, mit so wenig Waffen, also Waffen sind nicht schön, aber dass ihr so eine Terrororganisation, also IS, Islamische Staat abgeschafft hat. Und ja, sowas ist cool wenn man so etwas hört. Und von einem Mensch, der die Kultur gar nicht kennt, von so jemanden ist das schön. Und ja, haben viele Politiker und wichtige Menschen der Welt auch gesagt, dass sie auf unserer Seite stehen. Und ich fühle mich jetzt hier ganz wohl. Ich glaube die [Minorität] hier in der Gesellschaft beliebt."

Bara has the impression that after the [minority] army defeated ISIS, [members of a minority] are recognized and well-perceived in Germany and Europe in general. Others tell him that they are proud of the [minority] people for their military victory. This military victory is an achievement valued and recognized within the local frames of reference, practice and valuation, as it is in line with the war on Islamic extremism. It seems that the military defeat of ISIS by the [minority] military enhanced the value

of the sticky label "[minority]", and since "[minority]" is attached to Bara's body, his value has increased as well. By acknowledging Bara as a [minority] person and appreciating [minority]ness, locals are willing to relate to him as a [member of a minority] and not only as a "refugee". It appears that the locals open up to Bara as a "[member of a minority]" and allow him (temporarily) to be other than a "refugee".

Bara says that receiving appraisal from people "who do not know the culture" is especially pleasant. People "who do not know the culture" have no reciprocal relations and are not impressed by norms, habits, values or practices producing "[minority] culture". This means they are not engaged or involved with it. Recognizing and valuing something one is not familiar with and has not been related to before demands openness and courage, as one cannot know beforehand how one will be impressed and moved by the contact. In this sense, feeling acknowledged for being [a member of minority] by someone who does not know much about "[minority] culture" can be experienced as openness from the other towards oneself. However, as stated above, defeating ISIS is in line with "Germany's" and "European" values and goals. People who Bara perceives to praise [minority] people and his [minority]ness might really praise the military defeat of ISIS and not his "[minority]ness", which is furthermore not at all a synonym of his individuality. As soon as other important things happen on the international scene or the [minority] military does something which is no longer aligned with "Germany's" and "Europe's" values and goals (and interests), locals will probably cease to honor "[minority]ness" and [minority] people.

No matter whether the appraisal of [minority] people is temporary or long lasting, Bara says that this appraisal makes him happy and proud and that it allows him to feel comfortable in NRW. Feeling comfortable bestows trust upon the connections and reciprocal relations he is engaged in and, thus, enhances his feelings of security and safety. As quoted in a previous chapter, Ahmed (2004, 148) proposes that feeling comfort within a social space implies and exemplifies the person's freedom to move within it. In fact, feeling comfortable involves a feeling of embeddedness and unconditioned legitimacy granting the person to move freely. Feeling uncomfortable, on the other hand, displays a person's conditioned recognition and her need to align with the possibilities social norms, values, and habits producing everyday life offer to her. In this sense, additional recognition by locals and trust in his connections amplify Bara's opportunities to partake in local practices and social life and, thus, grant him more agency over his own life in NRW.

6.5.4. Agency

In fact, when claiming recognition for all their experiences and their losses, forced migrant participants claim agency over their lives. The claim for agency is involved in the claim for recognition as equal participants and for their losses, as full access to social life and mourning would grant forced migrants agency over their lives. For example, Doaa, a forced migrant, says:

"That I, I mean I also like it here in Germany, but I want to have the choice, I am forced to live here, because of my circumstances. Because I have war in my country. I just want to have chances and the choice and I want to decide for myself." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Dass ich, also ich finde es hier in Deutschland auch schön, aber ich möchte die Wahl haben. Ich bin hier gezwungen zu leben wegen meiner Umstände. Weil ich Krieg in meinem Land haben. Ich möchte nur Chancen und die Wahl haben und für mich entscheiden."

Doaa says that she is not fundamentally opposed to living in Germany, however, she wishes to regain agency over her life and be able to decide herself where she lives and what she does. Forced migration involves a loss of agency, first of all because they were forced to leave their homes. Living in NRW their possibilities to construct a new life and future are limited by contested recognition by locals. Moreover, being involved with impressions of what they have lost due to forced migration shapes how one can engage in everyday life. In this way, claiming agency over her life Doaa refuses the imposed choice of having to leave her hometown, limited access to social life in NRW and derecognition of her losses which confine her to remaining impressed by them.

Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with traumatized forced migrant youth, observes this link between mourning and agency. She explains that the therapy program she works with involves two follow up therapy sessions, one after 6 months and another one after one year. Recently she had seen one of her former patients for the one-year follow-up session:

"I have now seen one of them again and he said to me, yes, for him it would have been worth a lot to talk to someone about it and he would have felt in his head and in his heart like in prison before and the therapy that with us, would have been like the key to free himself from his cell. And I felt that was quite a beautiful image. It made me very happy and it moved me. He got something out of it. I really believe that it is this "taking back agency over your own story" and taking an active part again, that is a super important aspect of it." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Den einen habe ich jetzt wieder gesehen und er hat zu mir gesagt, Ja, für ihn wäre es sehr viel wert gewesen mit jemanden darüber zu sprechen und er hätte sich vorher in seinem Kopf und in seinem Herzen wie im Gefängnis gefühlt und die Therapie, das bei uns, wäre wie der Schlüssel gewesen sich aus seiner Zelle zu befreien. Und das fand ich ein ganz schönes Bild. Das hat mich sehr gefreut und sehr bewegt. Ihm hat es etwas gebracht. Ich glaube wirklich dass es diese "die eigene Geschichte wieder in die Hand nehmen" und wieder ein aktiver Teil werden, dass ist ein super wichtiger Aspekt davon."

Her patient says that the therapy has helped him to free his heart and his head from prison. Heart and head in prison can be understood as describing a grieving body: Keeping the losses' impressions alive and, thus, constantly (voluntarily and involuntarily) revisiting the experience of loss and involved emotions can be experienced as being caught in a continuous relation to one's losses. Mrs. Neumann's patient describes a process of liberation of his thoughts and his emotions, which suggest that the therapy supported him in transforming the impressions of his losses so that he could construct a new relationship with them. He feels no longer or less caught in a continuing relation to places, ideas, values, habits and people which no longer produce his everyday life and painful emotions involved in these numerous moments of loss. This suggests that the liberation he narrates hints at an instance of mourning. Mrs. Neumann noticed that for this liberation, taking agency over his story and taking an active part again in

his life are fundamental. In fact mourning allows people to take agency over their lives, as the transforming of the losses' impressions and the new reciprocal relations to others and the loss established in this process allow the mourner to ease continuous revisiting of the moment of loss and to open up new possibilities for future contacts.

However, as already discussed interviews suggest that outside the therapy setting recognition of the losses involved in forced migration is rare and that forced migrant participants struggle to mourn and to regain agency over their lives in NRW. Despite forced migrants' claim for recognition of their losses, for being more than "refugees" and their claim to regain agency over their lives, interviews illustrate that locals largely fail to recognize their losses and individuality. Quotes by Abdul and Bara suggest that the ways in which forced migrants can understand themselves in relation to their social environment in NRW depends on predefined judgements and labels which stick to them. Thus, locals have great influence over forced migrants as locals shape forced migrants' possible relations with their judgments and interpretations about them. In this way, locals shape forced migrants' possibilities to participate in social life, to construct a future and to mourn their losses.

6.6. Summary

Mourning the losses involved in forced migration means to mourn a life and imagined futures set in the localities which forced migrants had to leave behind. Besides this being an immense loss, forced migrants' losses find little recognition by locals in NRW. Mourning being a reciprocal and relational process, this derecognition limits forced migrants' possibilities to mourn their losses. I cannot say that every forced migrant participant consciously seeks to engage with and mourn her losses, however, all forced migrants I interviewed grieve their losses and narrate troubling emotions involved in grieving. Interviews show that forced migrant participants feel the need to do something with these troubling emotions and that they seek stability and security for their lives and futures. Besides many possible external factors shaping security and stability of forced migrants' lives, troubling emotions involved in grieving of their losses threaten feelings of security. Interviews illustrate that mourning is one strategy to live with losses and involved emotions. However, since locals largely fail to recognize forced migrants' losses and their grieving, this chapter has focused more on illustrating how little forced migrants' losses and grief are recognized, making mourning even more challenging, rather than on describing forced migrants' mourning processes. I have shown that forced migrants developed alternative strategies to mourning which allow them to live with loss and that they continue to claim recognition for their losses and individuality.

Mourning - meaning the openness, the vulnerability and the closeness involved in recognizing the other and her losses allows for establishing meaningful connections between the mourner and the listener and, thus, for community building - could be part of, facilitate and maybe enrich the process of forced migrants' becoming part of their new social environment. However, struggling to mourn implies that forced migrants remain impressed by the lives and imagined future that they lost. This continuous relation to their losses describes them as grieving bodies constrained to live in between "here" and "there" and in between "before" and "after" (not necessarily referring to two geographical places, but illustrating forced migrants as being impressed by life and imagined futures in more than one place). Moreover, impressions by what forced migrants have lost are interpreted as "strange" or foreign and, thus, as meaningfully different by locals, which limits their possibilities to partake in social life. The next chapter will explore forms of hospitality and how one can meet differences without either trying to eradicate, minimize, bridge or explain and classify differences among people, but to receive and recognize them as inevitable to the relationality of social life.

7. HOSPITALITY

7.1. Defining hospitality in the context of (forced) migration

In everyday life language hospitality is generally understood as a friendly and generous reception of guests, visitors or strangers. For my analysis, I will follow Derrida's (2000) understanding of hospitality and his distinction between conditional and unconditional hospitality, which are two forms of receiving others, e.g. guests or strangers, meaning people who are perceived to arrive from a foreign city/country/village. I will apply his concept to the situation of forced migrants arriving and settling down in NRW following Yeğenoğlu (2012) discussion of conditional and unconditional hospitality in the context of (forced) migration.

Conditional hospitality defines a form of receiving the other which is based on the distinction between host and guest (Derrida 2000). This distinction implies a hierarchy as it is the host who receives the guest in a space (house, room, garden, country, conference, travel) in which the host enjoys more legitimacy and power because she is the owner, organizer, expert etc.. In this sense, conditional hospitality implies the creation of a bound space in which the other is received, as in order to be able to "host" someone the creation of a space in which the guest is received is necessary. Derrida (2000, 14) says the creation of a closed or closeable space conditions hospitality as bounding its space means putting boundaries and, thus, conditions to the receiving and welcoming of others. As soon as there is some kind of door which can be opened and closed by just one person (or just from one side), there is no hospitality any more since the door implies that hospitality is conditioned (Derrida 2000, 14). Besides being the one who can close and open the door of the space, the host can assign particular spaces to her guests allowing her to affirm her position as the master of the house (or e.g. conference).

From conditional hospitality Derrida (2000) distinguishes unconditional hospitality, which he also differentiates as hospitality of invitation (conditional hospitality) and hospitality of visitation (unconditional hospitality). These two forms of hospitality are not presented as opposites by Derrida, but as contrasts, as he uses the concept of unconditional hospitality to deconstruct conditional hospitality (Yeğenoğlu 2012). Hospitality of invitation is another way to think of conditional hospitality, because as an invitee one does not seriously disturb the order of the house and adapts to the ways things are done. Moreover, an invited guest is accompanied to the door after (a generally pre-established period of time) and leaves. In this way the host remains the master and the arriving person remains the guest. From this conditional way of receiving another, Derrida differentiates unconditional hospitality (or hospitality of visitation). Being a visitor, according to Derrida (2000), does not imply that one has been invited, but

arrives spontaneously. Receiving an unexpected visitor in the fashion of unconditional hospitality implies to open one's house to her without asking questions trying to categorize and define her and without trying to make sense of her visit. In this sense, in hospitality of visitation everyone can open the door as it is not under the command of the host. This detaches reception of guests from a closed or closable space (as, e.g. a house or a state territory). Derrida (2000, 13) says that ownership is not fixed to the owner, but the host becomes a guest, thus, there is no hierarchy between host and guest but they are equally guest and host to each other. Consequently, in unconditioned hospitality there is no point from where the guest is welcomed but guest and host receive each other, so distinguishing between these two roles becomes superfluous.

Welcoming a stranger or a guest without trying to classify, recognize or determine her implies being radically open towards her and her difference (Levinas 1979). This form of reception breaks with the idea of a sovereign, individual subject and defines the subject as openness to the other (Derrida 2005, 60). According to both, Derrida and Levinas, ethics begin with an acceptance that the other is infinitely different (Levinas 1979) or absolut unlike and unrecognizable (Derrida 2005). Levinas (1979, 24) explains that the subject arises from infinity as she is infinitely different from any other person. This infinite difference exceeds totality meaning that it goes beyond the classifiable. For Levinas (1979) and Derrida (2005), the other's absolute difference morally obliges us to be open to the other and, thus, to receive her and her difference without judgment and classification. Every other is equally different, so there are no meaningful distinctions between the different differences and we shall be open to every other.

Derrida's (2000) proposition to approach difference with unconditional openness has been critiqued. For example, Depeltau (2018) states that full openness would destroy the existence of any approach, as no community can be fully inclusive, but derives from drawing boundaries. I believe that understanding the receiving of another's difference as a threat to identity and integrity of a group or community evidences an interpretation of unconditioned hospitality through the logic of belonging and through the logic of inclusion and exclusion. Understanding openness towards the other's difference as endangering "my" identity, integrity and/or community, implies that one perceives differences (and in the case of hospitality difference in terms of origin) as being a marker of exclusion and of non-belonging. Following this logic, receiving someone's difference would neutralize every form of distinguishing "members" from "non-members", so every arriving person would directly be included.

However, receiving the other's absolute/infinite difference is neither necessarily a request to include the other nor does it necessarily lead to inclusion. Derrida (2005) and Levinas (1979) say that all others are radically/infinitely different, so that there are no different differences. Thus, they do not see difference as a marker of exclusion or inclusion and of belonging or not belonging to some group or community. In fact, it is our radical difference to everyone which defines us as individuals and as equals and not as members of a group. The idea of unconditional hospitality suggests reception of the other

detached from any predefined space, thus, detached from a bound territory, but also detached from belonging to the spaces of groups and/or communities. Unconditional hospitality is a practice which can be applied to every encounter where the space in which one is received is the reciprocal relation or contact between them and in which both (or all) receive each other and are equally host and guest. The connections which emerge from unconditional reception of another and her differences is not primarily inclusion, but connections in the form of recognition, respect, acknowledgement, mutuality and/or communication.

In fact, according to Derrida (2000) this unconditional form of receiving the other with absolute openness cannot be converted into laws, but should help to deconstruct conditional hospitality and be practiced as an intentional attention to the other. I agree with this approach. Reception without classification is an ambitious aim, as people quickly classify their surroundings in order to understand and situate themselves within them. However, instead of insisting on one's initial classification and taking it as something inherent to the other, openness towards another could allow one to perceive differences as a reciprocal relation and not as a characteristic of the other person. Difference always implies a reference, as a thing/person is always different to something/someone else, thus, difference is always relational. In this way, perceiving someone/thing to be different implies recognizing oneself as relating to, being involved with and, thus, close to the person/thing who one perceives to be different. Following this idea, being open towards the other means to stop acknowledging this closeness as an invasion or as something enforced by the other, but to view it as as an opportunity to open up to the other; for example, to reconsider one's initial judgment of difference and to be open for surprise allowing one to experience the other person. This could make reception a process of making judgements and being open to reconsider them.

Even though receiving the other's absolute/infinite difference is extremely challenging and/or impossible, this is a valuable approach because it emphasizes the difference between all people and, thus, every person's individuality. It stresses individuality not as something someone has to strive or work hard for, but as something which is inherent to everyone who relates to others. Thus, it is nothing which can be achieved, but is something which can (only) be recognized and experienced. The idea of the other's infinite/absolute difference allows thinking that all people due to their infinite/absolute difference are first of all equals. Moreover, this equality is preconditioned and implies that people are in contact with others as it is meeting the other that makes one realize one's own and the other's infinite difference and, thus, equality. Thus, meeting a newcomer with openness can imply perceiving and relating to her as an equal individual and accepting her difference as a reciprocal relation and, thus, as an inevitable part of social life.

Yeğenoğlu (2012) follows and discusses Derrida's concept of conditional and unconditional hospitality in the context of migration to Europe. She says that foreigners, refugees, immigrants and exiles are continuously displayed as guests and she gives Germany's immigration laws concerning guest workers (Gastarbeiter) as an example for how conditional hospitality can be reflected in the law. In the late 1950s and the early 1960s the German government signed Anleiheabkommen with Greece, Italy and Turkey to recruit foreign workers and issued residence permits in the form of work permits. Guest workers were not called migrants, as they were expected to return to their country once they were no longer needed in the industry. In this sense, these foreign workers were given permission to reside on German territory, but not part of the political community (Yeğenoğlu 2012, 58).

Yeğenoğlu (2012, 8) says that the German and Western understanding and practice of hospitality is based on Kant's (1795) conceptualization of hospitality. His approach to hospitality implies the premise of war, so meeting a foreigner involves finding a balance between respecting his attachment to another political community and territory while keeping peace. In this sense, the foreigner is expected to be part of another state, so she can stay for a visit, but is supposed to return to her home. This understanding of hospitality is conditional as it is restrained to a bounded space (territory/community) within which the guest is welcomed and the reception is thought to be temporary. Binding hospitality to a space establishes the distinction between host and guest where the host enjoys more legitimacy than the guest. The legal status of a guestworker in Germany evidences this different degree of legitimacy as a guestworker's participation in everyday life is legally speaking reduced to her being a worker, thus, not enjoying the same legitimacy and freedoms as a citizen.

Not only in Germany but in many European countries citizens/locals have the impression that migrants occupy, live in or take up "our" space, which implies that they perceive themselves as the host, master or owner of "our space" (Yeğenoğlu 2012). In fact, Yeğenoğlu (2012, 34) says that the third world native is perceived as an abject migrant meaning as pollution and/or danger when she lives in Europe, while she is interesting and exotic when met in her country of origin. Following previous discussion of the "stranger", contact with a person who originates from a different geographical place in the locality which one inhabits implies a different reciprocal relation than meeting that same person in the locality she inhabits (or any third locality neither inhabits). The latter implies only temporary reciprocal relations and no meaningful closeness, because as soon as one returns home, one no longer relates to the other. The reciprocal relation defining the role of the "stranger", however, involves the other being close, because she settled in a geographically near by place, and distance, because one perceives her to be meaningfully different. Thus, the relationship to the stranger is mainly formed by locals' perceptions of her difference. The fact that the stranger has settled down and is being recognized as a stranger shows that she is part of

society (Simmel 1992), meaning of the same web of reciprocal relations as the "locals". Hence, relating to her is inevitable, bringing her difference and otherness close.

Yeğenoğlu (2012, 39) argues that what makes migrants' or strangers' closeness quickly perceived as abject, dirty and/or dangerous is their transgression of borders. Their presence threatens orderly life as they bring in difference and citizens fear losing control over the space they consider to be theirs (Yeğenoğlu 2012, 37). Analysis showed that forced migrant participants noted that locals are hesitant and afraid to relate to them and they have the impression that it is their look which locals perceive to be fearsome. Their look (dark hair and skin and some clothing) is associated with certain geographical places and to these places stick judgements about different beliefs and culture. Different cultures and beliefs are dangerous, because it appears to threaten the reproduction of everyday life locals are familiar with. Yeğenoğlu (2012, 218) stresses that it is not only a foreign culture and beliefs European subjects fear, but also the reminder of their dirty colonial violence on which Europe built and secured its imperial identity. Avoiding meeting their violent history and different cultures and beliefs, European subjects/locals intend to avoid contact with forced migrants as much as possible in order to remain untouched. Yeğenoğlu (2012, 39) argues that taking the role of the host is one way to manage this largely undesired closeness and perceived threat to their hegemony. Being the host involves entitlement and legitimacy, thus, allowing European citizens to conserve a certain degree of authority and control over the guests, migrants or strangers.

Ahmed (2013, 4) makes a similar argument. She argues that "welcoming" implies distinguishing between the host and the guest. The welcoming person has the structural position of the host, as she is the person who is already established in the space in which the guest, for example, the stranger or foreigner, is welcomed. According to Ahmed (2013, 4), welcoming does not imply personal contact nor consent to the guest's arrival, as the person, who witnesses the arrival of guests/migrants, is produced as the host, meaning as the one who is already in place and at home. The narrative of welcoming involves conceiving hospitality as a gift which is offered to the guest (the foreigner/stranger) and which she is expected to return. Ahmed (2013, 151) argues that foreigners are required to return this gift of hospitality by being thankful and by integrating into a common organization of culture and/or by identifying with the "national ideal". This is primarily done through adaptation and assimilation. In fact, concrete differences in terms of clothing, physical features, or traditions are not tolerated and are judged as failure to return the gift of hospitality, as they disrupt homogeneity. In Ahmed's (2004, 108) words, these concrete differences block the economy of the national ideal, as they hinder the ideal to move freely and to acquire more value. Following this, taking an example discussed in a previous chapter, women wearing headscarfs contradicts the ideal of freedom and secularism important in many Western countries. Thus, wearing the headscarf points at the person as failing to live up to this ideal which is translated into the failure to love the local

culture (local values and social practices) and, thus, as a failure to be grateful for the gift of hospitality offered by locals. This failure to live up to assimilate to cultural practices and missing to display the expected gratitude in the expected form are often taken as reason to discriminate against foreigners/strangers (Ahmed 2013).

Andrikopoulos (2017) uses the concept of hospitality, as defined by Derrida (2000), to examine the relationship between migrants and native-born Greeks living in an urban neighborhood of Thessaloniki. Following Derrida (2000) and other migration scholars, Andrikopoulos (2017) understands hospitality as a power relation and a control mechanism of social behavior and cultural production. He finds that Greek natives perceive the arrival of migrants to have caused unsafety as they e.g. fear to let their children play outside. This is in line with findings of this research, as forced migrant participants observed locals to meet them with hesitation and fear and German citizen participants noticed other German citizens to watch (forced) migrants arrival with worry. Similar tendencies were found and discussed by other scholarship on migration (e.g. Ahmed 2013; Yeğenoğlu 2012; Giorgi and Vitale 2017).

Moreover, Andrikopoulos (2017) says that Greek natives perceive themselves as hosts in the sense that they understand themselves as offering hospitality to migrants. In return for this gift they expect migrants to imitate Greek lifestyle and language and see themselves entitled to evaluate migrants' degree of adaptation. Moreover, Andrikopoulos (2017, 297) observes that the more migrants imitate Greek lifestyle and language and, thus, accept the role of the guest, the more sympathy Greek natives have towards them. These findings are in line with the analysis of this research. German citizen participants do not question "their way of doing things" as the norm and request adaptation from forced migrants, as they expect them to learn German, to adapt to "German way of doing things" and to have employment. Forced migrant participants are aware of this expectation and in fact realize that speaking German does not only imply speaking a language, but also adopting a way of life. Rewarding efforts to adapt to local practices and norms, forced migrants are rewarded with recognition for their educational and professional accomplishments.

In Andrikopoulos' (2017) sample, well-adapting migrants are immigrants from Albania, who often baptize their children Greek Orthodox, change their names into more Greek-sounding names and seek advice from Greek natives in social matters. Thus, they appear eager to perform and align with "Greekness". In contrast to them, Andrikopoulos (2017) states that Greek repatriates from the Soviet Union are perceived as lazy and as troublemakers, since they "behave as if they were at home", thus, claiming equal rights and recognition. This is in line with Yeğenoğlu (2012, 176) who said that migrants (or people perceived as migrants) claiming equal rights and legitimacy are especially dangerous, because they refuse the position of the guest. Andrikopoulos (2017) concludes that "Greekness" has become an

important social category based on which migrants' degree of adaptation, gratitude and, thus, deservingness is measured.

Similar to the dynamics Andrikopoulos' (2017) observed, in this study, German citizen participants demand adaptation to their way of doing things and, thus, claim the position of the master or host in Germany or the locality they inhabit. Moreover, German citizens (participants) taking the position of hosts finds expression and is enhanced by what has been publicly discussed as the "Wellcome culture" (Willkommenskultur) according to which "German citizens" generously received forced migrants in 2015/2016 (Hamann and Karakayali 2016). Analysis of this study has shown that in the case of forced migrants and German citizens living in NRW the host - guest hierarchy is further enhanced by the judgment of hardship and a resulting state of "being in need" which is attached to the legal category "refugee". In this way, the German citizen turns into a "helping host" and the forced migrant into the "guest in need". This dynamic is justified and reproduced by feelings of pity intensifying the moral advantage and elevation of German citizens over forced migrants.

7.2. Narration of hospitality

So far the analysis has focused on the relationship between forced migrants and locals (German citizens with German ancestors), as it has shown to be most significant for forced migrants' possibilities to grieve their losses involved in their experience of forced migration. Following this, the discussion of narrations of hospitality centers on locals being the helpful hosts and forced migrants being assigned the position of guests in need. Confirming previous discussion of markers of difference and associated legitimacy, interviews suggest that for the host - guest dynamic it is not the origin of the person which shapes her positioning, but the suspected origin of her physical features and associated culture. Forced migrants observe that "people with a migration background" (people born in Germany holding German citizenships, whose parents and/or grandparents were born in a foreign country) often meet similar avoidance and/or limitations, as judgements about different origin and culture are equally attached to their dark hair and skin and clothing. This suggests that the space in which guests are welcomed is not Germany, neither as a bounded territory under the governance of the German state nor its bureaucratic apparatus in terms of citizenship, but a space of ancestry, autochthony and privilege. Unconditioned access to this space and, thus to the position of a host, is primarily given based on physical features and not on a person's legal status or actual place of birth. Even though the position of "people with a migration background" in the host-guest dynamic is compelling, the analysis of narration of hospitality will focus on the dynamic between forced migrants and locals.

Previous investigation has shown that locals move away from forced migrants avoiding contact and connections. They employ sticky categories and labels (dark hair and skin, headscarf, legal category "refugee") to draw boundaries between them and forced migrants preventing meaningful connections to form and, thus, to limit access to resources, legitimacy, full participation in the (re)creation of everyday life, futures and possibilities to mourn. Moreover, forced migrants have the impression that they will remain foreigners forever meaning they will remain significantly different to locals and, thus, guests in need. However, how forced migrants think and talk about locals has little or less direct influence on locals' lives, as locals do not depend on forced migrants for recognition and access to social life and resources. This shows that locals have more structural power and, thus, are in the position of the host or master. Doaa, a forced migrant, explains:

> "But it was difficult, because they already have a life and you arrive as a foreigner and sometimes you are not accepted or it is not noticed that you are present at all. Because it has no influence on their lives, but on mine it does." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Aber es war schwierig, denn sie haben schon so ein Leben und man kommt alles Fremde und wird manchmal nicht akzeptiert oder überhaupt nicht bemerkt, dass man hier ist. Weil es keine Auswirkung auf andere Leben haben, aber auf meine halt."

Doaa has the impression that her presence in NRW has no impact on locals' lives. She describes an important power imbalance between locals and forced migrants which has been partially discussed before. While she needs contact with locals to gain access to everyday life, to resources, recognition (and possibilities to mourn her losses) locals do not depend on contacts with her to live their lives. This confirms locals in the position of the host, as a host in her space does not depend on the guest for living her everyday routines. However, the guest does depend on the host in order to know how she is allowed to inhabit the space in which she is hosted.

This power imbalance concerning legitimacy, recognition and entitlement finds expression in the fact that the need to learn the other's language and to adapt is absolutely one-sided. Only forced migrant participants are pressured and eager to study German and to learn how to behave and move in NRW. German citizen participants perceive receiving (forced) migration as a necessity and generosity to save people from hardship and are at most interested in the diversity they see implied in migration. However, none of them mention the need to learn from them and to open up to their knowledge and skills acquired in the places they lived before arriving in NRW. This suggests that locals have the authority of a host who by definition does things the "right way", as they define how things are done in the first place. This grants them the structural power to choose how and whom to receive.

Locals' structural power is displayed and enforced through pre-existing judgements ,which are attached to physical features and some clothing associated with forced migrants and in this way shape the interactions between them and locals. These judgments are communicated through looks (e.g. Mustafa says that people look at him strangely in the aftermath of a terrorist attack), body movements ("Germans"

turn away as described by e.g. Caria), in conversation (e.g. Doaa says that she always has to explain that she is not an Islamic extremist and not an uneducated cleaner) and emotions involved in these. Interviews show that locals have no intention to change this structure of power, as they appear to make efforts to keep these power relations intact also when talking to and getting to know forced migrants better. They develop several ways to relate to and manage the difference they perceive (forced) migrants to bring close and forced migrants narrate that getting to know locals implies being confronted with locals' predefined judgements about them as they ask questions to verify their judgements and interpretations rather than to question them. Moreover, when establishing more meaningful connections (e.g. friendship) with forced migrants locals seem to create exceptions to their predefined judgments rather than to question their adequacy.

7.2.1. Receiving (forced) migrants: managing difference

Judgements and interpretations about (forced) migrants based on their physical appearance, clothing and/or legal status is a way to reduce the complexity of the difference locals perceive them to carry. Interviews show that instead of opening up to and receiving (forced) migrants' differences, locals feel the need to manage these differences. This process of classifying newcomers as strangers and/or as a particular type or category of strangers based on pre-existing judgements and interpretations can be seen as a first step of this management. For example, Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth, says:

> "That is a form of everyday life racism, which is relatively well hidden. One thinks, yes, I have interest for people from [name of country]. But there are not "the people from [name of country]. There are thousands of different stories and facets. That was an important learning for us psychologists, that even if one had heard many similar flight stories, everyone still has his own story and his own experiences." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Das ist eine Art Alltagsrassismus, der auch recht gut versteckt ist. Man denkt, ja ich interessiere mich ja für die Leute aus [Name des Landes]. Aber es gibt nicht "die Leute aus [Name des Landes]" Es gibt zigtausende verschiedene Geschichten und Facetten. Das war auch ein großer Lerneffekt für uns als Psychologen, dass man vielleicht schon viele ähnliche Fluchtgeschichten gehört hat, aber jeder noch mal seine ganz eigenen Geschichten und Erfahrungen mitbringt."

Mrs. Neumann says that assuming that originating from a particular country enables one to know that person's story is inadequate and in fact a form of "everyday life racism" or everyday life discrimination. She learned that every person has made individual experiences so that even if a person's story shares similarities with others' stories, reducing her story to a general narrative is a form of discrimination. This echoes the discussion of generalized hardship attached to the legal category "refugee" (discussed in chapter four and six) which gives locals the impression to know what horrors forced migrants lived through before arriving in NRW. Eyüp, a forced migrant, has had similar experiences. Making an asylum application implies many appointments at the federal office for migration

and refugees (BAMF)[36] and Eyüp had the impression that he was always looked at through a "lense of prejudices". He says:

> "Bureaucrats see you through a lense of prejudices and cannot see you anymore. This is why I want to look at every person as an individual who enters my office and who seeks help with his asylum application. These prejudices touched me strongly." (Eyüp, 30, forced migrant) (my translation)
> "Beamten sehen einen sehr durch eine Vorurteilsbrille und können einen gar nicht mehr richtig wahrnehmen. Deswegen möchte ich jeden Menschen der in mein Büro rein kommt und Hilfe bei seinem Asyl oder Visum verfahren braucht, als Individuum betrachten. Diese Vorurteile haben mich sehr berührt."

Eyüp says that bureaucrats did not perceive him as a person and as an individual but through a "lense of prejudices." In other words, they appear to have relied on pre-existing judgments and interpretations which they attached to his dark hair and skin in order to interact with him. He says that meeting these prejudices and not being perceived as an individual touched him, so he wants to receive every person walking into his office (at the time of the interview Eyüp wanted to work as a social worker in the reception of forced migrants) as an individual in order to spare them the feelings of humiliation he experienced. Therefore, relating to forced migrants through predefined interpretations and judgements is a way to classify and, thus, a form of discrimination, as it involves dereconition of the forced migrant's individuality and of her being an equal. Classification (and stereotyping) is a way to receive forced migrants which allows locals to have the impression that they understand who the forced migrant is and how she is different from them. Thus, classification allows locals to have the impression of managing forced migrants' differences. The analysis of this study has shown that this form of discrimination is very common and characterizes the way in which forced migrants are received when arriving and setteling down in NRW.

Interviews suggest that after having classified newcomers as strangers (and maybe a particular type of stranger), locals intend to further manage this difference by compressing their difference in a perceivable form or by reducing possible relations to them. Loclas distance themselves from forced migrants, reduce the reciprocal relations with forced migrants to a profession oriented relationship, perceive themselves as enriched by the guest's differences and/or promote collaboration and communication to deal with differences.

7.2.2. Establishing distances

As already discussed, locals relate to forced migrants through predefined interpretations in order to create distance (as a process of turning away) and to remain untouched by them. This establishing of distance is another way to manage the differences they perceive forced migrants to bring closer to them and can take

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[36] Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge

the form of establishing physical and conceptual differences. For example, Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher, says:

> "When Germany grants time to these people (forced migrants), then it will work. When people are given the opportunity to speak a different language and to dress differently at home, or whatever. Or to celebrate their holidays. We practice this here at school. We make a great effort so that we give time to people." (Mrs. Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Wenn Deutschland den Menschen Zeit gibt, dann wird das auch funktionieren. Wenn man den Leuten auch die Möglichkeit gibt zu hause eine andere Sprache zu sprechen und sich anders zu kleiden, oder was weiß ich. Oder seine Feiertage zu feiern. Was wir hier an der Schule auch machen. Wir geben uns schon große Mühe, dass wir den Leuten die Zeit geben."

Mrs Müller suggests that forced migrants should have the opportunity to speak a different language at home. Thus, she believes their difference to be something that should be partly confined to their private space meaning their homes. Making the practice of forced migrant's differences a partially private matter, allows her to manage the contact she and everyday life have with their difference. Moreover, she sees "Germany" and "us at school" as having the authority to grant or give time to forced migrants, thus, in the position of the host, meaning of power and entitlement to define spaces and times forced migrants can use.

Another way German citizen participants separated and distanced themselves from (forced) migrants is through insisting on the fact that their "autochthony" detaches them from the experience of (forced) migration even though they might have personal contact and thus are involved with them. One of the German citizen participants explains that she has a lot of personal experiences with (forced) migrants, because her father works with forced migrant youth, many of her friends are migrants or "people with a migration background" and because one of her brothers is adopted and comes from the African continent. She tells me that sometimes when walking in the streets with her brother she feels that the looks of other people swipe from her brother's body to hers. Thus, predefined judgements and interpretations which stick to the physical features of her brother are also attached to her when she walks next to him. Despite herself being touched by locals' prejudices, she says:

> "Yes and because of that I hear a lot. Yeah, given that I have nothing to do with it [migration] in principle, I mean I don't want to say that I have nothing to do with it, but given that I was born in Germany and my parents are from Germany." (German Citizens) (my translation) "Und ja dadurch bekommt man das ja schon so mit. Ja, dafür, dass ich eigentlich nichts damit, also ich will nicht sagen,dass ich nichts damit zu tun haben, aber dafür, dass ich eigentlich in Deutschland geboren bin und eigentlich meine Eltern alle aus Deutschland kommen."

Thus, even though she appears involved with (forced) migrants she detaches herself from the experience of migration saying that she "really" originates in Germany, because she and her parents have been born in Germany. Detaching herself from the difference and sticky markers of that interpreted difference allows her to remain untouched by it, so she can remain among the "hosts" and perceive herself

as exterior to the struggles and emotional troubles involved in the experience of being perceived as a stranger.

Also Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth, observes locals and herself to be reluctant and fearful to be touched by and listen to stories about forced migration. She says:

> "I also see blatant fear of contact. I also have to say that, I am not an old hand in the business and I had to try things. I sometimes sit there and I don't know what to say, because some of the stories are extreme and everything I could respond, feels inappropriate. This doesn't happen often to me, but these things have so much power that many people, myself included, are afraid to act wrong."
> (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Ich sehe auch krasse Berührungsangst. Ich muss auch sagen, ich bin kein alter Hase in dem Business und musste mich auch ausprobieren. Ich sitze manchmal da und weiß nicht was ich sagen soll, weil es z.T. sehr krasse Geschichten sind und alles was ich darauf begegnen könnte fühlt sich nicht angemessen an. Das passiert mir nicht oft, aber diese Dinge haben so eine Macht, dass ganz viele Leute und mich mit eingeschlossen, Angst haben sich falsch zu verhalten."

Mrs. Neumann says that stories about experiences of forced migration can be very powerful, so it is difficult to relate and react to them. She narrates that she has been in situations when she didn't know how to comment on stories she was told by her patients, because everything she could say felt inappropriate. Mrs. Neuman notices that some people are afraid to be in contact with forced migrants and she suggests that their fear is motivated by coming into contact with and not knowing how to react to horrors and hardships forced migrants have experienced. Thus, their fear is not only about hearing forced migrants' stories, but also about not knowing how to react appropriately. As discussed in the previous chapter, listening to and opening up to stories of loss and hardship possibly touches on impression by one's own losses and can, thus, be a destabilizing experience. Based on this, I speculate that loclas being afraid of not knowing how to react appropriately to forced migrants' stories (as suggested by Mrs. Neumann) might also imply fear of relating to their own experiences of loss and involved emotions. Thus, fearing contact with unpleasant and destabilizing emotions, locals try not to relate to forced migrants keeping themselves safe and stable.

7.2.3. Work oriented relationship

As already mentioned, education and employment are crucial for how forced migrants are perceived by German citizens, experts and how they think of themselves living in NRW. German citizens expect them to have employment and the primary way a forced migrant can gain acknowledgement is through professional success. Moreover, institutional support is principally focused on forced migrants' employment and some residency permits are conditioned by education and employment (e.g. the "3+2 rule"). For example, Thomas, a German citizen, says:

> "In general I am not afraid of the future because of it. On the contrary, I am convinced Germany needs immigrants and it won't happen that 50% of the population will have a refugee background from one moment to the other. About 2 Million, meaning about 2% of the population. This is not

few and challenging for the economy, but that is something the economy has to deal with."
(Thomas, 24, German citizen) (my translation) "Allgemein habe ich jetzt keine Zukunfts Angst deswegen. Im Gegenteil ich bin der Überzeugung, dass Deutschland Migration braucht und es ist ja jetzt nicht so, dass jetzt aufeinmal 50% der Bevölkerung einen Flüchtlingshintergrund haben. Es waren 2 Millionen, also knapp 2% der Gesamtbevölkerung. Ist jetzt natürlich nicht wenig und herausfordernd für eine Volkswirtschaft, aber das ist etwas mit dem sie umgehen muss."

Thomas says that migration does not make him look fearfully into the future, as on the contrary, he believes the German economy needs immigrants. Following this, he sees migration to be primarily a matter of migrants entering the labor market, thus, making migrants' becoming part of social life an economical process. This economy centered approach to migration and migrants' becoming part presupposes that all migrants have employment, as it is the basis of their participation. Similar to Thomas, Lukas, a German citizen, believes work to be the primary reason why (forced) migrants live in Germany. He says:

"Funnily enough they say that a second society developed which has nothing to do with the German society. And back then the problem was too strong uncontrolled immigration. The same is happening now. The only difference is that back then the people actually came to work and to rebuild Germany." (Lukas, 29, German citizen) (my translation) "Lustigerweise wird da dann auch gesagt, wir habe diese Bildung von einer zweiten Gesellschaft, die nichts mit der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu tun hat. Und das Problem war damals zu viel Einwanderung unkontrollierte. Das ist das gleiche was jetzt passiert. Der einzige Unterschied ist, dass die Leute die damals gekommen sind, sind ja tatsätzlich zum arbeiten gekommen und um Deutschland aufzubauen."

Lukas says that back then migrants came to work and rebuilt Germany. The reference to reconstruction suggests that he talks about migration to Germany after the second world war when many migrant workers were recruited in Italy, Greece and Turkey and worked and resided in Germany originally as guest workers. Thus, Lukas seems to suggest that migrants' primary legitimacy is their employment and that according to him, today's migrants do not fulfill this requirement anymore. Moreover, he demands migration to be more controlled as he sees "uncontrolled" migration to be the primary reason for the development of a "second society", meaning a society which has nothing to do with "German society". Lukas demands the German government to establish a more effective system to control and deport "criminal/undeserving" migrants. His demand implies that he sees the German government and himself to have the authority to decide who is allowed to reside in Germany and how, meaning what opportunities and spaces are available to them. Thus, he allocates German institutions and himself the position of the host and master who has the right to decide who enters his territory and how the guest has to behave.

Having employment is certainly important for forced migrants (and for many other people independent from their legal status) to be able to establish a stable life, as it grants financial security. Moreover, going to work supports the process of becoming part of everyday life as at work one can form meaningful connections with colleagues. E.g. Mrs. Müller, a vocational school teacher, says:

"Yes, I believe employment is important. If you don't stay at home, but go to work, you can establish contacts and you are seen. Because when I stay at home, I will not be seen." (Mrs Müller, vocational school teacher) (my translation) "Ja, ich finde, die Berufliche Schiene ist wichtig. Wenn man nicht zuhause bleibt, sondern eben arbeiten geht und Kontakt suchen und gesehen werden. Und wenn ich nur zu Hause bin, dann wird man auch nicht gesehen."

Mrs. Müller says that going to work allows (forced) migrants to be seen and to create contacts making it important for their opportunities to become part of everyday life. Despite the importance of employment to establish connections and relations, reducing and stressing forced migrans' participation in social practices of everyday life to employment implies that locals are primarily open to and willing to establish work mediated or work related connections with forced migrants. However, becoming a legitimate and recognized participant in everyday life demands more than being received as a labor force. Emphasizing employment as a precondition for forced migrants participation is a way to move them in the direction of the labor market and, thus, to assign them a particular space. In this way, the work focused narrative of (forced) migration allows locals to affirm their position as a host and newcomers as guests.

7.2.4. Multicultural logic: curiosity and enrichment

Besides establishing distance to forced migrants or limiting contact with them to professional relations, another way German citizen participants approach "forced migrants' difference(s)" is by perceiving themselves as enriched by these differences. For this, German citizen interviewees perceive differences in terms of culture and say that they are curious about it as they see contact with "forced migrants' culture" as an opportunity for personal enrichment. For example, Tobias, a German citizen, says:

"My best friend back then was a Kosovo Albanian. They were refugees back then. [...] And I also learned a lot about the culture back then. I think I would have never, not even a bit, been interested in the Quran. I profited from it and I think everyone else can profit from it as well." (Tobias, 27, German citizen) (my translation) "Mein Bester Freund damals war Kosovo Albaner. Die auch damals geflüchtet sind. (...) Und ich habe da auch so viel über die Kultur damals gelernt. Ich hätte mich glaube ich auch sonst niemals auch nur Ansatzweise mit dem Koran befasst. Ich habe davon profitiert und ich glaube auch das die große Masse davon profitieren kann."

Tobias says that back then his best friend was a Kosovo Albanian and that he learned a lot about his friend's culture. Thus, according to Tobias, culture (or cultural practices and beliefs) are associated with geographical places and carried by people. He perceives his friends' origin (Kosovo and Albania) to involve a different cultural origin and since he says that he learned something about his friend's culture, he perceives this culture to be significantly different to his own. Tobias names the Quran as an example for what he has learned suggesting that the most significant difference between his and his friend's culture is Islam. This confirms previous analysis which has shown that cultural differences are often perceived to involve religion. Tobias perceives himself to have profited from learning something about his friend's culture, namely Quran, and he believes that everyone could be enriched in a similar way.

From the interview it becomes clear that his "best friend from back then" is the son of forced

migrants who had escaped the Kosovo war. His friend was born in Germany and most probably is a German citizen. Tobias believes his best childhood friend who was born in the same geographical region as him to have a different culture, since his parents were born in a forign country. Thus, according to Tobias, his friends' culture is shaped primarily through ancestry and not through reciprocal relations to his social environment. Given that Tobias (a German citizen with German parents) was his best friend during childhood, Tobias' friend had contact and friendships with locals and not only with people originating from Kosovo or Albania. Thus, how Tobias thinks about his friend confirms the association of physical features with ancestral origin and geographical places and of geographical places with culture, values and beliefs. In this way, regardless of where a person was born her physical features are assumed to signal her cultural origin making culture not primarily a matter of participation and engagement in everyday life, social practices and traditions, but a matter of genetic inheritance. Following this understanding of culture, culture appears to be primarily carried by people rather than as being acquired in reciprocal relation to one's social environment (certainly including one's family, but also much more).

Perceiving culture as carried by people and as associated to geographical regions is a way to reduce culture's complexity and its dynamic nature. Tobias believing that "his culture" is different from "his friend's culture" presupposes the idea that one can make meaningful distinctions between different cultural practices and beliefs and that from these differences groups ("we's" and "they's") derive. These groups are then perceived to have a culture which is (to some extent) particular to them and, thus, distinguishes them from others. Tobias further explains how he understands culture:

> "That is a general statement, that the culture should be preserved in Germany and nothing should be distorted. I think you should separate it and that you can deal with many cultures bunched together so that these cultures do not directly mix and even if we don't have the same culture as 500 years ago. Culture is also such an evolutionary thing. It just evolves. And if it is like this why do people question it and try to keep it alive artificially. Such a culture could also enrich you."
> (Tobias, 27, German citizen) (my translation) "Das ist ja auch so eine generelle Aussage, dass die Kultur in Deutschland erhalten bleiben soll und nichts verfälscht werden soll. Ich finde schon dass man das trennen kann und das viele Kulturen auf einem Haufen immer noch so handhaben kann, dass sich die Kulturen nicht direkt vermischen und selbst wenn, wir haben ja auch nicht die gleiche Kultur wie vor 500 Jahren. Kultur ist ja auch so ein evolutions Ding. Das entwickelt sich halt. Und wenn es halt mal so ist, warum hinterfragt man das und versucht es künstlich am Leben zu halten. So eine Kultur könnte einen ja auch bereichern."

"Culture should be preserved in Germany and nothing should be distorted" is a statement Tobias associates with right-wing political attitudes. In fact, right-wing or nationalist parties usually advocate conserving traditions and culture practices that they associate with the state or nation they inhabit and more than conserving today's culture they often seek restoration of past realities. From this, Tobias distinguishes his view on culture and explains that cultures can coexist without directly mixing, so "German culture" is not necessarily threatened by other cultures that are bunched together with it. In fact, Tobias stresses again that he sees "other cultures" as a possibility to enrich the self. This suggests that he

believes cultures to be differentiable systems which can exist parallely. Moreover, Tobias says, even if they were to mix, there would be no problem, since "we don't have the same culture as 500 years ago", making culture, in his opinion, an "evolutionary thing". Thus, according to Tobias, cultures evolve over time, but don't necessarily mix when they exist parallely at the same movement in time. This is in line with his idea, that even though he and his childhood friend have grown up together, his friend's and his own culture are meaningfully different. This is only possible when cultures are understood as primarily being carried by people and that even if people from different cultures meet they do not meaningfully exchange practices, knowledge, habits and values, so everyone's culture remains particular to them. However, groups of people are not impermeable and ideas, traditions, values, and habits (which could be believed to define a culture of a given group) never only evolve within groups and are passed on through birth, but always influence and are influenced by all ideas, vuales, practices, traditions, knowledge and beliefs members of a group relate to. Therefore, it is difficult to draw stable boundaries between groups based on their culture.

In fact, understanding culture as something that evolves (as suggested by Tobias), thus, as a process, contradicts the idea that one can draw stable boundaries between them. Evolution implies change and change usually happens in relation to something or someone. Thus, an evolving culture implies contacts among people and cultural objects, which involves mutual impressing and, thus, change. Confining evolution to contacts among a closed group is almost impossible in a globalized world. People relate to cultural objects and practices which do not originate and/or are not associated with the geographical place they live in. In fact, the exchange among people, who might identify with different cultures, is not limited to their mobility and face to face contact, but can happen mediated by (social) media. Even though there are certain cultural biographical experiences that are closer to certain practices and languages (so they might be understood as defining a culture), many elements are intertwined in the experiences of each person. Consequently one cannot point at one single origin for all these cultural experiences. Thus, associating culture with geographical places and perceiving all people being born (or imagined to be born) in these places as carrying the same culture is a way to reduce the complexity of culture, as it tries to create a person's place of birth (or assumed place of birth) as the origin of all her cultural experiences.

The analysis has been shown that differences locals perceive between themselves and forced migrants involve parmaily culture and that these differences limit forced migrants' (and "people's with a migration background") access to recognition and resources. As quoted in a previous chapter, for example, Mustafa observed that migrants and guest workers are lower or lower middle class, Doaa explained that people suspect her to be uneducated and a cleaning lady because she wears a headscarf and Thibault stated that "Germans" told him that university studies are a luxury which he is not entitled to.

This suggests that certain "cultural groups" appear to be more entitled to resources than others. Thus, perceiving culture or cultural practices as meaningfully distinguishing people into groups, involves and facilitates allocation of resources. The coupling of cultural difference and access to resources makes the perspective that people carry a culture and that one remains untouched by the other's culture even when coming into contact problematic, as in this way the perception of cultural differences enforces and reproduces existing social hierarchies and power relations.

This reproduction of social hierarchies through the perception of cultural differences is further enhanced by the idea of cultural enrichment. Being enriched by cultural difference presupposes and recreates the separation of cultures. Cultural enrichment implies that before being enriched (before being touched) the other culture is perceived as separate and different from the "me", thus from "my culture", then it is approached and taken in and made part of the "me". In this way, the logic of culture enrichment creates and enhances distance and difference between "my culture" and "the other's culture". Cultural enrichment has been discussed as part of the logic of multiculturalism, as multiculturalism proclaims that it tolerates other cultures and "their" differences. For this it has been challenged, as through emphasizing and celebrating differences (celebrating the "multi" of culture) it keeps distance from them (Ahmed 2013, 96). Ahmed (2013, 96) says that multiculturalism assimilates the stranger as the unassimilable meaning as the inevitably different. In this way, it refuses to see strangers as dangerous but constructs the stranger as a figure that contains or has meaning rather than as a reciprocal relation. In fact, Katharina, a German citizen, says:

> "But when I talk about a modern view, I mean that for me a multicultural country is nothing dangerous or bad." (Katharina, 23, German citizen) (my translation) "Aber ich also wenn ich von modernen Vorstellungen spreche, meine ich, das jetzt so ein multikulturelles Land für mich jetzt nichts gefährliches oder schlimmes darstellt."

Katharina says that according to her a "multicultural country", thus, a country where several cultures coexist is neither dangerous nor bad. Later in the interview she elaborates:

> "I personally believe that it only can get more interesting the more people communicate and learn from each other rather than when they isolate themselves. I think that migration supports this a lot so that it will be normal at some point, I hope. I think it is normal, because you already said in the interview migration is not only about refugees but in principle it has been part of everyday life for ever and many people forget that easily. I hope it will reach people's minds that this is a topic which brings only new things and things to learn, but nothing you have to fear." (Katharina, 23, German Citizens) (my translation) "Ich persönlich denke, dass es einfach nur interessanter werden kann und wichtiger werden kann, desto mehr Menschen miteinander kommunizieren und voneinander lernen als dass Menschen sich voneinander abschotten. Ich glaube, dass Migration dabei sehr viel hilft, dass das irgendwann ein normaler Zustand sein wird hoffentlich. Also ich finde es auch ein normaler Zustande, weil du hast ja jetzt gerade schon in dem Interview schon so klar gemacht, dass das Thema Migration nicht nur was mit Flüchtlingen zu tun hat, sonder eigentlich so im Alltag schon immer da ist und man vergisst das irgendwie dauernd. Ja. ich hoffe, dass es irgendwann mal in vielen Köpfen ankommt, dass das ein Thema ist was eigentlich nur neues und etwas zum lernen bringt, aber nichts wovor man sich fürchten muss."

Similar to Tobias, Katharina believes migration as a possibility for enrichment as (forced) migrants bring in new things so she and other locals can learn. According to her, migration is interesting and in fact normal, but not dangerous. Besides establishing distance through celebrating (forced) migrants' differences, the idea of enrichment implies value, as the "me " is understood as being "richer" after the enriching contact, thus, better in some way. In this sense, the logic of enrichment implies agency of the person who is being enriched, as she has the power to choose what she wants to be touched and enriched by. Relating to (forced) migrants through enrichment is a way to affirm the enriched person (local/German citizen) in the position of the host/master and, thus, in the position of the one distributing resources.

Another way locals reproduce themselves in the position of the host/master is through creating newcomers as a potential threat. Thomas, a German citizen, aösp believes that migration brings in other cultures, which he does not see as a problem and/or danger as long as they respect the German constitution. He says:

> "From the cultural perspective, for sure migration will have a cultural impact, I mean architecturally speaking they build e.g. Mosques. I don't see this as something dramatic as long as they don't integrate Sharia-Law. I mean as long as influence stays within the norms of the constitution, it is not a problem for me. I would see it as very problematic as soon as they try to pass unconstitutional legal decisions. But from a pure cultural perspective, I don't have a problem. It is more the opposite, I believe that heterogeneity is good and also culturally. So as I said, we need immigration and I am not afraid." (Thomas, 24, German citizen) (my translation) "Aus einer Kulturellen Perspektive, also klar Einwanderung wird einen kulturellen Impact hinterlassen, also rein architektonisch, baut man z.b. Moscheen, finde ich jetzt nicht wirklich dramatisch, wenn es eben keine Sharia-Law hier integriert wird. Also wenn kulturelle Einflüsse immer noch im Rahmen des GG bleiben, habe ich damit kein Problem. Sobald aber GG-widrige Gesetzliche Entscheidungen versucht werden durchzusetzen, das fände ich dann sehr problematisch. Aber auf einer rein kulturellen Perspektive habe ich damit überhaupt gar kein Problem. Eher im Gegenteil, ich bin der Meinung, dass Heterogenität eher gut ist und kulturell auch, also wie gesagt, wir brauche Zuwanderung und habe keine Angst."

Thomas associates the cultural influence of migration with the construction of Mosques and from him undesired adaptation of Sharia-Law. Thus, similarly to Tobias, he sees Islam to be the most important cultural difference between his/German culture and migrants' culture. Moreover, similarly to Tobias and Katharina, he is in favor of migration as he conceives of heterogeneity as something beneficial. However, he puts a limit on the degree of cultural influence he favors, as he says that migrants' (cultural) influence should always respect the German constitution. This suggests that he wants openness and tolerance towards migrants' difference to be limited by the German state legislation assigning the German state the role of the host and master receiving (forced) migrants as guests.

Most German citizens would probably agree that they want any influence migration might have to respect the German constitution. And, in fact, as discussed in previous chapters, stability, security and peace ensured by the German constitution is one reason why many (forced) migrants migrate to Germany.

Not feeling safe and secure in their environment, because governments (or governing groups) turn into a threat rather than ensuring a peaceful life, motivates forced migrants to leave their homes behind and seek a safer life and future somewhere else, preferably in a country where the constitution is respected and, thus, ensures security and safety. Consequently, the life the German constitution ensures is appreciated not only by German citizens, but also by forced migrants migrating to Germany. In this sense, creating (forced) migration as a possible threat to the German constitution, more than sketching what could happen, serves to create the German state and its legislation as the master who on its territory always has the right to overrule and to eject.

Tobias, Thomas and Katharina advocate a multicultural Germany and think of themselves as tolerating and favoring differences which they believe to enrich themselves, others and Germany. Interviews suggest that German citizens approach foreign cultures in the same way (as carried by people, as associated with geographical places and as a possibility for enrichment) when they travel and go "visit other cultures." For example, Katharina says:

> "On vacation, I like to go outside, look around, and learn something about the culture. I also sometimes like to lay on the beach, but not always." (Katharina, 23, German citizen) (my translation) "Im Urlaub gehe ich gerne raus, schau mich um, lerne was über die Kultur. Ich liege auch mal gerne am Stand, aber nicht immer."

Katharina says that when she is on vacation she likes to relax sometimes at the beach, but she also likes to learn something about the culture. Thus, she associates the place where she travels to with a culture which is meaningfully different to "her" culture and believes that she can be enriched by it. This suggests that similarly to different cultures she meets in Germany she thinks of herself as being open towards and enriched by these different cultures she meets during her vacation. Thus, also when traveling German citizen participants perceive culture to be meaningfully connected to (and expressed by) geographical places. Tobias shares Katharina's point of view. When asked whether he could imagine living in a different country he answered:

> "But it has always been my dream to get to know other cultures. Many of my friends went abroad for one, two years after the A-level and made their experiences and developed. [...] I would like to live somewhere else at some point. I mean I would be part of the society and would make sure that I contribute to it. I work for my part and contribute culturally. That's why I also see it here as a right." (Tobias, 27, German citizen) (my translation) "Aber mein Traum war es immer auch andere Kulturen kennen zu lernen. Viele meiner Freunde sind dann nach dem Abi auch ins Ausland mal für eins, zwei jahre und habe ihre Erfahrungen gemacht und haben sich da weiter entwickelt. [...] Ich würde gerne mal woanders wohnen. Ich mein ich bin ja dann ein Teil der Gesellschaft und würde dann gucken, dass ich meinen Teil dazu beitrage. Ich gehe dann arbeiten von mir aus und trage dann auch kulturell Sachen bei. Deswegen sehe ich so etwas auch hier im Umkreis eher als eine Bereicherung."

Tobias dreams of "getting to know other cultures" which he believes to be possible by living in foreign places. Thus, similarly to Katharina he associates different cultures with foreign geographical places and by traveling to these places one can learn about or get to know that culture. Tobias says that

many of his friends traveled after finishing high school and he believes that due to their experiences abroad his friends have evolved.[37] Thus, he believes not only himself to be open towards the otherness of foreign cultures through enrichment, but also his friends who traveled and returned enriched by their experience with foreign cultures in foreign countries.

Tobias could not travel after highschool, but still wishes to live abroad one day. He imagines that once he lives in a different place, he would be part of the "society" and would contribute by working and adding to the place's culture. This suggests that Tobias believes that in return for being part of a "society" one has to contribute and that this contribution takes the form of working and being engaged culturally. This is partly in line with what he (and other German citizen participants) expect from forced migrants. Forced migrants are expected to contribute through studying and/or having employment, however, their "cultural contribution" is limited. As shown in this and previous chapters, culture is perceived to be a meaningful difference between forced migrant and German citizen participants. Moreover, some German citizens appear afraid of the culture, values and beliefs they associate with forced migrants' geographical origins and intend to limit the influence of these strange cultures on "their" culture. In this sense, assuming that the people living in the foreign place where Tobias imagines himself to live oneday will happily receive his "cultural" contribution might be inconsiderate and maybe naiv.

Moreover, Tobias believes that his living in a foreign place is followed by being part of the "society". Considering the analysis of this study and a huge body of literature on migration studies, living in a foreign country is in most cases not directly followed by being part of the "society". Migrants struggle to become respected and legitimate participants of everyday life where they settle down. Skilled migrants and/or migrants arriving with valid visas might struggle less than forced migrants, however, everyone who is considered less legitimate and less entitled to reside and participate in everyday life, has to work hard, be patient and accept a lot of humiliation and discrimination in order to gain recognition. Thus, Tobias when living abroad will probably face more struggle than he imagines for himself at the time of the interview.

7.2.5. Communication and collaboration

Another way German citizen participants approach and propose to solve problems and challenges involved in (forced) migration and (forced) migrants' becoming part of society is through collaboration and communication. For example, Tobias says:

> "I mean I find it difficult to direct all people in one direction. Opinions differ a lot. And the more people we are, the more diverse it will be and the more we have to get ourselves together in order

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[37] Taking a gap year after high school in order to travel and/or do social work was/is very common for highschool graduates in Germany.

to either, I mean not put the focus on the problems, but we need to try to solve the problems. Otherwise I think it won't work. Otherwise there will always be difficulties. It is essential, I mean already the future demands it, that we work together as people and that is becoming more and more important no matter whether it is about ecology or something else. The more cultural differences there are, the less probable it is that it will work. I believe that if humanity does not get itself together, that it won't take long till we will be surprised by catastrophes which come over us, because we did not work together. In the end we would probably need a one-world monarchy which rules the world and which decides where we go, but that is also dangerous."

(Tobias, 27, German citizen) (my translation) "Also ich finde, ich finde es schwierig alles Menschen in eine Richtung zu kriegen. Das geht ja schon ziemlich auseinander die Meinungen. Und je mehr Menschen wir werden desto vielfältiger wird das ja eigentlich und desto mehr müssen wir uns ja eigentlich zusammen nehmen um entweder, also nicht das haupt Augenmerk auf die Probleme zu legen sonder halt eher probieren die Probleme zu lösen. Weil sonst glaube ich wird das nicht laufen. Sonst wird es immer mehr Schwierigkeiten geben. Es ist ja essentiell, also die Zukunft alleine erfordert es ja, dass wir Menschen zusammenarbeiten und das wird ja immer immer wichtiger ob es jetzt ökologisch ist oder wie auch immer. Desto mehr Kulturelle Differences es auch gibt, desto weniger ist es wahrscheinlich, dass das auch funktioniert. Ich glaube schon daran, dass wenn wir uns als Menschheit nicht zusammenkriegen, dass es dann nicht mehr lange dauert bis wir überrascht werden von den Katastrophen, die uns dann übereilen, weil wir uns nicht zusammen bekommen haben. Im Endeffekt müsste es wahrscheinlich wieder eine Monarchie geben die über die ganze Welt regiert und sagt wo es lang geht, aber das ist ja auch wieder gefährlich."

According to Tobias, besides being an opportunity for enrichment (as he stated in the quote above) plurality of cultures can be dangerous, as "the more cultural differences there are, the less probable it is that it will work (meaning working together and finding consensus to solve challenges endangering the future)". He says that it is crucial not to accentuate problems but to solve them and sees plurality of opinions as a threat to successfully approaching and solving (especially ecological) issues. Tobias believes that problems can be best solved when all people "go into one direction", thus, suggesting uniformity as solution to plurality. He says that this uniformity of actions and beliefs could be achieved by having an "one-world monarchy", however, which according to him, could be dangerous in other ways.

Thus, in line with what has been proposed by Yeğenoğlu (2012, 34) when traveling and experiencing "different cultures" in the geographical places with which they are associated (and where they are believed to originate from) Tobias (and other German citizen participants) relates to them as a source of enrichment. However, when these "different cultures" live and want to take part in "our" space, they are possibly perceived as a threat. Tobias sees "culture differences" as threatening consensus regarding how to solve challenges endangering a safe future and these challenges he primarily sees to concern ecology, culture and other things he does not specify. Divergent opinions concerning ecology and dangers involved in climate change usually do not significantly differ across "people of different cultures". It is not culture nor origin which primarily correlates with opinions on climate change, but educational attainment (Lee, Markowitz, How, Ko and Leiserowitz 2015). Moreover, suggesting uniformity of opinions and behavior as necessary precondition for solving future challenges is problematic, as uniformity of opinion in most cases demands a form of government many people and also Tobias are skeptical of. "A one-world monarchy" or other totalitarian regimes are "also dangerous". Tobas perceives an urgency to communicate in order to solve and manage problems involved in receiving

(forced) migrants difference, however, he also senses it to be very complicated and difficult. This might be one reason why German citizen participants choose to withdraw, reduce contact to work related relations and to relate to (forced) migrants' differences through the lens of enrichment. In fact, even though the need for communication and collaboration for the reception of (forced) migrants and their becoming part of everyday life was mentioned by German citizens, experts and forced migrant participants, very little contact involving mutual reception and acceptance was narrated.

7.2.6. Asking questions to verify pre-existing judgements

Conversations and contact between forced migrants and locals discussed and/or quoted in the interviews usually revolved around locals verifying their predefined judgements and interpretations about forced migrants. For example, Amir, a forced migrant, explains:

> "Yes, and many acquaintances, Germans, say to us "We work, we pay money to the state and the state pays you." Yes, but this is not my state. They have to talk to the state not to me. I have talked to some people and they say "We pay taxes and this way you get money." And I answered, "But where is the money? I live of 50 Euro a month." And when I lived in [name of city where he had lived in a refugee camp] everyone lives with 15 euro per month without clothes or shampoo or other things. Just 15 Euro, what shall you do with this?" (Amir, 22, forced migrant) "Ja, und viele Bekannte, die sagen zu uns, die sind Deutsche. Die sagen zu uns „Wir arbeiten, wir bezahlen Geld zum Staat und der Staat bezahlt zu ihr." Ja, aber das ist nicht mein Staat. Sie müssen mit ihm diskutieren nicht mit mir. Ich habe schon mit ein Paar Leuten diskutiert und die sagen „Ja wir bezahlen Steuern und so und ihr bekommt Geld." Und ich habe gesagt „Ja und wo ist Geld? Ich lebe den ganzen Monat mit 50 Euro." In Gummersbach pro Person für den ganzen Monat 15 Euro ohne Klamotten ohne Shampoo oder ander Sachen. Nur 15 € was soll man damit machen?"

Amir says that acquaintances, thus, people he has met several times, think and mention to him that his life is paid by state money, thus "their" money, which he does not deserve. As quoted in previous chapters, Katharina and Mr Lohmann have mentioned that some locals have the feeling that they are left behind while forced migrants are taken care of. This feeling of forced migrants (or migrants) taking something away from "me/us" (locals) illustrates the host - guest dynamic, as those locals believe forced migrants to be less entitled to resources from the German state than themselves. They perceive themselves to be directly or indirectly the owner/master of resources distributed by the state and believe that guests, forced migrants, should not receive resources or should receive less. Facing this claim for entitlement by locals, Amir finds himself in the position of having to show that he is not living a luxurious life, but has to survive with little or too little money.

Similar to Amir, Abdul a 20 year old forced migrant, sais that a friend assumed that his life is paid by the state:

> "Recently a friend asked me "How did you do your drivers licence? Did you pay for it yourself?" First I took it as a joke and said "No, the city hall paid for it. They pay everything for me and I do nothing." Then he said "No, I am being serious." and then I said "What makes you think that?" "I

talked with my family and one of them said so." I could only say " No! I paid for all of it myself. Why do I work after school? Till four o'clock in the afternoon I go to school and then I work till midnight. Why would I do that to myself. I think I have better things to do." But these are things which are said and this is how conspiracy theories emerge." (Abdul, 20, forced migrant) "Letztens hat ein Freund mich gefragt „Wie hast du eigentlich deinen Führerschein gemacht? Hast du den selber bezahlt?" Ich habe es erst so als Witz genommen und gesagt „Nein, mann das hat die Stadt für mich bezahlt, die bezahlen doch alles für mich. Und ich mache nichts." und dann meinte der so, „nee nee ich meine das wirklich ernst." und dann meinte ich „wie kommst du darauf?" „ja mit meiner Familie haben wir gesprochen und da hat das einer behauptet." Und ich nur so „Nein, Mann. Ich habe alles selber bezahlt. Warum arbeite ich nach der Schule? Ich gehe bis 16 Uhr in die Schule und danach arbeite ich bis 12/01 nachts. Warum sollte ich mir das antun? Ich glaube ich habe genug zu tun." Aber das sind halt Sachen, die erzählt werden und so kommen auch Verschwörungstheorien."

Similar to Amir, Abdul says that a friend, thus, someone who he regularly relates to and with whom he might have created some trust and mutuality, asked him whether he received money from the state for his driver's license. In Germany a driver's license is usually not paid for by the state, so receiving state money for a driver's licence would imply that Abdul enjoys more state support than him, a German citizen. This suggests that Abdul's friend was under the impression that forced migrants receive more support than German citizens. This imagined favoritism presents a threat to the privileged position of the host or master and, thus, to his hegemony. Abdul's friend says that this idea was mentioned to him by his family illustrating how predefined judgements about forced migrants circulate in discussions where they acquire more affect and meaning.

Similar to Abdul, many forced migrant participants explain that their "German" friends and/or peers ask them questions to verify their pre-existing interpretations and judgements about forced migrants. It seems that when getting to know a forced migrant it becomes important for locals to check whether their predefined knowledge about her is correct. Also Nasir, a forced migrant, explains:

"Yes, in my old school they thought, their first question was "Are you Muslim?" and I said "Yes, I am Muslim, not so religious anymore, but still Muslim." And then after a while I said, it's not so important. Yes, but many though because I am a refugee I am a Muslim. That was their first impression. But my friends now, I mean my German friends, those who got to know me, they say "You are one thing and Islam is another thing"." (Nasir, 20, forced migrant) "Ja, also in meiner alten Schule haben sie das gedacht, also die haben mich gefragt „Ja, bist du Muslim?" und ich da habe ich gesagt, „Ja ich bin Muslim, nicht mehr so religioes, aber noch Muslim." Und dann mit der Zeit habe ich gesagt, ist nicht so wichtig. Ja aber vielen haben gedacht, wenn ich ein Fluechtlich bin, bin ich auch ein Muslim. Das war der erste Eindruck. Aber jetzt so meine Freunde, also meine deutschen Freunde, die habe mich kennen gelehrnt und sagen" Du bist eine Seite und der Islam ist eine Andere."

Similar to Amir and Abdul, Nasir was confronted by his "German" peers with their predefined judgements about him. Nasir says that in the beginning he affirmed being a Muslim, but with time gave less imporance to his religious affiliation. As already mentioned, the legal category "refugee" is associated, amongst others, with "being a Muslim" and to "being a Mulsim" stick judgements about, for example, islamic extremism, terrorism and/or being uneducated. For Nasir, when saying he is a Muslim, these negativity comes to stick to him, which might be one reason why he decided to distance himself

from Islam. Also Abdul notices that Islam is associated with violence and terrorism and that Islam is sweepinly associated with the Middle East. He says:

"People always say, Islam is what Taliban does, Islam is what ISIS does, ISlS is what Bin Laden does. But no one says, Islam is living together. Sometimes everyone talks about Sharia and Burka and such and they compare [name of country] with Saudi Arabia but these two countries are so different. I think I lived in this country and I never saw a person wearing a Burka. And religion wasn't that important and I grew up with Christians and Yazidi and I didn't know what religion they had, because it was not important." (Abdul, 21, forced migrant)"Klar es wird halt immer gesagt Islam ist was Taliban macht, Islam ist was IS macht, Islam ist was Bin Laden macht. Und nicht irgendwie, Islam ist Zusammen leben. Manchmal wird halt die ganze Zeit von Sheria und Burka gesprochen und so und die vergleichen [Name des Landes] mit Saudi Arabien und die beiden Länder sind so unterschiedlich. Ich glaube ich habe in dem Staat gelebt und ich habe keinen einzigen Menschen mit Burka gesehen. Und Religion hat auch nicht so eine große Rolle gespielt und ich bin halt mit Juden, mit Christen und Jesiden aufgewachsen und ich konnte gar nicht verstehen welche Religion sie haben, da es halt kein Thema war."

Abdul says that locals associate Islam primarily with terrorism and extremism, but never think of it as a practive of living together. Moroever, locals ignore that Islam entails different practices and is interpreted differently in different regions and that in fact in some regions of the Middle East people of different religious affiliations live next to each other and that Isam does not necessarily dominate everyday life. Thus, cutting out complexity and details, Islam is left with assocaitions to violence, terrorism and extremism. Everytime a local askes a forced migrant (, migrant or "person with a migration background") whether she is a Muslim or assumes her to adher to Islam, the local touches the forced migrant with that violence, terrorism and extremism. In this sense, Nasir's distancing from Islam can be understood as a way to protect himself from this association with violence and terrorism. This power to move forced migrants reaffirms locals position as host/masters, as by inducing a person to change her religious practices and beliefs one changes her worldview and spirituality and, thus, her relation to herself, others and the world.

Moreover, Nasir states that his friends (after the process of having become friends) say "You are one thing and Islam is another thing.". Thus, instead of questioning or changing their initial association of refugee and Muslim and their judgments about Islam, they relate to him as an exception to the rule. Abdul narrates a similar experience. He says:

"With him (a German friend), he was always careful and I could never understand why. And then we talked and he said "Oh you are completely different." and then he met my friends and said "ahh you are all different, you are not like the other chavs and refugees." and I thought, how are refugees? And how do you know I am not a chav? "Well, those who scream, don't speak German and do criminal things." and I asked him "Who is that? Is everyone the same? When one refugee does something like this all have to suffer? How many refugees do you know?" "Well, I know you." "And how are we?" "You are not like refugees." and this showed me that refugees are people he does not know." (Abdul, 21, forced migrant) "Und bei dem (ein deutscher Freund) war das halt so, dass er immer vorsichtig war und vorsichtig war und ich konnte das nicht verstehen. Und dann kam es zu einem Gespräch das wir halt geführt haben und dann hat er gesagt, „Oh du bist ja total anders." und dann hat er auch meine Freunde kennen gelernt und er hat dann gesagt. „ahh ihr seid voll anders, ihr seid nicht wie die anderen Assis und Flüchtlingen." und ich dachte mir no so hhää wie sind denn Flüchtlinge

und woher weißt du dass ich nicht Assi bin?. „Naja, dass die halt schreien und kein Deutsch kennen, kriminelle Dinge tun" und ich meinte so „ja wer ist das? Sind das Alle?" Wenn einer das macht, dann leiden alle darunter. „Wie viele Flüchtlinge kennst du?" „Naja, ich kenne euch." „Und wie sind wir?" „ Ihr seid nicht wie Flüchtlinge." und daraus habe ich halt irgendwie so gesehen, dass sind für ihn Menschen, die er nicht kennt."

Similar to other forced migrants participants quoted in previous chapters, Abdul perceived his "German" friend to be careful at first. Once they had a conversation it turned out that his "German" friend had assumed Abdul to be a criminal and a chav and had interpreted him as a threat. This interpretation of (forced) migrants as criminals and chavs, thus, as being dirty and dangerous has been discussed by several scholars (e.g. Ahmed 2013; Yuvail-Davis 2011; Yeğenoğlu 2012). Following Abdul's explanation, since these judgements stick to him, his "German" friend stayed away and was careful relating to him. According to the cited scholars, the association of criminality and dirt with (forced) migrants justifies not only distancing but also discrimination, violence and hatred.

Furthermore, similar to Nasir, Abdul says that his "German" friend comes to dissociate him from "refugees" rather than to question his judgment of refugees as being criminals, uneducated and chavs. Creating exceptions rather than reflecting on predefined interpretations associated with "refugee" allows locals to keep distance and social hierarchies separating them from strangers/foreigners/refugees and guests in place, so that they do not have to move away from or share their position of the empowered and privileged host. Moreover, Abdul says that his "German" friend had never met a "refugee" before and, thus, didn't know anything about them from personal interactions. In this sense, Abdul's "German" friend had filled the lack of personal contact with pre-existing judgements and interpretations about "refugees". This is in line with what has been discussed in previous chapters. Most of the German citizen participants had no or little personal contact with forced migrants and lived lives untouched by their presence, while holding interpretations about them (especially concerning hardships and the state of being in need).

Similar to Abdul, Nasir and Amir state that when talking to "Germans" they realized that "Germans" know little about where they come from and why they left their homes behind.

> "We can read and think. Because once, a person said to me "Do you have Coke in [name of country]? And I said " No, we only drink water." He further asked "Do you have internet?" And they really thought we would live in the desert without trees and houses." (Nasir, 20, forced migrant) "Wir können auch lesen und denken. Weil einmal hat mir einer gesagt, „Gibt es Coca Cola in [Name des Landes]?" und ich habe gesagt „Nein wir trinken nur Wasser." Oder der hat gefragt, „Gibt es auch Internet?" Und die haben wirklich gedacht, wir leben in einer Wüste und es gibt keine Bäume und keine Häuser uns so."

And Amir says:

> "Some people say refugees have a lot of money and live like kings and other things. But no. Some poeple think that Muslims come because of sex and other things. But no. From 100% maybe 1% comes because of shitty things, but 99% came because they had problems." (Amir, 22, forced migrant) "Einige Leute sagen, ja, Flüchtlinge gekommt hier haben viele Geld und sie sind wie König und andere Sache. Aber nein. Manche Menschen denken, dass Muslime kommen hier nur wegen Sex oder wegen Andere Sachen. Aber nein. Von 100% viellicht 1% kommt wegen Scheiße Sachen aber 99% nein, sie hatten Probleme."

Abdul's, Nasir's and Amir's contacts and conversations with locals show that the "Germans" they talked to know little about the lives forced migrants had to leave behind, about what motivated their escape and what kind of lives they live in NRW. Interviews suggest that rather than openly discussing their lack of knowledge and contact, German citizens rely on interpretations, judgements and assumptions which travel attached to sticky signs (e.g. dark hair and skin, headscarf, legal category "refugee") to comprehend, relate to and receive forced migrants. Meeting these prejudices, assumptions and interpretations partly involving violence, fear, hatred and/or ignorance is challenging and humiliating. In fact, Nasir answers with sarcasm and Amir feels the need to explain and defend himself and other "refugees" stressing that most "refugees" had serious problems which motivated their escape rather than seeking financial support from the German state and sex. Sarcasm is often a way to convey contempt and/or to distance oneself from the other or the subject of conversation. In this sense, both answers illustrate a way to defend and protect themselves from the discomfort and humiliation involved in feeling locals' interpretations and assumptions sticking to them.

Also Mrs. Schwan, a lawyer acompaining asylum applications, notices the discrimination and hummilation forced migrants have to face regularly. She says:

> "They (forced migrants) have to accept many insults and suffer a lot in exchange for a better life. I regularly realize that the system is unfair. These people (forced migrants) meet a lot of hatred and prejudice and I am surprised how calmly they relate to it and accept it without getting aggressive. When I see how they are treated, I am surprised that they don't bang on the table."
> (Mrs. Schwan, lawyer) "Was die alles erdulden und erleiden um für sich dann ein besseres Leben aufbauen zu können. Was ich halt auch immer wieder wahrnehme ist, wie ungerecht das System ist. Mit wie vielen Vorurteilen und Hass die Menschen konfrontiert werden und wie sehr sie das verletzt und mitnimmt. Ich bin immer wieder erstaunt darüber, mit welcher Gelassenheit und ohne aggressiv zu werden, das die das ertragen. Ich denke dann oft, ich bin erstaunt, dass nicht mehr passiert. Also das denke ich wirklich oft, wenn ich dann mitbekomme, wie Menschen behandelt werden, dann bin ich oft erstaunt eher, dass die nicht mal auf den Tisch gehauen haben."

Mrs. Schwan witnesses that forced migrants are regularly confronted with prejudice and insults. She says that she would expect forced migrants to get angry in response to regular discrimination suggesting that the level of humilation she observes is high. In fact, Thibault explains how painful it can be to be always asked the same questions aiming to verify assumptions and judgements sticking to his accent and legal status. He says:

> "Yes, and when I meet Germans here at university or when we meet for the first time and they notice my accent and that I am not from Germany, the first question always is "Where are you from?" and I say "I am from Syria." then there is like a package of about 15 questions I was always asked to answer. Always! So I know how the conversation will go. I know this conversation, this introductory conversation. I meet a person for the first time and we'll have that conversation. "Where are you from? How long have you been here? What do you do? Are you here alone or with your family? How did you get here? What are you doing now? Do you want to

stay here? [...] Yes, exactly! And my neighbor, for example, when she wants to be friendly "When do you want to go back?" and I answered her "Probably never." She was obviously very amused to hear this. (laughs)" (Thibault, 29, forced migrant) "Ja, und auch hier in der Uni wenn ich mich mit Deutschen treffe oder so oder wenn wir uns kennen lernen und die merken, dass ich nicht aus Deutschland komme, wegen meinem Akzent und so. Die Erste Frage, die kommt, ist wo kommst du her und dann sage ich "Ich komme aus Syrien." und dann es gibt wie ein Paket. Die haben z.B. 15 Fragen, mir wurden die immer gefragt. Immer! Und also ich kenne wie das Gespräch wird. Ich kenne dieses Gespräch, das Kennenlernen Gespräch. Ich lerne einen Mensch kennen und dann gibt es dieses Gespräch. Wo kommst du her und wie lange bist du schon hier, was machst du? Bist du hier alleine oder mit Familie? Wie bist du hierher gekommen? Was machst du jetzt?. Ob du hier bleiben willst? [...] Ja, genau! Und meine Nachbarn z.B., wenn sie mit mir freundlich sein wollen, sie sagen "Wann wollt ihr eigentlich zurückgehen?" Da habe ich gesagt "Ja, wahrscheinlich nicht." Die haben sich da natürlich gefreut. (lacht)"

Thibault explains that when he first meets "Germans" and they notice that he is a foreigner he is asked where he comes from. While the question about someone's origin can certainly be motivated by interest about that person and can be the beginning of a stimulating conversation, based on what has been analyzed and discussed in previous chapters the question about someone's origin is also a way to emphasize difference and to establish (a conceptually unbridgeable) distance. Locals asking (forced) migrants where they are from establishes and affirms the person asking questions as the host and the interrogated as the guest. Not every local asking a (forced) migrant where she comes from might primarily and consciously establish herself as the host and master. However, given the numerous ways (forced) migrants experience discrimination and are reminded of "their" difference and disprivilege (e.g. through body movements, looks, gestures and/or questions), the question about origin cannot be detached from its associations with assumed cultural origin and resulting illegitimity and disprivelege.

Thibault says that once he has revealed his origin (Syria) a package of about 15 questions follows and he insists that these questions are always the same. First, he is asked how long he has been living "here". Most refugees from Syria arrived in Germany between 2015 and 2017, so this question also serves to verify that Thibault is really a "refugee". Next, "Germans" want to know what he is doing. This question can open up discussions and create connections, however, it is also a way to check whether Thibault is a deserving and contributing "refugee" or an undeserving "refugee" who lives from state assistance. Moreover, this question also reveals whether Thibault takes too much (e.g. studying at the university) not complying to his role of a "guest in need." Then, he is asked whether he is "here" with his family or alone. The answer to this question tells about how much emotional support, love, connection and recognition Thibault has from his family, but also how close and involved he might be with "his culture". Since locals often perceive culture to be a meaningful difference between themselves and forced migrants, asking about where their families live also serves to assess their degree of culture difference. Next, "Germans" seek to know about how Thibault got "here". Amongst others (displaying interest and sympathy), this question can aim to verify the degree of hardship Thibault experienced before arriving in NRW. The last question Thibault mentions is about his intentions to stay "here". Besides showing interest in his future perspective (this future perspective being an important aspect of people's self-understanding

and, thus, being easily and quickly discussed in a first conversation aiming to get to know one another) asking this question is a way to estimate the level of entitlement Thibault is demanding and, thus, the degree of danger he presents for locals' privilege and their position as hosts. Thibault gives the example of a conversation with his neighbor, who had asked him whether he (and his brothers) intended to go back. He sarcastically states that his neighbor was very happy to hear that he (and his brothers) do not intend to return to the country they escaped from. Whether his neighbor felt uncomfortable or happy can not be established here, however, this anecdote let us suspect that through many conversations Thiabult has gotten the impression that "Germans" would prefer him to go back to where he came from and do not want to share "here" with him.

The questions Thibault is repeatedly asked imply a narrative and serve to verify judgements and assumptions locals have made about Thibault before even meeting him. They help emphasize the differences locals see between themselves and him, allowing locals to comfortably establish themselves as hosts and Thibault as the guest. These questions reveal to locals what kind of a guest Thibault is, and, thus, the degree of danger to their hegemony. In this quote I did not anonymize Thibault's country of origin, because what he describes is exactly what I wished to prevent by anonymizing forced migrant participant's home countries. I did not want the reader's reading to be co-authored by possible assumptions, prejudices and interpretations she might have about certain geographical regions and people originating from these places.

As already mentioned, meeting prejudices and predefined knowledge can be painful and humiliating. In fact, Thibault explains what the continous experience of this kind of discrimination did with him:

> "Psychologically I wasn't well and I just couldn't do it any longer, I really couldn't. I'm not able to do it. I am a human being and I think I am a very emotional one and I have to protect myself from all thoughts that hurt me and I have to see where they come from. And then I cut everything that hurt me, I don't know. I mean I cut with Germans and I try to be alone." (Thibault, 29, forced migrant) "Ich war sehr psychisch belastet und ich konnte nicht mehr, ich konnte nicht mehr. Ich kann das nicht. Ich bin ein Mensch, ich glaube, der sehr emotional ist und ich muss mich schützen von allen Gedanken, die mich stören und dann muss ich gucken was die Quelle ist. Und alles was mich stört, dann habe ich das einfach, keine Ahnung, einfach stopp gemacht. Also mit Deutschen. Deswegen, ich versuche jetzt allein zu sein."

Thibault states that at some point he had no strength anymore to relate to and deal with these kinds of questions and related discrimination. He says that he felt the need to protect himself from "all thoughts that hurt" meaning not primarily discrimination involving physical violence (or verbal violence), but interpretations, judgements and assumptions which "Germans" make about him and which stick to him forcing him to relate to these judgements and assumptions (and invovled emotions). Thibault says that his solution was to cut all ties with Germans as solitude appears safer and more comfortable to him. Living in solitude amongst others means having no or little possibilities to establish meaningful

connections, be recognized and to mourn losses involved in his experience of forced migration. In this sense, staying alone he is confined to grieving his losses which continue to shape his possibilities to construct a life in NRW, implying that he will continue to struggle living with his losses and will remain a foreigner or stranger and, thus, a guest.

Interviews show that not only locals have predefined judgements and assumptions about forced migrants, but also the other way around. For example, Abdul states:

> "Before coming to Germany I was full of stereotypes. [...] I had no idea. What is Germany? I had heard only a few things and in this way stereotypes are formed, because you try to make things easier than they are so others understand.What did I know about Germany? Ok, there is football, the third Reich, Hitler, Holocost, Nazi and that's it. I deliberately decided not to stay in Bavaria, because I had heard "Don't stay in Bavaria or in the East because they are all Nazis there." What a Nazi was, I didn't know, but it was something bad." (Abdul, 21, forced migrant) "Ich kam halt auch nach Deutschland mit dem Kopf voller Vorurteile. [...] Ich halt keine Ahnung hatte, was ist Deutschland? Ich habe halt nur ein paar Sachen gehört und dann entstehen Vorurteile, weil man versucht Sachen viel einfacher zu machen als sie sind, damit der Andere versteht. Was wusste ich über Deutschland? ok, dann kommt halt Fußball, Drittes Reich, Hitler, Holocost, Nazi, und das hatte ich. Also ich bin auch bewusst nicht in Bayern geblieben, weil ich schon gehört hatte, bleib nie im Osten und in Bayern, da sind alle Nazis. Aber was ist ein Nazis ist, das wusste ich halt auch nicht, es war nur etwas schlechtes."

Abdul explains that he had predefined judgements and interpretations about Germany and "Germans" before arriving. He says that his pre-existing interpretations about people living in Bavaria and in the East moved him to settle down somewhere else in Germany. Thus, similar to locals predefined judgements about forced migrants, forced migrants' interpretations and assumptions about locals circulate through conversations acquiring meanings and affect and move forced migrants away or towards locals. However, forced migrant participants' opinions about locals have less powerful and less direct effects on locals lives, as in the position of the host they do not depend directly on their guests, forced migrants, for legitimacy and participation. Locals' judgements about forced migrants, however, limit forced migrants' possibilities to create connections, to participate in everyday life, to gain legitimacy and access to resources and to be recognized as an equal individual who has lost a life and imagined futures. However, receiving the other not in a confined space ruled by a host, but in everyday life contacts when everyone is equally host and guest, mutual openness to reconsider predefined judgements and to be surprised by the other is crucial. Mutual reception can only happen when both are open to be impressed by the other rather than by predefined judgements and labels. The analysis has shown that this form of mutual and open reception does not happen much. Locals and forced migrants perceive each other through pre-existing interpretations and, thus, perceive each other as members of groups rather than individuals who are infinitely/radically different. In the following I intend to show what could be small steps towards an open encounter between locals and (forced) migrants where both are not completely open in the sense of recognizing the other's infinite difference from the beginning (something I think is impossible), but e.g.

open to reconsider judgements and labels they have attached to the other and, thus, engage in a process of getting to know each other.

7.3. Openness and receiving difference

Being open to reconsider one's predefined judgements about the other and willingness to be surprised can be challenging, as it involves questioning forms of relations and social hierarchies, loosening of boundaries and re-evaluating perceived closeness which have been established and enforced by these predefined judgements. As quoted in a previous chapter, Doaa says that she has the feeling of living in two "societies", the "Arab" and the "German society", which have very different expectations on her. Doaa further explains that she believes that both societies draw boundaries and try to stay separated. She says:

> "I mean, I think the Arab society sees other societies meaning the Western society in general, not only Germany, as something different, that no one, they imagine that no one should mix with these societies. That you have a boundary between the two. This boundary is politics and religion or simply history, what happened in the past. They see that human rights are only words which they, themselves, don't respect, but they still say them in order to exploit others or to change their opinion. But they see that it is better to live in a Western or an American country, but you shouldn't mix so much with them. I think that Germans see Arabs and all foreigners in general as the same. I think Germans also put a boundary between Arabs and themselves, because they have the problem that the German society already has an image of them because of the news and such." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Also ich finde, die Arabische Gesellschaft sehen andere Gesellschaften also so die westlichen allgemein, nicht nur Deutschland, alles was anders, was niemand sich in diesen, man stellt sich vor, dass niemand in diesen Gesellschaften sich vermischt. Dass man so eine Barriere hat zwischen den beiden. Diese Barriere ist Politik oder Religion oder halt nur Geschichte, was ja in der Vergangenheit passiert ist. Sie sehen ja, dass so Menschenrechte und so, alles nur so Wörter, an die man sich nicht hält aber trotzdem sagt um andere Leute auszunutzen oder die Meinung zu ändern. Aber sie sehen halt dass es besser ist wenn man in einem westliche oder so amerikanische Land lebt, aber man muss sich nicht so viel in die Gesellschaft vermischen. Ich finde Deutsche sehen Araber oder allgemein alle Ausländer gleich. Ich Finde Deutsche machen auch eine Barriere zwischen die Arabische und sich selbst, weil sie haben das Problem, dass die Deutsche Gesellschaft schon eine Vorstellungen von ihnen haben durch Nachrichten oder so."

Doaa believes that the "Arab" and the "German society" draw boundaries and do not want to mix. She perceives the boundaries to be rooted in politics, religion and history, which suggests that these boundaries imply histories of contact and, thus, predefined judgements and interpretations. She says that "Germans" see "Arabs" and all foreigners the same and have already an image of "Arabs" which they formed based on what they learned from the "news and such". (A bit later in the interview she specified "news and such" as news, parents, politics and society.) Similarly, "Arabs" hold predefined ideas about "Germany" and the "West". "Arabs" suspect that "Germans"/the West want to exploit them and use human rights to manipulate rather than to support "Arabs". Doaa perceives boundaries to be rooted in politics, religion and history which may refer to a similar idea as "culture" and "cultural origin" which locals perceive to define an important boundary between themselves and forced migrants (and other

"people with a migration background"). In this sense boundary drawing is a reciprocal process and mutually enforced. The opposition Doaa narrates (Germany and the West vs. Arabs and all foreigners) suggests that both sides frame the other in potentially very general terms allowing these boundaries to potentially stretch over a large population and/or territory.

Doaa further explains that the two societies she lives in are like separate blocks (as they have very different expectations on her and draw boundaries towards the other) and only mix in people who have experiences of both societies, as according to her, experiences within these societies define people as participants.

> "Maybe they mix in people who have both experiences. But they don't just mix, I mean they have one thing in common, that is that they both have expectations. But what they expect is completely different. So there, they are more like two blocks." (Doaa, 19, forced migrant) (my translation) "Vielleicht mischen sie sich in Personen, die beide Erfahrungen haben. Aber sie mixen halt nicht nur, also sie haben eine Gemeinsamkeit, das beide Erwartungen haben, aber was sie erwarten, da sind sie ganz unterschiedlich. Also da sind sie mehr wie zwei Blöcke."

Doaa suggests that the "German" and "Arab" societies do not mix and are two separate blocks. The only way they mix is in people. "Having experiences of/within a society" implies contacts with other people, institutions, values, traditions, norms and habits which produced the "society", so having experiences with a society means to be impressed by it. In this sense, societies mix in people,when they impress on the same person. Mixing of societies implies that people who are impressed by more than one society relate to both societies and both societies shape how they relate to themselves and others.

Doaa's interpretation of having experiences in two "societies" as living in two separate societies which draw boundaries and desire to stay closed suggests these boundaries to be rigid. Her words partly reflect an accepted discourse in Germany about immigrants (and their descendants) as living in a "parallel society" ("Parallelgesellschaft") (Heitmeyer, Müller and Schröder 1997). Parallel societies are enacted and lived by people who reside within the territory of the German state, but are perceived as living separately from and outside the German society. The idea of parallel societies was firstly and principally applied to immigrants from Greece, Italy and especially from Turkey, who immigrated to Germany as "guest workers" after WW 2 (Ramm 2010). The idea of these parallel societies continues to shape discourse and interpretation of problems involved in migration and living together, as until today migrants and their descendants are quickly perceived as living in these "parallel societies". In fact, Doaa's observation and previous discussion of interviews has shown that forced migrant participants have the impression that locals perceive and relate to them and other "people with a migration background" in a similar way, as they share physical features and assumed origin with them. This suggests that interpretation of these physical features by locals (dark hair and skin, headscarf) might happen in relation to and informed by the discourse of "parallel societies".

In the discourse on parallel societies generally the responsibility for their creation is put on (forced) migrants and their descendants (Ramm 2010). However, I would argue that this is always a reciprocal process. Interviews show that for forced migrants it is difficult to establish contacts with locals and that their possibilities to participate are limited by what locals perceive them to be entitled to. In this sense, forced migrant participants' aligning with "people with a migration background" is also a reaction to locals' turning away.

One way to loosen boundaries of these "parallel societies" and any other meaningful boundary drawn between (forced) migrants and locals, involves people being open to reconsider and change their predefined judgements and interpretations. As mentioned above, Doaa has the impression that the two societies she lives in are separate blocks, because they have very different expectations on her and draw boundaries concerning politics, religion and history, thus, involving predefined interpretations and judgements about the other. She says that when two (or more) societies impress on the same person (i.e. when this person has experiences with/in both (all) of them) these societies mix. This suggests that the boundary between these two (or more) societies really is only a conceptual boundary, meaning sticky labels such as "Arab" or "German" which group people together. If societies mix when impressing on the same person/people their boundaries actually are fluid, as especially today in a more and more globalized world and wide access to the internet and social networks people always relate to more than what could be thought of as "one bound society". With people, goods, ideas and practices moving across the globe and contact not being reduced to face to face contact anymore, drawing territorial, bureaucratic or conceptual boundaries between societies is hardly possible. In this sense, being open to be impressed by the other's difference and not one's predefined judgments about her, implies questioning the conceptual boundary between the other and oneself and, thus, changing and/or giving up on predefined judgements. This implies openness to be impressed by the other and her particular differences and similarities rather than by predefined interpretations. This can be challenging and maybe destabilizing, since these pre-existing interpretations contain scripts and ideas about how to relate to the other and about who one is facing her.

In a previous chapter I argued that recognising someone as a stranger involves losses for both, the person being perceived as stranger and the person perceiving strangeness. Being recognized as a stranger and/or feeling "strange" evidences a loss of recognition and acceptance as an equal and full participant in social life and relates the stranger to her losses of feelings of connection, mutuality and embeddedness in the social environment she left behind. Similarly, the person recognizing someone else as a stranger loses a feeling of harmony, ease, comfort, and security, as it challenges her habits and experience of being surrounded by likeness. The comfort of likeness allows for feelings of well-being, satisfaction, security and ease (Ahmed 2013), thus, perceiving a stranger challenges this comfort of likeness. Following the

idea that meeting a stranger involves the experience of loss for the newcomer and the local, perceiving a stranger, classifying her according to predefined interpretations and judgement (e.g. stereotypes) and holding on to these judgements can be understood as a form of grieving the feelings of stability, safety, comfort and recognition experienced before meeting the other. Both would have to be open to mourn the stability, comfort and recognition granted by these pre-existing interpretations and judgements in order to be able to receive each other with their difference and singularity. For mourning both are open to the other and to themselves in order to be impressed and moved by their own and the other's losses. Mutual impressing is the opportunity to mourn previous feelings of safety, security, and recognition from aligning with predefined categories and judgements. This makes the act of receiving someone not a passive letting arrive and observing the other, but a reciprocal engagement. In this way, mutual receiving of a newcomer and a local in everyday contacts offers a possibility to establish meaningful connections and relations and, thus, is an opportunity to change together.

Categories such as "Arab", "German", "Western", "refugee" and/or "person with a migration background" have rich meaning and the power to move people, since many predefined interpretations and judgment stick to them. In this way, these categories grant feelings of stability, comfort and/or recognition to people who align with them. Mourning these categories can imply giving up security and closeness felt to the people who aligned with the same categories. Losing this familiar closeness and security is part of the process of mourning, as mourning implies transformation. The connections and relations established during processes of mutual impressing with the person we perceive as a stranger/the person who perceives us as a stranger we create closeness to her. In this sense, categories such as "Arab", "German", "Western" and/or "refugee" do not have to be erased, but need to lose their power to separate people into seemingly meaningful groups. This means that these categories have less connections to entitlement and restriction, to privilege and disprivilege and to legitimacy and invalidity meaning they need to lose their power to enforce social hierarchies and to give access to resources.

Mourning predefined judgments, receiving each other and being willing to change together is a process which demands, beyond openness, a lot of energy, courage, patience, hope, faith, and strength. Hannin, a forced migrant, describes his experience. He says:

> "That they always need patience. Something new is difficult, new language and such, you have to do it step by step. You need patience and courage. Because when you are afraid you will not reach anything. When you are new somewhere, you have to be patient. You shouldn't sit alone, but establish contacts. (Hannin, 18, forced migrant) (my translation) "Das sie immer so etwas Geduld haben müssen. Das es schwer ist etwas neues, also neue Sprache und so, man muss das Schritt für Schritt machen. Man muss Geduld haben und mutig sein. Ja überall, man muss immer mutig sein. Weil wenn man immer so Angst hat, dann kann man nichts schaffen. Man muss mutig sein. Wenn man irgendwo neu ist, man muss ein bisschen so mutig sein. Nicht immer ganz alleine sitzen, man muss Kontakte machen."

Hannin says that he needs courage and patience to grow familiar with the newness of social life in NRW, to learn the language and to establish contacts. He has the impression that being afraid hinders this process, so he intends to be patient and courageous since growing familiar is a slow, step-by-step process. As discussed in the chapter on grief, forced migrants say that they learned that opening up and showing vulnerability is dangerous as it makes them an easy prey to others. Having experienced that their own vulnerability can be a threat, they prefer to stay closed and alone. To this add experiences of being devalued and derecognized by locals as equal individuals and as people having lost a life and imagined future selves. Locals' derecognition might enhance forced migrants' mistrust in connections and closeness to them, as feeling that one's pain and vulnerability is derecognized involves revisiting the emotions involved in the moment(s) of loss and harm. Given this, opening up to locals and receiving them as who they are and as equal individuals is challenging and risky. Thus, relying on categories such as "German"/"Western" and/or "Arab" and holding on to feelings of stability and recognition granted by these categories might be the easier option. Nevertheless, for forced migrants, being courageous and patient, establishing contacts and learning the language is a necessity as it allows them to slowly grow familiar with the newness of the place where they settled, to become part of everyday life and to construct a new life and future within it.

Locals appear to be able to live lives without touching and engaging much with forced migrants and their differences. However, if they were to receive forced migrants not in their homes, country or garden as guests, but in everyday life conversations as equal individuals, they would meet as much newness and difference as Hannin is facing everyday living in NRW. In fact, as stated in earlier chapters, forced migrants and experts notice locals to be hesitant and afraid to enter contact with forced migrants, because they look different, are, thus, suspected to think differently and to have a different culture. Moreover, an expert suggested that locals are unsure how to relate to the stories of hardship they expect forced migrants to tell. This suggests that also locals struggle to show themselves vulnerable and open towards forced migrants, as they appear unsure about how they might be moved by the contacts. In fact, as shown in this chapter, rather than saying that they know nothing or little about forced migrants' losses and lives, locals prefer relating to and insisting on predefined assumptions and interpretations they hold about them. This shows them reluctant to question their predefined judgements and feelings of safety and comfort granted by them and, thus, reluctant to reconsider the conceptual boundaries they draw between themselves and forced migrants. In this sense, receiving the other's difference appears to be challenging for forced migrants and locals and as suggested by Hannin is best approached as a step-by-step process, trying not to be afraid, but being courageous and patient towards oneself and the other.

Interviews with forced migrants and experts suggest that in order to meet and to live together a first necessary step would be to acknowledge forced migrants' presence as being a part of everyday life.

This would allow everyone to talk and work together in order to figure out ways of living together. Abdul, a forced migrant, explains what he feels is missing and, thus, hinders solutions to problems and struggles involved in migration. He says:

> "And it has to be made clear that there is good and bad on both sides. That's also what I wanted to say about refugees. We're here, so no one can say that we don't belong to Germany. [...] That's denying reality. Islam is here and you can't say it's not part of Germany. With the Nazis it's the same. You cannot say right wing extremists aren't part of Germany. Just as there're right wing extremists, there's Islam. You can't deny that. People who live in Germany have to come together in order to master it. I mean both sides first have to acknowledge that it is and that they can't reject it. And what I realized about the subject "refugees", maybe it's less by now, but before there was a lot of talk about refugees, but never with them. It was always the refugees and how we do that and they were seen as the plague and not as a people with whom you can talk. Yes, that is missing a lot." (Abdul, 21, forced migrant) (my translation) "Und es sollte halt von beiden Seiten klar gemacht werden es gibt gutes und böses Gesicht. Das ist auch was ich zum Thema Flüchtlinge sage. Wir sind da halt und da kann keiner sagen wir gehören nicht zu Deutschland. [...] Das ist eine Verleugnung der Realität. Islam ist da. Und da kann man halt nicht sagen, dass gehört nicht zu Deutschland. Das ist wie mit den Nazis, da kann man halt auch nicht sagen, die gehören nicht zu Deutschland. So wie wir Rechtsradikale haben, haben wir auch Islam und das kann man halt nicht leugnen. Leute, die dann in Deutschland leben sollten sich halt zusammen organisieren und das bewältigen. Also beide Seiten müssen erst mal anerkennen, dass es da ist und nicht abblenden. Und was ich halt beim Thema "Flüchtlingen" gemerkt habe, vielleicht ist es jetzt weniger geworden, aber vorher wurde halt immer über Flüchtlinge geredet, aber nie mit denen. Also es war halt immer die Flüchtlinge und wie machen wir das und es wurde halt als Pest angesehen und nicht halt als Menschen, mit denen man reden kann. Ja das fehlt sehr."

Abdul claims that since "refugees" are there, they are part of Germany and he refuses to accept when people insist on denying their legitimacy. Claiming that his and other forced migrants' presence in Germany define them as part, echoes the relational understanding of the "stranger" (Simmel, 1992). Interpreting a newcomer (or any other person) as a stranger defines a reciprocal relationship to that person and this relation describes her as part of social life. Abdul identifies himself as a "refugee" and even though he says that he is not a practicing Muslim, he felt addressed when Islam is depicted as not belonging to Germany. This suggests that he accepted the association of "refugee" and Islam which, as already discussed, is one of the predefined interpretations which is often attached to people holding refugee status and/or to people with dark hair and dark skin. With this Abdul also accepts the conceptual boundary locals draw between themselves/Gernmany and (everything they associate with) Islam. Mourning the association to Islam could imply that Abdul does not recognize this boundary, as a fixed line, but as a relation. Trying to distance Islam from "them/Germany" could be understood as an expression of discomfort and/or fear from everything people associates with Islam, so distancing themselves locals express how they relate (fearfully) to Islam and to people they associate with it. If primarily understood as locals' expression of discomfort and/or fear, rather than an act of derecognition and exclusion, it could be heard as showing a need to talk to revise pre-existing assumptions in which fear is grounded. Detaching interpretations and judgements stuck to one's body by locals (or any other who has more structural power than oneself) is challenging, however, I hypothesize that it is a way to question

boundaries and, thus, a way to mourn feelings of safety and recognition they grant. Detaching oneself from assumptions attached to one's body allows receiving each other and mutually impressing upon each other rather than to keep relating to these pre-existing interpretations about the other.

Abdul compares denying Islam's beloging to Germany with refusing to accept right wing extremism (or Nazis) as part of Germany. Given that previous analysis has shown that Islam is quickly associated with terrorism and extremism, this comparsion might aim to illustrate that simply because something or someone is perceived as dangerous and/or undesired one should not draw boundaries and grieve previous feelings of safety, but talk and be open towards each other. In fact, Abdul proposes that instead of denying "refugees'" legitimacy, people in Germany need to work together and talk with each other in order to solve problems and issues involved in (forced) migration. He criticizes that people used to talk a lot about "refugees", trying to manage them and seeing them as a plague rather than trying to talk with them directly. This confirms that locals feel the need to manage or handle "refugees" and the difference (and dangers) they are perceived to bring with them. The idea of managing refugees involves self-entitlement as the master/host or at least as the person who can and must handle "refugees" and, thus, as the person who is capable of finding solutions. This management-approach to "refugees" shows locals as closed and turned away from forced migrants and as elevating themselves above them. Talking about "refugees" rather than with them does not involve direct contact, but rather contract and negotiation of predefined knowledge and interpretations about "refugees." In this sense, receiving forced migrants in everyday life contacts and not in a predefined space would imply giving up the management approach meaning to stop grieving past feelings of safety and accepting themselves as equals to forced migrants in the quest of living together.

Mrs. Neumann, a psychologist working with forced migrant youth, makes a similar observation and claim. When reflecting about how it could be possible to create and foster meaningful connections and relations between locals and forced migrants allowing forced migrants to live healthy and worthy lives in Germany, she says:

> "I think storytelling circles would be a good idea. Events when the asymmetry is reduced/neutralized by letting people, who experienced it [flight], tell their stories. They are the narrators and everyone else just listens. Then they may explain what they experienced and how they wish to be received and what they need. Actually pretty simple things, which are lost." (Mrs. Neumann, psychologist) (my translation) "Ich fände das Format gut, so wie Erzählkreise. Veranstaltungen wo man die Asymmetrie mal aufhebt indem man die Leute, die es erlebt haben, erzählen lässt. Und die sind die Sprecher und alle anderen hören halt mal zu. Dann erzählen sie vielleicht was sie erlebt haben und sie erzählen auch wie sie sich wünschen, dass man ihnen begegnet und was sie brauchen. Eigentlich ganz simple Dinge, die aber verloren gehen."

Similar to Abdul, Mrs. Neumann believes that it is important to reduce and flatten the asymmetry between forced migrants and locals. She believes that storytelling circles could help to create a certain degree of equality and openness between them. She stresses that forced migrants would be the narrators

and locals would listen and that forced migrants would have the opportunity to say what they need and how they wish to be received. Her claims suggest that she believes that currently forced migrants are not listened to and that locals seem to talk about them, guessing their needs and deciding how they are received. Her observation reflects Abdul's experience of "Germans" talking about "refugees" but not with them. Both claim that locals need to open up to forced migrants and let themselves be impressed by them rather than by their predefined judgements and interpretations about them, as this could flatten "asymmetry between them" and, thus, could help to loosen boundaries enforcing this asymmetry.

Similarly Mr. Lohmann, a psychologist working in an accompanied housing program for forced migrant youth, believes that beyond spending a lot of money on "integration politics" reducing the asymmetry between forced migrants and locals is most important. When discussing what forced migrants becoming part of social life demands, he says:

> "You just have to give them ("refugees") back their dignity. Giving back their dignity, I think it's about that." (Mr. Lohmann, psychologist) (my translation) "Man muss denen einfach mal die Würde wiedergeben. Die Würde zu geben um zu sagen worum es geht."

Giving "refugees" their dignity back implies for him to relate to them as equal human beings and not as guests, people in need and/or as labor force. Thus, a first and important step in order to receive each other would be to acknowledge forced migrants as human beings meaning as equal individuals who are part of social life. This presupposes that boundaries and asymmetries are questioned, so that locals and forced migrants are open to be impressed by each other. This involves locals in forced migrant's process of becoming part of social life and in fact turns it into a process of creating a "new" social life which equally recognizes and involves both.

As already mentioned, interviews show that locals generally do not conceive of themselves as touched by and part of the process of (forced) migrants' becoming part of social life. For example, Julia, a German citizen, says that according to her migration is normal, as people have always moved places and, thus, have always migrated. However, she believes that "integration" (becoming part) is a different matter. She states:

> "And integration is something different. Of course, the outside world has a lot to do with how they include people, but I believe that also the person, who arrives in a country, she has to show some initiative and has to be open a bit. Sure that is easily said when you know no one and nothing and when you don't know how things work. But the person and the people around have to engage." (Julia, 18, German citizens) (my translation) "Und Integration ist nochmal ein bisschen was anderes. Klar die Außenwelt hat viel damit zu tun wie die einen Menschen aufnehmen, aber ich finde auch dass die Person, die in ein neues Land gekommen ist, die muss einfach ein bisschen Initiative zeigen und ein bissches offen sein. Klar das ist leicht gesagt, wenn man niemanden und gar nichts kennt und nicht weiß wie Dinge ablaufen. Aber man muss sich einfach darauf einlassen von der Person ausgehend, wie von den Menschen drumherum."

She acknowledges that the "outside world" shapes "integration", i.e. how (forced) migrants can become part of social life. However she demands openness and self-engagement of those who arrive. Julia recognizes that (forced) migrants know no one and nothing when arriving, so that openness and self-initiative might be challenging. Julia seems to ignore that arriving in and establishing a life in a place where one knows "no one and nothing" always demands a lot of openness and self-engagement. Having to learn a new language, organize a residency permit (asylum or any other kind of visa), making friends, understanding how everyday life is organized and trying to engage in it, almost entirely relies on the newcomers' self-initiative. Even if educational and bureaucratic infrastructures are in place it is up to the newcomer to search for and find information and to take part in schooling, health care, social activities, and employment. Stressing openness and self-initiative from the side of (forced) migrants, allows her to detach herself conceptually from migration as it enables her to distance herself from the responsibilities she has and the possible support she might be in (forced) migrant's quest to establish connections and to become part of social life. In other words, it allows her to hold on to categories such as "(forced) migrant", "refugee", "German" and/or "native" as describing meaningful differences as they involve, amongst others, the allocation of responsibility for newcomers' becoming part.

Claudia, a German citizen, whose father migrated to Germany (before she was born) says that she first understood what her father had managed when she herself did an internship abroad. She explains:

> "Yes, I have respect for everyone who leaves his home country, no matter whether it is for an internship or for a year or for ever. I wasn't aware of it and never understood my father and took it for granted. My father does not write German well and we used to have to write for him. Sometimes I was annoyed by it, because I had better things to than writing a letter for him. And when I was for the first time in [name of country] and still didn't speak English well, I called my father and told him that I admire that he left for Germany at the age of 20, so before the war, and started a small business. I really admire him. And then you realize how difficult everyday life is and to construct a new life in a different country. I first understood that in my mid 20s. Before that I took it for a given." (Claudia, 29, German citizen) "Ja. ich muss auch echt sagen Hut ab vor jedem der sein eigenes Heimatland verlässt, egal ob das nur für ein Praktikum oder ein Jahr oder für immer ist. Mir war das auch nicht immer so bewusst, ich habe auch nicht immer meinen Vater verstanden und habe immer gedacht, das ist jetzt so. Weil mein Vater kann nicht gut Deutsch schreiben und dann mussten wir manchmal für den etwas schreiben und bis heute noch. Und manchmal ging mir das total auf die Nerven. Ich habe dachte immer, ich habe jetzt nicht noch mal die Zeit dem einen Brief aufzusetzen. Und als ich dann das erste Mal alleine in [name of country] war und da konnte ich noch nicht so gut Englisch. Da habe ich echt meinen Vater angerufen und habe ihm gesagt, du ich bewundere das voll, dass du mit 20 nach Deutschland gekommen, also noch vor dem Krieg, und dann hast du dir hier dein eigenes Kleinunternehmen. Ich bewundere das voll. Und dann sieht man erst mal wie schwer das ist auch im Alltag, aber auch wenn man sich quasi ein komplett neues Leben in einem neuen Land aufbauen muss. Das habe ich erst ganz spät mit Mitte 20 erkannt. Vorher war mir das nicht bewusst. Also war so selbstverständlich."

Claudia explains that before having made her own experience of living abroad, she took the process of becoming part of everyday life, constructing a daily routine and a life in the new place for granted. Only once she had lived through it herself, she gave credit to her father for establishing a new life in Germany. This suggests that being able to imagine what it means and entails to migrate and to

construct a life and future somewhere else is difficult to grasp without having made the experience yourself. Not being able to imagine something which goes beyond one's experiences is probably normal or at least common. However, this makes it even more necessary to talk to the newcomer, to display vulnerability and openness, meaning discussing openly that one might not know much about the other and her experiences rather than filling blind spots with predefined interpretations and labels. This applies equally to locals and newcomers, as newcomers are also unfamiliar with the contact with locals. Having this open conversation where predefined knowledge and interpretations are discussed rather than assumed to be characteristics of the other, allows both to receive the other as who they are. It is a moment when both open up and can mutually impress upon each other, so meaningful connections can be established between people and not between people and predefined judgements and interpretations. This exchange might make managing newcomers superfluous, as problems and difficulties involved in the contact are managed in conversations with them.

7.4. Summary

After all, receiving forced migrants as equal individuals implies recognizing boundaries, locals and forced migrants see between each other, as relational boundaries and as a form of grieving feelings of security, safety and recognition granted by them. These boundaries can be loosened by questioning the predefined assumptions and judgements about the other which are used to draw these boundaries and make the other appear different in the first place. Questioning predefined judgements implies being open to mourn feelings of stability and comfort granted by them. Mourning is a reciprocal process, so it needs contacts between locals and forced migrants for these boundaries and feeling of comfort and stability to be mourned. This makes receiving forced migrants a reciprocal process equally involving forced migrants and locals. Following this also forced migrants' becoming part of everyday life implies mutual engagement. It is an engagement which exceeds institutional responsibility and support and stretches to everyday contacts and interactions, as every contact is an opportunity to receive the other. Thus it is a practice and an engagement allowing for meaningful connections and closeness to establish, so locals and forced migrants can change together and create and become part of a social life which equally recognizes and involves both.

8. CONCLUSION

With this research I have offered an analysis of how the losses involved in forced migration continue to shape forced migrants' lives and possibilities to construct a future in the place where they settle down and how locals and local practices and discourses are involved in this experience of loss. Grief and mourning are two ways of relating to loss and I have analyzed how grieving and mourning of losses involved in forced migration play out in their life narrative and future projection and how locals relate to these emotional processes. Losses involved in forced migration and their grieving is largely unrecognized. This fact complicates mourning and limits forced migrants' possibilities to partake in everyday life. Based on the idea that a "stranger" is the processual result of a relationship rather than being a personal characteristic of the arriving person (Simmel 1992) and discussion of unconditional hospitality (Derrida 2000), I have proposed to conceive of the reception of forced migrations as a reciprocal engagement and practice where everyone is guest and host as both are conceived of as arriving in the shared space of the contact. This form of reception implies that forced migrants and locals mutually impress upon each other rather than being impressed by predefined judgements and interpretations (e.g. stereotypes) they hold about the other. Mutual impressing allows for meaningful connections to form which among others facilitates mourning. This can entail mourning of losses involved in forced migration, but also any other loss either host-guest or guest-host might have experienced during their lives. Moreover, it allows for mourning of feelings of stability, safety, comfort and/or recognition which were granted by predefined judgements and social hierarchies mediated and enforced by these judgements. In this sense, approaching forced migrants' reception as a reciprocal engagement allows for losses involved in forced migration to be recognized and, thus, to become subject of discussion. The recognition of these losses is a necessary step for mourning and reconciliation.

This premise is based on a relational understanding of social life in general and loss and emotions in particular. People are perceived to be constantly involved in numerous reciprocal relations with others and objects, so losing someone or something dear is perceived to affect all reciprocal relations a person is engaged in and not only the one to the lost. Forced migration entails uncountable instances of loss which amount to the experience of losing a life and imagined future selves framed by and embedded in the locality forced migrants had to escape from. Leaving a life and imagined futures behind implies having lost feelings of safety and security meaning having lost trust in the government, neighbors, friends and/or family, because they no longer ensure life but threaten it. This involves losing trust in having shelter and food for tomorrow, so a secure life and future seem impossible. Leaving home, hoping to construct a safer life and future somewhere else, forced migrants lose what they imagined for themselves in these places,

since self-projects embedded in their hometowns are no longer realizable. These lost future plans continue to impress on forced migrant participants' lives and shape their future projection in NRW. When asked about their desires and plans for the future all forced migrant participants mentioned projects and plans they had had before being forced to migrate. Besides mentioning lost self-projects, forced migrants expressed their grieving through missing, feeling torn between homes and projecting themselves in homes and places that they can no longer revisit. All of these describe a continuous relation to their losses, as they involve the loss as actively impressing on forced migrants' self-projection. In this way, they are grieving lost imagined future selves and feelings of trust, safety and security to an environment within which these lost self-projects were embedded.

Narration of moments of loss were colored by shock, pain, anger, fear and/or desperation. These emotions are associated with grief and it is these emotions that keep memories of the losses alive in forced migrants self-reflection and narrations. Forced migrants' grieving is enhanced and prolonged by expectations and responsibility to their families and by the impression of living in two societies. Expectations from and responsibilities towards their families and the society they feel to have left behind relate them to the places, people, and imagined future selves that they have lost. Living with grief is challenging, as it involves the griever with memories which have no future anymore and ideas and life projects which are no longer realizable. Living with this challenge forced migrants create small universes of safety and comfort, stress personal values, especially independence, postpone well-being in the future, and seek to compensate for the loss of a safe and wealthy life together with their families in their hometowns. These strategies make grief workable, as they allow forced migrants to remain impressed by their losses while relating to life in Nordrhein-Westfalen (NRW, Germany). Creating small universes of safety and comfort and being independent allows forced migrants to go on living while the loss of feeling safe and secure within an environment remains real to them. Being independent and living in a small universe of safety, forced migrants do not need to trust and feel safe with others. Postponing well-being into the future, forced migrants keep the hope alive that they can reunite with whom or what they have lost and, thus, reconstitute it. In this way they delay the process of losing because as long as reunion with or reconstitution of the loss remains a plan/wish it is not given up on. Wanting to compensate for the loss of an imagined life in peace and wealth with their families, implies that this lost project remains alive. This lost project continues to impress on them, as they want to realize it in a different place and living situation. Interviews show that despite the importance of their losses, what forced migrants have lost and how they grieve these losses goes relatively unnoticed by locals.

Locals perceive forced migrants' losses as a generalized hardship. They believe forced migrants to have lived through hardships of war, persecution and escape before arriving in NRW and assume them to be traumatized by these experiences. However, locals' understanding of these hardships is very general

and only few have had personal contact with forced migrants. Thus, the hardships locals imagine for forced migrants are primarily based on predefined interpretations and assumptions which stick to the legal category "refugee". These pre-existing assumptions about hardship define a boundary between forced migrants and locals, as locals perceive the experience of hardship as a meaningful difference between themselves and forced migrants. Locating the experience of hardship outside NRW (and Germany in general) allows locals to detach themselves and NRW from hardship. In this sense the predefined interpretation of hardship allows locals to remain untouched by forced migrants' losses while recognizing that they have lived through something horrible.

The narrative of psychological trauma reflects the wide and loose use of the diagnosis of psychological/mental trauma. This diagnosis proposes that people can be emotionally troubled by events which have happened in the past. Therefore, applying it to forced migrants, adds authority to the predefined assumption of hardship as it allows locals to detach themselves and social life "here" from possible emotional trouble and pain forced migrants might experience while living in NRW. Moreover, grief is an emotion we all relate to, since we all have lost people or things that were dear to us, while not everyone is psychologically traumatized. Therefore, understanding forced migrants as being psychologically traumatized rather than grieving imagined future selves (and all people, places, habits and values involved in these lost projects), enables locals to distance their own experiences from those they imagine for forced migrants.

Summarizing forced migrants' past into a generalized story of hardship rather than listening to and letting themselves be impressed by their individual stories is a way locals devalue forced migrants' lost lives and lost imagined future selves and their grieving. It cuts out moments of happiness, joy, communion and pleasure and reduces all horrors and hardships to a general idea of hardship. For locals, it is relatively easy to derecognize forced migrants' losses and their grieving, as they can live lives relatively untouched by forced migrants and, thus, by their losses. Forced migrants are "strangers", people who have arrived and settled down, thus, people who enjoy less legitimacy and recognition than already established people, since they have no meaningful connections to society. Therefore, forced migrants depend on locals for recognition granting access to everyday reciprocal relations, resources and legitimacy, while locals do not depend on them for their lives. This asymmetry is solidified by perceiving forced migrants, i.e. strangers, as guests, while citizens/locals are their hosts. The host welcomes her guest in a confined space, which can be thought of as "her/their" country, city, house, organization, school or company. Confining hospitality to a space "owned" by the host implies and enhances the power imbalance between them, as in her home the host enjoys more legitimacy and freedoms than the guest. Analysis has shown that the story of generalized hardship allows to turn forced migrants, the guests, into guests in need, as after having lived through hardship of war, persecution and escape, locals perceive

them to need their/Germany's help. To ease forced migrants' state of being in need, locals offer help to them, so they, as hosts, turn into the helping host. This hierarchy is mediated and enhanced by feelings of pity. Locals state they feel pity for forced migrants, as they have experienced many horrors. Being the helping host receiving guests in need solidifies the power imbalance between forced migrants and locals and with this also solidifies the derecognition of forced migrants' losses and their grieving.

This derecognition of forced migrant losses and their grieving shapes their possibilities to partake in everyday life. Derecognizing losses involved in forced migration locals devalue the lives forced migrants have lived before arriving in NRW and the futures they imagined. They derecognize experiences and projects they have made and the skills and knowledge they have acquired before settling down. Derecognition of their knowledge and experiences makes possible and reinforces the approach that forced migrants have to adapt to social life in NRW by learning the language, obtaining qualifications issued by German education institutions, and learning how to behave and act according to the "German" way of life. Moreover, it allows locals to perceive educational and professional opportunities forced migrants are offered by German institutions primarily as chances, while ignoring that they have lost opportunities and chances due to forced migration. This makes it easy to perceive forced migrants as less capable, less educated, less skilled and, thus, less entitled to privileged positions in social life and in the labor market. Beyond limiting forced migrants' possibilities to partake in social relations, all forms of derecognition of their losses makes it difficult for forced migrants to mourn these losses and, thus, to develop a new relationship to them and their surroundings.

Mourning implies agreeing to the transformation involved in losing, thus, openness to form new connections and relations. This does not imply that all relations to what has been lost are cut, but that they take on a new form. This means that how that which is lost is involved in and impresses on a griever and her life changes. For mourning to take place, the griever's loss and its worth must be recognized by others. Recognition of someone's loss implies opening up to the griever and her loss and letting oneself be impressed by it. Recognizing the griever's loss allows the griever to turn towards the recognizing person and to open up, hence, displaying how the loss has impressed and still impresses on her. In this way both mutually impress upon the other and it is this mutual impressing which allows for mourning to happen, since it allows for new reciprocal relations and connections to emerge. These connections engage the person recognizing the loss in the griever's process of mourning in a way that the person might be moved by it. Moreover, mutual impressing changes how the griever relates to her loss, as the lost's impression changes through the touch by the person recognizing it. In this sense, denying recognition of losses involved in forced migration, makes it difficult and/or impossible to mourn these losses and confines forced migrants to live under the impressions of their losses.

In fact, there has been little narration of mourning in the interviews. Mourning the losses involved in forced migration is challenging and maybe impossible in a lifetime. However, interviews suggest that it is also the derecognition of forced migrants' losses by locals which enhances their struggle to live with their losses. Forced migrants feel the need to do something with troubling emotions involved in the experience of loss and intend to move on. Mourning involved constructing a sense of continuity between their experiences and imagined futures before arriving in NRW and the life and future they started constructing in NRW, learning new things and having the impression of being the agent of the transformation involved in mourning. Feelings of continuity, learning and agency allow forced migrants to experience the impressions of what they have lost as merging with new impressions, so the lost does not disappear but its impressions become part of everyday reciprocal relations.

When mourning is not possible, one way forced migrants try to move on from experiences of hardship and loss is through the narratives of learning from difficult experiences, of being formed by all their experiences and of planning new futures. Forced migrants repeatedly state that "bad/difficult" moments are "good/beneficial" because they can learn something from them. The learning they narrated involves growing stronger to be prepared to resist future harm. This narrative about difficult moments as being an opportunity to learn and to grow stronger has become widely used in everyday life conversation. While one can certainly learn from difficult experiences and might be stronger afterwards in some way, growing stronger to protect oneself from future harm is not the kind of transformation which results or derives from processes of mourning, but rather from processes of grieving. Protecting oneself from future harm implies that the experience of past harms is alive in the person's relation to others and the world and, thus, the person continues to relate to her losses. This narrative of learning from experience is sometimes connected to the claim that all life experiences have formed them and, thus, define them as the people they are. For this they stress experiences of hardship involved in war, the escape and life in NRW. Emphasizing that all these experiences impress on them (and thus define them), they claim recognition for these experiences and involved losses and hardships. More than being a claim of recognition, the narrative of "all my experiences have formed me" allows forced migrants to construct a continuity of experiences (before and after loss), as all experiences impress on them. A sense of continuity primarily and/or solely based on the "me" evidences grieving rather than processes of mourning. Feeling of continuity evidencing mourning would involve more than the "me", as mourning implies forming new relationships with the lost and others who recognize the lost as something valuable. In this sense, seeing the self as only or primary garant of continuity after loss does not imply that others have acknowledged what has been lost. Planning new futures and new lives appeared as a source of energy and hope, as it gives life a direction and allows for the impression of having a secure future. However, constructing alternative lives and futures does not necessarily imply that someone recognizes forced migrants' losses.

Therefore planning and working towards a new future in NRW can imply that forced migrants remain impressed by the life and imagined future they have lost.

Forced migrants voice their difficulties to mourn and to gain access to social life by saying that they have the impression of remaining strangers forever and an expert noticed that locals' continuous failure to recognize forced migrants' losses can lead them to embitter. Remaining a stranger forever implies being continuously recognized as meaningfully different and as less legitimate participants in everyday life by locals. This implies that they will have limited opportunities to have contact with locals and, thus, limited possibilities to establish meaningful connections and to mourn their losses. Thus, having the impression to remain a stranger forever involves the prediction that they are confined to continue grieving their losses. Embitterment entails prolonged frustration and the feeling of helplessness. In this sense, a continuous relationship to what one has lost and involved destabilizing emotions, can lead forced migrants to feel helpless and, thus, to embitter.

There are many sticky narratives, assumptions and judgements circulating and shaping how forced migrants relate to their losses and how locals and forced migrants approach and relate to each other. These sticky narratives and assumptions allow for feelings and security, safety, and closeness with the people with whom one is grouped together and distance from those who are grouped with other others. I suggested that mourning feelings of comfort, safety and closeness that these predefined interpretations, assumptions and narratives grant facilitates that forced migrants and locals may be able to receive each other in everyday life contacts as equals rather than in a confined space where locals are the hosts and forced migrants the guests.

If reception takes place in everyday life contacts and not in a confined space, everyone is equally host and guest, thus it takes out the predefined asymmetry between locals and forced migrants. This form of mutually receiving each other, involves both relating to each other and not to predefined assumptions and judgements. Being fully open to the other is very ambitious and probably impossible, however, openly receiving each other could imply accepting the judgements of strangeness or foreignness as a relationship and not a characteristic othe the other. Therefore, perceiving someone as a stranger, foreigner or refugee engages locals with her and does not separate them from her. Accepting this engagement and the relationality of predefined judgements, mutually receiving each other could imply that both are open to reconsider their assumptions about the other. This can allow both to get to know the other not through the lens of predefined knowledge and labels, but through direct contact with her. Mutual open reception is not about not making judgements and interpretations about the other, but about being open to be surprised by the other and trust more in the actual contact and connections which evolve from the contact, than in predefined interpretations.

Receiving the other and her difference in everyday contacts does not concern only or primarily the relation between forced migrants and locals. Interviews show that "people with a migration background" are often received in a similar way as forced migrants, meaning as "guests", even though they are German citizens and born in Germany. Another relation which has not been examined is the relations among skilled migrants, locals and forced migrants. Interviews with locals and experts illustrate that locals do not perceive skilled migrants to be in need of help, which suggests a different relationship than between locals and forced migrants. Relations of "people with a migration background" and skilled migrants to locals and forced migrants have not been discussed in this study and it would be interesting to explore their experience of receiving and being received in everyday life situations. This implies investigating predefined interpretations and assumptions involved in these relations and an analysis of the social hierarchies and experiences of loss involved in these assumptions and interpretations.

Another relation which has not been discussed are the relations among forced migrants. Discussed quotes suggest that many forced migrants have friends who are forced migrants, foreigners or "people with a migration background". Moreover, forced migrant participants perceive the experience of war, persecution, poverty, discimination, escape and/or struggles involved in life in NRW to create closeness and intimacy with other forced migrants while distinguishing them from local peers. However, interviews also suggest that relations with other forced migrants are not always supportive for life in general and for grieving and mourning of their losses in particular. There are hints in the interview that forced migrants sometimes are cautious to relate to other forced migrants, as meeting people having made similar experiences can relate them to their losses and involved troubling emotions. Thus, relations among forced migrants are diverse and not always empowering. However, I do not have enough data to explore and analyze the relations among forced migrants and how these relations shape their everyday life and processes of grieving and mourning. This could be a new path of research which would be interrelated to the analysis I have presented, however, not the same. Even though I have not investigated the relations among forced migrants, I want to point out that attaching the label of forced migrant (or "refugee") to people does not turn them and their experiences into a homogenous group in which members necessarily respect and care for each other.

The loss which was most apparent in forced migrants' narratives and in fact which gave this research project its definite focus, is the loss of imagined future selves. Forced migrants lose personal and collective projects (projections, expectations, anticipations, taken-for-grantedness), because they are forced to migrate. Participants for this study are aged between 18 and 30 years. Interviews with the older among them and what forced migrant participants said about their parents lets suspect that older forced migrants do not "only" lose dreams and projects, but also already more forged lives. Moreover, due to the ageism of the labor market, their employment prospects are not the same as for younger forced migrants.

This suggests that they could be perceived differently by locals. It would be interesting to explore how the loss of more forged lives relates to having to construct a new life and a future somewhere else and how this is interpreted and, thus, shaped by locals. All forced migrants participating in this study engaged in constructing new dreams, plans and, thus, a new life in the place they settled. There are forced migrants who do not or no longer engage in the construction of a new life and future in NRW and appear to have "given up". It would be compelling to explore how they came to give up constructing new plans and lives, how this relates to their loss of imagined future selves, other losses involved in forced migration and how their relation to locals shapes the process of giving up.

Analyzing forced migrants' narratives through the perspective of loss and grieving proposes an understanding of how forced migrants continue to relate to the lives and imagined futures they lost due to forced migration. These continued relations to their losses shape their possibilities to partake in social life and adds an extra struggle to the experience of being a newcomer in a foreign place. Understanding forced migrants as grievers might make their experience more tangible and perceivable for people who have never been forced to migrate or have never migrated at all, as loss and grieving are processes which touch all human life. Allowing for this closeness might enable locals to realize that through recognizing their losses and involved pain, despair, fear and/or anger, they can ease forced migrants' struggle and get to know them as people and not through predefined judgements and labels. Relating to them rather than to predefined assumptions and judgements about them can be a humbling and alleviating experience for both, as it allows both to create meaningful connections to the other and, thus, to resolve fear and discomfort involved in relating to predefined assumptions and judgements.

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10. APPENDIX

10.1. Autobiographical Interviews

10.1.1.Short answer questions:

Wie alt bist du? / How old are you?

Wo bist du geboren? / Where were you born?

Wo wohnst du jetzt? / Where are you currently living?

Mit wem lebst du? / With whom do you live?

Was machst du zur Zeit (beruflich)? / What is your current occupation/profession?

Bist du auf öffentlichen Schulen oder Privatschulen gegangen? / Did you attend private or public schools?

Wie viele Bücher hast du ungefähr zu hause? / How many books do you have at home?

Wie viele Autos hast du zu hause? / How many cars do you have?

Liest du Zeitung? / Do you read newspapers?

Guckst du Fernsehn, Youtube, Netflix? / Do you watch TV, Youtube, Netflix?

Bist du präsent in Sozialen Netzwerken? /Are you present on social networks?

Hast du ein/mehrere Lieblingsbücher? Wenn ja, welche? / Do you have a favorite book? If yes, which
        ones?

Hast du einen/mehrere Lieblingsfilm? Wenn ja, welche? / Do you have a favorite book? If yes, which
        ones?

Hast du eine/mehrere Lieblingsserie? Wenn ja, welche? / Do you have a favorite book? If yes, which
        ones?

Hast du eine Lieblingsmusikgruppe oder Musikrichtung? / Do you have a favorite music group or genre?

Gibt es eine Musik, die du garn nicht magst? / Is there a type of music you do not like at all?

Was machst du gerne in den Ferien? / What do you like to do during vacation?

Was war die weiteste Reise, die du bisher gemacht hast? / What has been your furthest journey?

Was machen deine drei besten Freunde? / What do your three best friends do?

Was machen deine Eltern? / What do your parents do?

Welche Sprache sprichst du zuhause? / Which language do you speak at home?

Welche Sprache sprichst du mit deinen Freunden? / Which language do you speak with your friends?

Interessiert du dich für Politik? / Are you interested in politics?

10.1.2. Open questions

In welchem Moment deines Lebens bist du? / At what moment in your life you?

Wie bist du zu diesem Moment gekommen? / What brought you to this moment?

Welche wichtigen Momente, Personen, Umstände haben dich dort hingebracht? / Who or what have been important people, moments or circumstances in your life?

Hattest du mal das Gefühl Erwartungen von anderen an dich nicht erfüllen zu können? / Did you once have the feeling not to fulfill expectations other people have on you?

Was beunruhigt dich? / What are you worried about?

Hast du kurz- und langzeit Pläne? Wenn ja, welche? / Do you have short or long term plans?

Glaubst du diese Pläne erfüllen zu können? / Do you believe you will be able to realize your plans?

Welche Probleme wirst du haben? / What problems could you have?

Hast du Träume? Wenn ja welche? / Do you have dreams and desires? If yes, which ones?

Glaubst du die gleichen Pläne zu haben wie die anderen Menschen deines Alters in deinem Umfeld? / DO you believe that you have similar plans as people from your age and environment?

Glaubst du Teil deiner Generation zu sein? / Do you have the impression of being part of your generation?

Wie glaubst du sieht deine Generation die Zukunft? / According to you, how does your generation see the future?

Was denkst du über die Migration des letzten Jahrzehnt hier in NRW? Or Wie war es für dich hier in NRW anzukommen? (und ein neues Leben zu beginnen?) / What do you think about and how have you experienced migration of the past decade? Or How was it to arrive here in NRW (and to start a new life)?

Könntest du dir vorstellen in einem andern Land zu leben? / Could you imagine living in a different country?

10.2. Expert interviews

Expert interviews varied depending on the work experience of experts. I followed their narration and asked questions about forced migrants' future imagination and about experts' observations concerning the process of becoming part of society.

10.2.1. Questions

Wie sieht ihr Arbeitsalltag aus und wie und in welcher Rolle arbeiten Sie mit
Zwangsmigranten/Geflüchteten? / How does your daily work routine look like and how and in which role do you work with forced migrants?

Welche Herausforderungen und Probleme habe die Zwangsmigranten/Geflüchteten mit denen Sie
zusammen arbeiten? / What kind of challenges and problems face forced migrants you work with?

Wie gehen die Zwangsmigranten/Geflüchteten damit um? / How do forced migrants solve these problems
and challenges?

Welche Ziele und Wünsche haben die Geflüchteten/Zwangsmigranten? / What dreams and plans do
forced migrants have?

10.3. Tables

10.3.1. Forced migrant and German citizen participants

Name[38]	Country of residency	Age	Years in Germany	Place of interview	Gender	Occupation	Contact	Date of interview
Mustafa	Germany	20	5	High School	Male	High School	Expert	12/01/2020
Klaus	Germany	25	From birth	University	Male	Master Student	Friends	17/12/2019
Asad	Germany	29	10	University	Male	Master Student	Friends	18/02/2020
Wuafa	Germany	19	4	Berufskolleg Tor 6	Female	vocational school student	Expert	18/02/2020
Samah	Germany	19	5	High School Library	Female	High School	Friends	24/01/2020
Christina	Germany	21	From birth	Her living room	Female	Bachelor Student	Interviewee	11/01/2020
Lukas	Germany	29	From birth	His living room	Male	Bachelor Student, Security	Friends	29/01/2020
Jeremie	Germany	26	5	Job center	Male	Metal worker	Expert	27/01/2020
Gyom	Germany	28	From birth	His living room	Male	Social worker	Friends	18/09/2018

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[38] All names are anonymized.

Munzer	Germany	20	3	Berufskolleg Tor 6	Male	Vocational school student	Expert	24/02/2020
Lina	Germany	27	4	Job center	Female	nurse	Expert	27/01/2020
Yusif	Germany	18	2	Berufskolleg Tor 6	Male	Vocational school student	Expert	19/02/2020
Fufu	Germany	18	1	Berufskolleg Tor 6	Female	Vocational school student	Expert	22/02/2020
Jana	Germany	19	From birth	Her living room	Female	High school	Friends	22/02/2020
Johannes	Germany	21	From birth	His living room	Male	Bachelor Student	Friends	22/01/2020
Luza	Germany	18	4	High School	Female	High School	expert	17/12/2019
Omar	Germany	18	4	High School	Male	High School	expert	15/12/2019
Rhda	Germany	26	From birth	Her living room	Female	Kindergarten teacher	Interviewee	17/02/2020
Miriam	Germany	30	From birth	Her living room	Female	Master Student	Interviewee	29/01/2020
Janina	Germany	27	From birth	Bar	Female	Psychologist	Friends	12/09/2018
Muriel	Germany	22	From birth	University	Female	Bachelor Student	Interviewee	06/02/2020
Jan	Germany	22	From birth	University	Male	Bachelor Student	Friends	17/12/2019
Babel	Germany	18	From birth	Her living room	Female	High School	Interviewee	22/01/2020
Abdul	Germany	20	4	University	Male	High School	expert	16/10/2018
Lennart	Germany	25	From birth	His living room	Male	Car seller	Friends	27/01/2020
Laurence	Germany	26	From birth	University	Male	Bachelor student	Expert	04/02/2020
Luc	Germany	21	4	Job center	Male	Apprenticeship - bakery	Expert	30/01/2020
Vera	Germany	21	4	High School	Female	High School	Expert	13/12/2020
Khaded	Germany	18	5	High School	Male	High School	Interviewee	05/02/2020
Thibaut	Germany	29	5	University	Male	Master Student	Expert	12/12/2019
Karim	Germany	20	4	Bar	Male	Apprenticeship	Expert	14/01/2020
Katharina	Germany	23	From birth	Bar	Female	Bachelor Student	Interviewee	30/01/2020
Hannin	Germany	18	3	Berufskolleg Tor 6	Male	Vocational school student	Expert	25/02/2020
Amir	Germany	18	4	His living room	Male	Apprenticeship	Expert	18/09/2018
Petra	Germany	18		High School	Female	High School	Expert	02/2020
Zayn	Germany	18	5	High School	Female	High School	Interviewee	18/12/2019

Amara	Germany	18	5	High School	Male	High School	Interviewee	18/12/2019
Cario	Germany	20	5	High School	Male	High School	Interviewee	27/02/2020
Nasir	Germany	20	4	University	Male	High School	Expert	18/10/2020
Doaa	Germany	20	5	Her living room	Female	High School	Friends	27/01/2020
Tobias	Germany	26	From Birth	Bar	Male	Project manager	Interviewee	27/01/2020
Thomas	Germany	24	From Birth	His living room	Male	Bachelor Student	Friends	08/09/2018
Milena	Germany	25	3	Her living room	Female	Apprenticeship	Expert	12/09/2018
Eyüp	Germany	30	3	Bar	Male	Unemployed	Expert	13.02.2020
Nicklas	Germany	18	From birth	High School	Male	High School	Expert	17/02/2020
Zeyneb	Germany	18	From birth	High School	Female	High School	Expert	14/12/2019

10.3.2. Expert participants

Interview Name[39]	Date	Interview Setting	Occupation	Contact through	Organization
Mr Lohmann	18/1/2020	His office	Psychologist	Friend	AWO - youth group
Frau Schmidt	03/02/2020	Her office	School principal	Participant	Tor 6 Berufskolleg
Frau Müller	07/02/2020	At school	School teacher	Participant	Tor 6 Berufskolleg
Frau Löhne	16/02/2020	Her office	Afternoon programme coordinator	Participant	Angekommen in [name of city]
Frau Schwan	20/02/2020	Her office	Lawyer	Friend	IMAG[40]
Fau Neumann	14/12/2020	Her office	Psychologist	Friend	University of [name of city]

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[39] All names are anonymized.
[40] Initiative für eine menschenfreundliche Aufnahme Geflüchteter